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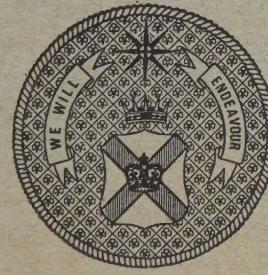
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SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING
DEVOTED TO IRISH PHILOLOGY AND
LITERATURE

VOL. XXVII

EDITED BY
DAVID GREENE AND PROINSIAS MAC CANA



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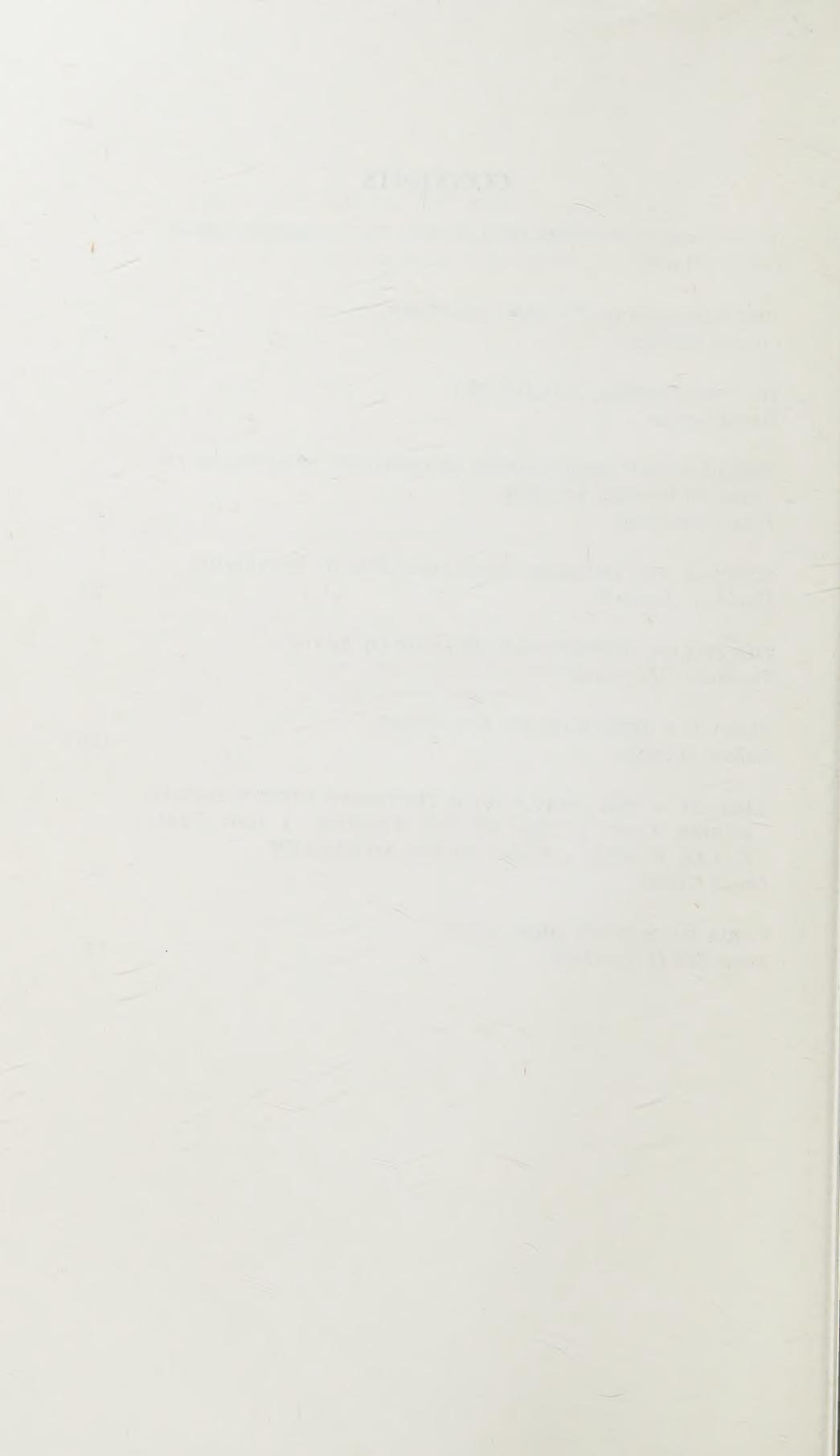
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ON SOME GAULISH NAMES IN *-ANT-* AND CELTIC VERBAL NOUNS

1. *iantu-* ~ *iantu-*

There is a syndrome of names which has been dealt with many times over during the past century or so. This group may be labelled with the convenient pair *Iantu-/Adiatus*. A number of useful, and obviously true, observations have been made on this group; but I feel that the basic morphology has not been correctly recognized.

D. Ellis Evans (*Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967, 211-15) nicely clears away the confusing Welsh ground, but he does not succeed in clarifying the Gaulish name-family. A Welsh form *addiant* (which should in any case be **eiddiant*) is too uncertainly attested to be used; similarly *addiad* (which might expectedly be **eiddiad*, a different word from Pughe's irrelevant and late hapax *eiddiad* 'a possessing') scarcely exists (213-14). Thus the main handbook comparisons vanish. Welsh ghosts are not all in castles.

Yet I cannot accept some views on Gaulish *Iantu-/Adiatus*. Karl Horst Schmidt (see *GPN* 212) has made an excellent observation that the nasal form occurs in uncompounded forms, while the non-nasal *-iat-* is found in compounds, notably with *ad-*. He then concludes that there was a form with nasal infix (which I cannot agree with), that the nasal disappeared after initially accented *ad-* (an unlikely and unmotivated piece of phonetics), and that these latter developments came about after the separation of Goidelic. This all seems overly complex and ad hoc. It is possible, but not inevitable, that *Iantu-* or *Ianta* or *Ientinus* are related to OIr. *ét* (masc. *o*-stem) 'jealousy'. In the last word there are simply not enough surviving features to make one feel confident. However, I have already expressed the opinion (*IF* 74, 1969, 147-54) that *iantu-* goes back to **i̯nt-* while *ientu-* reflects **i̯ent-*, with the *e* before nasal prevented from going to *i* by the preceding dissimilating *i̯*; in that case, we cannot have here an ablaut in the verb root while securing the dubious status of a nasal infix—I therefore abandon the infix theory.

Let us now turn to the facts, using the listings so elegantly and lucidly compiled by Ellis Evans: (the numbers are introduced simply to permit matchings between lists)

(a)	(b)	(c)
1. <i>Adiatus</i>		
2. <i>Adiatullus</i>		
4. <i>Adiatumarus</i>		<i>Adietumarus</i>
3. <i>Adiatunnus</i>	<i>Adiantunneni</i>	<i>Adietuanus</i> (see GPN 45-6)
4. <i>Adiaturix</i>		
<i>Adiatorix</i>	? <i>Adiantoni</i>	
(b')	(b)	(c)
<i>Ianta, Iantasio</i>		
	1. <i>Ianthus, Iantui</i>	<i>Iatta, Iattossa</i>
	2. <i>Iantulla, -us</i>	
	4. <i>Iantumalius</i>	
	<i>Iantumara, -us</i>	
	<i>Ientumaro</i>	
<i>Iantinus, Ientinus</i>	3. <i>Iantuna</i>	<i>Iatinius</i>
<i>Ientius</i>	<i>Iantura</i>	

I take *Iot-* to be simply something else.

The first important fact to note is that we have a clear *u*-stem; this was recognized by Glück and Dottin. However, it should further be emphasized that this gives us a useful classifying principle: The *u*-stem forms must be basic; the others are somehow derived.

It is then quite apparent that the forms cluster in two major sets: Under (b) we find a simplex *u*-stem with nasal; under (a) we have a compound *u*-stem without nasal. *Adiatorix* must be secondarily formed (Greek influence or foreign uncertainty?) with *-o-*.

Adiantunneni is shown by its first suffix to be an original *Adiatunnus* (type a) with the *-n-* introduced from the formation rule of list (b). *Adiantoni* is quite opaque to me. *Adietuanus* (certified by coins) and *Adietumarus* must belong basically to type (a), but with an *-e-* introduced from the apparently rarer formation rule of list (c); however, it should be remembered that *e* was a very common basic state for the vocalisms of the language as a whole (an old Indo-European feature). We may thus consider all these as fundamentally belonging to list (a), but with contaminations from the other formations.

We turn now to list (b'). These, which lack the *u*-stem characteristic, are surely all shortenings, or apocopations, of longer forms represented in (b) and (c). These shortened forms have been supplied with typical suffixes, e.g. *-ino-*, *-io-*. Thus these are not confusions on the part of speakers, like those just dealt with; they are stem types regularly formed according to known rules of shortening.

Then we have list (a'). These are also shortenings, like the last, and this is strongly confirmed by the gemination found in *Iatta* and

Iattossa, a sure sign of a hypocoristic. Additionally, by the lack of nasal we see that these shortenings result from decompounds of the type seen in list (a). Thus, to speculate, *Iatta* might be a shortening of *Adiatus* or of *Adiaturix*. If *Iantinus* was a short form of *Iantu-marus*, and *Ientinus* of *Ientumaro*, then *Iatinus* might be a shortening of *Adiatumarus*. *Iatinus* and *Iatta* (or **Iattus*) could even be the same person.

Hence, fundamentally, *Ientinus* and *Ientius* belong over in (c).

We now have but three underlying lists: (a) *Adiatus* etc., (b) *Ianthus* etc., (c) *Ientumaro* etc. Without exception, the formation rules are: *Iantu-* ~ *Ientu-*; in compounding, *-iatu-*. The underlying form is clear both from the viewpoint of ablaut variation and from the direction of alteration in word-formation; i.e. the simplex has the nasal, and it is subject to ablaut. Therefore there can be no question of an infix. As I see it, the best explanation, historically, for the alternation *ient-* ~ *iant-* is **ient-* ~ *int-*.

Therefore the formulation must be: underlying (lexical entry) **i(e)nt-u-* > *ientu-* ~ *iantu-*; in compounds, delete *-n-* from the last.

2. *namanto-*: its distribution

A similar situation seems to be discernable with *namant-* / *adnamat-*; even though the number of examples and formations is fewer, the clarity of their ranges of combination less sharp, and the detail of morphological structure different. The last point will be returned to later. Let us first list the types on the same lines as was done above:

(a)	(b)	(c?)
1. <i>Adnamata</i> <i>Adnamatus</i> (<i>Ann-</i>)		<i>Adnametus</i>
2. <i>Adnamatia</i> (<i>Ann-</i> , <i>An-</i>)	<i>Adnamantia</i>	<i>Adnamita?</i>
3. <i>Adnamatinia</i>		
	1. <i>Namantus</i>	<i>Nametus, Namita</i>
2. <i>Namatius</i>	2. <i>Namantius</i>	
	4. <i>Namantobogi</i>	

Once again, it is clear so far as the evidence goes that the compound is concentrated under (a), while the simplex is best developed under (b). We then assume, as before, that *Adnamantia* has its second *-n-* added by the list (b) rule; that *Namatius* is a decompound from the main list of (a). The items under (c) are included for the sake of completeness; they may easily be (esp. the names in *-ita*) totally separate derivatives of the (perhaps even different) base *nam(o, a)-*.

The formulation again descriptively is: underlying *namant(o)-*; in compounds delete internal *-n-*. The strength of this formulation lies precisely in the parallel nature of the two formations. Note this time however the absence of forms in *-ent-*.

3. *carant-*, *carat-*

Viewed in this light, the incidence of forms is entirely different in the case of *carant-*. Note the following:

<i>Caranta</i> , <i>-i</i> , <i>-o</i> , <i>-us</i>	<i>Carata</i> , <i>-us</i>
<i>Carantia</i> , <i>-ius</i>	<i>Caratius</i> , <i>Carattia</i>
<i>Carantina</i> , <i>-us</i> , <i>-ius</i>	<i>Caratinus</i> , <i>Carattinn</i>
<i>Carantiana</i>	
<i>Carantanae</i> , <i>-i</i>	<i>Caratan</i> [
<i>Carantacus</i> (=Welsh <i>Carantauc</i> , <i>Carannawc</i>)	<i>Caratacus</i> , <i>Carataculus</i>
<i>Carantodius</i>	<i>Caratiaco loco</i>
<i>Carantedo</i>	<i>Caratodius</i>
<i>Caranticconus</i>	<i>Caratedo</i>
<i>Carantila</i> , <i>-illa</i> <i>-us</i>	<i>Caratila</i> , <i>-illa</i> <i>-us</i>
<i>Carantorius</i> (=Welsh <i>Ceren(n)hir</i>)	
<i>Carantusa</i> , <i>-usarus</i>	<i>Caratuccus</i>
	<i>Caratulla</i> , <i>-us</i>

Among the local and ethnic names we also find *Carantomagus*¹ and *Carantonis*. In all of these we have an almost duplicate listing of formations in *Carant-* and *Carat-*. This is the same as saying that *Carat-* formed derivatives as freely and of the same sort as *Carant-*. Hence these stem shapes cannot be limited by suffixes; moreover, they must be highly parallel in internal form. Yet, contrary to the two last, there is a total absence of prefixes here. In Ellis Evans' materials we find only *Vocaran[tus* or *[a* (p. 165); surely this is to be completed *Vocarana*, on the above grounds.

Thus *Carat-* cannot be in a contextual relation to *Carant-* as a variant by rule. The two must be separate parallel morphological formations.

Apart from the possible homonyms as a base (Ellis Evans 162), of which *carro-* 'wagon' or **karra* 'stone, crag' scarcely seem to enter here and only **cariā* 'rebuke, sin' seems a realistic probability, all these formations strongly suggest the obvious *cara-* 'love, friend(ly)'. Note in this connexion that *cara-* was a primary *a*-verb, discussed by Calvert Watkins *IE Origins of the Celtic Verb*, 185, where he mentions

¹ This may easily be **karant* 'Fels' (of whatever, perhaps pre-IE, origin) on which see Ellis Evans 325, and therefore not related to the form in the personal names under discussion.

the Gaulish participial *Caranto-*; thus there is no need for the assimilation suggested by Ellis-Evans (162) for *Caramallus* or *Caramantius*. We therefore surely must see in *Carant-* the match to OIr. *carae carat*, Welsh *car carant* (see Simon Evans *GMW* 29 §30b Note 2) Med. Bret. *car querent* Corn. *car kerens* (the last two with Southwest British productive affection); OBret. *car* (Fleuriot *DGVB* 97) may well be to *caro-*. But in *Carat-* we must have the equivalent of the Welsh verbal adjective *cared-ic*, Ir. *carth-ach*; and esp. Welsh *di-garad* 'rejected'.

In both these cases we have old participles. *Carant-* has become a noun, no doubt in pre-Celtic (cf. the Germanic words *friend*, *fiend*); we know of the complex fate of **-tó-* participles in Old Irish and Welsh as preterite passives, participles, gerundives, adjectives and periphrastic verbal nouns (see Lewis and Pedersen *CCCG* 311). Hence *Carant-* and *Carato-* are in origin perfectly parallel, **karə-nt-* and **karə-tó-* 'loving' and 'loved'.

4. *caro-*

We have noted above the complete absence of prefixes with *Carant-* and *Carat-*. There is a further interesting restriction: Ellis Evans (162) observes "in compounded names it [caro-] is rarely attested as a first element." Let us collate and classify the forms from his list:

(a)	(a')	(b)	(b')	(b'')
<i>Andecarus</i>	<i>Bitucarus</i>	<i>Caragonius</i>	<i>Carigenus</i>	<i>Caromarus</i>
<i>Vocara, -i</i>	<i>Diocarus</i>		<i>Carucenus</i>	<i>Carosenus</i>
	<i>Iovantuc</i> [a]ro		<i>Carugenus</i>	
	<i>Netacari</i>			
	<i>Oxicaro</i>			
	<i>Senocarus</i>			
	<i>Venicarus</i>			
	<i>Venocari</i>			
	<i>Sucarus</i>			
	<i>Sucaria</i>			
	<i>Ducarius</i>			

It is not at all clear that (b) *Caragonius* is correctly segmented as *cara-* or *car-*; it looks like a derivative of *carag(i)us* 'fortune-teller'. List (b') probably contains different lexical stems from ours; perhaps *Carigenus* is to OIr. *caire*, Welsh *caredd* 'sin, lust'. In (b''), if these are to be taken at face value and especially if *Carosenus* matches in some fashion *Senocarus*, we may have shortened first elements from some more complex formation. Finally, because of the special status and development of *su-* and *du-* (which I have discussed elsewhere,

Papers from the Mid-America Linguistics Conference 1972), it is possible that *Sucarus*, *Sucaria* and *Ducarius* belong not in (a') but in (a). Moreover, it may well be that *Vocara* (of which *Vocarana* above would be a perfectly natural derivative) is the equivalent of *Sucarus*, with *uo-* in the value of an intensive as in some instances of Welsh *go-*. If so, semantically *Vocara* = *Sucarus* = *Andecarus* = (perhaps) *Oxicaro-* (if **oupsi-*); *Caromarus* may then be a late transformation of one of these.

Out of all of this we may extract the syntactic equivalence

<i>carant-/carato-:</i>	<i>-caro-</i>	$= namant- : -namat(o)-$
		$= ientu- \sim iantu- : -iatu-$

In other words, *caro-* belongs in suppletive relation to the set *-nama(n)t-*, *-ia(n)tu-*. It is noteworthy here that *namant-* is its semantic opposite, its antonym; see below on this further. Ellis Evans (234) suggests that by this antonymic relation *namato-* dropped the *-n-* by analogy with *carato-*; but that will be seen to be impossible since we have shown above that *carato-* was **not** in this relation to *carant-* and is a separate independent formation. Therefore the source of *-namat(o)-* as a variant for *namant-* must be sought in other syntactic and semantic contexts.

We may now proceed to draw a further, phonological, conclusion from our observations on *caro-*. Since we wish to relate *caro-* as directly as possible to *carant-* and *carato-*, and since the last two are known to be **kara-nt-* and **kara-tó-*, we must have a root which we provisionally write **karH-*. The pre-form should then be **karHo-*. A set of paradigmatic forms of such configuration would then explain the development of the *a* vocalism: In both Latin *cārus* and Goth. *hōrs* there is evidence for a laryngeal, **keH ar-o-*. Celtic **karHo-* is well explained from **kṛHo-* i.e. **krH-o-*; this is morphologically exactly the equivalent of verbal nouns with root-final laryngeal (when compounded: Cf. Thurneysen *GOI* §725) such as *-be < -bi(i)o-* **-b(h)iH a-o-* (: *benaid*), i.e. thematization of the zero-grade. Which subgroup of IE metathesized the original form is hard to say; that is, the original could have been either **keH ar-* or **kerH a-*, but a metathesis in pre-Celtic of the zero-grade would suffice to explain the spread of the *a* vocalism.

Whatever the starting point in pre-Celtic was, we find for Celtic the pairing of variants **k(a)rH a-nt-/ *k(a)rH a-tó : -k(a)rH a-o-*. The first participial form is equally explained by **k(a)rH a-ént-*.

5. *namant-* : its morphology

Various comparisons have been offered for the base in this stem; see Ellis Evans 234. Surely the basically correct analysis, although

in need of revision in light of later theory and morphological considerations, is that given by Mícheál Ó Briain, *ZCP* xiv (1923) 321f.; he astutely saw that we have here a negative (**ne-* according to him) + *am-* 'love' + the participial *-nt-*. That is to say, this rests on an identification of the Gaulish stem with OIr. *námae* gen. *námat* dat. acc. *námait* acc. pl. *námtea*. Vendryes, in his *Lexique étymologique* N-2 has this to say: 'Corm² 981 explique *náma* par *non-ama*, *non-amatur*, l'explication paraît fantaisiste, mais on n'en a jamais trouvé de meilleure.' Although the learned Irishman was perhaps a primitive etymologist by our modern standards, I think that Vendryes was rather pessimistic and uncharitable in this case—an unusual occurrence with Vendryes. Actually, Cormac had a shrewd insight here; we simply need to improve the phonological account, both of Cormac and of Ó Briain.

First, we must clarify the nature of the stem of Lat. *amō amāre*. This must cover over an old set base of the sort discussed by Calvert Watkins *IE Origins of the Celtic Verb* 185 ff; the shape was therefore **H_aemH_a-*. However I would reject the claim advanced for such words by Watkins that they are from emotive children's language; it seems to me that such a base is, at least provisionally in the absence of other positive evidence, simply another element of the lexicon like any other. In any event, it appears that we once had **H_aemH_a-* as a base in the language, and that in Celtic **k(a)rH_a-* simply encroached on **H_aemH_a-* while in Latin the latter displaced the former. In fact the stem model of **H_aemH_a-* may have been a powerful factor in aiding the spread of the metathesized form of **karH_a-*, for the two would now share the shape *(C)*aRə-*. The replacement of **amə-* could have then been enhanced by the competition offered by *ind·am-* 'wash', identified by Watkins, *Language* 35, 1959, 18–20. In this fashion, by degrees, **k(a)rH_a-nt-* > *karənt-* and **k(a)rH_a-ént-* > *karant-* replaced **H_aemH_a-(é)nt-* > *amənt-/amant-* or **H_aamH_a-(é)nt-* > *amənt-/amant-*, always keeping the participial formation for 'friend' observed elsewhere.

The Latin verb seems to be a denominalization, probably from a noun of the type *iocus* or *mora* or *toga*; hence **H_aomH_a-o/ā* → **H_aomH_a-i^əo/ā* > *amā-*.

The internal morphology of OIr. *námae námtea* is now clear. In such a formation we expect the zero-grade of the negative prefix; therefore, with zero-grade of the base, **n-H_amH_a-nt-* or (in the old strong cases of the declension) **n-H_amH_a-ént-*. These lead, respectively, to the phonetic development **ŋH_amH_aént-* / *ŋH_amH_aant-* ~ *ŋH_amH_ant-* > [ŋmánt]/[ŋmənt] ~ [ŋmənt] > *námant-* for all of these in Gaulish and British, and perhaps **námənt-* for the last in Goidelic.

Thus *nāmant*- is quite simply the antonym of *carant*-, in a direct morphological sense. Latin has however replaced the participial formation with an adjectival derivative. The simplex *amicus* must be **amaiko-* < **H_aomH_aoiko-*, and *inimicus* < **enamaiko-* < **nH_aomH_aoiko-* (schematically). Semantically the two formations are equivalent: **n-H_amH_au-(é)nt-* 'the non+lov-ing one' = **n-H_aomH_ao-iko-* 'the one not characterized by love'. The difference matches the differing stem formations of the verbs *caraid* and *amāre*.

It is furthermore clear from this account, i.e. starting from a base ending in **H_a*, why we find no form in *-ent-* beside the formation *namant(o)-*. We should also properly now write those instances of this Gaulish stem which we wish to credit to this formation *nāmant(o)-*.

6. *ad-namat*-: its morphology

Now that we have recognized that the etymon of *amō* underlies the negative construction *nāmant(o)-*, it is easy to see that there once must have existed a participle in *-tō-* which could have similarly been negated. Thus, beside a possible **H_amH_a-tō-* 'carato-' there would have been **n-H_amH_a-to-* = **nH_amH_a-tō-* [*ñmato*] > *nāmato-* 'unloved.' Semantically, for the 'enemy' the 'unloving, unfriendly one' could equally be called 'the unloved one'—the feeling was mutual and reciprocal. Therefore, although the morphological and semantic relation was once

nāmant- : *nāmato-* = *carant*-: *carato-*

this was capable of becoming, particularly with the decline in active verbal use of **amə-*, a relation of external syntactic distribution (as observed in the attested documentation)

nāmant(o)- : *-nāmat(o)* = *carant*-/*carato-* : *-caro-*.

In other words, the existence of a normally formed *-tō-* participle and the resultant semantic ambiguity possible in this case together with the replacement of the base lexeme as a normal verb—these factors together all furnished the material for a variant form to be contextually sensitive to prefixes. Thus *-nāmat(o)-* was mustered into service after *ad-*.

We now enquire into the predilection of *-nāmat*- and *-iatu-* for *ad-*. Beside its directional meaning (Lat. *ad*, Germanic *at*, OIr. *atrab* 'dwelling', *ad-gládathar* 'addresses', and also attested as *ad* in earliest Welsh), *ad* also occurs as a variant for the perfective *ro* in Old Irish and as an intensive prefix (Welsh *add-oer* 'very cold', probably in OIr. *adbal* 'vast' and *adlaic* 'desirable', for example); see Lewis and Pedersen *CCCG* §428, Thurneysen *GOI* §822, M. Dillon

TPS (1944) 105, and especially Ellis Evans 128-9 and Vendryes *Lexique étymologique* A-13, which now supersedes RC 42, 402. We further note the use of *ad-* with expressions of desiring etc.: OIr. *ad-cobra*, perhaps *adlaic*; one may wonder whether *ad-gúsi* 'wishes' really contained *ess-* < *ex-* originally, or rather *ad-*, which of course merged contextually with *ex-*. Observe, too, that while (as we have noted above) we find *ande-*, *su-* and *yo-* as apparent intensives with *caro-*, we do not find *ro-* as it happens. It seems that with verbs of desiring and loving *ad-* was favoured lexically, if not totally as a grammatical element.

It is striking then to note that the sole comparison which Ernout-Meillet *DELT*³ can adduce to *amō amāre* is the Hesychian gloss ἀδαμνεῖν·τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἀδαμνα καλοῦσιν. We have already seen that Celtic *nāmant-* gives an excellent cognate to Lat. *amāre*. Vendryes (loc. cit.) points out that *ad* is shared by the Northwest IE group (Celtic, Italic and Germanic) and additionally by Phrygian, citing the well known αδδακετ and αββερετ. But the agreement goes much deeper than that. The noun (from which the verb ἀδαμνεῖ must be derived) ἀδαμνα has every appearance of being a participle in *-n-* (perhaps *-no-*) of a verb *ad-am-*. We may then make the surprising equation

$$ad-nāmat(o)- < *ad-n-H_{am}H_{a-to-} = \alpha\delta-\alpha\mu-\nu\alpha$$

This agreement in detail makes a substantial addition to the Phrygian-Celtic equation that Marstrander observed (*NTS* ii (1929) 297) for OIr. *eitech* < **eti-teg-*. It would appear from this that we have a slender but growing body of evidence for a close connexion between Celtic (and Italic) and Phrygian. The Phrygian evidence, now being sifted and reevaluated by Lejeune, could well bear close scrutiny in this light.

It may not be too bold at this point to suggest a stronger link here with Celtic. The OIr. word (of all periods) *amrae* 'wonderful, mirabilis' is given by Vendryes (*op. cit.* A-68) as "sans étymologie sûre". It is interesting to note further that the compound (with the same meaning but surely intensive in origin) *ad-amrae* also occurs. The latter could easily be something like **ad-amə-rio*, a *yo-* derivative of a *ro-* suffixed adjective from the exact same compound.

7. OIr. *serc* [šerk]

It is well known that this feminine noun serves suppletively as verbal noun to *caraid*, although Gagnepain has expressed reservations on this point. We may perhaps now see some of the reason for this.

It is clear that early Celtic distinguished systematically in many ways that differed in minor detail between the form of the verbal noun that appeared as a simplex and that which appeared after a preverb. Gagnepain (*La syntaxe du nom verbal dans les langues celtiques I*, Paris 1963, 23) has noted this fact without, however, troubling to explore the details and thereby to specify the underlying simplicity; his right-hand column shows basically only three types, almost all of but one formation (-o- neuter). A similar distinction, matching partly in exact detail, is observed for Sanskrit, and this dual treatment must be an inherited idiosyncracy from IE. Gagnepain (23) regards the alternation as old but despairs of explaining it. In Old Irish the simplex forms a verbal noun *gairm* < **garsmn* (: *gairid* 'calls'), while compounds such as *frecrē*, (*t*)*acre*, *fōcre* are formed with *-*garion*; the simplex *buain* < **bogni-* or **bognā* (: *bongid* 'breaks') opposes *combach*, *tobach*, *taidbech* < *-*bogon*; *guide* (: *guidid* 'prays') is in my opinion (along with that of others) **g(wh)od(h)iā*, while *aicde* and *irnidde* are *-*g(wh)ed(h)iā*; *béimm* (: *benaid* 'strikes') Bret. *boem* Ploemel Vannetais *bwēm* reflect **bheid-smn* and the archaic *bith* reflects* *bhiH_a-t-*, while the compounds *fubae*, *imdibe* etc. derive, as mentioned above à propos of *caro-*, from *-*bi(i)on* < *-*b(h)iH_a-o-*. The suffix of *-*gar-jo-n* and its privileges of occurrence exactly match the situation for the Sanskrit gerund -ya (with compound verbs, e.g. *ā-dā-ya*, *ni-pat-ya*). Benveniste has noted that nouns in -*ti-* tend to be compound, while those in -*tu-* tend to be simple. Likewise we find in OIrish that the feminines in -*tiu* (: Lat. *tactic*; cf. Thurneysen GOI §730) tend to be almost all compounds; thus *ermaissiu* (*ar·midethar* 'discerns') **ari-med-ti-ō(n)*, but *mess* (*midithir* 'judges') **med-tu-s*. Gagnepain (22) fails to remark this important correlation.

Szemerényi (*Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, Brescia 1969, II 969-71) correctly reconstructs Lat. *amussis* 'carpenter's rule' as **ad-mod-ti-s*, then undergoing the "mamilla law". He then takes this compound from a phrase **ad mossim*, but this misses the point of such formations. Here we find a perfect formationally pair of verbal nouns between Latin and Old Irish. The masculine *ammus* *aimseo* 'attempt', though a compound, is formed on *mess*; therefore, **ad+med-tu-*. But Latin preserves the old compound **ad-mod-ti-*.

I have dealt with these matters at greater length in my Vernam Hull lecture at Harvard University in May 1971.

It seems clear to me that these systematically varying forms are an indirect result of Wackernagel's Law and the IE rules of enclisis. With the compound we always have the shorter more reduced shape; or, put another way, the simplex is always expanded, extended, or strengthened. Thus, we find

<i>*gar-s-mp</i>	:	<i>-gar-jo-</i>
<i>*bheid-s-mp</i> , <i>*bhiH a-t-</i>	:	<i>-b(h)iH a-o-</i>
<i>*bog-n-</i> (:Skt. <i>bhagná-</i>)	:	<i>-bog-o-</i>
<i>*g(wh)od(h)iā</i>	:	<i>-g(wh)ed(h)iā²</i>

In the last case the simplex has undergone the *o*-nominalization rule, while the compounding form remains in its underlying shape. Analogously the (compounding) *-ti-* nouns had zero-grade vocalism (Skt. *śruti-*, *mati-*, *πίστις*), while the (simplex) *-tu-* nouns regularly showed *guṇa* (Skt. infinitives *śrotum*, *mantum*, and indirectly through reshaping Gaulish and OBret. *clout-*, OIr. *clúas*). Now it will be remembered that in main clauses in IE the verb was unaccented; it was enclitic. In the normal, neutral order in a sentence, a verb probably followed a modifying particle, which later came to be the "preverb"; other orders were probably transformations with additional semantic value. Therefore a compound verb could appear superficially as having thrown the accent back on the preverb, thus giving a kind of *Univerbierung*. With the simple verb this was not possible. Hence a kind of prosodic opposition grew up distinguishing simple from compound verbs; and this would hold for all finite verb forms. But what of non-finite forms and nominalizations? Since they were always accented they would show no such distinction to match their finite verbs. It would seem then that a set of conditions grew up whereby the transformation that converted a finite verb into a nominalization contained a provision for preserving the simple / compound status of the source verb by imposing differential morphological characteristics³. Generally speaking, the compound was simply nominalized by affixing a *thema* or other minimal suffix to the unaltered base or to its zero-grade state; the simplex received a nominalizing mark, either of an extended suffix or ablaut or both. The Celtic preserves here the débris of a very ancient situation. In any event, this distinction among non-finite forms of the verb was not a simple phonological one; the prosodic difference which arose from sentence syntax in the finite forms was morphologized in a complex way in the non-finite forms. We would therefore not be surprised to see suppletion take its place among these complex, yet paired, relations; so we find, for example, *luige* ~ *lugae* < **lug(h)-ion* (:*tongid* 'swears'): *di-thech*, *e-tech*. It is odd that for such pairings

² Calvert Watkins remarks (*Ériu* xviii, (1958) 98) the pair *guidid*: *ni* + *ged-* in the present. I see this as matched by, or even modelled on, the surely old pairing in the verbal nouns.

³ K. H. Schmidt hints (*Studia Celtica* 7, 1972, 48) at a similar line of thought when he equates the opposition of simplex with *-ti-* (→ *-tā*) to compound with *-tā* with the opposition absolute/conjunct, and with *armus nert* vs. *inermis sonari*. I do not however follow his argument on the development of *-to-/tā* stems; it seems to move in the opposite direction to mine.

Gagnepain (23) fixes rather on the minor aspect of optional alternation seen in *dul* and *techt*, surely rather an accident or symptom⁴.

To the above inherited Celtic verbal noun pairs we may now add

<i>i(e)ntu-</i>	:	<i>-iatu-</i>
<i>nāmant-</i>	:	<i>-nāmat(o)-</i>
<i>carant-, carat(o)-</i>	:	<i>-caro-</i>

Let us concentrate our attention on the last two pairs, and first upon the final pair. We detect underlying this irregular paradigmatic relation an old suppletion; that is, what once may have been a thoroughly irregular suppletion has been replaced by a paradigmatic (hence more rule-governed) suppletion. We have already seen that *-caro-* < **-k(a)rH_a-o-* must be fairly old, and is a morphological parallel to **-b(h)iH_a-o-*; therefore we regard this as the earlier member of the pairing. As a non-finite form **-k(a)rH_a-o-* could earlier have been equally a nominalization (= verbal noun) or a substantivum adjectivum, which latter was then capable of adopting rôles of epithets also shared by participles—and hence eligible for derivation as a constituent of proper names. Thus the equivalence of **-k(a)rH_a-o-* with **-b(h)iH_a-o-* and **-b(h)og-o-* was complete. This equivalence is confirmed by the Gaulish element *-bog-io* (Ellis Evans 152-3) which is syntactically parallel, as a non-initial element, to *-caro-*, and therefore nearly identical with OIr. **-bog-o-*.

We know that the root **kars-* was the encroaching member of this paradigm. We have already seen that **kars-* covers ground that **amə-* once covered. In fact, *nāmant-* shows that *carant- < *karənt-* or **karant-* has replaced **amənt-* or **amant-*. On the other hand, we may regard *nāmant-* from another point of view. We see that the privative prefix **n-* did not count as a true compounding element;⁵ for it is followed in *nāmant-* by the old simplex form **amant-* (replaced, as we have seen, by *carant-*), and not by **-k(a)rH_a-o-*, the old compounding (or “enclitic”) shape. This state of affairs precisely

⁴ It was only after I had completed this article that I realized that Marstrander (*Observations sur les présents i.e. à nasale infixée en celtique*, Christiania 1924) had already seen with his usual lucidity (p. 55) the shorter bulk of compound verbal nouns, (p. 57) the Sanskrit comparison in *-ya-*, (p. 59) the linkage of *-men-* with nasal presents, and the role of *-io-* in compounds. The weakness of Marstrander’s argument lies in restricting all this (esp. p. 68) too closely to nasal presents, and in not perceiving it as a total verbal dichotomy.

⁵ This is of course the Sanskrit rule as well. This correspondence, and certainly ancient rule, faults Calvert Watkins’s argument (*Ériu* xviii 99) claiming that for *ástrta-* : *stirná*, *starota* the anit form was not IE and occurred only as a result of the compounding. The latter argument, which goes back to Johannes Schmidt (1881) and Brugmann, has been countered in detail by Klaus Strunk (*MSS* 17, 1964, 77-108, esp. 91-8) on the basis of the equations *stirán-* = *στρωτός* and *strta* = *γτρωτός*. See further my analysis of *barnu brawd* in *Celtica* xi. A similar result, with a clarification of the phonetics of *σότρωνυμι*, has been reached by Warren Cowgill, *Evidence for Laryngeals* (1965) 154-7; and Johanna Narten, *MSS* 22, 1967, 57-66, has further elaborated on Strunk and Cowgill in opposing H. Wagner *ZCP* 30, 1967, 5f.

matches the Sanskrit, where the *-tvā* gerund occurs also with privative *a-*. Let us now enquire what would happen if a similar construction to *nāmant-* were made with a true preverb: Welsh conveniently provides us with the answer; *esgar* 'foe' < **e(k)s-kar-* show us **eks-k(a)rH_{ao}-*. OIr. *escarae* must be re-formed, which Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* 192 §214 note, fails to notice. Structurally, *esgar* is to be placed beside *Vocara*, *Sucarus*, *Andecarius*. Therefore *nāmant-* (since it is **not** morphologically a true compound) is in fact justified historically as an initial element; but as a second element this semantic feature-bundle should have been represented by a construction on the order of **NEG-k(a)rH_{ao}-*. It would appear then that the old participle *-nāmato-*, which has been analysed above and recognised as a newcomer to the observed pairing, replaces an earlier suppletive shape **NEG-k(a)rH_{ao}-*.

We are led thus to reconstruct for an earlier stage of Celtic or pre-Celtic:

* <i>nām(a)nt-</i>	:	- <i>NEG-k(a)rH_{ao}-</i>
* <i>kar(a)nt-</i>	:	- <i>k(a)rH_{ao}-</i>

and for a still earlier stage:

* <i>nām(a)nt-</i>	:	- <i>NEG-k(a)rH_{ao}-</i>
* <i>am(a)nt-</i>	:	- <i>k(a)rH_{ao}-</i>

In other words, at an earlier period **amə-* would have functioned in such pairs as the suppletive simplex (or initial) member.

Since we have come to suppose above that *-*k(a)rH_{ao}-* also functioned as the compounding shape for the verbal noun, we expect that the base for the simplex verbal noun was once formed, like the participle, from an appropriate vocalic state of the etymon **amə-*. It is impossible to guess just what this noun would have looked like, but one wonders whether something like OIr. *amar* Welsh *afar* (masc.) 'grief, sadness, suffering' was related (with shifted sense?).

In any event, with the demise of **amə-* as an independent finite verbal root in Celtic we must suppose that the verbal noun in the rôle of simplex formed from **amə-* became isolated, and finally was eliminated. In British Celtic **kara-* simply took over: Welsh *caru*, Cornish *care*, Bret. *karout karet*. In Old Irish, however, the suppletion was preserved in the relation

* <i>amə-</i>	:	- <i>karo-</i>
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but with substitution for the first element by the lexically unrelated noun *serc*.

8. *nantu-*, *nanti-*

Earlier scholars, we have seen, have discussed the dropping of *-n-* in these Gaulish formations upon their entering into compounds.

So we find Theodora Bynon (*TPS* 1966, 81) in a discussion of Eng. *þath* referring to K. H. Schmidt as pairing *Namanto-* / *Namatio-* (frequently as second element, though supposedly not entirely), *Caranto-* / *Carato-*, *Iantu-* *Ientu-* / *Ad-iatu-*, *Nanto-* / *Co-nato-*. We have now seen that *nāmant*- was not originally a pairing of the sort depicted; that *carant*- never was (though with a much more interesting and asymmetrical pairing); but that the relation of *Iantu-* etc. appears to stand. I further reject a pairing of *Nanto-* with *Co-nato-*, in which I agree with Ellis Evans 236, footnote 5.

In fact, I believe that Ellis Evans's section (236-7) headed *NANTU-* requires sifting and reorganizing. There is really vanishingly small evidence for a stem *nanto-*, though of course a thematized form could arise at any time. There seems instead to be at least two lexemes represented in the material with the stems *nanti-* and *nantu-*. The latter occurs clearly in local and ethnic names, and must be related to Welsh *nant* Corn. *nans*. The instances of personal names in *nantu-* are problematic, and very likely are all derived from local names. It should however be noted that the earliest Welsh gives evidence for a stem in *-i-* as well as in *-u-*; beside the plural *nanheu* we also find the plural *neint* (*Canu Llywarch Hen* 2.9^a); the modern plural *nentydd* is not significant since it represents merely the spread of this suffix among nouns of geographic features (*auonyd* 'rivers', *keyryd* 'forts', *dinessyd* 'cities', *trewit* = [trevyδ] 'towns', in none of which is this suffix originally justified).

On the other hand, the clearest personal names show *nanti-*. For this it seems to me that Vendryes's suggestion, cited by Ellis Evans footnote 6, is excellent. But Vendryes too failed to isolate and specify the correct stem shape; the OIrish *néit* (masc.) 'battle', as Vendryes correctly notes, and Gaulish *nanti-* both point to **nənti-* (Celtic zero-grade). In the context of the Germanic forms cited by Vendryes (Goth. *ana-nanþjan* 'dare' **nont-*, OHG *gi-nindan* **nent-*, OE *nóþ* 'courage' **nunþ-* < **nyt-*) a relation to *nia* 'champion' and to a root **nei-*, suggested by Vendryes, seems unlikely. Instead, we seem to have a good Germanic-Celtic etymon **nent-* 'be bold, aggressive'.

In contrast with this, we may see in the word for 'valley' a pair of forms **nantu-* and **nanti-*. These look like the remains of an old pair of verbal nouns in *-tu-* and *-ti-* such as those mentioned above. In that case, the etymology crediting this noun to the root **nem-* 'bend' would appear to be sustained. We should once have had the simplex **nemtu-* and the compounding form **-n̥yti-*; later the vocalism was levelled to the zero-grade.

9. *Sego-* and *yal-*

The element *Sego-* is well known in Continental Celtic names; the possible Germanic ambiguities need not disturb our clear recognition of this morphological element. Ellis Evans has assembled (254-7) matters very clearly. On page 255 he makes an important observation: “*Sego-* normally occurs as a first element.” In fact, the slender evidence for *uo-seg-* (*Vosegus*) may be illusory in this context; such forms may rather be related to a different lexeme found in *Vosegus* ~ *Vosagus*, the name of the Vosges. In Irish we find the simplex *seg* (masc.) ‘strength’, while in British we have the Welsh adjective *hy* ‘bold’ and the OBreton nominalization *heith* gl. *sceptrum* **sekt-* (see Fleuriot DGVB 208). We know of course that Skt. *sah-* Gk. $\xi\chi\omega$ was a verbal root.

If we turn our attention now to the synonym *ual(l)-* (Ellis Evans 269-71), related to Lat. *ualeō* Germanic *wald-* etc., we find an arresting counterpart. Here (270), in considering the ambiguities of phonetics and provenience, Ellis Evans makes the perceptive remark: “In compounded names *ual-* is certainly attested only as a second element.” Thus we find *seg-* and *yal-* in perfect suppletion just as we have already noted for OIr. *luige* (older *lugae*) and *-tech* < **-teg-*, or for *serc* < **amə-* and *-karo-*. Here we recover one more idiosyncratic member of this ancient pairing system in the morphology of verbal nouns.

Insular Celtic gives us no non-derived testimony of *yal-*, which must descend from **ulH-*, outside of old name elements (OWelsh *Catgual* etc., OBreton *Clutuual* etc., Irish *Tuathal*), which are well known and studied. Nevertheless, we do find one set of revealing derivatives. OIr. *flaith* Welsh *gwlad gwledig* OBreton *guletic* all point, as is well recognized, to **ulati-* (fem.). This formation must be matched, as Ellis Evans notes (270 fn.1), by the Gaulish forms *Vlatti* *Vlattia*. However, I should regard these as decompounds, especially in view of the gemination. Very revealing in this context are the names *Vlatuēnos* and *Vlatuina*, for they complete the set that we might seek in the light of the foregoing argument. That is, **ulati-* should be an old nominalization arising in compounds, while **ulatu-* would be the corresponding simplex (but with vocalism somehow revised, unless the Gaulish was actually *Vlātu-*). Hence:

* <i>seg(h)-</i>	:	- <i>u(a)lH-</i>
* <i>ulVH-tu</i>	:	- <i>ulH^o-ti-</i> (= <i>ula-ti-</i>)

The original full vocalism of the *-tu-* form would explain the rebuilt syllabic *-H* (or *o*) of the *-ti-* form, whereby the syllabic parallelism of the root was preserved.

10. The stem *i(e)ntu-*

We must now return to **i(e)ntu-* ~ *iatu-*, which we have left with little more than a descriptive account within Gaulish. It was shown at the outset that for Gaulish there was a limited rule whereby certain stems in *-nt-* dropped their *-n-* upon entering into compounds as second member. This behaviour seems to have applied to the stems *ientu-* ~ *iantu-* and *nāmant(o)-*. It has been shown that the alleged parallel behaviour of *carant(o)-* and *nant(o)-* does not hold and that their morphology and syntactic distributions are quite different. In fact, *carant-* does belong to the same larger set of relations, but on totally different grounds. It has also been shown that this *-n-* deletion fits itself into a very ancient paradigm based upon a duality of forms (not necessarily similar in phonetic shape nor derived by the same phonetic rules) that distinguished a simplex from a compound when a finite verb was transformed into a non-finite construction (e.g. nominalization). In the process of inspecting this morphological particularity of Celtic and IE, it has also been possible to see where certain other Gaulish and Celtic idiosyncracies fit, and to relate them to neighbouring IE phenomena (particularly Latin, Phrygian, and Germanic). Finally, we see that the apparent *-n-* deletion of *nāmant-* rests upon the fitting in of fortuitously concordant (or converging) forms which are derived from a different earlier morphological relation, so that they could be exploited in this duality of morphological pairing. It seems likely that the assumption of this new relation by *nāmant-* and *-nāmato-* was aided by the model of *iantu- : -iatu-*.

We conclude from the above reasoning that there earlier existed but one pair with this *-nt- / -t-* relation. Where then did these forms come from? The background of both has been something of a riddle ever since the beginning of etymological efforts; though it must be said in addition that little effort has been expended, throughout all the considerable scholarship which has been lavished, on explicating the relation between the two shapes. It has been claimed by Schmidt (see *GPN* 212) that we have here an infixed nasal. This is highly unlikely on two grounds: Why should we find an infixed nasal in an isolated nominalization, and assigned only to one of the pair? After all, such nasals were typically a mark of present stems. Secondly, if the nasal of *ient-* were infixed, it would be difficult to explain the ablaut relation of *e* to *a*.

It seems clear then to me that the nasal must be a part of the stem, and that (as already claimed in §1 above) we have an old ablauting root, whatever its cognates. The *u*-stem appears to be the clue, together with the ablaut. If we segment **ien-tu-* we have a precise

and appropriate *-tu-* nominalization for a simplex, as discussed above. This would have been once paired for the compounds with a *-ti-* noun in zero-grade

*ieN-tu- : -iaN-ti- < -iN-ti-

A candidate cognate for the root would be Skt. *yam-* *yáchati*. The Old Irish masculine *o*-stem *ét* could be a nominalization of the participle *iN-tó. Then, as has been suggested, *-iatu-* might be derived from the etymon of Skt. *yáta*te and perhaps Gk. ζητέω. If this root were *ieHt- we would arrive immediately in zero-grade at *iHt- = [iət-] > *-iat-*; the vocalism would have developed as in Welsh *iach* Bret. *iac'h*. In Irish however *iHt- would (with syncope) quite regularly give *ītu īiith*, Mod. Ir. *iota* 'thirst' (see *GPN* 212), with the development seen in OIr. (*h*)icc 'healing'.

Thus *-iat-* would have quite fortuitously come to resemble *-iaN-ti- and hence replaced it in the paradigm. If it also originally bore a *-u*-stem, that would have made the conflation that much more probable.

It is of course to be borne in mind that the coins of *Adiatunnus* read *Adietuanus*. Whether this *-e-* is a contamination from *ientu-* or whether it is original and the above theory seriously wrong I leave to other scholars to decide for themselves. But for me some such conflated history of *i(e)ntu-* / *-iatu-* seems unavoidable and perfectly plausible in the framework sketched. The slender evidence that we have from Old Breton (Fleuriot, *Le vieux breton* 398) supports precisely the vocalisms and stem forms assumed above from the Gaulish testimony: *Cat-ho-iant*, *Cat-o-iēn*, *Anau-ho-iat*. I do not agree with Fleuriot that the nasal-less variants here are to be compared with those found elsewhere, e.g. in 3 plural verb forms; the latter are purely orthographic.

II. Conclusion

Gaulish ended up with a rule of limited scope which deleted the *-n-* from certain stems in *-nt(o)-* when they appeared compounded after a prefix. This alternation rested on a very archaic alternation in stems when verbs were nominalized as compounds or simplexes, respectively. But the resulting *-n-* deletion involved forms which did not originally participate in this syntactic relation. The only stem of this sort which lacks a clearly recent background that permitted it to enter into this relation is *i(e)ntu-* / *-iatu-*; even this alternation appears to rest, at bottom, on a chance convergence of two suppletive stems. In fact, from the earliest traceable period suppletion seems to have played an important rôle in the alternation of stems in this paired relationship (see Appendix.)

We have an opportunity, in tracing the history of these forms, to view the successive and repeated replacement of disparate shapes in a persistent functional relation.

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APPENDIX

The debris of a parallel, in considerable detail, to these Celtic pairings is to be observed in Latin nouns formed from verbal roots. The scope of these Latin formations can be quite clearly extracted (with some understandable ambiguities and intrusions) from the earlier Latin verbal noun materials assembled and sifted by Hannah Rosén in her Chicago doctoral dissertation on verbal nominalizations in early Latin. The few remarks that follow are based almost entirely upon inspection of her lists which in turn result from a wide and thorough dépouillement of early literary and non-literary texts carried out by Mrs. Rosén.

One sees that many Latin verbal noun formations rarely occur in compounds: *-men* (*agmen, crīmen, tegimen*) and *-mentum* (especially favoured for derivative verbs), *-ma* (*forma, flamma*), *-or* (*decor, maeror, odor, splendor*), *-num* (*dōnum, regnum*), *-na* (*pugna*; the ending *-:na* in *ruīna, habēna* etc. may reflect a cross of set roots with the outcome of *-snā* seen in *cēna*, to Hitt. *-šar*), *-a* (*cūra, fuga, mora*, yet *praeda*), *-(e)la* (*epulae, tēla, suādēla*). The ending *-ēs* is complicated; beside *fidēs*, *speciēs* we find *-luuiēs*, *perniciēs*, *prōgeniēs* (: *ingenium* and *gens* OIr. *gein*, on which see below). On the other hand, certain formations are heavily favoured by compounds, especially *-ium* which forms almost exclusively nouns from compounds. The very productive *-ia* also shares in some of this rôle, but such nouns are often derived from participles, i.e. adjectives. This is not the place to discuss the complex background of *-tiō(n)* and *-tus*; for the latter we find important simplexes, but also *coetus, aditus, exitus, obitus, transitus* (yet *comitium, exitium, initium, ambitiō*) and *conspectus, aspectus, prospectus*. The Latin ending *-tiō(n)* seems to have a multiple origin not matched in Old Irish, for we find the significant simplexes *actiō, cantiō* (but OIr. *cétal* with *-tlo-*), *censiō, mansiō, mentiō, nātiō, optiō, pōtiō, ratiō, satiō* (yet *insitiō, satus, status, datus*), *unctiō, ūsiō*. The ending *-tum* could well be **-tō-* crossed with *-tu-*. A notable simplex ending in Latin is *-ti-* (*dōs, fartim, gens, mens, mors, sors*), but it will be noted that this occurs basically with roots in

*H or *R, i.e. final sonant. I therefore consider the *-t-* here to be the familiar semantically empty dental which extended IE roots in final syllabic, and the nominalization is therefore in *-i-*; Old Irish may show a revalued match to this in the isolated *gein* (neut. *n*-stem), later *geinemain*, and *dáir* (with lengthening, or normal-grade *á*?). The exact match to the empty *-t-* is to be seen in the archaic *bíth* (→ *béim*) and *críth* (→ *creicc*).

We may then match up these Latin and Celtic formations as follows; paragraph numbers refer to Thurneysen *GOI*, who does not always bring all these characteristics out:

<i>specimen, fragmen</i> = * <i>gar-s-mn</i> (§735)	: <i>auspicium, naufragium</i>
	= <i>gar-io-</i> (§725)
<i>sella, loquēla, (ob)sequella</i>	: <i>obsidium, praesidium,</i>
= W. <i>cael</i> (§737)	: <i>colloquium, stultiloquium,</i>
	<i>obsequium</i>
<i>pudor, sopor</i> (NB. simplex <i>amor</i> = <i>serc</i>)	: <i>repudium, somnium</i> (a decomound, as I, following Meillet, discuss elsewhere)
<i>dōs</i> = Gaul. <i>-tēx</i> :	: <i>sacerdōtium, uestīgium</i> (: fluctuations in stem of <i>-techt</i> § 727)
<i>dōnum</i> ≈ OIr. <i>dán</i> (masc. <i>u</i> -stem), <i>δῶρον</i> = §736.3	
<i>pugna</i> = Celt. * <i>bog-n-</i> * <i>ag-nā</i> (§736.1, 2)	
<i>forma</i> = OIr. <i>sechem</i> (§734; but the compounds may reflect an old *-mi- : -mu- = *-ti- : -tu-)	
<i>mens, fartim</i> } = OIr. <i>toimtiu</i>	: <i>tabart</i> *- <i>ber-t-ā</i> , <i>tomalt</i>
<i>mentiō</i> } *- <i>mṇ-t-i-</i> , <i>brith, mlith</i>	*- <i>mel-t-ā</i> (§727), <i>format</i>
	* <i>m(e)n-t-o-</i> (§728) =
	*- <i>bog-o-</i> (§724.1), Welsh <i>go-br</i>
<i>gradus</i> = OIr. <i>riuth</i> * <i>r(e)t-u i-t-er</i> (replaced by OIr. <i>dul</i> * <i>dolu-, techt</i>)	<i>indred</i> *- <i>r(e)t-o-</i>
	<i>amb-i-tiō</i> ; <i>in-i-t-iūm</i> ;
	<i>ad-i-tus, ob-i-tus</i>
<i>lūdus, iocus</i> = * <i>g(w)od(h)iā</i> (in ablaut)	

A remarkable match is found in the old preterite-presents (which behave as if compounded): *odium, gaudium* (οἶδα) = *digthiu* 'fearing', *lētiu* 'daring', with *-*tiō(n)* which in Old Irish affixes to compounds (§730).

The problematic *agmen* beside *exāmen* seems to reflect syncope; cf. the inserted vowels in *tegimen specimen* etc. These forms in

Latin must be rebuilt because of the attrition of the root-final consonant, especially clustered with s, as in *iūmenta* < *iouxmenta* = OIr. *céimm* W. *cam* Gaul. **cammin-o-* > Fr. *chemin* (**kŋg-s-mŋ*) compound *coniugium*. Such rebuilding processes may however be old if *lenamain* *glenomon* etc. are ultimately related as formations.

Earlier work on Latin seems, surprisingly, to have incompletely perceived this correlation and its automatic syntactic origin. Meillet-Vendryes §575 p. 363 mentions feminine and neuter abstracts (including *odium*, *studium*, *fragium*), which are said to merge with abstracts in *-yā* from adjectives. The formation in *-io-* is then presented, with lists, for the second element of action compounds as opposed to root theme agents; but there is no insistence on the purely compound nature.

Leumann (*Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* 1963 ≡ 1928, 209 §172 II C2b, is more explicit, yet incompletely precise on the syntactic origin: Die Mehrzahl der obigen Verbalableitungen stammt von komponierten Verben . . . Praepos. + Verbum simplex + *ium*. Then he gives us under (c) *artifex* → *artificium* > productive N + V-*ium*, and follows this with examples such as *aedi-ficium*. Under (d) he deals with Simplicia: Vereinzelt finden sich Rückbildungen aus obigen Komposita (*dentibus fricum* Plin. Val., *cremia* 'Brennholz'). But forms from ē-verbs are said to be old: *studium*, *spatium* (*patēre*), *gaudium*, *taedium*, *odium*; on these, however, see my remark above, which I expand elsewhere. Leumann only partly explicates the semantics, and simply does not come to grips with the true origin.

SICK-MAINTENANCE IN INDO-EUROPEAN

IN J. Grothus, *Die Rechtsordnung der Hethiter*, p. 57 (Wiesbaden, 1973), we read the following: 'An der Spitze der die Körperverletzung und ihre Rechtsfolgen regelnden Normen ist §10 zu setzen: Wer einen Menschen verletzt, muss ihm zunächst einen Sklaven stellen, der solange im Haus des Verletzten für diesen arbeitet, bis der Verletzte gesundet ist. Ausserdem hat der Täter die Arztkosten zu tragen und nach der Genesung 6 Sekel Silber als Schmerzensgeld dem Verletzten zu geben.'

What does the Hittite say? KBo VI 2 I 16-19 (A, old ductus):
ták-ku LÚ.ULÙ-an ku-iš-ki ḥu-ú-ni-ik-zi ta-an iš-tar-ni-ik-zi nu
a-pu-u-un ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi pí-e-di-iš-ši-ma LÚ.ULÙ-an pa-a-i
nu É-ri-iš-ši an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi ku-it-ma-a-na-aš la-a-az-zi-ya-at-ta ma-a-
na-aš la-az-zi-at-ta-ma-nu-uš-ši 6 GÍN KÚ.BABBAR pa-a-i LÚ.A.ZU-ya
ku-uš-ša-an a-pa-a-aš-pat pa-a-i. Friedrich's translation reads 'Wenn
jemand einen Menschen verletzt und ihn krank macht, so pflegt er den
betroffenden, an seiner Stelle aber gibt er einen Menschen, und (der)
arbeitet (so lange) in seinem Hause, bis er gesund wird. Wenn er
aber gesund wird, so gibt er ihm 6 Sekel Silber. Auch für den Arzt
gibt eben jener den Lohn.' Goetze's (ANET² 189) differs only
stylistically: 'If anyone batters a man so that he falls ill, he shall
take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead who can look after
his house until he recovers. When he recovers, he shall give him 6
shekels of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee.' Both
translations are correct.

We may note first that G.'s description of the substitute person furnished by the injurer as a 'slave' is wholly gratuitous; the text simply has the generic 'man' (LÚ.ULÙ-an, B an-tu-uh-ša-an) with no indication of status, and the man may perfectly well have been a member of the injurer's kin-group.

But more serious is that G. makes no mention whatsoever of the critical clause *nu apūn šaktāizzi* 'so pflegt er den betreffenden, he shall take care of him.' In so doing he has let slip by unnoticed an extremely archaic legal institution: that of sick-maintenance. I quote from the beginning of D. A. Binchy's pioneering study, 'Sick-maintenance in Irish law,' *Ériu* 12, 1934, 78-134: 'Students of comparative law have long realized that the rules governing compensation for personal injuries offer perhaps the most fruitful field for the work of drawing parallels between ancient legal systems. One of these rules seems to have been a feature of the criminal law of a great many peoples: I refer to the rule that, where one person has suffered physical

injury at the hands of another, the latter is, under certain circumstances, liable, not merely for the ordinary legal mulct, but also for the medical expenses of the injured party. This has received its most widely known formulation in Exodus xxi 18-19... Substantially the same rule may be found in the old Hindu law and in the various Germanic systems...

'Old Irish law preserves for us in this, as in many other respects, the relics of a more primitive system. In the earliest texts we find that the injurer, instead of paying the 'leech-fee', must undertake the duty of nursing his victim back to health and providing him with medical attendance... In the course of time... the more primitive obligation to provide sick-maintenance was commuted for a fixed payment, thereby approximating to the practice of the other systems which I have mentioned. Whether these systems also had begun with an institution akin to *othrus* ['sick-maintenance'], which had been commuted before their rules had been committed to writing, is a question which I may be excused from discussing in the pages of this journal.'

Now in Mesopotamian law we do find the leech-fee system in cases of personal injury: Hammurabi §206 *u* A.ZU *i-ip-pa-al* 'and he shall also pay for the physician' (cf. Driver and Miles, *The Bab. Laws* I 406-8), and cf. Ex. xxi 19. But there is no mention of sick-maintenance. We are entitled therefore to conclude that sick-maintenance in Hittite law is probably not a borrowed institution. And when we observe that the characteristically succinctly stated features of the Hittite institution as a total social system agree in virtually every particular with the far more detailed description of the Archaic Irish institution, then we are entitled to conclude that both represent a common inheritance from Indo-European customary law, and that Binchy's implied conclusion is fully vindicated.

The Hittite system in paragraph §10 involves the following features:

mayhem	<i>hūnikzi</i>
sickness	<i>ištarnikzi</i>
sick-maintenance	<i>šaktāizzi</i>
substitute man during sick-m.	LÚ ULULU
regained health	<i>lazziatta</i>
mulct at end of sick-m.	<i>mān-aš l., 6 G. pāi</i>
plus payment of physician	LÚA.ZU-ya <i>kuššan pāi</i>

Since the type of injury is not specified in §10, it appears likely (with G.) that the mulct of 6 shekels applied in addition to the fixed wergild for a particular injury.

For the Old Irish system we have the plethora of textual material in the two tracts edited and commented by Binchy, *Bretha Crólige*

(*Ériu* 12, 1934, 1-77) and *Bretha Déin Chécht* (*Ériu* 20, 1966, 1-66), as well as those on *othrus* edited in the article cited above. To quote all the relevant passages from these texts is clearly impossible within the scope of the present discussion; but they may be readily found in Binchy's exemplary studies, to which my indebtedness is surely apparent.

The features of the Archaic Irish system may be listed in the same fashion:

mayhem	<i>imserccuin</i>
sickness	<i>freslige/crólige</i>
removal of the invalid	<i>dingbál</i>
sick-maintenance	<i>othrus/folog n-othrusa</i>
substitute man during sick-m.	<i>fer máma mod</i>
forepledge (surety)	<i>aurgell</i>
physician's verdict of regained health at end of sick-maintenance	<i>derosc n-arślaine inna iarisláine</i>
after-judgement (further compensation in addition to fixed wergild)	<i>iarmbrethemnus</i>

The Old Irish system differs from the Hittite in its further specificity of the removal of the invalid for his nursing, whereas the Hittite does not say where the nursing takes place, and in the important and archaic feature of giving a forepledge as surety. The total absence of any mention of suretyship (Bürgschaft) in the Hittite Laws has been noted before (though G. makes no note of this legally important feature), and may be taken as an index of the simple fact that the Hittites in 1500 B.C. had a more highly evolved, urban society with a system of public authority than did the Irish in the seventh century A.D.

Otherwise the two systems agree to such a remarkable extent that we must recognize the primitive institution of sick-maintenance as a feature of Indo-European customary law, marginally preserved intact in Irish and Hittite, and in other cognate Indo-European legal systems commuted, with Binchy, to the later 'leech-fee' alone (OEng. *læcefeoh*, Skt. *samutthāna-vyayam* Manu 8.287).

This conclusion, based on the comparison of institutions, may be corroborated by linguistic comparison.

The Hittite verb *šaktāizzi* 'performs sick-maintenance' has the form of a denominative, though no base noun is attested. Kronasser, *Etym.* 411, 475, takes it as primary, with 'dental enlargement', and suggests connection with *šak-* 'know', comparing Lat. *medēri* and Gk. μῆδομαι. This analysis, already morphologically dubious, must

be rejected on semantic grounds: *šaktāizzi* refers to the process of sick-maintenance, carried out by the one who has committed the injury, whereas the semantic parallel of *medērī* would be appropriate rather to the actions of the attendant physician (LÚAZU), which is a separate notion.

A denominative *šaktāizzi* presupposes a base noun **šakta-*, which looks very like an archaic Indo-European formation of the *vóστος* type (cf. Brugmann, Grdr.² 2.1.408, 420, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AiGr.* 2.2.587). The same formation may underlie the apparent thematic forms of *GIŠŠašt(a)-* 'bed' and *TÚGšašt(a)-* 'Bett-Tuch', cf. Gk. *κοῖτος*.) But an appropriate comparandum for an IE ***sokto-* (various velars are possible) remains to be discovered, and with such a technical legal term as *šaktāizzi* 'performs sick-maintenance', the possible avenues of semantic change which one might conceive of are virtually limitless.

Yet consider the one concrete semantic parallel we have: the Irish word for sick-maintenance. As Binchy has shown (*Ériu* 12.78-9), the older name was *folog* 'maintenance', specified as *folog n-othrusa* 'maintenance of sickness', from which *othrus*, originally 'sickness' alone (with second abstract suffix from *othar* 'sickness') 'by a process familiar both to jurists and philologists' came to be used for 'sick-maintenance' in the legal sense. Similarly the denominative verb *othraid* is built directly on *othar* 'sickness', but has a specific legal meaning identical with that of Hittite *šaktāizzi* in its earliest attestation (v.n. *othrad*, BCró. §10). Strict parallelism with the Old Irish facts, then, would allow us to infer a meaning 'sickness' for the noun **šakta-*, ***sokto-* underlying Hittite *šaktāizzi*. Have we a comparandum?

I suggest that we do, in the Old Irish noun *socht*, which reflects exactly a preform **soktos*. The first meaning given in the RIA Contribb., and that which later predominates, is 'silence'; but in the Old Irish period the basic meaning is clearly something more, specifically 'stupor'. Note especially Ml. 92^a7 *a socht-som* translating *stupor eorum*, whereas Lat. *silentium* is translated in the same glosses as *in tuai* (58^c5), pl. *silentia* as *inna tuai* (112^b3). This 'stupor' is furthermore a pathological state imposed impersonally from outside on one: *ro·lá/dor·at* N. *i socht* ~ *ro·lá/dor·at socht* for N. 'it put N. in a stupor ~ it put a stupor on N.' The pathological context is clear in Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó §3: *ro·lá didiu i socht inni MacDathó co·rrabe trí thráth cen dig cen biad, acht 'co immorchor ón taib co araile.* is and dixit a ben: 'is fota in troscud i·taí' 'It put MacDathó in a stupor, moreover, so that he was three days without drink and food, only turning from one side to the other. His wife said then, "long is the fasting you are in".' Similar descriptions of varieties of 'sickness' abound in Early Irish saga-literature.

I suggest that OIr. *socht* 'stupor' originally denoted a pathological state or variety of 'sickness', and would further derive it specifically from an abstract **sóktos* from the root **sek-*, in the meaning 'dryness'. We have an adjectival *-to-* formation in Ved. *vi-saktā* 'dry (cow)', and the reduplicated adjective in Av. *hišku-* and Irish *sesc*, Welsh *hysb* 'dry', as well as Ir. *samaisc* 'heifer' < 'summer-dry', in the same semantic field as Vedic *víṣaktā*. It is characteristic for the semantics of IE **sek-* that it refers regularly to an either pathological, unnatural or unwelcome alteration of a previous state to one of 'dryness'. Compare Schulze's restoration (*Kl. Schr.* 368) of *'έσκετο* for *'έσχετο* in the repeated Homeric formula for losing one's voice, θαλερή δέ Φοι *έσκετο* φωνή, with the verb a reduplicated **σε-σκ-ετο* like Ved. *á-saścat-*, *a-saścát-* 'undrying'. We have the same collocation of roots in the Ionic medical term *ἰσχνόφωνος*, *ἰσχνοφωνίη* (Hippocr.) 'having a speech impediment'. As such, the abstract **sóktos* 'dryness', whence 'sickness' in general, from this root, which I propose to see in Irish *socht* and Hittite *šaktāizzi*, is an entirely appropriate term for what may well in Indo-European medical doctrine have been considered an elemental pathological state, probably with an antithetical 'wetness', similar to 'heat' and 'cold' (Pindar, Pyth. 3.50 ή θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ή χειμῶνι).

If the first of my conclusions be accepted, then we may reconstruct the Hittite and Archaic Irish legal institution of sick-maintenance as an inherited feature of Indo-European customary law. If the second of my conclusions be accepted, then we have an etymology for Hittite *šaktāizzi*, and at the same time a new reconstructible Indo-European word **sóktos*.

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THE DIPHTHONGS OF OLD IRISH

o.1 Thurneysen (Gramm. §106) saw the apocope and the syncope as the two major phonological events in the pre-history of Irish. It seems justifiable, therefore, to divide that pre-history into periods bounded by those events. We will use the term Primitive Irish for the period immediately preceding the apocope, Archaic for the period between the apocope and the syncope, and Early Old Irish for the period between the syncope and the eighth century, when the Würzburg Glosses offer us a large corpus of the language we call (Classical) Old Irish. Only the final dating is absolute; we may speculate that the syncope took place in the sixth century and the apocope about a century earlier, but we have no certainty here. The justification for using the term 'Archaic' for the period immediately after the apocope is that what we can reconstruct of that form of the language shows it to be in its essentials the same language as Old Irish; not only have many words such as *ben* 'woman', *doíni* 'people', *berith* 'carries' already reached the form we know from Old Irish, but the system of morphophonemic alternations which we call mutations is already established.

o.2 Primitive Irish, as attested in those Ogam inscriptions which preserve final syllables later lost in the apocope, shows only two diphthongs, *AI* and *OI*. These can be identified with the diphthongs *ai* and *oi* of Old Irish, which in some words continue directly the Indo-European and Celtic diphthongs **ai* and **oi*, as in *ais* 'age' and *oín* 'one'. It should be noted here that the standardisation of the spellings *ai* and *oi* is not intended to represent the phonetic structure of the diphthongs, which we may take to have been phonemically /ai/ and /oi/ down into the Old Irish period; it has been evolved only to distinguish these diphthongs from the long vowels *á* and *ó* followed by a palatalised consonant, which are standardised *ái* and *ói*. With that reservation, the diphthong *uí* and the triphthong *auí* may be standardised in the same way. The original phonetic reality is better served by the spellings of the short diphthongs *au*, *eu*, *iu*, *ou* and the long diphthongs *áu*, *éu*, *íu*, *óu*. All these diphthongs, and the triphthong, had separate phonemic status at some point or another in the Archaic period, though only *ai* and *oi* had existed in the early Primitive period. By the end of the Old Irish period, however, there were only six diphthongs, of which two, *ia* and *úa*, were innovations of the Early OIr. period. The object of the following study is to trace the growth of the system of diphthongs in the prehistory of Irish, and its reduction in the Early OIr. and Old Irish period.

PRIMITIVE IRISH

I. Reduction of hiatus

I.1.1 The oldest source of hiatus is the loss of intervocalic **-p-*, which is Common Celtic. The loss of phonemic intervocalic **-y-* is distinctively Irish; for the Primitive Irish period, however, we must still reckon with a non-phonemic glide in the sequence **-iy-* before vowels, in some cases deriving from earlier **y*, as in **aliyah*, later **aleyah* 'second', cf. W. *eil* from **alyos*. On the other hand there are no grounds for believing in the survival of any reflex of intervocalic **-s-* by the end of the Primitive Irish period, except in cases where juncture was still perceived, such as are reflected by forms like *rīched* (**Ri:ya-heð*). In other words, the pattern was very like that of British, where Jackson (1953: 313) would place the loss of non-junctural intervocalic *-s-* in the second half of the first century AD. His important observation that this loss had taken place before the levelling of the IE *u*-diphthongs applies equally to Irish, as was noted by Thurneysen, *Gramm.* §69, in respect of **au*. That is to say, before **au*, **eu* and **ou* fell together as **ou*, which gave Late Primitive Irish **ō* (*Gramm.* §60), **-auso-*, **-euso-* and **-ouso-* had already become **-awo-*, **-ewo-* and **-owo-*. Reflexes of all three can be seen in OIr. *tauē* 'silence' (W. *taw*), *reiid* 'freezing' (W. *rheu*) and *gáu* (for Archaic **góu*), 'falsehood' (W. *geu*). On the other hand, these forms offer unquestionable evidence for the continuation of intervocalic **-w-*, which, in fact, survived right up to the syncope.

I.1.2 Whether OIr. *-tāu* 'I am' and *-tāi* 'thou art' derive from **stāyō*, **stāyī* or from **stāō*, **stāī* is irrelevant, in view of the loss of *-y-*. The proximate forms are **tāu*, **tāi* and, since all vowels in absolute final position fall at the apocope, it is clear that the diphthongisation took place in the Primitive Irish period. This suggests a simple rule that final *-i* and *-u* lost their syllabicity when preceded by a stressed vowel and combined with that vowel to form a falling diphthong. It is clear that *béu*, 1 sg. pres. subj. of the substantive verb, from **besu* through **beu*, is an exact parallel. We have no way of knowing whether there was originally any distinction of length between Pr. Ir. **tau* and **beu*; by the time our written evidence begins, all final stressed vowels are long, whatever their origin (*Gramm.* §44 (b)), and the same rule applies to diphthongs.

I.1.3 There are no good reasons for believing that such a development could take place with any other final vowel, or with final *i* and *u* when followed by a consonant. Thurneysen, *Gramm.* §319. 2(c), offers no phonetic justification for his view that *éo* 'salmon' can be

explained from **esoks*; it is in fact the variant *é* which is the regular outcome of Pr. Ir. **eäh* from Celt. **esoks*. He rejects the possibility of the alternation *-ok-*, *-ūk-*, but this was expressly supported by Bergin (1932: 141) in his discussion of the names *Echu*, *Fiachu*, *Cúanu*; if applied to **esoks* we expect OIr **eii*, which remains a possibility in spite of the uncertainty of the examples adduced by Pokorny 1936: 484.

1.1.4 It will be assumed here that *-biu*, 1 sg. conj. pres. habit. of the substantive verb, is to be explained as the *u*-infection of **biyu*, see 1.3.1 below. Boling (1972: 100) points out that such an explanation will not do for *-gniu* 'I make, do', since long vowels are not subject to *u*-infection. However, the abs. counterpart of *-biu*, which is *biuu*, shows the regenerative power of the Old Irish verbal system, since it is clearly formed by adding *-u* to the historically justified conjunct form. We will take it, therefore, that Pr. Ir. **gni:yu* did indeed give Early Archaic **gni*, which was then reshaped as *-gniu*.

1.1.5 As noted above, the *u*-diphthongs first merged as **ou* and had become **ō* by the end of the Pr. Ir. period, thus filling the hole in the vowel system which had existed since the Common Celtic period. This is the OIr *ó* which diphthongises to *úa* in the Early OIr. period, and where necessary we will write it as *ó¹* to distinguish it from the non-diphthongising *ó²*, which developed from the Archaic diphthong *óu*. Thus the only diphthongs in internal position were *ai* and *oi*, and there is reason to believe that sequences of *a-i* and *o-i* were reduced to the corresponding diphthongs during the Primitive Irish period. A probable case is *saer* 'artificer', if we accept the usual etymology from **sapro-* (VKG i 92); whether *caera* 'sheep' also belongs here is less certain. There is no cogent reason why we should not place here the conjunct forms of OIr. *fo-eim* 'accepts' and *fo-sissedar* 'confesses', where the reduction cannot be later than the Archaic period, see 2.2.1.

2. *The u*-infection of *a*

1.2.1 As has been shown elsewhere (Greene 1962), the phenomena in Old Irish which Thurneysen described in terms of a third consonant colouring ('*u*-quality') are more satisfactorily and economically explained by assuming an infection of vocalic nuclei from a *u*-sound in a following syllable. The process seems to have begun in the case of short *a* in Primitive Irish, which became *au* when separated from a following *u* by a single consonant. Thus Pr. Ir. **karuθah*, gen. sg. of the word meaning 'warrior', had become **kauruθah* before the metapheny of unstressed syllables, which then gave **kauroθah*, Arch.

*cauroth, OIr. *caurad*; the same process accounts for the name OIr. *Caulann*, Ogam *CALUNO-*. Thurneysen confuses the picture by discussing this Primitive Irish development in a paragraph (*Gramm.* §80) which begins with a discussion of phonetic developments belonging properly to the Old Irish period. One of these, that of the shift *craunn* to *crunn*, is an example of the simplification of the short diphthong *au* rather than of its development. Another, that of the raising of stressed *a* to *o* before a palatalised consonant, as in *moirb* for earlier *mairb*, is an example of a tendency which is of great importance in the historical development of Irish (2.4.1), but has nothing to do with the rise of *au*, no matter what explanation of the latter is offered.

1.2.2 This diphthongisation is to be linked with the allophonic shift of stressed *-awV-* to *-auwV-*. The evidence for this is that all cases of **awV-* appear as *au-* in hiatus in Old Irish: *auē* 'descendant', *auēn* 'foam'; the *u* here is part of the representation of a short diphthong in hiatus, as is shown by the Scottish Gaelic equivalents *ogha* and *othan*, where the spirants are orthographical indications of hiatus. It must be noted, however, that not all cases of the spelling *au* in Old Irish are historically justified. Since *au* was already being simplified to *u* in such cases as *bullu* beside *baullu*, the possibility of hypercorrection, or what Thurneysen, *Handbuch* p. 122, called 'umgekehrte Schreibungen' arose. One of his examples was *naue* 'new', Sg 5^b6, for the historically justified *nuē*, *nuē*, Pr. Ir. **nuweyah*; regrettably, he had changed his mind by the time he came to write the *Grammar*, where he attempts to justify *náue* as the standard form, §72. Since there do not appear to be any exceptions to the general rule that vowel length is neutralised in hiatus, to which the Scottish Gaelic forms bring confirming evidence, we should standardise the spelling of *auē* and similar forms with the short diphthong. It is regrettable that Michael O'Brien should have chosen the standardisation *Hūi* as the plural of this word in *CGH*: while the unhistoric *H-* can be justified as representing the usual compendium *h.*, the *u* was never long, for disyllabic *uī* gave way to monosyllabic *ui*.

3. The *u*-infection of penultimate syllables

1.3.1 As is well known, front vowels lost at the apocope exercised a stronger palatalising influence than those retained; for details of the process see Greene 1973: 132. Similarly, final syllables of the structure *-u*, *-uh*, or *-un*, all of which were lost at the apocope, caused *u*-infection of preceding short vowels, while *-ūh*, which was retained, did not: dat. sg. *fiur*, but acc. pl. *fīru*. The outcome was the short

diphthongs *au*, *eu*, *iu*, *ou*. There are, however, many exceptions, see *Gramm.* §176. The most notable is that the short diphthong *ou* is attested only once, in *i routh*, in the *prima manus* of Würzburg (11^o3). As the long diphthong *óu* is also attested only from archaic sources, the obvious explanation is that *ou* had everywhere been simplified to *u* before the Old Irish period, and this holds good in many cases; for example, the vocalism of *bun* 'bottom', W. *bon*, points clearly to an older **boun*, just as dat. sg. *fus* is explicable as older **fous*. But there has been a great deal of declensional levelling; thus, there are no examples of dat. sg. **ruth* which might be expected from *routh*, but only *roth*, identical with the nom. sg. Against that, there is a certain tendency to maintain the diphthong in the dat. sg.; thus *fiss* and *fiuss* are alternative forms in the nom. sg., while *fiuss* is regular in the dat. sg. and lies behind the form *duus* 'to find out'. On the whole, the diphthongisation is much better maintained in Old Irish in unstressed syllables, as shown by *mess* 'judgment', as opposed to *tomus* 'measure'. We must assume that the Early Archaic form of the latter word was **tomeus*, for a dat. sg. such as *cenéul* shows compensatory lengthening of *eu* rather than of *u*. This does not imply palatalisation of the intervocalic *-m-*, which had resisted palatalisation in this environment; by the Old Irish period all the short diphthongs in unstressed syllables had been reduced to *u*, and a spelling such as that of OIr. *bindius* indicates only *u* preceded by a slender consonant.

1.3.2 It will be assumed that the *y*-glide after *i* (1.1.1) functioned as a syllable boundary and that *u*-infection took place before it. In that case OIr. *-biu* (1.1.4) was Pr. Ir. **biuyu*, and the dat. sg. of the adj. **kleyah* 'left' was **kliuyu* (OIr. *cliu*) following exactly the same pattern as dat. sg. **wiuru* (OIr. *fiur*) to **werah* (OIr. *fer*) 'man'.

1.4.1 We see, then, that the only long diphthongs added to inherited *ai* and *oi* before the apocope were *áu* and *éu*, and these only in final position in stressed monosyllables. In stressed position short *au* was already phonemic in some environments, but normally existed as a conditioned allophone of *a*. In some penultimates the short diphthongs *eu*, *iu* and *ou* occurred, but only as allophones conditioned by a following *u*. It was the apocope which began the growth of the rich system of diphthongs which must be assumed for Archaic Irish.

ARCHAIC IRISH

2.0 The rule for the apocope is well-known: all final syllables ending in a vowel, or in a short vowel plus *h* or *n* were lost, while all long

vowels in retained final syllables were shortened. Since all long vowels in non-initial and non-final syllables had already been shortened, long vowels now occurred only in stressed syllables.

1. Reflexes of new final consonants

2.1.1 Since *-y-* was nothing more than a glide separating *-i-* from a following vowel, it fell with the final syllables. Just as **al'eyah* became *aile*, so **biuyu* and **kliuyu* became **biu* and **kliu* and, with the regular lengthening, OIr. *-bíu*, *clíu*.

2.1.2 The case of final *-w* has been satisfactorily elucidated by Cowgill (1967), who made the important discovery that, although it did not undergo palatalisation in internal position in Primitive Irish, it joined the other consonants in the palatalisation caused by front vowels in final syllables lost at the apocope, and in such cases was later realised as *y*. This process is, of course, well attested from the later history of Irish, where slender lenited *bh* is realised in certain dialects and environments as *y*, cf. Munster *gaibhne* [gəin'ə] 'smiths'. Thus *boí* 'was', from **bow'e*, and *noí* *N* 'nine', from **now'en*, join the existing *oi* diphthong, while a new diphthong emerged in *druí* 'druid' from **druw'ih*. Neutral *-w*, in words such as **bew* 'live', dat. sg. masc. **biuw*, gave rise to the diphthongs seen in OIr. *béo* and *bíu*. Pr. Ir. **gowa* 'falsehood' gives regularly nom. sg. **góu*, OIr. *gáu*, gen. sg. **goë*, OIr. *guë*, and dat. sg. *goi*. On the other hand, **náwa* 'ship' gives nom. sg. *náu*, gen. sg. *nauë*, and dat. sg. **nauí*, discussed below. To *bó* 'cow', we have gen. *bóu* and nom. pl. **boí*, latter attested as *báí*. Thus, to the handful of cases of stressed final diphthongs inherited from Primitive Irish are added dozens of examples of *oi*, *ui*, *áu*, *éu*, *íu* and *óu* (there are no certain cases of *ai*). It should be noted, however, that these diphthongs arise only in stressed position; for example *tiugbae*, gl. *superstite*, Ml 23⁴14, which is a compound of *béo*, shows no trace of the final *-w*.

2.1.3 The existence of the triphthong *auí* was first recognised by Marstrander, who made the solitary example of the name *Dauí* (otherwise *Dai*, *Doí*, *Dáu*) the headword in his RIA *Dictionary* article, comparing its declension with that of *ai* 'poetic art', gen. *uath* (for **auëth*, cf. gen. *Dauäch*). Thurneysen follows the view that the older form of *ai* was **auí*; it is not clear why Watkins thinks that 'the archaic Old Irish triphthong in this word was probably disyllabic at a still earlier stage' (1963: 215 n.5). The related Welsh words *awel* and *awen* suggest a short vowel in the second syllable; **auw'eh* from **awets* would regularly give a triphthong *auí*.

2.1.4 Special problems are presented by verbs which synchronically in Old Irish belong to Thurneysen's A III ((hiatus) class, but which originally had *-w-*; in no category has greater levelling taken place. We can, however, learn something from *con-oi* 'keeps', where the Pr. Ir. stem was **auw-*. Since this is an *i*-verb, we would expect the conj. 3 sg. pres. indic. to have the ending *-i*, like *-léici*, giving **-auī*, identical in form with the gen. sg. of *auē* 'descendant'. Whether this is in fact concealed behind the unusual spelling *cota óeiaide*, Wb 29^a29, must remain uncertain; stronger evidence is, however, offered by the prototonic *-comai*. This must in fact represent the syncopation of [kōvauwi], for prototonic *-robae* shows that [kōvaw'] would give *-e* rather than *-i*. On the other hand we expect the triphthong *auí* in the imper. 2 sg. and the conj. 2 sg. pret., cf. *-léic*; *con-oi* does not offer these forms but we may take it that imper. 2 sg. *toi* 'turn' and pret. 3 sg. *-cloi* 'overthrew' reflect Archaic *-auí*, later *-oi*, which penetrated into the pres. 3 sg. by the Old Irish period. Conversely, the conj. pret. unstressed form should have been *-(a)e*, as in *-ruchomlāe*, MI 17^b2, but the vocalism of the conj. pres. often appears, as in *-asrochumlai*, Sg 7^b19.

2.1.5 In the above discussion, it is assumed that all the spellings involved, including *auí*, are representations of independent phonemes. It will be seen that the short and long diphthongs are in complementary distribution, since the short varieties can appear only in stressed pre-consonantal position, and the long varieties only in absolute final stressed position. The triphthong *auí* has no short counterpart.

2. Reduction of hiatus

2.2.1 As noted above (1.1.5), the diphthong in prototonic *-foem-* and *-foes-* cannot be later than this period, and may well be earlier; that is to say, stressed *a* and *o* followed immediately by *e* or *i* give the diphthongs *ai* and *oi*. The number of such cases is limited, for intervocalic *-w-* is still maintained in this period; another probable example is *róiba*, Wb 31^b9, which Thurneysen (Gramm. §765) would take as *roiba*, from *ro-* in the meaning 'too much'. Murphy (1961: 42-3) is quite wrong in suggesting that 'reduction seems to have taken place earlier where the vowel-group is final and ends in *i*' than in other cases. His illustration of *sui* 'sage', nom. pl. *suid* is irrelevant; these forms had been respectively disyllabic and trisyllabic in Primitive Irish, and had each lost a final syllable at the apocope. His other examples, of dat. sg. *roi* 'battlefield', but gen. sg. *roē*, offer forms identical to those assumed for **góu* 'falsehood', 2.1.2. While this *roi* was monosyllabic from the beginning of the Archaic period, it is

possible that the gen. sg. seen in the name *Cú Roí* was originally disyllabic **Rauī* (O'Rahilly 1946: 454). But we know that the gen. sg. of *anē* 'descendant' remained disyllabic *auī* right into the Old Irish period; if **Rauī* was the Archaic form it would have survived in precisely the same way. On the other hand, the generalisation of monosyllabic forms with a diphthong in the conj. 3 sg. of A III verbs such as *con-ot* (2.1.4) is not purely phonetic, since it represents the spread of forms properly belonging to the imperative and preterite.

2.2.2 We should look to the imperative for the explanation of the irregular prototonic forms of *do-tét* 'comes'. As comparison with pres. ind. 2 pl. *for-téit* shows, the original imper. 2 pl. of *do-tét* must have been **totheit*. Apparently the suppletive imper. 2 sg. *tair* both changed the first vowel to *a* and brought about an irregular reduction of *-athe-* to *-ái-*. (Abnormal reductions are a feature of the imperative; *tair* itself has lost the final syllable representing the stem which should have remained after the apocope, and so have some other imperatives, see *Gramm.* §588). This reduction then spread to the **tothet* of the conj. pres. 3 sg. and imper. 3 sg, giving *táit* with final neutral [d] against the final [d'] of the imper. 2 pl. (Bergin 1938: 228) and hence to all the other prototonic forms, where *-tái-* everywhere replaces **-tohe-*, even in the pres. subj. 3 sg. *-tái* corresponding to *do-té*. This seems to be the only occurrence of the diphthong *ái* as the morphological equivalent of the sequence *a* plus spirant plus short front vowel; at the syncope *o* in similar environment gives *oi* in verbal forms (3.1.2). But there seems to be an earlier example of this *oi*, in the phrase *oid menmain*, gl. *ecce*, MI 24^c13; *óid menmain*, gl. *intuere*, 101^b5; *oid menmain* (*menman*, v. ll.) *féil Teclae* 'give heed to Tecla's feast', *Fél.* June 1. These examples, taken together with *ind huan menman hisin*, gl. *animadversio*, MI 28^a12, show clearly the existence of an equivalent to—or calque on—Lat. *animum advertere*, with *oidid* 'lends' and *menmae* 'mind', and the *Contributions* take *oid* to be 2 sg. imper., in which case the *óid* quoted above is a scribal error. It seems preferable to take it as standing for **oid*, the morphological equivalent of 2 pl. imper. *oidid*, and thus account for Mid. Ir. *oid* 'heed, attention'. With the loss of the verb *oidid* 'lends', the phrase *oid menmain* became *oid menman* (note the variants from the *Féilire*) and absorbed *úan menman*; finally the second element was dropped, just like the second element in *riachtanas a less* 'need, necessity', later *riachtnas*.

3. Coalescence of preverbs

2.3.1 Up to this point, the only reductions of hiatus which we have considered were those resulting in *ái* and *oi*. To these we must add

some reductions of combinations of preverbal elements. Dillon (1971) showed that some of these, notably those of **di-uss-*, took place before the syncope, so that the diphthong in *-diuprat* 'they defraud' and *-diuschi* 'he wakens' existed in the Archaic period. Similar considerations show that **are/i-wo-* became **auru-*, just as **to-wo-* became **tó¹-* (cf. *túaichle* 'slyness') and **di-wo* became **dú-* (cf. *-dúthraccair*).

4. Compensatory lengthening

2.4.1 The apocope left Irish with a large number of new final consonant clusters; those which concern us here are those consisting of a spirant plus a short resonant. When the spirant was a labial, the cluster was retained in the Archaic period; the epenthetic vowel seen in *domon* 'world', *gabul* 'fork' and *gabor* 'goat' first arose after the syncope. The final cluster *-thr* behaves in the same way, but in all other final clusters of the type spirant plus resonant, the spirant disappeared during the Archaic period, and a preceding short vowel was lengthened to a long vowel or a diphthong, thus restoring to the language the possibility of long vowels in unstressed syllables. It is hard to think of any phonetic reason why *-thr* should structure like the clusters of labial plus resonant; the explanation may lie in the paradigmatic alternations between **-tr-* and **-ter* in the nouns of relationship (Cowgill 1969: 33).

2.4.2 With the exception of *dér* 'tear' from **dachr*, and some less certain examples of *-achl* and *-achn*, these clusters preceded by short *a* and *o* gave long *á* and *ó* respectively, the *ó* being *ó¹*, as shown by OIr. *-cíalae* 'he heard', *húan* 'lending', earlier *ón*. There are no examples of *u*-infection of long *á*, in such *o*-stems as *ár* 'destruction': this is in line with the lack of *u*-infection in *o*-stems belonging to the other type of cluster such as *gabor* 'goat' and *arathar* 'plough', and we conclude that *a* before any such cluster resisted *u*-infection. But the outcome of short *e* and *i* before the clusters which cause lengthening is not only *é* and *í*, but also *éu* and *iu*; we will where necessary write the *é* as *é²*, to distinguish it from *é¹*, which diphthongises in certain environments in the Early OIr. period. There is no great difficulty in accounting for some of the examples of *éu* and *iu*, as in the dat. sg. of *o*-stems, such as *éun* to *én* 'bird' and *níul* to *nél* 'cloud'; the short diphthongs *eu* and *iu* are found before other clusters, as in *deurb*, *fiurt*, and we can assume that they were lengthened before the lost spirant in exactly the same way as **ethn* became *én*. But the diphthongs also appear before slender consonants, as in the gen. sg. forms *éuin*, *níuil*. Here we must assume that the vowel arising from

the vocalisation of the spirant was rounded before the slender consonant, by a process similar to that which gave OIr. *cruinn* for earlier *crainn* (1.2.1), and then combined with preceding *e* or *i* to give the diphthongs *éu* or *iu*. As the cases with later epenthetic vowels, such as gen. sg. *gabair*, *arathair*, *demuin*, show us, only the final consonant was palatalised in these clusters, so that the spirant had originally neutral quality, and the vowel deriving from it might be expected to be of the *a*-type.

2.4.3 The simplification of consonant clusters described above belonged originally to final syllables only, arising directly from the appearance at the apocope of final clusters unacceptable to the phonological system. There are no grounds for believing that such clusters were unacceptable in intervocalic position, where they are often maintained when paradigmatically supported, as in *tochrae*, verbal noun to *do-cren*, or *cechlaid*, pret. 3 sg. to *claidid*; it is highly improbable that these are new formations replacing **tórae* and **célaid*. The spread of the new long vowels and diphthongs to positions other than final is therefore secondary, and we can distinguish two stages. The first is of long vowels only; the diphthongs *éu* and *iu* were generated only where the short diphthongs *eu* or *iu* previously existed, or before a slender consonant, and the conditions for these existed only in final syllables, for it was only in such syllables that *u*-infection of *e* and *i* had taken place, and that the second element of the cluster was capable of palatalisation (cf. gen. sg. *gabálae* against dat. sg. *gabáil*). Thus, compounds of *-gni* show us two treatments, one retaining the original cluster, as in *-fognai*, and another where **degní* has everywhere given *-dénai*. There is a third possibility, where the diphthong is extended to certain stressed non-final syllables. Verbs which show the diphthong in any final syllable extend it to all stressed syllables, thus setting up the pattern seen in *do-sceúlai*, but *toiscélad*, where the diphthong would have been historically justified only in the 2 sg. imper. and 3 sg. pret. forms **toiscéuil*. (It may be remarked in passing, though it is not relevant here, that this distribution of *-éu-* in stressed and final syllables, but *-é-* elsewhere, when applied to *do-gní* in the Middle Irish period gave regularly fut. 1 sg. *-digeón* beside 3 sg. *-digéna*, thus opening the way for the development of the *-eó-* future in the later language). This pattern is especially productive in verbs showing a reduplication which produces one of the clusters under consideration; whenever a form exists with a palatalised consonant in a final syllable which produces the diphthong, that diphthong appears as the equivalent of reduplication throughout the rest of the paradigm. Thus the future stem of *ara-chrin* takes its vocalism from that of the 3 sg. pret. *-cínir* rather from that of

the 1 sg. pret. which we can reconstruct as **-cér*, like that of *crenaid*; not only does the diphthong appear before neutral consonants, as in 3 pl. *ara-chíurat*, but it is carried over into unstressed position as in conj. 3 sg. *-airchiuri*. This is a clear case of a morphological equivalent to reduplication, comparable to that giving *oi* at the time of the syncope (3.1.2).

2.4.4 The incidence of diphthongisation in nouns is almost entirely restricted to *o*-stems—another indication that it is morphologically conditioned. Thurneysen's hesitation (1936: 212) in reconstructing *téol* 'theft' as **tethlu-* was no doubt due to the fact that there is no certain example of a *u*-stem with the diphthong in the nom. sg.; on the other hand the *o*-stems *céol* and *séol* have an apparently unjustified diphthong, and it is at least possible that they are originally *u*-stems. In the *o*-stems the spread of the diphthongisation to the acc. pl. must be analogical, and based on the existing pattern of dat. sg. *baull*, acc. pl. *baullu*; the extension of the pattern to other short vowels, as in *echu* for earlier *echu*, does not occur until the Middle Irish period.

EARLY OLD IRISH

1. Syncope of vowels in post-tonic syllables

3.1.1 At the syncope, short vowels in post-tonic syllables were elided. Before this had taken place, however, front short vowels in this position had fallen together as an *i* which palatalised the preceding consonant, cf. *toimseo*, gen. sg. to nom. *tomus* 'measure'; *u* also behaved in this way when followed by a slender consonant: gen. sg. *Luigdech* to nom. *Lugaid*. For our purposes it is important to note that *w* was liable to palatalisation to *w'* in this environment, precisely as it had been at the apocope (2.1.2). The resulting *y* combines with a preceding front vowel to give a long vowel, as is *dédenach*, *dídenach* from *deäd*, *diäd* 'end', cf. W. *diwedd*; it therefore structures precisely like the glide *y* which Thurneysen (*Gramm.* §158) postulated to explain such forms as *-dimea*, *-dillem*. After back vowels, the diphthongs *oi* and *ui* are formed, as in *oitiu* 'youth', (*aire*) *tuise*, where the second word is gen. sg. of *tuus* 'beginning', cf. W. *tywys*. In all such cases the following consonant is palatalised, in accordance with the general rule that consonant clusters arising from syncope take their colouring from that of the first consonant.

3.1.2 It is at this point that the emergence of *oi* as the morphological equivalent of reduplication must be placed. The term is taken from Watkins (1966: 116-7) who points out that the attested *-roigu*

'he has chosen' cannot be derived by any 'phonological handwaving' from his postulated **rogugu*. This is, of course, an extreme example, but it is equally true that *-roichan* 'I have sung' cannot be derived from pre-syncope **-rochechan* by the normal rules of syncope and sandhi, which could only give **-roiccen*. Indeed, Thurneysen, *Gramm.* §179, had already suggested the morphological status of this development by noting that it is 'particularly frequent in verbal forms'. His conditions for its occurrence, however, omit one important ingredient; not only does it apply to successive unstressed syllables beginning with the same consonant, which is lenited at least the first time, but the vowel of the stressed syllable must be *o* and that of the first unstressed syllable *e* or *i*. It is thus linked to the reduction of the sequence *o-i* to *oi* which, as we have seen (1.1.5) may be as old as the Primitive Irish period, and it is a massive extension of the process seen in *oid* from *oidid* (2.2.2). More precisely, seeing that it is restricted largely to the verbs, it is based on contrasts such as *fo-siss-*: *foes-* which provided the pattern on which *ro cechan*: *roichan* was based. Far from being an exception to the general rule that this reduction mainly appears as an equivalent to reduplication in verbal forms, the verbal noun *foesam* is the sole case among the examples quoted by Thurneysen where the development is strictly phonetic. But it is only in a few cases that this pattern spreads outside verbal forms, and there is nothing to be said for Cowgill's suggestion (1969: 33) that the strictly phonetic development of Pr. Ir. **wodeddiu* would have been **fóetiu* rather than the attested *fodaitiu* 'enduring'. In fact, it would have been **foitiu* and the unsyncopated form has simply been maintained under the influence of *fo-daim*.

3.1.3 Neutral *w* as the first element of a post-syncope cluster gives the diphthongs *áu*, *éu*, *iu*, *óu*. Of these pre-consonantal diphthongs, *áu* and *óu* have both become *ó²* in our earliest sources, though the spelling *nauna* may preserve an archaic form (Pokorny 1921: 37), and the loanwords *Paul*, *aur*, later *Pól*, *ór*, no doubt had been assimilated to the native phonology. The diphthong *éu* is found in the gen. pl. *féulae* to **feöil* 'flesh' (Binchy 1966: 3), and in compounds such as *déolaid* (**dewol-*) 'gratuitous' and *Éogan*; in the latter case it will be seen that the composition form has now assumed the same shape as the simplex *éo* 'yew-tree' had already reached in the Early Archaic stage. This was stated by Bergin (1932: 142) who, however, took the view that this was a junctural treatment and that in non-junctural internal position **-ewa-* synclpated to *-e-* as though *-w-* here had been lost before the syncope, his example being *bethu* 'life', cf. W. *bywyd*. This would, of course, involve the rejection of the etymology of *féulae* offered above; it also raises the

question of why *-w-* should be lost in this environment when it clearly survived elsewhere up to the syncope. As Cowgill (1967: 131 n.7) has suggested, the superficially attractive comparison of *bethu* and *bywyd* may be misleading, and there are some considerations which support this. The cognate of W. *bwyd* 'food' is not OIr. *biäd*, but rather the stem seen in *bíathaid* 'feeds', both readily explicable from Celt. **bēt-*, with no *-w-* element. Nor is there any proof that *biäd* 'food' had *-w-*, and its plural *biada*, attested only once in the Glosses at Wb. 6^c7, is hard to interpret; should we take it as *biäda*, where the hiatus is irregular, or *bíada*, with the diphthong of *bíath-*? In spite of *Contribb. B*, it seems likely that *bethaigid* 'feeds' derives from *biäd* 'food' rather than from *bethu* 'life', but the connection between the two latter words is very close. No solution is offered here, but the evidence is not so convincing that we should refuse to accept that *féulæ* represents the regular internal treatment of **-ewa-*, which was thus identical with that seen in *déolaid* and *Éogan*. As the latter word shows, most cases of older **-iwa-* are treated as **-ewa-*, so that examples of *-iu-* arising from syncope are rare; *diunach*, verbal noun of *do-fonaig*, may be one but the possibility that it represents an old contraction of **di-uss* (2.3.1) must also be considered.

2. Composition forms

3.2.1 Some of the variations in composition forms go back to Common Celtic. Thus *bóchail* 'cowherd', later *búachail*, with *ó¹*, continues, as does W. *bugail*, the composition form **bou-*, while *bó-* in most other compounds, with *ó²*, continues, like *beudy* in Welsh, a late composition **bowo-* which gave **bóu-* at the syncope and became identical in form with the simplex only in the Old Irish period. The discussion of the developments of Celt. **gaisos* 'spear' by O'Rahilly (1946: 460-1) raises some interesting points. As we have seen that intervocalic *-s-* had vanished in the Primitive period (1.1.1), the Pr. Ir. form was **gaiyah*, which will account for OIr. *gai*, invariable in the singular since the stressed syllable was liable to neither palatalisation nor *u*-infection. The old compound *gaisced* shows that the *y*-glide fell before the syncope and that the long diphthong was reduced to *-a-* in hiatus; we can assume that the Archaic disyllabic forms of the paradigm were acc. pl. *gaii* (cf. *gaau*, *Thes.* ii 48.7) and dat. pl. *gaäib*. But O'Rahilly's suggestion that the Archaic composition form could have had a phonetic variant *gá-* is untenable, for nowhere else do short vowels in hiatus produce a long vowel when the hiatus is reduced. If the evidence for *gá-* is accepted, the form must be analogical, based on cases like that of *gú-* where the composition vowel represents the lengthening of the hiatus vowel of gen. sg. *guë*, etc. (4.2.1).

3. Loss of intervocalic *-w-*

3.3.1 Since there is no trace of intervocalic *-w-* in our written sources, and since the syncope is the latest point at which we can detect reflexes of it, we may take it for granted that disyllables with intervocalic *-w-* joined the hiatus class soon after the syncope. It is important to note that there is only one possible case of the diphthong *oi* arising from the new hiatus *o-e* (*o-i*) although this had been the rule in the earlier language; thus Arch. **toér* 'cultivating, manuring' continues into Old Irish as disyllabic *tuär*, while Scottish Gaelic preserves the older vocalism in *todhar*. The possible exception is the pair *sóer* 'freeman' and *dóer* 'unfree man', which may, as Binchy (1960: 85) suggests, derive from **wer* 'man'; this is accepted by Watkins (1963: 236), who quotes an example of disyllabic *soér* from archaic verse. Binchy suggests the possible influence of *suí*; even more likely is the influence of the abstract *sáirse* 'workmanship' from *saer* 'artificer' (1.1.5) which may have helped to form *sóer* from the abstract *soire* 'freedom'.

4. The shift to rising diphthongs

3.4.1 We have now established a rich system of diphthongs for Early Old Irish. The short diphthongs *au*, *eu*, *iu*, *ou* occur in pre-consonantal position in stressed syllables, including *au* before *w*. The long diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, *ui*, *áu*, *éu*, *iu*, *óu*, together with the triphthong *auí*, are found in absolute final position in stressed syllables, all the long diphthongs occur in preconsonantal position in stressed syllables, and *éu* and *iu* are also found in final unstressed syllables. Reflexes of all these can be found in our earliest written sources, though *ou* and *óu* are very scantily attested. But Classical Old Irish offers a very different picture. Not only are *ou* and *óu* unattested, but *au* is already in alternation with *u*, as in *bull*, *crunn* for *baull*, *craunn*; *eu* and *iu*, on the other hand, are well maintained. Even the *prima manus* of Würzburg has *ai* for *oi* in *maidem* 'boasting', 17^c14, while *ui* appears normally only where paradigmatically supported, as in *suí*, gen. *suäd*, but elsewhere falls together with *oi*, as in *toísech* for *tuísech*. The long diphthong *áu* has absorbed *óu*, but itself continues only in stressed final position, and *gáu* 'falsehood' appears as *gó* in Wb 5^a8 (main hand). The long triphthong *auí* is not attested at all, and is represented by *oi* in *con-oi* 'keeps'. It is clear that the orthographical evidence of the Würzburg Glosses, usually dated to the middle of the eighth century, points to an extensive change in the diphthongal system established after the syncope. That change is readily explicable in terms of a shift from falling to

rising diphthongs. In the case of the *u*-diphthongs, those which had a back vowel as first element became simple rounded vowels, *o/u* and *ó*; those which had a front vowel as first element became long rounded vowels with a fronted onset: *eo*[^ɛo:], *iu*[^ɪu], *eó*[^ɛo:] *iú*[^ɪu:]. The *i*-diphthongs fell together as a long front vowel with velar onset, later written as *ao(i)*, *ae*; although the reflexes of this vowel in the spoken language are too varied to permit any phonetic statement as to the late Old Irish realisation, they all point to a single phoneme deriving from earlier *ai*, *oi*, *ui*.

3.4.2 Whether all these changes had taken place in the speech of the middle of the eighth century we have no means of knowing. There can be little doubt that Irish had been written from at latest the beginning of the seventh century, the diphthongal system of which was adequately noted by the orthographical devices which have been discussed, and we may take it that Irish scribes were as conservative in the eighth century as at subsequent periods. Furthermore, linguistic change never takes place at an even rate throughout the whole speech area. Modern Scottish Gaelic *todhar* is, as we have seen, more archaic phonetically than the *tuär* recorded from the eighth century *Crith Gablach*, and there were no doubt parts of Ireland where the distinction between *ai* and *oi* was maintained when it had been lost elsewhere.

3.4.3 It will be seen that these shifts are roughly contemporary with the breaking of *é¹* through *éa* to *ia*, and *ó¹* through *óa* to *úa*, thus providing two new falling diphthongs which continue in the later language. These must have formed the pattern for the raising of the hiatus vowels *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* respectively (*Gramm.* §79), though the latter of these is not always raised in Irish (cf. *oäc* 'young') and not at all in Scottish Gaelic (cf. *todhar*).

OLD IRISH

1. The short diphthongs

4.1.1 As has been seen above, the short diphthongs *eu* and *iu* continue as separate phonemes, whatever their phonetic realisation may have been. Since *u*-infection of *e* and *i* continued only in stressed monosyllables (1.3.1), these diphthongs in other environments are secondary, and the examples from the Glosses are not numerous. In some cases, such as *beura*, gl. *sudes*, the diphthong has penetrated from the singular, and Thurneysen is no doubt right in assuming (*Gramm.* §312) that the same applies to the later attested *deuga*

'drinks'. But the main source is the tendency, much developed in the later language, for stressed *e* to become *eu* before lenited gutturals, of which an early example is *feochair* gl. *severus*, Ml 27^a19, cf. later *Eochaid* for *Echaid* (*Echodus*, Adamnán) and *eochu* for *echu*. In derived forms we must reckon with the influence of the simplex, we find not only *flechuid*, Ml 93^b13, gen. sg. of *flechud* 'rain', but nom. *fleuchud*, 89^a2 and *flinchaide* 'moist', Sg 73^a1.

4.1.2 While *ou* has disappeared, *au* in preconsonantal position is still well attested, though already in alternation with *u*, as in *baullu*, Wb 3^b26 but *bullu*, 9^a4. This is the regular development, but certain forms representing the infection of the preverb *ad-* show a good deal of variation, notably *aud-* (from **ad-wo-* and **ad-uss-*) and *aur-* (from **aru-*, 2.3.1). Thus we have *edbart* and *edbart* for **audbart* 'sacrifice' and *aurlam* 'ready' beside *airlam*, *irlam*, *erlam* (Gramm. §823). The last three forms quoted are all alternative possibilities of the preverb *air-*, while *aurlam* is from **aru-*; in Old Irish, however, all four forms were interchangeable. As the phoneme *au* began to disappear, it could be replaced not only by its phonetic reflex *u*, but by *ai-*, *e-* or *i-*, and this is the process which we see in *edbart*, *edbart*; conversely, *au-* might replace *air-*, *er-* or *ir-* as in OIr. *airdirc*, *erdairc*, *irdairec* 'conspicuous', which appears as *aurdairc*, SR 5553, and *urrdraic* in Early Modern Irish. The usual conditions in which these variations took place were in absolute initial position, and in elements which could be identified with a preverb. But the variations also occur in a small number of words with initial vowel not deriving from a preverb, such as *ilach*, *elach*, *ulach* 'paean' and *aulad*, *elaid*, *ulad* 'grave', and even to one or two beginning with a consonant, such as *taul* 'forehead' and *taulach* 'hill'. These are discussed by Thurneysen, Gramm. §80, who follows Pedersen in suggesting that these variations in spelling represent a single vowel for which Irish had no adequate symbol, perhaps of the type ö. This may be so, but the conclusion does not impose itself. There is no good reason for believing that the vowels of OIr. *airdirc*, *erdairc*, *irdairec* were other than *a-*, *e-*, and *i-* respectively; the contrast in the later language between *aire* 'care' and *eire*, *oire* 'burden', both from an OIr. form *aire*, obviously derive from phonetic variations in the realisation of the preverb *air-*, which have then spread to other cases of *air-*. In every single case where there are grounds for believing that the original vocalism was *au*, the later language shows at least one form with *u*; while *udbairt* 'sacrifice' does not seem to be attested later than the Middle Irish period, the normal later forms of *aurlam*, *laubair* and *taulach* are *urlam*, *lubair*, and *tulach*. Of course, the converse does not hold true, since it is sometimes the unhistorical

form which has survived, and this is the place to withdraw the statement that *aupaith* 'charm' derives from **ess-buith* through **eupaith* (Greene 1954: 339), for it has been shown that there is *u*-infection of *e* only in monosyllables. The original form must be *epaid*, and *aupaith*, *aupaid* the analogical form.

4.1.3 Although Sc. G. *ogha* 'grandson' and *othan* 'froth', corresponding to OIr *auē* and *auēn* respectively, seem to show that *au* in hiatus became *o* before being raised to *u*, this is not in keeping with the treatment of *au* in preconsonantal position, where it regularly becomes *u*, nor with the evidence of our sources, which usually show *uē* as the stage immediately before reduction to monosyllabic *úa*; it is on the co-existence of *auē* and *uē* that the hypercorrection of *nuē* 'new' to *naue* is based (1.2.2). As *oäc* 'young', later *óc*, shows, *oē*, *oä* would reduce to *ó*, not attested until comparatively recent times.

2. The long diphthongs

4.2.1 The long diphthong *áu* is at first maintained in final position in stressed monosyllables, as in *áu* 'ear' and *náu* 'ship'; it also represents former *óu* in *báu*, gen. pl. of *bó* 'cow', and probably in *gáu* 'falsehood'. In all these cases it ultimately becomes *ó²*, which is also the outcome of *óu* from syncope, as in *córae*; Pokorny (1921: 37) is probably right in seeing the variant *núna* as having its vowel raised by the nasal environment. But in that case the expected composition form of *gáu* should be **góu-*, later *gáu-* or *gó-*, whereas the attested form is *gú-*, which is clearly derived from the hiatus form in gen. sg. *guē*, with lengthening to give the composition form. Other words show variation; thus the epithet *Áulomm* 'cropeared' shows both *Ólomm* and *Úlomm*.

4.2.2 The long diphthongs *éo* and *iu* are maintained as separate phonemes; it is not possible to say when the shift from falling to rising took place.

4.2.3 The long diphthongs *ai* and *oi* were maintained as separate phonemes for some time at least. They absorbed all cases of *uí*, except where the latter was supported paradigmatically; exceptionally, archaic *moí* 'mine' appears as *muí*. The diphthong *oi* has been lost in all forms of the adjective *oäc* 'young', cf. *oítiu* 'youth'; the composition and syncope forms are *óc-*, with lengthening of hiatus *o-*.

4.2.4 Original *ui* survived in such cases as *sui*, gen. *suäd*, but is otherwise normally represented by *oi*. The composition forms corresponding to words originally containing final *-ui* have undergone analogical change in several cases. Thus we find both *áugaire* and *úgaire* in Old Irish, where the phonetically regular form would have been **uigire*, since the *w'* of the cluster arising from syncopation should have palatalised the other member of the cluster. But in such cases the second element of a compound word normally retains its original shape; it is by no means impossible that Mid. Ir. *oegaire* continues an Old Irish **uigaire*, even though the latter is not attested. One of the forms which does occur, *úgaire*, is readily explicable as the utilisation as composition form of a lengthening of the hiatus vowel *u*, which would have been present in the pl. nom **uï*, gen. **uë* and dat. *uïb*. This is the same process as that suggested for *gú-* and *ú-* 'ear' above and, since the latter shows variants in *áu-* and *ó-*, we may confidently accept the explanation which Thurneysen offered in the *Handbuch* (1.3.2)—and later abandoned—that *áugaire* is a hypercorrection of *úgaire*.

3. Reduction of hiatus

4.3.1 The date of the reduction of hiatus in the Irish of Ireland is impossible to determine with certainty; all that can be said is that the evidence of *Saltair na Rann* shows clearly that all hiatus words, except some Biblical names, have alternative reduced forms by the tenth century. Bergin (1907:84) speculated cautiously that the mark of length in *cóir*, Sg 48^{b7}, might imply that reduction had already taken place in late Old Irish. Carney (1964: xxix) points out that *cóir* occurs at Wb 6^{a9} and 33^{c15}, and quotes further examples from the Würzburg Glosses of the length-mark over hiatus vowels; we may accept his conservative conclusion, based on this and other evidence, that 'in certain dialects of Old Irish contraction had taken place before the middle of the eighth century'. Only in one case does this contraction give a sound which can be regarded as a reflex of one of the old diphthongs: when a back vowel was in hiatus with final *-i*, the reduction is to *ai/oi/úi*, which had certainly fallen together by this time, though whether enough of the velar onset remained for the resultant phoneme to be called a diphthong is a matter of speculation. The spelling chosen can be influenced by other forms of the paradigm; while *Cú *Rauï* becomes *Cú Roi*, gen. sg. *auï* usually becomes *ui* because the nom. sg. *auë* has become *úa*. When the *-i* is non-final, however, the result of the reduction is a long vowel or the diphthong *úa*; thus *coir* gives *cóir*, with the ó² of the syncopated forms (e.g. *córae*) and the variants *-coïd* and *-cuið* give *-coid* and

-ciúaid respectively. In all other cases the outcome of the reduction is either a long vowel, or one of the diphthongs *eó*, *ia*, *iu*, *úa*; by the end of the Old Irish period it is almost certain that these constituted the entire stock of long diphthongs, for there is no reason for rejecting the view of O'Rahilly (1932: 31), that the reflex of *ai/oi/ui* had ceased to be a diphthong by that time.

CONCLUSION

5.0 The vowel system of Classical Modern Irish verse is set out by Ó Cuív (1973: 121) as follows:

a	o	u	e	i	á	ó	ú	é	í
eo		iu			ao/ae	eo	iu		
								ua	ia

That is to say, there are digraphs representing two short diphthongs and five long diphthongs and the rhyming system suggests strongly that each of these was a separate phoneme. It is common ground that the phoneme represented by *ao/ae* was no longer realised as a diphthong; the evidence of Scottish Gaelic shows that, in some forms at least of the spoken language, the short diphthongs *eo* and *iu*, and the long diphthongs *eó* and *iu*, were rounded vowels with short fronted onset, of the type postulated above (3.4.1.). The diphthongs *ua* and *ia* are still separate phonemes in all forms of the spoken language. But we also know that this comparatively simple picture, of two short diphthongs and four long diphthongs, can hardly have represented the state of the spoken language anywhere at the end of the twelfth century, when this norm was established; leaving aside the question of the sound represented by the digraph *ea*, new diphthongs were arising everywhere as a result of the weakening or loss of intervocalic spirants. The norm of Classical Modern Irish in fact gives us a precise statement of the vocalic system of the language at the point where Old Irish is changing into Middle Irish, say at about the end of the ninth century. There is equally good reason to believe that the orthography of the Würzburg Glosses was devised to represent an Archaic state of the language with a much richer vocalic system, which was already moving towards the simple six-diphthong pattern by the end of the eighth century.

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PHONOLOGICAL IRREGULARITY IN COMPOUND VERB FORMS IN THE WÜRZBURG GLOSSES¹

THE Würzburg Codex is a Latin MS of the Pauline Epistles containing Irish glosses and scholia, apparently transcribed, dated as middle 8th century. These have traditionally enjoyed great prestige within the study of Old Irish, providing a standard with which the language of other texts, both earlier and later, could be compared and evaluated. In fact, of all the extant sources the Würzburg glosses may fairly be said to come closest to representing "canonical" Old Irish.

It is clear that throughout the Old Irish period the language was constantly changing, and at a disturbingly rapid pace. This is especially striking with the verbs—in particular, the compound verbs—where the language reached its highest degree of morphological complexity. There are to be found everywhere in the texts "late", "analogical", or simply "erroneous" forms, not infrequently side by side with the "correct" forms they stand for. The purpose of this paper is simply to give an idea² how common they are even in the highly respected Würzburg, despite its accuracy and early date.

The forms discussed here are just those which show (or may show) phonological as opposed to morphological irregularity, and more specifically, those in which the irregularity seems to be directly associated with the preverbs. There is little point in elaborating on these limitations, as an examination of all the facts—a project far more ambitious than that undertaken here—would reveal them as largely arbitrary.

Sections 1–19 concern the preverb *ro-*, 20–31 *fo-*, 32–39 *to-*, 40–44 *ind-/en-*, and 45–49 other preverbs. Most of the abbreviations used should be familiar to those acquainted with the study of Old Irish. Note that *p* = passive, *psbj* = past subjunctive, *cond* = conditional (secondary future), and *perf* = perfect (perfective preterite). *Wb* is

¹ This is a corrected and augmented version of an article which appeared under the same title in *Indo-European Studies II* (NSF Report HARV-LING 02–75), ed. Calvert Watkins, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975. I would like to express my thanks to the editor of the publication for encouraging me to produce this study in the first place, and to those of this journal for giving me the opportunity to revise and re-present it.

² Readers will readily discern the essentially compilatory nature of this study, and even more its enormous dependence on the standard works of reference, above all Thurneysen's *Grammar of Old Irish* (GOI), Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen* (VKG) and especially its invaluable *Verbalverzeichnis*, and the Royal Irish Academy's (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Cbb, Dict). To avoid what seemed to me an excess of documentation I have mostly restricted explicit reference to these works to cases where some controversy seems to exist. (This general acknowledgement will, I hope, be of some consolation to those who miss the individual ones; in all events one can always go to these works to see for oneself what they have to say on any given point.)

systematically omitted in the citations; I = archaic *prima manus*, II = the glossator, different from the main one, who produced 33^a1 to the end (34^a6). In citations < > indicate letters illegible in the MS, [] letters wrongly absent in the MS, and () letters wrongly present in the MS. Otherwise () indicate letters, normally 'glide vowels', which, in accord with the variability of the orthographic system, may optionally be either present or absent.

RO-

§1. *ɔrrotaig, ad·ropred-som, fos·rocurt, dom·roisechtatar*

At least four forms show *ro-* for expected *ró-*, the normal contraction of *ro-uss-*: *ɔrrotaig* II 33^a5 (*ɔid·rotig* 33^a2) 3 sg perf of *con·utaing* 'builds up'; *ad·ropred-som* 15^a20 p sg perf of *ad·opair* 'offers'; *fos·rocurt* 24^a26 1 sg perf of *fo·ocair* 'proclaims; denounces'; *dom·roisechtatar* 17^a1 3 pl perf of **do·osaig* 'supports' (RIA Cbb s.v. *do·foscai*). In the case of the first three, forms with marked long vowel are found elsewhere in Old Irish sources, e.g.: *con·rótgatar* Sg 32^b6 (3 pl perf); *at·rópert* Thes ii 238.12 (Notes in Arm.) (3 sg perf); *fo·rócrad* 19^b6 (p sg perf). The last verb is very poorly attested outside the VN (*toschid*³ 'support; sustenance' 10^a18 etc.). The palatal *-s-* of the perf implies the syncopation of a reduplication syllable; that would in turn imply a (historically regular) pret **do·uisecht* with unlowered *u-*; so with elision instead of contraction the corresponding perf would have been **do·ruisecht*, not **do·roisecht*. Thus it seems fairly safe to assume that in *dom·roisechtatar*, and surely in the other three forms, the long mark has simply been omitted.

§2. *arnáchrólca, eter·rósca, fo·rróxul*

Conversely, in three forms at least one finds *ró-* for expected *ro-*: *arnáchrólca* 14^a21 3 sg pftv subj of *slucid* 'swallows'; *ma eter·rósca* 9^a31 3 sg pftv subj of *eter·scara* 'separates, dissolves' (beside *itir·rosca-* <*sat*> 5^b34 3 pl perf, no long mark); *fo·rróxul* (-*x-* = -*chs-*) 27^a19 3 sg perf of *fo·coislea* 'takes away'. But *ró-* also appears with the substantive verb—which could never have had a long vowel—*i·róbe* 3^a23 (3 sg perf), *con·róbad* 6^a6 (3 sg pftv psbj) and perhaps elsewhere, not to mention the isolated *rú-* in *as·rúbart-side* 10^a26 3 sg perf of *as·beir* 'says'. In all probability there is no question of real long vowels in any of these forms. Whether the long marks mean anything at all is unknown.

§3. *ɔ·ral, do·ralad, nis·rabae*

Ra- appears instead of *ro-* with *la-* in *ɔ·ral* 7^a4 1 sg pftv subj (suppletive) of *fo·ceird* 'puts', *cani·ralsid* 15^a1 (2 pl perf), also in

³ For a discussion of this form see §34.

do·ralad 13^a8 p sg perf (suppletive) of *do·ceird* 'puts'. It is found twice with the substantive verb, *ni·rabae* II 33^b3 (3 sg perf) and *ɔ·rabad* II 34^a4 (3 sg pftv psbj), otherwise always *ro*—cf. *ni·robe* (3 sg perf) II 33^a10, the only other occurrence in Wb II, and *passim* Wb.

§4. *ni·tarlicid*

Ra- is implied, moreover, by *ni·tarlicid* 23^c4 2 pl pftv subj, *ɔ·darlicthe* (*d-* = nasalized *t-*) 15^c13 p sg pftv psbj of *do·léici* 'lets go, leaves'. That the *-rl-* cluster is most likely non-palatal is shown for example by *do·farlaic* Tur 99 (3 sg perf), clearly based on prototonic **tarlaic* (well attested outside the glosses⁴), that is, *ta·ra-léc-* from *to·ra·léc-*. But the deuterotonic form must have been **do·reilci* with *re-*, actually later attested—*do·reilgis* LL 13162 (Sc.M.) (2 sg perf)—and implied by non-perfective *nacha·telcid* 15^a4 (2 pl impv) and, from simplex *léicid* 'leaves', *nach·reilcid* Ml 49^a10 (p sg perf). The possibility that *·tarlicid*, *·darlicthe* are for **·tairlicid*, **·dairlicthe* with palatal *-rl-*, though not absolutely excluded, lacks supporting evidence, and would make for difficulties in explaining the *ta-*.

§5. *da·rigente* (*do·rigensat*)

Ri- occurs in the historically reduplicated forms (fut and act pret stems) of *do·gni* 'does'—*da·rigente* 13^b3 (2 pl pftv cond), *dond·rigéni* 6^a2 (3 sg perf), *do·rignius-sa* 24^b12 (1 sg perf, with syncope). (It should be noted that *ri-* appears at least five times, e.g. *do·rigensat* 28^a19 (3 pl perf), also at 11^a28, 11^a5, 12^a29, 24^a3—but always followed by *-gen-* with unmarked long vowel, suggesting that the long mark has simply been misplaced.) This *ri-* is surely based on the *di-* of the non-perfective forms like *ni·digénte* 9^a9 (2 pl cond), *nad·ndigni* Ml 23^b10 (3 sg pret), anomalous in itself. That *ri-* is based on *di-* is especially likely in view of the fact that *fo·gni* 'serves', the other main compound of *gniid* 'works', has ordinary *ro*-forms, as *fo·ruigéni* 13^b7 (3 sg perf), *fo·ruigensat* 1^b22 (3 pl perf) etc. The only prototonic perfective form of the simplex attested seems to be *·rognatha* (p pl perf)—*nad·rognatha* Ml 115^b4, *cain·rognatha* Ml 39^a24—naturally with no reduplication. But it clearly shows the same treatment as *fognad* 20^b11 (3 sg impv), *ni·fognat* Sg 203^a17 (3 pl pres), and stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form (3 pl perf) of *do·gni*, *do·ronta* Sg 216^a1 (*do·ronta* Ml 133^c5).

§6. *do·riltiset-som*

Much the same thing has happened in the deuterotonic perfective forms of *do·sluindi* 'denies', to judge from 3 pl perf *do·riltiset-som* 5^c11,

⁴ And note the ambiguous, badly spelled *nad·tairlaic* Ml 131^b2, probably to be read *ta(i)rlaic*.

do·riltiset 25^b13, clearly based on the peculiar non-perfective form **diltiset*—cf. *ara·ndiltad* 17^d11 (3 sg psbj), VN *diltod* 1^a12 and so on—with *ri-* after *di-*. It is interesting that instead of *do·riltiset* one finds *do·rusluindset* (-s- = -s-) Ml 90^b17, in which the unreduced root shows that the form is newly created (and in fact *ru-* may well be pretonic). But this is not necessarily true with *dod·rolluind* Tur 118 (3 sg perf, beside *do·rustuind* ~ *do·ru·sluind* Ml 93^e8): the *-ui-* is embarrassing, the normal back glide vowel in Turin being *-a-* except after labials, but it is otherwise the historically expected form, and not unlikely the one that would have been used by the Wb scribe. The alternative **·rillaind*, beside non-perfective **·dillaind* (assuming *·di(u)lt* is later⁵) does not seem plausible. Unfortunately *arna·derlind* 10^c14 (1 sg pftv subj) is ambiguous as to the quality of the cluster. If the *-rl-* was non-palatal it would mean that at least the prototonic was from *de-ro-slond-*. It is conceivable though that it stood for **·deirlind* with generalized *ri-*.

§7. *ɔdidi·tarilbæ*

A form that might contain, or seem to contain, a variant of *ro-* with front vowel is *ɔdidi·tarilbæ* 29^e2 2 sg pftv subj of *do·aisilbi* 'assigns'. In Ml one finds *ni·tharilb* Ml 49^b3, *ni·táirilb* Ml 36^a36 (3 sg perf), *du·airilbed* Ml 117^a6 (p sg perf) etc. It can be taken for granted that the vowel of the Wb form was long. But what the quality of the *-r-* was is not so clear: it should have followed that of the syncopated vowel, so that *to-ad-ro-selb-* would have given **·táirilb-* with non-palatal *-r-*; thus the Ml forms, with palatal *-r-*, imply that a front vowel was syncopated, that front vowel being that of the inserted perfective preverb. But one can only speculate about whether the Wb form actually does stand for **·táirilbæ* belonging with the Ml forms—it may after all be quite regular.

§8. *airilliud, att·roilli*

A superficially similar problem is posed by the form *airilliud* 4^a16 VN of *ad·roilli* 'deserves', apparently a compound *ad-ro-sli-*. All the other forms in Wb are orthographically ambiguous—e.g. VN *á arilliud* 2^b4 etc., also finite forms *cini·arillet* 31^e23 (3 pl subj), *ni·arilset* 4^a10 (3 pl pret) etc.—but spellings like *nad·n-airillet* Ml 40^c12 (3 pl pres), *ni·áirillset* Ml 114^e9 (3 pl pret) and many others are the norm in later sources. Moreover, there are no clear examples

⁵ Early examples are *dia·ro·diult* SR 7747 (and cf. *ro·diultsat* SR 2685 (: *ro·liunsat*), *ro·diultsatar* SR 5268 (: *ro·liunsatar*), the corresponding 3 pl with—from the Old Irish point of view—double syncope), *ro·diult* LU 3185 (*Fotha Catha Cnucha*), *co·ras·diult* *Celtica* 11.171 §3 (*Comram na Cloenferta*, Rawl B 502). Perhaps of some special significance is the form (*co·*)*ro·diultai* occurring twice in the *Tripartite Life* (*Tripl*² 2065, 2179) in which paradigmatic uniformity is maintained in a phonologically regular manner by means of the generally uncommon alternative 3 sg pret ending *-i*.

anywhere with the expected non-palatal *-r*, no **árailliud*, **áraiset* or whatever. But the problem here is more serious, for the original *-dr*- cluster should always give a non-palatal *-r*- when the following vowel remains, regardless of the quality of that vowel. And the mere fact that the vowel does remain in these forms constitutes an irregularity—it should syncopate giving **árlud*, **árlaiset* (or, if the vowel really was front, **áirliud*, **áirlaiset*—which do occur outside the glosses⁶, but seem to be secondary). Nor is this the only peculiar behaviour exhibited by this verb. For some reason *ro-* of the deuterotonic forms, as *att-roilli* 2^a13 (3 sg pres), *assid-roilliset* 17^a9 (3 pl pret—note the characteristic interchange of pretonic *ad-* and *as-*, also unexplained) never shows the vowel raising seen in the other compounds of *·slí*—cf. *ni-ro-thuillisem* 24^a6 1 pl perf of *do·slí* ‘deserves, incurs’, VN *tullemailb* Ml 39^a18 (dat pl), also *fuillem* Ml 36^a24 VN (dat) of *fo·slí* ‘earns, gains’, on the basis of which one would have expected **ad·ruilli*, **ad·ruilliset* and so on. And finally, it is strange that the VN does not show the suffix *-em* (masc *u*-stem) like the other compounds (for *n*-stem forms in the pl—not in Wb⁷—see RIA Cbb s.v. *áirilliud*).

§9. *do·árbuid*

More problems with *ad-ro-* arise with *do·árbuid*, *do·árbith* 19^a11 3 sg perf of *do·adbat* ‘shows’, along with *do·áras* 3^a21 (p sg perf). *To-ad-ro-fiad-* should have given forms like **do·áraid*, **do·áras*, with extinction of the initial of the root. One could assume a vowelless form *r-* (that is, *to-ad-r-fiad-*), interpreting the *-b-* (spirant) as the variant of *f-* found immediately, before syncope, after voiced consonants—cf. *ɔ·forbanar* 14^a27 p sg pres of *forfen* ‘perfects’, not to mention *do·adbat* itself (*to-ad-fiad-*). However, were more forms of this verb attested this assumption could well prove unsatisfactory. *Do·n-aidbsed* Ml 20^a9 (3 sg psbj) is attested, but there is no evidence as to what the corresponding perfective form could have been. With a vowelless *r-* the same pattern of syncope should arise as in the non-perfective, that is, **do·áirbuid*. But the unknown form could just as well have been **do·árbaised* (for historically correct **·áraised*) with an additional syllable implying a vowel syncopated between the *-r-* and the *-b-*, as if the form of the preverb were something like *rom-* (comparable to *com-*), which would be totally anomalous.

§10. *do·airfenus*

Much the same kind of irregularity is exhibited by the form *do·airfenus* 18^a7 1 sg perf of *do·aisfena* ‘shows’ (non-perfective forms

⁶ *airliud* Trip² 1935, *chain-airliud* SR 1464 (: cruth) seem to be the earliest examples.

⁷ Note the *u*-stem pl forms *arilti* 16^a11 (nom pl), *arilte* 5^a13 (gen pl), as opposed to *airiltin* Ml 108^b8 (nom pl), *airiltnea* Ml 87^a4 (acc pl). The *-n-* also appears in the later denominative *airiltningid* ‘deserves’.

lacking in the glosses, but cf. *asfenad* Aug Ench 42, VN of *as:féna* 'swears'. The *a*- of the perfective form should be long but, as far as can be seen, is always written short⁸, though the following vowel is often enough marked long. Even accepting that it was long, there remains the problem of the retention of the *-f*-, which should have disappeared after the vowel final preverb to give **do:áirenus*. Now, the possibility cannot be altogether excluded that this is what is intended by the attested form, since Wb does not mark the lenition of *f*- (except, from time to time, by simply leaving it out), so that *airfenus* could represent what could be written in, say, Sg as **airfenus* with *punctum delens*. This would be the correct form, but there is no trace of it anywhere else. Moreover, concrete evidence that the *-f*- was real can be seen in the somewhat later perfective forms of the verb *do:adbat* just discussed. In SR, for example, the Old Irish forms *do:árivid*, *do:árbas* have been replaced by *do:arfaid* SR 326, *do:árfas* SR 4108 and so on, where the most plausible explanation of the *-f*- for older *-b*- seems to be just the *-f*- of the perfective forms of the semantically very similar *do:aisféna*. (That *-f*- was specifically from the perfective forms *do:airfenus* etc. is shown by the fact that there was no corresponding replacement of *do:adbat* non-perfective by **do:adfat*.)

§II. *ni:arbarat*

There are also some problems surrounding the sequence *air-ro-*. The first preverb actually has the base form *arV-*, *V* fluctuating in a peculiar way between *-i-* (giving forms in *air-*) and *-u-* (forms in *ir-*, *er-*, *aur-*—see §31). Having this base form means that the preverb lenites a following consonant, and also that (except where it suffers elision before another vowel) the *-V-* syncopates, thus causing the succeeding vowel to be preserved. Compare, from *for:beir* 'increases' (with basically monosyllabic *for-*) and *ar:beir* (*birth*) 'uses' (with *air-*) respectively, the typical prototonic forms *a nnád:foirbret* Sg 48^{b5} (3 pl pres) with syncope in the root, but *arnách:airbirid* 11^{b25} (2 pl subj) with root syllable retained. It is also true that the

⁸ But Stokes, Thes Supplement p. 53, notes on the form at 18^{d7}: 'read *doairfenus*, where the mark of length should apparently be over the *e*; . . .' (The mark is not, as far as I can tell, visible in the facsimile.) The hypothesis that the *a*- in question is (or should be) long is founded of the assumption of an alloform *ass-* of *ess-* (or of *ad-??*) which, like *ess-*, shows before *l*, *r*, *n*—in this case the *r*- of *ro-* in *ass-ro:fén-*—loss of *-ss-* and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, that is *a*- becoming *á*, as with *ad-*.

Let me suggest here, by the way,—there is not the space for a proper exposition of the matter—that the perfective stems exemplified by *do:airfenus* and *do:árivid* (§9) can be maintained to have been reformed on the basis of the corresponding non-perfective stems in a manner which could only have become possible with the phonetic collapse of the contrasts /f/ (from old /w/) : /ɸ/ (from /p/ in Latin words) and /v/ (from /w/) : /β/ (from /b/) as, say, /ɸ/, /β/, the status of which with respect to the systematic opposition lenited: unlenited became variable and indeed, without recourse to morphological information, undeterminable.

insertion of perfective *ro-* into a form normally adds a syllable, one way or another, in particular in prototonic forms: e.g., from *as·beir* 'says' (with monosyllabic preverb), *arna·epret* 7^a8 (3 pl subj) but, with inserted *ro-*, *ɔ·érbarid-si* 15^a6 (2 pl pftv subj); or, from *im·timchella⁹* 'surrounds' (with basically disyllabic *imb-*—it is the second one that is relevant), *im·timc[h]élfam-ni¹⁰* Ml 24^a7 (1 pl fut) but, with *ro-*, *imim immerchelsat |* Ml 44^c25 (3 pl perf). (For a rather different treatment of *imb-ro-* cf. *nis·imruldatar* Tur 65 3 pl perf (suppletive) of *im·tét* 'goes about' beside unattested but certain non-perfective pret **imlotar*.) For some reason, however, with verbs compounded with *air-* the insertion of *ro-* fails to add a syllable—that is, beside non-perfective *airbirid* one finds nothing like the historically correct **airerbaraid* (or **irraibrid?*) but rather such things as *ni·arbarat* 10^c1 (3 pl pftv subj), differing—apparently at least—only in terms of (vowel and) consonant quality. Actually, though forms with single *-r-* are surprisingly common—other examples with this verb are *usa·n·arbaram¹¹* Sg 40^a11 (1 pl pftv subj) and *ni·arbart* Ml 36^a4 (3 sg perf)—ones with the expected double *-rr-* are also found—e.g. *ni·arrbartatar* Sg 40^b9 (3 pl perf)—so that, whatever the reason behind it, it seems to be a matter of spelling. The important thing is that *air-* (that is, *arV-*) when followed by *ro-* in effect loses altogether its final vowel, giving a basically (pre-syncope) disyllabic sequence *ar-ro-*.

§12. *do·archet, tairchechui, condom·arrgabad-sa*

If the *-rr/-r-* variation just noted really is merely orthographic it is quite possible that *do·archet* 26^a11, *do·airchet* 6^b26, *do·arrchet* 6^d8, *tairrchet* 7^a2 all represent the same form, p sg perf of *do·erchain* 'prophesies'. The palatalization of the cluster must be explained in terms of the non-reduction of the root syllable—it was originally long (*-cét-* from *-can-t-*) and it is not inconceivable that it actually remained long¹². Otherwise, of course, the form should be **ar(r)chat* like *ar(r)bart-*, with depalatalization of the initial of the root after the non-palatal *-r-* of the perfective preverb. It is also possible, though, that a certain amount of confusion has arisen between *ar-ro-* and

⁹ This form occurs Ml 40^c14.

¹⁰ The length mark seems to be a simple mistake, but cf. *to·n·imchéla* Thes ii 33.19 (Vienna Bede) (3 sg pres). And though in both forms the *-l-* probably stands for unlenited *-ll-*, cf. *ara·tairchela* 9^d1 3 sg subj of *do·airchella* 'contains' beside *tairchella* 12^b33 (3 sg pres).

¹¹ Here, used without *biuth*, 'express'.

¹² But the VN is *tairchital* 5^a8, *tairchitil* Ml 89^b10 (gen), etc.—in *terchital* Ml 64^c22, *terc[h]illa* Ml 19^b10 (acc pl) *er-* is a variant, rare outside Ml, of *air-*, and has palatal *-r-*—in which palatal quality is maintained although the root vowel, long originally, has clearly been shortened. Incidentally, it is very likely that this verb historically actually contained *fo-*, that is *t(o)·air·fo·can-* apparently also represented by Middle Welsh *darogan* 'prophecy'. (So Thurneysen, GOI §823, and Pedersen, VKG §676.9, as an alternative to (not very likely) *t(o)·air·ro·can-*.) But there is no reason to analyze the verb synchronically as anything more than *t(o)·air·can-*.

simple *air-*. The form *tairchechuin* 4^c40, taken as 3 sg pret, that is, as having real single *-r-*, is perfectly normal; but if it is in fact perfect, that is, with *-rr-* for *-rr-*—cf. *do·airrc[h]echnatár* O'Dav 711 (3 pl perf?)—it is anomalous in lacking the dissimilative loss of the reduplicating syllable that would have led to something like **tar(r)oíchuin*. Another possible case of confusion is *condom·arrgabad-sa* 17^d14 3 sg pftv? psbj of *ar·gaib* 'takes hold of', perhaps standing for **·irgabad*¹³.

§13. *co 'materchomla*

A peculiarity that is perhaps to be associated with the real or apparent substitution of *-r-* for expected *-rr-* is the perfective of *do·ecmalla* 'gathers, collects' (*to-in-com-all-*¹⁴). The form *co 'materchomla* 14^a2 (3 sg pftv subj) has the *ro-* inserted between the *in-* and the *com-*, but that should have given, historically at least, **·terchomla* with *-rr-* from *-nr-*. One does find, outside the glosses, *do·n-arrchomla* LU 9516 (Siab.CC.) (2 sg perf). It shows, as do all the later forms, an unexplained *-a-* for *-c-* before *ro-*—the same thing turns up in *do·n-archosaig* TBC²564, *tarrchossaigh* i. *teosc* O'Dav 1598, 3 sg perf of **do·inchoischi* **do·ecsáigi* 'instructs', also *in-(ro-)com-*.

§14. *imman·árladmar*

The few forms that remained to be discussed in connection with *ro-* seem to involve isolated irregularities. In *imman·árladmar* 29^d10 1 pl subj of *im·accaldathar* 'converses together' the lenited *-g-* of expected **·árgladmar* (*ad-ro-glád-*) has simply dropped out. That this is not the normal treatment is shown by forms like *du·érglas* M1 120^d2 p sg perf of *do·eclainn* 'selects', not **·érlas*. Moreover, there are no alternate forms (either of *im·accaldathar* or *ad·gládathar* 'addresses', from which the former is derived) preserving the *-g-*, though the deuterotonic perfective **ad·rogaldathar* (**·ragaldathar*) can be safely restored¹⁵, having replaced older **ad·rólathar*(?) still reflected in the prototonic.

¹³ Apparently purely on the strength of this form Pedersen, VKG §734.12, sets the verb up as *air-ro-gab-*, regarding the deuterotonic forms *ara·ngabsat* M1 74^b2 (3 pl pret) and so on as secondary. This seems unnecessary.

¹⁴ This form of the root is most likely secondary, the result, perhaps, of contamination of *ell-* and *la-* (becoming *l-*, realized as *ol-* ~ *al-*) in unstressed position. It does not occur in stressed position in Wb—note in particular the contrast *ni·tella* 5^c13 'is room for', *ni·telfea* 25^b18 (similarly 25^c2, 3 sg fut), VN *tellad* 11^a29, but *dund·alla* M1 30^c17 *nio·talla* Sg 90^a2 (3 sg pres) and so on, and also *ma dud·éll* 22^b7 3 sg pret of the homonymous verb 'steals', but *o·tall* M1 58^c6 (1 sg subj). (On the other hand the compounds *ad·ella* 'visits', *do·ella* ~ *·dillea* 'turns away (etc.)' and *sechmo·ella* 'passes over' have in stressed position only *ell-* everywhere in the glosses.) At any rate the form in question, with *ell-* rather than *all-* would properly have come out **·terchoimlea* like, say, **·aidlea*, prototonic of *ad·ella*.

¹⁵ Cf. *ad·rogailser* IT ii².183.4 (*Longes mao nDúil Dermait*) (1 sg perf), *ata·raglastar* BDD² 544 (3 sg perf) (= LU 6970 *ata·ráglastar*, in which the length mark is hard to explain), both showing the 'shortened' form of the pret stem (see GOI §671), which has yet to be satisfactorily explained.

§15. *fornigaire*

The generalization of what must have originally been an optional reduced variant may be seen in VN *fornigaire* 10^o27 etc. beside *a for·chongair* 5^o23 (3 sg pres) 'commands' and so on, for **forcngaire* (*for-com-gar-*). So also *forsa·forgair* Sg 161^b5 (3 sg pres) with the same reduction in a finite form; but *forsa·forcongarar* Sg 161^b4 (p sg pres), also *for·rrorcongrad* Sg 199^b1 (p sg perf—note 'split for', discussed §19 and note) show a renewed prototonic stem, later becoming the norm, without syncope or consonant cluster reduction. *for·rochongart* 20^o9 (3 sg perf) seems to represent an unsyncopated deuterotonic perfective stem, but it may have been stressed rather *for-ro·chongart* with pretonic *ro-*.¹⁶

§16. *ad·rorsat*

In *ad·rorsat* 1^b19 (3 pl perf) a basically non-compound verb *adraid* 'adores' is taken as *ad-or-* to insert *ro-*—cf. abs rel *adras* 9^o33 (3 sg pres). But there is also *ad·ordais* Ml 36^a16 (3 pl impf) instead of **no·adraitis*, having nothing to do with the formation of the perfective.

§17. *róiba*

Pedersen, VKG §751, took *róiba* 31^b9 as 3 sg pftv subj of *ibid* 'drinks' (prototonic form serving as relative, as proposed §552). In that case the non-elision of the vowel of *ro-* would be irregular—**reba* would have been more likely. Thurneysen, however, GOI §765, saw the form as containing *ro-* 'too (much)', comparing *róólach* Thes i 5.21 (Cambridge glosses). For the non-elision with this *ro-* cf. *ro·umal* Mon. Tall. 76¹⁷.

§18. *manis·deirclimmis*

A very peculiar form is *manis·deirclimmis* 26^b16, apparently 1 pl pftv psbj of *di·uss·gill-* (RIA Cbb s.v. *do·oggell*) 'purchases'. No clearly deuterotonic non-perfective form is attested; it should

¹⁶ See §20 note.

¹⁷ Specifically, Thurneysen proposes to read [sc. *ni*]·*róiba* 'let him not over-drink', taking the gloss on the whole phrase *oportet... esse... non vinolentum*. A minor problem is that, if (as *ro·umal* and similar forms indicate) this *ro-* does not combine at all with an immediately following vowel, one would have expected rather **ro·eba*, trisyllabic with hiatus, and the vowel of the root maintained just as if the *ro-* were not there; but clearly the form as it stands cannot be so analyzed, the *-iba* of what one would like to divide as *ró·iba* not being a possible form. The status of the emendation suggested by the editors, Thes i 698 note c, to *róiba*[ch] (*ró·ibach*?) 'over-drinking' (otherwise unattested) is not clear, but attention is drawn, Cbb s.v. *róiba*, to a rather poorly attested word *roebaidecht* 'drunkenness' occurring (one of the three citations given) Mon. Tall. 53, thus spelled, suggesting (cf. also *raebaidecht* PH 4190) not hiatus but contraction to a diphthong. Perhaps the inference to be made is that *ro·ib-* is an old collocation and hence preserves an otherwise superseded phonological treatment (as does, e.g., *rán* '(very) splendid' from *ro-* plus *án* 'splendid', where later one would get *ro·án*). But if so, there is no support for the interpretation *róiba*[ch] over [ni]·*róiba*; indeed, the actually attested noun *roebaidecht* points, if anything, to a verbal stem (via the (hypothetical) agent noun *róebaid*) rather than an adjective in *-ach*.

have come out **do·uiclea* or **do·fuiclea* (perhaps *diuclidther* i. *cre-naidther* H 3.18 69^a, *diuchlither* i. *cendaigther* O'Mulc 334 (similarly O'Dav 600) reflect a deuterotonic p sg pres **di·u[i]clither*; the assumption made by Sarauw, *KZ* 38.184, that *ro-* is inherent in the stem seems to be disproven by this early form). For the unlowered *u-* cf. *fo·gella* 'submits one's case', 3 pl perf *ɔ̄fuiglessat* *Anecd.* iii.27.16¹⁸, with raising of the vowel of *fo-*. Indirect support for the reconstruction is perhaps to be found in *da·rucellsat* M1 126^{a7} (3 pl perf), if not to be emended to **da·ruacellsat* (*do·ruacel(l)* SR 3148, 3174¹⁹ (3 sg perf); *-ó-* remains undiphthongized in *di·rróggel* *Thes* ii 239.15 (Notes in Arm.)). At any rate *·deirclimmis* is anomalous—for **·dercallmais*—first in having syncopated two consecutive syllables, and second in extending palatal quality into the resultant cluster. But the form is not isolated—outside the glosses one finds, for example, *conda·dergle* Ériu 12.150 §14 (TE, YBL) (2 sg pftv subj), *dergled* Ir. Charters in the Book of Kells iii (p sg perf) and others, beside the apparently more regular *mani·dergelltar* O'Dav 1043 (p sg pftv subj).

§19. *foda·rorcenn*

Finally, Wb is not free from the blemish of the 'split *for*'. In *foda·rorcenn* 11^a27 3 sg perf of *for·cenna* *·foircnea* '(ex)terminates' *fo-* belongs to the preverb *for-*, *-da·ro-* is an infixed pronoun followed by perfective *ro-*, and *-rcenn* is the rest of *for-* plus the root. The correct form would be **forda·rochenn* or *·rochann*. There are several cases in M1; one from Sg was cited above §15²⁰—see Thurneysen, GOI §529, also Stokes, *ZCP* 3.371-2, for further examples.

FO-

§20. *con-ru·failnither*

Like *ro-*, *fo-* sometimes appears with *-a-*, normally where the vowel of the following syllable is, or was before syncope, also *-a-*. A

¹⁸ *Immathchor Ailello ocus Airt*; Thurneysen, GOI §676, calls the form (showing *-assat* for later *-asset*), and by implication the text, 'archaic'.

¹⁹ The first instance, spelled with final *-ll*, is non-riming; the second, spelled with single *-l*, rimes with *ben* 'woman'. One is inclined to assume, with Strachan, *Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann* p. 30 n4, an orthographically disguised imperfect rime (common enough in SR), but in view not only of the supporting *di·rrógel* but also similar rimes and spellings with other compounds of *gill-* it is perhaps better to keep an open mind.

²⁰ The argument put forward in the earlier version of this study (*Indo-European Studies* II 62-3) that split *for* forms are based on the non-perfective deuterotonic stem depended crucially, if implicitly, on the assumption that *for·rrorcongrad* in Sg predicated and therefore was independent of the renewed prototonic stem *'forcongar-*. In making this assumption I simply overlooked the one example of that stem in the glosses, *forsa·forcongarar* (cited §15), which actually occurs in Sg itself. Having thus contradicted the crucial assumption and invalidated the argument we can return to the more comfortable position according to which it is the *prototonic* non-perfective stem upon which the split *for* forms are founded.

glaring exception is *con-ru·failnither* 1^a9 p sg pftv subj of *fo·lina* 'fills'. But it is surely nothing more than a mistake of some kind or a disruption of a purely phonetic nature, for **·fuilnither*. The VN *fuillned* M1 26^a6 shows the expected *fo-*, with raising before the following *-i-*.

§21. *arna·farcabtis*

A proper example of the change of vowel is *arna·farcabtis* 31^a13 p pl pftv psbj of *fo·acaib* 'leaves', from *fa-r(o)-ad-gab-*. (On the deuterotonic forms of this verb see below §24.)

§22. *do·farsiged*

Do·farsiged 7^a11 gl. *significatum est* seems to be another case. Stokes and Pedersen took it as p sg perf of a verb they would have reconstructed as, say, **do·aischi* 'announces' (RIA Cbb s.v. *do·fásaig*), not regarding the form as containing genuine *fo-*, but rather based on prototonic **·tarsiged*. Thurneysen on the other hand saw reason to accept the *fo-* as real. For one thing, the VN *tásc* 'report, announcement' contained a long vowel, which would arise regularly from *ta-fa-ad-sc-* (*sc-* = old zero grade of *sech-*) but not from *t(o)-ad-sc-*, and thus implies finite **do·fáischi*. Moreover, there is another verb with almost the same meaning attested, if only scantily: *fa-ad-sech-*, **fo·aischi* (RIA Dict s.v. *-fásaig*), e.g. *fásaig* ZCP 11.80.13 (Aud.Mor.)²¹ (2 sg impv), with VN *fásc* 'tidings' (not unlikely **fo·aischi* was originally 'goes (out) with news' while **do·fáischi* was 'comes (in) with news').²²

§23. *ni·farnic, fo·n-airnicc*

The verb from which 3 sg pret *ni·farnic* 2^a21 comes is not, as Pedersen, VKG §752.1, indicates, *(*)fo·airicc*, but simply *fo·ricc* 'finds' (with inherent *ro-*)—cf. *fo·recat* TBC^a591 (*fo·rrecat* LU), VN *fuirec* 29^a8 'reception (as of a guest)' and derived *do·fuircifea* 25^b16 3 sg fut with the same meaning. *·farnic* comes regularly from *fa-r(o)-áne-*, the corresponding deuterotonic form appearing outside the glosses, e.g. *fo·rránic* LU 7985 (BDD), 3 pl *fo·ráncatár* LU 10580 (Comp.CC.). But what is *fo·n-airnicc* 16^b2? *·airnicc* certainly does seem to represent *air-áne-*; the only explanation I can see is that, following *·tarnic* (*i(o)-air-áne-*) prototonic pret of *do·airicc* 'comes to, finds', deuterotonic *do·arnic* (3 pl *do·n-arnactar* 7^b13), prototonic

²¹ LL 37529 = Appendix I 1.15 of the new edition (*Audacht Morainn*, ed. Fergus Kelly, Dublin, 1976). The length mark is present in the MS.

²² I am not sure why, GOI §768, Thurneysen (or the editors?) supplied the form under discussion with a long mark, giving it as *do·fársiged*; perhaps this was based on evidence that the long vowel of the prototonic forms (perfective as well as non-perfective assuming that *fo-* was really present), in this case **·társiged* (*tafa-r(o)-ad-sech-*), had spread to the deuterotonic. The regular form would have the *-a-* short.

farnic (*fa-r(o)-ánac-*) of the verb in question must have formed deuterotonic *fo·arnic*. The palatal quality of the *-rn-* cluster in *fo·n-airnicc* is peculiar; it is not accounted for by the *-i-* of *air-* (properly *ari-*), which should have been elided before the initial vowel of *ánec*.²³

§24. *fot·rácbus-sa*

Beside *farcabtis* already mentioned §21 is found 1 sg perf *fot·rácbus-sa* 31^b1. The presence of *ro-* cannot explain the long vowel (this preverb simply elides its vowel before *a-*); it must be an anomaly taken over from the non-perfective. In fact, the form proves that even by the time Wb was produced the historically correct (**fo·acaib* with short *a-* (*fo-ad-gab-*) was already rivalled if not actually replaced by *fo·ácaib* (cf. *fo·ácat* BCr 18^b11, *fu·ácat* Ml 80^a10 (3 pl pres)) with the long vowel taken over from the prototonic *fácaib*.

§25. *fod·úacair*

The same development is seen in *fod·úacair* 11^b24 3 sg pres of *fo·uss-gar-* 'proclaims; denounces' (RIA Dict s.v. *fuacair*)²⁴. The only attestation that has a reasonable chance of representing old **fo·ocair* is 3 sg pret *fus·ocart* Thes ii 240.18 (Notes in Arm., in which long vowels are fairly consistently marked). It is strange that, beside the *úa-* of *fod·úacair*, only *ó-* (not always marked long) appears in close composition with *ro-* or *fo-*—*fos·rocourt*, *fo·rócrad* both mentioned above §1, VN *fócre* 2^a17 etc., also *ara·focair* 16^a7 'announces', VN *irócre* 16^a7 (*irfócre* 16^a10, *-f-* = *-f-*). Taken at face value, it would mean that the force which originally caused the reshaping of the deuterotonic after the prototonic (*fo·ocair* becoming *fo·ócair* after *fócair*) was no longer strong enough to keep the two from diverging anew (*fo·ócair* becoming *fo·úacair* despite *fócair*).²⁵

§26. *do·duthractar*, *do·futhractar*

Beside prototonic *dia·n-duthraccar-sa* 14^b6 1 sg perf-pres of *di·fo-trac-* 'desires', VN *dúthracht* 16^c18 etc., one finds in the deuterotonic forms the notable fluctuation *do·duthractar* 26^b1 *do·futhractar* 21^c23 (3 pl perf-pres), *do·duthris* 20^b9 *do·futhris-se* 32^a9 (1 sg subj). The *-u-*

²³ There seem to be no other examples of this irregularity in the glosses, but they are common in later sources, e.g. *fos·fárnec-sa* TBC² 931 (1 sg pret), *fom·airnec-sa* LL 35823 (2 sg pret) and so on. The same problem exists with *ar·icc* 'finds' and *do·airicc*. Interestingly, IGT Verbs gives as correct for the latter (§9 *Tairgxin in éduig*, i.e., in the specialized sense 'is expended, runs out') both *tarnuig* (: ó *n-agmuid*, ex. 137) and *tairnig* (: *aimrid*, ex. 138).

²⁴ As the infixed pronoun here is neuter and hence leniting it is conceivable that it is *fod·[f]úacair* that is meant, with 'doubled preverb'; but there does not appear to be any real evidence for this variant.

²⁵ But to the extent that the variation *ó* ~ *úa* before velars is still more or less free (or, in different terminology, low-level) in Wb, it is probably not necessary to attach any great significance to the form in question.

may be assumed to be long in all forms—if it were short, that is, simply the vowel of the preverb *fo-*, the raising before a voiceless consonant would be an irregularity not at all characteristic of this text, the forms being much more likely to appear as **do·fothractar*, **do·fothris*. But both *·dúthrac-* and *·fúthrac-* are in some significant way irregular. The former may represent an early treatment of *di·fo-* (see below §31), but is irregular inasmuch as that treatment was replaced by a more transparent one, namely *diu-* probably taken over from *di·uss-*. *·fúthrac-* in turn is based on *·dúthrac-*. But the problem has to be viewed as one of the relationship between prototonic and deuterotonic. That between *·dúthrac-* and *do·dúthrac-* can be described simply enough—ignoring the internal structure of the compound, it can be regarded as a matter of an extra preverb *do-* being added when the verb is in independent position, just as *ad-* is added to *·ágathar* ‘fears’, VN *digthiu* (examples 1^a3; 6^a12; Ml 53^c14). However, beside the alternative *do·fúthrac-* the internal structure of *·dúthrac-* cannot be ignored, for now the latter can only be interpreted as the elements of the deuterotonic, *di·fúthrac-* (or *to·fúthrac-?*) in close composition, with all the phonological difficulties that that entails. It is interesting that, in creating the *f*-forms beside the older *d*-forms, Irish seems to have opted for the phonological over the morpho-syntactic irregularity.

§27. *do·fuisémthar*

Partly similar to the problem with *do·futhractar*, *do·futhris* is that seen in *do·fuisémthar* 4^c7 p sg fut of **do·uissim* ‘begets, creates’ (*to·uss-sem-*) beside VN *tuistiu* 28^b17 etc. The problem here is twofold. First *fuissim* is anomalous by virtue of the “prosthetic” *f-* (note that it is not susceptible to analysis either as *fo-sem-*, which should give **·foim* or **·fum* (disyllabic), or as *fo-uss-sem-*, which should give **·fósim* with contraction). Second, prototonic *tuissim* cannot be regularly derived from *to-fussem-*, whatever the latter element is taken to be—a long vowel should have arisen as in **·tóban* (implied by PPt *tóbaidi* Sg 120^a1 and indeed by irregular *du·fóbi* Ml 96^a7 3 sg fut) beside *do·fuban* ‘cuts off’.

§28. *do·fórmach*

An analogous irregularity, rather different in origin, is shown by the form *do·fórmach* 1^b5 (assuming this is the correct reading of the MS) ‘increases’ (*to-for-mag-*). The long *-ó-* has been taken over from the prototonic *tórmag*—cf. *mani·tórmais* Sg 208^a2 (2 sg subj); that the long mark in the Wb form really indicates a long vowel is not absolutely certain, but chances are high, given the frequency of similar forms in later sources (*du·fórmastar* Ml 105^a8 (p sg fut), *do·fórmagat* Sg 53^a11 (3 pl pres) and so on).

§29. *do·fudircc*

Another example is *do·fudaircc* 10^{d6} 3 sg pres 'tramples, crushes' (here rel) beside VN *tuarcun* 1^{e19} etc. As the latter form shows, this verb is a compound of *orgaid* 'slays'. While the prototonic *·túarg-* can be derived more simply from *to-fo-org-* than from *to-org-* (which should give a short vowel, **·torg-* (?)), but there are a number of forms which clearly do not (or originally did not) contain *fo-*—first, the perfective forms, made with *com-* instead of *ro-*, as *du·comarr* Ml 85^{c3} (3 sg pftv subj), *con·tochmairt-siu* Ml 17^{a2} (2 sg perf, from a compound with added *com-* (intensifying)) and so on; and second, the reduplicated fut *do·fiurr-sa* Ml 113^{a11} (1 sg fut). If the former contained *fo-* they should have come out **du·fochmarr*, **·tóchmairt* ~ **·túachmairt*. In the case of the latter the *f-* can hardly be original—if the verb was *to-fo-org-*, compounded with two real preverbs, the reduplication should have been suppressed (which regularly happens in compounds of *orgaid*—see GOI §661) yielding forms indistinguishable from the subj; even if the reduplicating syllable did persist, it should have combined with *fo-* to give something like **·foiurr* or whatever, not *·fiurr*. This latter can only be based on prototonic *·tiurr* (actually attested ZCP 10.46.3—apparently monosyllabic²⁶). Thus one has, all in the same verb, ordinary *fo-* (to account for the length in *do·fudircc*, *tuarcun*), prosthetic *f-* (*do·fiurr*), and no *fo-* or *f-* at all (*du·comarr*, *·tochmairt*).

§30. *ciar·femtha-so, ar·foemat*

A verb with just as varied a set of forms, and not so systematically distributed, is *air-em-* 'receives', which should be simply **ar-eim-*. This is probably reflected only in the VN *airitiu* 29^{a6}. Thurneysen, GOI §837, seemed to regard *are·n-airema* Thes ii 244.28 (Cam.) (3 sg subj) as a genuine old form, but it must be noted that *ari-em-* should have become *ar-em-* with elision of the second vowel of the preverb, giving **·airmea* with syncope, like *tairset* Thes ii 305.3 (Colman's Hymn) 3 pl subj of *do·airicc*, and similar forms. I assume then that already in the archaic Cambrai Homily a variant with prosthetic *f-* (of a rather less superficial nature than the usual) was in existence; it is clearly seen in Wb—*ciar·femtha-so* 8^{d5} (2 sg psbj) and *ar·femthar*²⁷ 28^{e19} (p sg subj). Traces of this *f-* may be detectible also in certain forms of *do·eim* 'protects': the palatal *-m-* in *manin·dimea* Ml 88^{c2} (3 sg subj), which would regularly come from *di-fem-* but not *di-em-*; the lack of syncope in *innan·dimithe* Ml 107^{a1} (implying the second syllable was syncopated, not contracted) beside regular *ɔ·dimthe*

²⁶ *intiur* MS. The poem is *In·rogh-so a Ri na Run*, attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennán (confirmed by several MSS of the *Trefocul*, in which quatrains of the poem is cited, and their author given as Cormac).

²⁷ *arfemthar* MS.

Ml 39^o7 (p sg psbj); possibly the VN *dítiu* Sg 57^a5 for **détiu* (see GOI §831); and finally in the non-elision of the vowel of *ro-* in *arin[d]*·*deroima-som* Ml 39^o22 (p sg pftv subj), *sid·nderoimed* Ml 55^a4 (3 sg pftv psbj) instead of *·*deirmea*, *·*deirmed* from *de-r(o)-em-*. But beside *ar·femtha* and so on there are also forms like *ar·foemat* II 34^a6 (3 pl pres), *iroimed* (leg. *iróimed*?) 6^a4 (3 pl impv) and others in which a whole *fo-* seems to appear. (Perfective forms such as *arna·arroimat-som* 14^a37 (3 pl pftv subj) could represent either *ar-ro-fem-* or *ar-ro-fo-em-*.) Thus one has with this one verb *fo-em-*, *fem-* and *em-*, with a certain amount of free variation between the first two, and the third, though well established by other compounds, almost if not completely submerged already in the archaic language.

§31. *mani·airgara, eirgnae*

Reference was made above §11 to a fluctuation *ari-*~*aru-* in the preverb conventionally written *air-*. The *u*-form is apparently a very old contraction of *ari-fo-* (to *aru-*, with shortening in unstressed position) much like *díu-* (as in §27) from *di-fo-*. The contracted vowel arose early enough to undergo syncope, as can be seen from *ta·n-aurnat* Thes ii 253.5 (Tract on Mass, Stowe Miss.) 3 sg pres of *to-air-fo-ni-sed-* 'goes down' (RIA Cbb s.v. *do·airindi*). From compounds with real *fo-* *aru-* spread to those that did not have it, at the expense of *ari-*, and in the confusion *ari-* turned up for old *aru-*. This accounts for the variation *air-* with palatal *-r-* on the one hand and *aur-* *ir-* *er-*²⁸ with non-palatal *-r-* on the other. The interchange became so general that there is no point in giving examples here. Attention may, however, be drawn to two rarer spellings of the non-palatal variant—*air-* as in *mani·airgara* 2^o18 3 sg subj of *ar·gair* 'forbids, hinders' beside more usual *ir-* as in VN *irgaire* 3^o23 (cf. also *airlama* 3^a12 'ready' (nom pl) beside *aurlam* 8^a4, *irlam* 13^o8), and isolated *eir-* in *eirgnae* 14^a12 'evident' for usual *irgnae* 3^a1 etc., perhaps connected with a verb **ar·gnin* 'perceives'—see GOI §535n., re *co remi·ergnaitis*²⁹ Ml 19^b8. The distribution of the palatal and non-palatal forms of the preverb has come to be conditioned by the quality of the following

²⁸ Presumably all these spellings represent, in Old Irish at least, the same sound—as Thurneysen, GOI §80 (e), calls it, 'a vowel for which the Irish script has no unambiguous symbol.' He notes that it can rime with *e*, but my own impression is that in verse of the Old Irish period it normally rimes only with itself, and freely consonates (i.e. typically does not rhyme) with *e* as well as the other short vowels. Further investigation on this point is certainly to be desired.

²⁹ Of course this form may simply be a scribal error for *engnaitis*. Another possibility is that it represents the verb of which the VN is *érgnae* 'understanding' (riming with *bérlae* SR 3447, 7268 etc., Rawl B 502 77^b7 = LL 17702, Met. Dind. iii 386.23 and so on), that is, *ess-ro-gnín-*. The vowel of *irgnae* is of course short (riming with *slemna* SR 5952, with *Mugna* (earlier *Maugna*?) LL 6976, consonating with *febdae* Féil Feb 24—and note the wholly anomalous rime with *Ua nDaigri* LL 23545 = FM i 508.8), and, a detail often passed over both by medieval scribes and modern editors, the *-g-* lenited.

consonant (normally the initial of the root), as tends to be the case with basically disyllabic preverbs. The interesting thing is that this must have led at times to verbs with forms clearly containing *fo-* next to forms with all signs of that preverb blotted out. The glosses unfortunately do not yield satisfactory examples³⁰, but from *ar·fognai* (*air·fo·gní-*) 'serves', prototonic *·aurgnai* ~ *irgnai* (the quality being fairly recent, arising from the depalatalization of the cluster *-gn-*) one gets such forms as *ni·airgénas* LU 4780 (TBC) (3 pl pret or perf?), *dia·n-airgenus* ZCP 12.365.20 (1 sg pret or perf), appearing to consist of nothing more than *air-* plus the verb stem, despite the corresponding deuterotonic forms **ar·fuigénas*, **·fuigenus* (**·forgensat*, **·forgenus* if perf). And there is no reason to believe that these could not have been good Old Irish forms.

TO-

§32. <na>chib·t(h)ascrad, ɔdidi·tarla, ni·tarlicid

To-, like *ro-* and *fo-*, has a variant in *-a-* that can show up before an original *-a-* in the next syllable. It is not common directly before a root, but <na>chib·t(h)ascrad 22^b1 3 sg impv of *do·scara* 'knocks down' (if this is how the MS is to be read—at any rate cf. *imme-thascrat* M1 118^c11 (3 pl pres, with intensive *imb-*), to which could be added many forms from later sources). More usually *ta-* appears before (the *-a-* form of) *ro-*, as ɔdidi·tarla 24^a17 3 sg pftv subj (suppletive) of *do·cuirethar* 'puts', beside deuterotonic *do·ralad* mentioned above §3. A less clear-cut case is *ni·tarlicid* (and ɔ·darlicthe) already discussed §4.

§33. targabáal

The same variant occurs in *targabáal* 9^c19 'trespass', VN of *do·rogaib* 'transgresses, commits (a crime)'. In this form a question arises as to how *to-* became *ta-* while *ro-* stayed as it was—for which cf. *a ndo·rogba* 22^b9 (3 sg subj). It is interesting that in M1 one finds not only *targabál* (cf. M1 22^a24, 71^b3, 70^d6) but also more commonly *torgabál* (5X, cf. M1 15^c11, 62^d6 etc.). Moreover the PPt is attested twice, both times with *tor-*, and the one prototonic finite form occurring also has *tor-*—*o·torgab* M1 32^a23. Perhaps *targabál* is a relic of an older variant **do·ragaib*, in connection with which one may note *adob·ragart* I 19^b5 3 sg perf of *ad·gair* 'calls for' beside later *ad·rograd* 3^c22 (p sg perf), *ara·rogart-som* 5^c23 3 sg perf of *ar·gair* 'hinders', with comparable forms in M1 and after—suggesting that some verbs once had the *a*-forms of the preverbs, but subsequently gave them up in favor of the normal *o*-forms.

³⁰ But cf. *do·erchain* ~ *do·airchet* discussed above, §31 and note.

§34. *toschid, tasgid*

Only superficially similar is the variation seen in *toschid* 10^a18 (cf. 10^a23, 10^a27) 'sustenance' beside *tasgid* 29^a13, and derivatives *taschide* 10^a18 'necessary' and *taschidetu* 23^b37 'necessity'. (In later texts the meaning 'sustenance' disappears and *toisc(h)id* is 'need', *toisc(h)ide* 'necessary'.) *Toschid* is the VN of **do·osaig* 'supports, sustains' already encountered in perf *dom·roisechtatar* above §1. Its *-o-* has nothing to do with the *to*—the formation is *t(o)-uss-sag-* with the vowel of the first preverb elided and that of the second lowered before the *-a-* of the root. *Tasgid* and so on are presumably from a formally distinct compound *t(o)-ad-sag-* **do·asaig*, again with elision. Perhaps stimulated by some phonetic development, the two seem to have degenerated into variants of a single verb.

§35. *ni·tartsat, ara·tart-sa*

Ta- is found also in the prototonic of *do·ratai*, the suppletive perfective of *do·beir* in the sense 'gives'. Its unique peculiarity is that, in the great majority of attested forms, the vowel (that is, the *-a-* of *rat-*) that provoked the change of *to-* to *ta-* has somehow dropped out. Typical are *ni·tartsat* 24^b20 (3 pl perf), quite different from the isolated, historically correct *ni·tartisset* 1^b17, and *ara·tartar* 15^a19 (p sg pftv subj) with *-t-* from *-t-th-* (*-t-* = *-dd-*), *-thar* being the ending of the subj. The missing syllable here can be regarded as a matter of double syncope, an irregular but hardly unknown phenomenon—but there is also *ara·tart-sa* 14^a17 (1 sg pftv subj) beside *nicon·tarat* M1 36^a1 (3 sg perf—normally homonymous with the preceding in weak stems) with the highly anomalous loss of vowel in final (post-apocope) syllable.³¹

§36. *nacha·telcid*

The front-vowel variant *te-* is seen in the prototonic forms of *do·léici*, as *nacha·telcid* already mentioned, in connection with *re-*, above §4. Note that forms such as VN *tailciud* M1 131^a14 with *ta-* for *te-* are not represented in Wb. I assume, with Thurneysen, GOI §855, that these are some kind of by-form; but it should be mentioned that Pedersen and others consider these forms to contain an additional preverb *ad-*, *t(o)-ad-léc-*, though this means accepting an isolated

³¹ These forms were not discussed in connection with *ro-* since there is no compelling reason, internal to the language, to identify the *r(a)-* with the perfective preverb, as opposed to taking *r(a)t-* as a simple root. A suppletive perfective stem need not after all contain a perfective preverb at all (though, interestingly, it must contain some preverb), a significant example being *do·uccai* ~ *·tuccai*, also suppletive perfective of *do·beir* in the sense 'puts'.

shortening *·tal(a)ic-* for **·tál(a)ic-*³². Any rate there is no consistent difference of meaning between *·teilci* and *·tailci* (and their related forms), and, to the extent they coexist at least, they seem to be interchangeable.

§37. *ni·terga*

Te- also makes an appearance in *ni·terga* 17^a4 (3 sg) beside deuterotonic *do·reg* 7^a15 (1 sg), the suppletive fut of *do·téit* 'comes' (simplex *regaid* is the suppletive future of *téit* 'goes'—obviously there is no question of the former containing *ro-*). There is something drastically wrong with this prototonic formation—it should have come out **·tuirgea* or **·toirgea*. Significantly, corresponding to the deuterotonic variant *dond·riga* 25^a38 with (phonologically irregular) raised or unlowered *-i-* there is prototonic *ni·tirga* M1 121^a17, showing that, while the prototonic and deuterotonic cannot be derived either one from the other, or both from some other source, in any straightforward way, they are still somehow intimately related.

§38. *ni·tibérthar*, *ni·toibre*, *ni·taibre*

The variant *ti-* (of which *te-* of §§36–37 is perhaps merely a derived form, with vowel lowering) occurs in the prototonic fut of *do·beir*, *ni·tibérthar* 18^b11 (p sg fut). Outside the fut the form is basically *to-*, but replacement by *ta-* (clearly not before original *-a-*) can be observed in progress—*ni·toibre* 29^a20 (2 sg subj), *mani·thobrea* 4^c20 (3 sg subj), *ara·tobarr* 12^a29 (p sg pres), but also numerous cases of *ta-*, including *ni·taibre* 29^a28 next to *·toibre*. (M1 has, to my knowledge, only *ta-*, never *to-*; on the other hand neither Wb nor M1 ever have anything but *ro-* (raised to *ru-* for some reason in the perf) in the perfective of the other compounds of *beirid* such as *as·beir*.)

§39. *dud·rimthirid*, *óin-timthrecht*

A verb which does not historically take *to-* at all, and yet appears to have *ti-* or *te-* in it, is *t(o)-imb-di-reth-* (it is not the initial preverb that is at issue) 'serves', which appears in Sg as VN *timdirecht* Sg 35^a2 and, compounded with *fo-* (glossing *suffire* 'fumigate'), *fo·timm-diriut* Sg 185^b3 (1 sg pres), *fo·timdiris* Sg 185^b7 (2 sg subj), the expected forms. But beside the last there also occurs *fo·timmthiris* Sg 54^a17, as if representing *-t(o)-imb-ti-reth-*. This latter sort of form is the only one found in Wb, e.g. *ma dud·rimthirid* 28^a30 (3 sg perf), VN *tim-thirecht* 10^a17 etc. Perhaps a voice assimilation has taken place

³² Also deuterotonic *cia dud·failci* M1 111^b23 (3 sg pres) and similarly M1 35^c2, formed from this stem just as the perfective *do·farlaic* is from *·tarlaic* (see §4). Though *·tailci* (and *do·failci*) occurs in M1 but not Wb, one should note *ara·tailced* Thes ii 240.22 (3 sg psbj): the text is Notes in Armagh, which, the editors (Thes ii xv) maintain, 'seems on the whole to represent the Irish of the early eighth century, though some later forms may have been introduced by the copyist'...the question being, does this form fall into the latter category?

t-d—(*-d*- spirant) becoming *t-th*—in the prototonic, the assimilated *-th-* then spreading to the deuterotonic. The doubly syncopated form *óin-timthrecht* 5^a1 (more common in M1) may indicate that the internal structure of the word was not understood.

IND-/EN-

§40. *mani-thinib*

The preverb *ind-* clearly has one quite distinct variant *en-* (monosyllabic—*ind-* is basically *indV-*, disyllabic). But it is probably necessary to recognize at least one more 'mixed' form *inV-*, judging from *mani-thinib* 4^a27 3 sg subj of *do-infet* 'inspires; aspirates', for **thindib*. According to Pedersen, VKG §822, 'das *-d*- des Präverbs *ind-* musste in den meisten Formen lautgesetzlich schwinden; *in-thinib* fehlt es analogisch'. This is a tempting explanation, but there may be problems with the 'lautgesetzlich' loss of the *-d*-. Forms like *do-n-infedam* 14^a32 (1 pl pres), VN *tinfed* 32^a3 and so on seem to be quite comparable to those like *run-sluinfem-ni* 15^a4 1 pl fut of *sluindid* 'signifies, names' (cf. also 28^a14), much as *ni-imthesid* 22^a4 2 pl subj of *im-tét* 'goes about', VN *imthecht* 6^a30 (*imb-tiag-*) is comparable to *aidchuimthe* 28^a17 for **adchuimbthe* PPt of *ad-cumban* 'wounds, cuts' (*aith-com-bin-*) as regards the loss of the *-b*-. But there is a difference: in both *imthesid* and *aidchuimthe* the *-m-* representing the reduction of *-mb-* before fricative, though normally written singly, is shown by the later language to be non-spirant, that is, basically unlenited *-mm-*; and similarly one finds in later sources not *sluinfem* but rather *sluindfemmi* (*-nd-*, *-nn-* MSS) Fél. Prol. 287 (abs 1 pl) and still later *sloinnfi* SR 1212 (abs 1 sg) and so the modern language, clearly with unlenited *-nn-*; but there is no evidence that I know of that the *-n-* of *tinfed* etc. was unlenited, and indeed *thinib* (not **thinnib*) suggest it was lenited. Moreover even in Wb there is *cointfi* (*-t-* = *-d-*) 1^a7 'fitting' (nom pl), *cuinnfi* (etc.) O'Dav 346, 473, with no loss of the dental, indicating that the rule in question did not apply with complete regularity.

§41. *thinól, ni-inotsat, fo-indarlid*

In *thinól* 12^b3 (dat), *comthinól* 21^a7 VN of (*con*)*·tinólá* 'gathers' the *in-* can come regularly from *en-* before *-d-* from *uss-* (*t(o)-en-uss-la-*). In the same way *ni-inotsat* II 33^a14 3 pl fut of *in-otat* 'enters' (glosses *intrare*) VN *neph-inotacht* II 33^b5 can be explained in terms of *in-* from *en-* before *uss-*; but the longer form *ind-* does appear in 3 sg *fo-indarlid* 3^a6 gl. *subintravit* (presumably *-ind-ro-uss-lud-*, cf. deuterotonic *in-rualaid* M1 71^a7), typifying the interchange of the two variants within a single verb.

§42. *indid·n-ingaba, nin·incébhar*

In the prototonic forms of *in·gaib* 'reproaches, shuns' an apparent confusion of the two forms has created the illusion of an extra preverb. That is, beside typical deuterotonic forms like *in·geb-sa* 8^a12 (1 sg fut), *atab·gabed* Ml 20^a11 (3 sg impv), the prototonic comes out *indid·n-ingaba* 11^a8 (3 sg subj), *nin·incébhar* 15^a27 (p sg fut), VN *ingabail* 19^a8 (nom). Two things are to be noticed: first, as is confirmed by later sources, the *-g-* is unlenited; and second, the pattern of syncope implies that a syllable formerly existed between the *-n-* and the *-g-*—where the first would be normal with the short form *en-* of the preverb, and the second with the long form *indV-*. Actually, the unlenited *-g-*³³ is usually explained as taken over from *·imgaib~imcaib* 'avoids' (*imb-uss-gab-*) with which the verb is closely associated, and indeed occasionally confused—*imda·ingaib* Ml 38^a3 (1 sg subj) for *·imgaib*. It should be noted, however, that there is no **im·ocaib*; where the deuterotonic of this verb would be required the preverb *imb-* is simply repeated, as *imma·n-imcab* 30^a20 beside *imcaib* 28^a24 (both 2 sg impv), so that the identification of the second preverb as *uss-* as opposed to *ad-* does not have much internal motivation. At any rate, if the prototonic forms of *in·gaib* were to be considered to contain a spurious *uss-*, there would arise the odd minimal contrast between *ingabail* (*en-uss-gab-*) VN of this verb, and *indocbail* 4^a18 'glory, glorification' (*ind-uss-gab-*) VN of the poorly attested *in·ocaib* 'glorifies' (showing the normal meaning of *-uss-gab-*, 'raises up')—differing only in the form of the first preverb.

§43. *ad·eirrig, ind·aithirset*

A verb which seems to contain *en-*, though perhaps it did not historically, is *ad·eirrig* 22^a2 (3 sg pres) 'repeats; changes, improves', *ad·errig-som* Ml 46^a21, *atann·eirig* Ml 114^a10, also *ad·errius-sa* Ml 89^b3 (1 sg fut). It is usually taken as having *air-*—with the consistent *e-* left unexplained (of course, the Ml forms are ambiguous: unlike Wb it has *er-* in variation with *air-* before palatal consonants; even so, the glide vowel seen in *·eirrig*, unless to be emended to *·errig*, would be strange for that preverb). Additional support for the analysis proposed here (*aith-en-reg-*) may come from the 3 sg subj forms attested several times outside the glosses—*ma* [a]d·eirr Laws ii 188.9, *ma* *ath·eirr* Ériu 7.146.5 (Irish Penitential), also prototonic

³³ Excepting *nin·incébhar* all the forms in the glosses are spelled *-ng-*, and indeed *-nc-* occasionally occurs in Wb where *-ng-* would be normal, e.g. *con·utuinc* 10^a28 (and similarly 8^a16) 'builds' beside usual *cota·utaing* Ml 36^a18. But later spellings in *-ngg-* become common, making it clear that the verb does not contain simple [-Ng-] (becoming [-Ng-]), which would have arisen from *en-gab-* with only one preverb. *Dán direach* rimes are hard to come by, but note *do iongaibh* *biodhgaidh*, *Aithd.D.* 11.23ab (in a poem with full rimes in the first couplet) showing that the word contained a non-stop plus stop cluster, such as would come regularly from *en-uss-gab-*.

mani·aithir ib. 162.17. It may be maintained that these are analogical (for **ad·eirir*, **aithirir*, -*ari-re(ss)* disyllabic after apocope) based on the longer *ad·ersetar* Ml 30^a11 (p pl subj), *ind·aithirset* 30^b30 (3 pl subj). But these are no more regular—they too would have, assuming they contain *air-* and not *en-*, the same double syncope, for **eirressetar*, **aithirresset*. (*arna·aithirrestar* Ml 32^a13 (p sg subj) is not relevant; there was a pronounced tendency to syncopate the stem vowel before certain endings such as the p sg, especially in sigmatic formations, leaving the previous syllable intact.) For the consistent preservation of the syllable after *aith-* cf. VN *aithirrech* Ml 94^a3 etc. (neut) formed like *tudrach* Sg 54^a4 VN of *do·dúrig* 'irritates'. I assume *aithirge*, older *aithrige* (Cambrai Homily 2X³⁴), 'repentance, regret' (fem *ia*-stem) is the abstract from *aithrech* 'regrettable', and is not directly connected with this verb.

§44. *coni·ecmi, do·ecmalla*

A difficult problem is the unlengthened vowel in *ad·cumaining* ~ (*do·*) *ecmaing* 'happens'—*coni·ecmi* 5^b35 (3 sg subj), *do·ecmoised* 5^a26 (3 sg psbj), *tecommocuir* 10^a4 (3 sg pret)—and *do·ecmalla* 9^a5 (3 sg pres) 'collects', VN *tecmallad* 14^a1 etc. (see §13 above). Compare *donn·éicci* (-éi- = -é) 9^a4 'sees', *do·écommacht* 14^a33, *frisa·teicomnacht* 19^a8 p sg perf (with *com-*) of *do·indnaig* 'bestows' (another case of variation *ind-/en-* within a single verb). One could postulate a special by-form *in-* ((*to*)-*in-com-icci/ung-*, *to-in-com-all-*) beside normal *en-* (*di-en-ci-*, *to-en-com-aneg-*), the vowel of the former being lowered only after compensatory lengthening has had its chance to apply, but this is only disguising, not explaining, the irregularity.

OTHER PREVERBS

§45. *épeltu, áiritiu, ni·ru·thógaitsam*

Several cases were noted above §1 of the vowel of the preverb marked long when it probably was not long at all. Others include a *n-épeltu* 4^a20 VN of *at·baill·epaill* 'dies' beside *epeltu* 13^b20, finite *ni·epil* 30^a14 (3 sg pres); *i n-áiritiu* 5^a13 VN of **areim* 'receives' (on this verb see §30 above); *ni·ru·thógaitsam* 16^a22 1 pl perf of *do·gaitha* 'deceives' beside *nim·thogaitha* 4^b27 (p sg pres), *ocnin·torgáitar* 14^a27 (p sg pftv pres) etc. In the last it is very likely that the long mark was simply written over the wrong syllable, having been intended to mark the following unreduced diphthong; an argument could be made that in the first two the mark belonged on the preceding proclitic, where it frequently appears, for some unknown reason, in this text.

³⁴ Thes ii 247.9, 247.18, (*dug-uthrigi* MS). Note also *i nda[g]-gnimrathib* 244.32 '(good) deeds' dat pl of collective (-)gnimrad, beside later *dom deg·gnimarthai* Gild.Lor. 261.

§40. *in-árpitis-som*

But in some forms the vowel really does seem to be long. One is *in-árpitis-som* 5^o1 p pl psbj of *in-árban* 'drives out'; the only other forms in Wb are stressed on the first preverb *arnachit-rindarpither* 5^b33 (p sg pftv subj), VN *indarpe* 26^b27 so that the absence of a long mark is not surprising. Elsewhere in the glosses one finds *in-árbenim* Sg 146^b10 (1 sg pres), *inn-árbandar* Ml 15^e4 (p pl pres), *inda-árben* Thes i 4.31 (Cambridge glosses) (2 sg impv) and other forms establishing for certain the length of the vowel. This length is clearly anomalous if the verb is analysed (VKG §664) as *ind-air-uss-bin-*, though it would be regular if taken as containing *ad-ro-* for *air-*. As far as I know the only concrete evidence for the former analysis is the apparent hapax *co ar·ubbnem* BCr 40^e3 gl. *ut evisceremus*, taken as *air-uss-bin-*. Stokes however, Thes Supplement p. 67, connected the form with *arfuban* 'cuts off', adducing *as·rubbart-som* Ml 59^a7 3 sg perf of *as·beir* and certain other forms (Thes ii 259n.) to show that *-bb-* may stand for lenited *-b-*. His suggestion is appealing from the point of view of meaning, but requires the additional emendation to *ar·ubbnem*.³⁵

§47. *dérchóiniud*

Much more striking is the long vowel in *dérchóiniud* 14^d27, *deirchóintea* 21^b1 (-*ei-* much more likely = *-é-* than *-e-*) (gen sg) VN of *do·rochoíni* 'despairs' (*di-ro-coin-*). The vowel does not appear marked long elsewhere in the glosses, but is well enough attested in later sources. There is apparently no evidence of it in prototonic finite forms, no **·dérchoini* or whatever (the only finite form in Wb is *de·rochóinet* 21^b1 (3 pl pres), deuterotonic). This may of course be accidental, but if the long vowel really were confined to the VN and forms derived from it, this could be considered as support for the traditional explanation in terms of the influence of *dér* 'tear'—*dérchóiniud* 'tear-lamentation' (*coiniud* VN of the simplex *coínid* 'laments') would be a plausible nominal compound—as opposed to a purely formal approach with an extra preverb—*di-ess-ro-coin-*.

³⁵ Attaching *ar·ubbnem* to *arfuban* of course leaves *in-árban*, with unlenited *-b-*, completely on its own. There is a VN *erbae* (*urba*, *urba*, etc.—RIA Cbb s.v. *urba*) which could come from either *air·fo-bin-* or *air·uss-bin-* (or both, on the off chance there are two distinct words) depending on the value of its *-b-*, which, unfortunately, is unclear. The evidence is perhaps somewhat in favor of a lenited consonant; on the other hand there also occurs what seems to be the PPt of one or the other of these verbs, *furbaide* 'excised' (often as a proper name) (always, apparently appearing with the prothetic *f-*, but see also the extremely poorly attested *furbad* ~ *urbad*), which shows some signs of having the *-b-* unlenited. But until firm evidence is found in the form of clear riming examples or survivals in the spoken language the question of the existence of a compound *air-uss-bin* must be left open.

§48. *ascnam*

An isolated metathesis is seen in *ascnam* 11^a19, *asgnam* 1^a18 VN of *ad·cosnai* 'strives after' (*ad-com-sní-*). This verb is not otherwise attested in Wb, but elsewhere in the glosses one finds, beside deuterotonic forms like *ad·cosnae* Ml 56^b39 (2 sg subj), *ad·cosnat* ACr 12^a1 (3 pl pres) and others, prototonic *ni·ascnae* Ml 56^b39 (2 sg subj), *immuī·áscnáti* (long marks peculiar) Thes i 6.4 (Cambridge glosses) (3 pl pres), also PPt *ascnaiðu* Ml 53^b25 (dat sg masc) along with other occurrences of the VN. The metathesis can thus be taken as well established, at least when the *-n-* immediately follows—the more so as there is no trace of forms like **acsnam*, **·acsnat* and so on. But there are also forms of this verb where the *-n-* did not immediately follow: *sniid* 'twists; struggles', of which *ad·cosnai* is a compound, generally patterns after *gniid* 'works', and in particular forms its fut and pret stem with a long *-é*—e.g. 3 pl *·sénat* (fut), *·sénsat* (pret) after *·génat*, *génat*. Unfortunately the only occurrence of this kind of form from *ad·cosnai*, in the glosses, is *ad-ru·choisséni* Ml 69^a4 (3 pl perf) with the perfective preverb apparently pretonic. Outside the glosses there are two bits of quite contradictory evidence as to what the forms were like—*doda·ascensat* (*-e*- long?, v.l. *doda·ascansat*) Thes ii 334.5 (Broccán's Hymn) 3 pl pret of a compound *do·ascnai* 'visits' suggesting generalized metathesis, but also *ni·aircsenad* Laws i 150.18, according to Thurneysen, GOI §648, 3 sg pftv cond, with no metathesis. The latter form is, as it stands, suspect in that it shows double syncope, for **·árchossénad* (where of course there is no possibility of metathesis). But it may be modelled after a non-perfective **·aicsénad*. The question is significant in establishing what the status of the metathesis was—if it was confined to the forms where the *-n-* immediately follows (as *·aircsenad* suggests), then it could be maintained that it was in fact the regular treatment, which, however, turned out by chance to arise only in this isolated case; on the other hand, if it occurs wherever the two consonants come together in this verb (as *·ascensat* implies) in the face of *-cs-* clusters remaining as they are in a number of other words, e.g. *deícsiu* 25^a29 VN of *do·écai* §44, then there is no way of regarding it as phonologically conditioned. But it must remain an open question which kind of form Wb would have had.

§49. *irnaigde, indnadad*

Finally, there is phonological irregularity to be noted in connection with the marginal preverb *ni-~ne-*. This is that in unstressed position it seems to show a variant with back vowel. Thus beside *ar·neigdet* 25^c23 3 pl pres of *arneget* 'prays (air-ni-ged-) there is VN *hirnaigde* 4^a20 with non-palatal cluster, not the expected **airnigde*

(and though there is no glide vowel *-a-* in *irnigde* 4^a27 etc., or in *irnigdid* 22^c8 (2 pl impv), the spelling *ir-* would be wholly anomalous before a palatal consonant). And from *in-neet* 'endures' (*ind-ni-sed-*) (*in-neuth* Thes ii 42.11³⁶ (1 sg pres)) there is *indnadar* 11^a14 (3 sg impv) for expected **indnedad* (again there is no glide vowel written in the other forms—VN *indnide* 4^a19 and so on—and in this case there really is ambiguity). A third verb *ar-neet* 'expects' (*air-ni-sed-*) has only deuterotonic forms in Wb—e.g. *ar-neut-sa* 14^a18 (1 sg pres), *a n-ara-nethem* 31^c17 (1 pl pres)—but unlike the other two this one seems to show palatal as well as non-palatal cluster in close composition: *ara-n-eirstar* Ml 118^a10 (p sg subj—proper MS reading?), *eirnet* H 3.18.232^b (3 sg pres) and perhaps others, beside *co-aurnaidter* Laws i 266.2 (p sg pres), VN *ernaide*, *irnaldi* Mon. Tall. 130.9, LU 4504 (TBC) and passim. It is not easy to explain this peculiarity³⁷, but it is perhaps reminiscent of the exceptional quality turning up in the prototonic forms (N.B., the only kind attested) of **ar-midethar* 'attains'—*ni-irmadadar* 28^a21 (3 sg pres), *ni-irmadatar* 5^b2 (3 pl pret, beside *ra-midar* 9^b5 1 sg perf of the simplex *midithir* 'judges'). It is possible though that this verb actually contains a third preverb, *air-fo-med-* or, as there is a certain amount of indication that the *-m-* was unlenited, *air-ad-med-*. This extra preverb, of course, would explain the non-palatal cluster.

SUMMARY

This collection of forms is not, even within the limitations mentioned at the beginning, really complete. A few items have been omitted because there is some problem as to what they are or what should be said about them (this includes a number of apparent scribal errors), and there are surely some others that have simply been overlooked. Moreover, it must be evident that the various forms discussed are hardly all comparable to one another. Some irregularities noted seem to be quite old, others fairly recent (with respect to the date of the text), some are mere variants of, others

³⁶ Paris Eutychius.

³⁷ Note also the peculiar behavior of the two BV verbs *ara-chrin* 'decays' and **gnin* (various compounds) 'recognizes'; *irchre* 26^a5, *erchrae* Ml 39^c34, also the derivative *irchride* 'perishable' 24^b5 etc.; and *aithgne* 1^b13, *aidgniu* (dat) 1^c15, VN of *ad-gnin* 'recognizes', p sg pres *hua-n-aithgnintar* Sg 29^b10, but *ecnae* Ml 89^c5, *acnu* (dat) 8^a10 VN of *asa-gnin* 'understands', and *ingnae* Ml 26^b8, *ingnai* (gen) Ml 89^b8, *ingnu* (dat) Ml 140^b2, *engnu* Ml 14^c19, VN of *in-gnin* 'recognizes', p pl subj *ni-engnatar* Sg 209^b13. In the case of *ecnae*, *engnue*, and perhaps also *ingnae* (assuming it like the preceding form represents *en-gnin*)—a variation not easy to account for—and not rather *ind-gnin*—the non-palatal form assumed by the root can evidently be explained in terms of depalatalization of original clusters, but, this will not do for *erchrae* or (assuming *ind-gnin*) *ingnae*, nor for *irgnae* (from *air-gnin-*) discussed above §31 and note, all of which should properly have come out like *aithgne* with palatal cluster. (But cf. *irgnai* (§31), in which, however, the non-palatal cluster can be regarded as historically correct, coming as it does from *air-fo-gni-*.)

completely exclude, the correct forms. Others, by the way, may not be irregularities at all, but rather artifacts of unjustified analyses.

As said above the purpose of this paper is mainly to offer a collection of irregular compound verb forms in the Würzburg glosses, simply to show that they exist. But a few words must be said about their significance. Basically, what these forms, in conjunction with many others not treated here, show is that the phonology of the compound verbs in Old Irish cannot be adequately described in terms of what may be called the "historical approach".

The central idea of this approach is that compound verbs are analyzable as simple verbs preceded by one, two or more of a distinctly limited class of preverbs. The phonological rules it seeks to establish are those needed to account for how the preverbs combine with each other and with the following verb stem to give the actually occurring forms. Under this approach the actually occurring forms are irregular insofar as they cannot be derived from the proper sequence of preverbs plus verb by the phonological rules established as normal.

But derivations have to be provided for irregular just as much as for regular forms. Assuming the basic process of derivation to be same for both, irregularity will be of two types. First, the base form may be somehow anomalous, containing either deviant forms of the preverbs or the verb stem (*ri-* for *ro-* in *dond·rigéni* §5, *fuss-* for *uss-* in *do·fuisémthar* §27, *-rt-* for *-rat-* in *ara·tart-sa* §35), or else a sequence which is deviant, with a preverb that should not be there (*uss-?* in *nin·incébhar* §42), a preverb missing that should be present (*fo-* in *ni·airgénasat* §31), one preverb substituted for another (*air-* for *ro-* in *fo·n-airnicc* §23) or whatever. Second, there may be something abnormal in the operation of the phonological rules that produce the surface form, whether it be a failure of an established rule to apply in the usual way (lack of syncope in *cini·arillet* §8, failure of lenition in *do·airfenus* §10), or else the special, perhaps unique, application of a rule not found in comparable regular forms (double syncope in *manis·deirclimmis* §18, loss of *-g-* in *imman·árladmar* §14, metathesis in *ascnam* §48 (?)).

Derivations, then can be provided—but are they satisfactory? It is well known that many Old Irish verb forms, irregular vis-a-vis the historical approach, have arisen by analogy—in particular the perfective tended to be remodelled after the non-perfective (*do·árbuid* after *do·adbat* §9, *ɔdidi·ta(i)rilbæ* after *·taisilbi* §7, *do·riltiset* after *·diltai* §6, etc.), and the deuterotonic after the prototonic (*fo·rácbus-sa* after *·fácaib* §24, *do·fuisémthar* after *·tuissim* §27, *do·fúthractar* after *·dúthraccair* §26, etc.). There seems to be no way that the historical approach can reflect these tendencies in its derivations,

which is strange since one would expect the forms in question to be most revealing of what the productive rules are (and are not).

If the historical approach can be characterized as first setting up the base forms and then working out the phonological rules needed to derive the surface forms, there can also be imagined a quite different approach, where one first establishes, on the basis of the actually occurring forms, what the productive (to one degree or another) rules are, and then begins to discover what underlying forms are recoverable given those rules. Under this approach the analogical forms would in general occupy a prominent place. Indeed, the regular/irregular partition would be made along quite different lines so that, for example, *ni·tartsat* would then be regular (with no worries about double syncope) and *ni·tartisset* irregular, for all its historical correctness (§35).

The alternative approach will, almost by definition, yield a more realistic description of Old Irish phonology. The main area of uncertainty becomes the base forms—analyses in terms of standard preverbs plus verb stem are no longer guaranteed. On the other hand, it was certainly true that under the historical approach a substantial distortion of underlying forms was a major price that had to be paid for general analyzability. After all, what is really to be gained by maintaining that *in·árpitis* §46 is basically *ind-ad-ro-uuss-bin-* and is regular, or is *ind-air-uuss-bin-* and is irregular, when not one of those isolated preverbs even has any detectible meaning to contribute to the whole? Why not just let it go at *ind-árban-*?

All in all, it seems that in view of its constructive and unbiased nature this alternative approach is bound to be at least as satisfactory as the historical in almost every respect, and superior in more than one. I advocate that it be tried and tested; it will surely give interesting results. But one must not be too optimistic. The Old Irish verbal system seems to be tainted with irregularities that staunchly resist either rationalization or elimination. Quite the contrary, it must never be forgotten that this verbal system was destined to become, within not much more than a hundred years from when Würzburg was produced, a linguistic fossil, maintained in the literary standard with little or no support from the living language. At this stage it is pretty clear that the various forms of a verb possessed a high degree of autonomy, and that, phonologically, the underlying forms were not far removed from the surface.

The problem is that this state of affairs surely did not arise overnight; it must have been evolving throughout the Old Irish period, having developed to a certain degree already by the time of our text.

The unanswered question is, then, to *what extent?* How different—not in terms of individual facts, but in overall orientation—was the grammar of the language of the Würzburg glosses from that of say, the language of *Saltair na Rann*? This is, I think, the most vexing, and also the most important question in the whole area of Old Irish phonology.

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ADDENDUM TO §28

In discussing *do·fórmach* 1^b5 I omitted to mention that, despite the fair plausibility of analogical lengthening of the *-o-*, and despite its actually appearing marked long at least twice elsewhere in the glosses, it is metrically confirmed, *Fél Oct 18*, as *short-- don·fórmraig : trednaig* 'abstinent' : *cobraid* 'help' (acc sg). While it is easy simply to say that this deuterotonic stem showed lengthened and unlengthened forms side by side, it might be worthwhile in view of this reliable riming example to consider alternative interpretations of the graphic *-ó-*. Spurious (if they may be called that) long marks are, for example, of significant frequency before *-rC-* clusters, which is after all the context in the form in question.

ECHTRAE AND IMMRAM. SOME PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

‘A sharp distinction cannot be made between the two genres’ states a recent writer about *echtrai* and *immrama*.¹ It is to combat this widely-held view that the present paper is written. As I shall seek to demonstrate below, the present state of confusion is caused solely by the tale commonly known as *Immram Brain maic Febail*;² when that story is assigned its proper place in the development of early Irish literature, the problem disappears. Let us then proceed for the moment in despite of *Immram Brain* and attempt a survey of the characteristics of the *echtrai* on the one hand, and of the *immrama* on the other.³

The early examples of *echtrai* are the following: *Echtræe Conli*⁴; *Echtræe Cormaic maic Airt i tir tairngiri*⁵; *Echtræe Laegairi maic Crimthann*⁶; *Echtræe Nerai* (also known as *Táin Bó Aingen*)⁷; *Echtræe Airt maic Cuinn*.⁸ The term *echtræe* may perhaps be rendered literally as ‘(an) outing’, but each of these tales involves a human excursion into supernatural territory. In the *echtrai* one is operating within a mythological framework where pagan deities and various other-world creatures of specifically Celtic provenance may move with ease and without incongruity. The route by which the human hero may seek the otherworld may be over sea (as in *Echtræe Conli*), or under a lake (as in *Echtræe Laegairi*), or into a *sid* (as in *Echtræe Nerai*); the central theme is nonetheless the same, that of a human being drawn on a journey to the otherworld. The essential milieu of the *echtrai* is therefore a pagan one. I do not wish to be drawn at this point into the controversy, largely stemming from James

¹ H. P. A. Oskamp, *The Voyage of Mael Duin. A study in Early Irish Voyage Literature* (Groningen, 1970), p. 41.

² Ed. & tr. Kuno Meyer, in K. Meyer & A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal to the Land of the Living*, i (London, 1895); also ed. A. G. Van Hamel, *Immrama* (Dublin, 1941).

³ I must refer, at the outset, to the lucid exposition of Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 101–130. It is surprising that confusion has survived the 25 years of this standard work’s availability.

⁴ Ed. & tr. J. Pokorny, ‘Conle’s abenteuerliche Fahrt’ *ZCP* 17 (1928), pp. 193–205. This text is discussed by James Carney, ‘The deeper level of early Irish literature’, *Capuchin Annual* 36 (1969), pp. 160–171. A new edition with translation has been published by H. P. A. Oskamp, ‘Echtræe Conla’, *Etudes celtiques* 14 (1974–76), pp. 207–228.

⁵ Ed. & tr. W. Stokes, in *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch, Dritte Serie, 1. Heft*, edd. W. Stokes and E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 183–229, as part of a longer text. The *Echtræe* (§§ 25–54) is found by itself in the Book of Fermoy. Cf. also V. Hull (ed. & tr.), *PMLA* 64 (1949), pp. 871–883.

⁶ Ed. & tr. K. Jackson, *Speculum* 17 (1942), pp. 377–389.

⁷ Ed. & tr. K. Meyer, *RC* 10 (1889), pp. 212–228; 11 (1890), p. 210.

⁸ Ed. & tr. R. I. Best, *Eriu* 3 (1907), pp. 149–173. This text, a product of the early modern period, is included here on the evidence of the tale-lists, for which see below, pp. 90 ff.

Carney's important essay 'The external element in Irish saga'⁹, as to whether these tales are literary compositions written within the Christian period or are instead products of prechristian Irish society which were transmitted orally until the point at which they were written down in historical times. What does, however, appear to me to be a distinct possibility is that the *echtrae*, as a genre, may perhaps be shown to be part of the Common Celtic inheritance of Ireland and Wales and therefore of great antiquity. The evidence is not plentiful but it is, in my estimation, highly suggestive: it consists of parallels drawn by Rachel Bromwich¹⁰ between magic treasures brought back by Irish heroes from otherworld-visits and similar items in Welsh texts, chiefly the *Tri thlws ar ddeg Ynys Prydain*.¹¹ Needless to say, the claim that the *echtrae* is a prechristian Celtic story-type should not be allowed to prejudice in any way the discussion of the origins of the extant tales which may very well be compositions of the historical period.

One can agree, then, with Kuno Meyer that the word *echtrae* 'specially denotes expeditions and sojourns in Fairy-land'.¹² Otherworld music, a fairy-woman, the magic branch, and the journey to the otherworld, not to mention the description of the pleasures of this supernatural land, are all features of the *echtrai* and occur variously elsewhere in the Irish secular literary tradition. It is the secular literature of which the *echtrai* are a part.

In stark contrast stand the extant *immrama*: the prose *Immram curaig Máele Dúin*¹³ (and a subsequent verse redaction); the verse *Immram Snédgusa ocus Maic Riagla*¹⁴ (of which prose epitomes were then produced); the prose *Immram curaig Ua Corra*.¹⁵ In 1955 Professor Carney wrote that 'it is unnecessary to labour the fact that all the *Immrama* are of their very nature of monastic provenance. Such tales... are related one to the other on the level of Christian literature rather than on the level of pre-literary oral tradition'.¹⁶ Such confidence has proved mistaken, if Dr. Oskamp's recent edition of *Immram curaig Máele Dúin* be the standard by

⁹ *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 276–323. I should like to record my gratitude to Professor Carney for reading a draft of this paper and discussing it with me at length: he is not, of course, to be held responsible for any of the opinions expressed here.

¹⁰ *Trioedd Ynys Prydain. The Welsh Triads* (Cardiff, 1961), pp. cxxx–cxxxv. For her 'immrama' (p. cxxxv), read 'echtrai'.

¹¹ Ed. and tr. R. Bromwich, op. cit., pp. 240–249.

¹² Meyer & Nutt, op. cit., i, p. 2, n. 2.

¹³ Ed. & tr. W. Stokes, *RC* 9 (1888), pp. 447–495; 10 (1889), pp. 50–95. Ed. A. G. Van Hamel, *Immrama* (Dublin, 1941); ed. & tr. from the Yellow Book of Lecan alone by Oskamp, op. cit. (n. 1 above).

¹⁴ Ed. A. G. Van Hamel, op. cit., pp. 86–92.

¹⁵ Ed. and tr. W. Stokes, *RC* 14 (1893), pp. 22–69; ed. A. G. Van Hamel, op. cit.; cf. J. Carney, *Éigse* 1 (1939–40), pp. 244–246.

¹⁶ Op. cit. (n. 9), p. 294.

which to judge. Oskamp sets up an opposition between secular and ecclesiastical *immrama*¹⁷ which seems to me to be wholly unjustified by the texts.

Let us then examine the general common characteristics of the *immrama*. These are all frame-tales. That is to say that the 'rowing about', as one may literally interpret the term *immram*, provides the means by which all manner of incidents may be secured and joined within the story. In this kind of tale episodes may be added or subtracted at will, as long as the frame itself is not damaged. Occasional internal inconsistencies sometimes reveal that such processes of addition and subtraction have indeed been at work. In the frame one must expect to find a motivation for the events of the tale, a satisfactory conclusion, and some material which will link very clearly with specific episodes within the narration of the circumnavigation itself.

Three other texts deserve to be mentioned as relevant at this point, namely the Latin *Vita Brendani Prima*¹⁸ and *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*,¹⁹ and the Irish *Betha Brénainn* from the fifteenth-century Book of Lismore.²⁰ The Latin *Nauigatio* must be considered here because its structure is obviously that of the *immram* and because it is the most widely known of all the texts under consideration. Briefly, one may state that it is a text which is motivated and constructed in a more determinedly Christian fashion than any of the vernacular works. Nor need this be surprising, for whatever the limits which may or may not have operated on the circulation of such vernacular texts, the restriction on readership imposed by the Latin language of the *Nauigatio* would make this a purely ecclesiastical text.

In none of the surviving *immram*-texts is the structural model outlined above represented more faithfully than in *Immram curaig*

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 16; cf. also p. 10.

¹⁸ For details and discussion see James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929; rev. imp. by Ludwig Bieler, 1966), pp. 412–414. The text of Kenney's 'VBL' is edited by W. W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 56–78; the voyage-section (§§ 8–12) is reprinted by Oskamp, op. cit., p. 181f. The *Vita Prima* is of earlier date than the *Nauigatio* (for whose date, see n. 88 below), and may provisionally be assigned to the first half of the ninth century. We may compare the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (ca. 900) which likewise incorporates an *immram*-section into an otherwise straightforwardly hagiographical text (see p. 89, below); such an episode must have represented the latest hagiographic fashion in the ninth century, doubtless reflecting the growing popularity of the vernacular *immram* as a genre.

¹⁹ Ed. Carl Selmer, *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis from Early Latin Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1959); translation by J. F. Webb, *Lives of the Saints* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 31–68. An essential companion to Selmer's edition is the review by J. Carney, *Medium Aevum* 32 (1963), pp. 37–44.

²⁰ This Life is sometimes called *Immram Brénainn*, though apparently without manuscript-authority; ed. & tr. Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 99–116, 247–261.

Máele Dúin. Once a background series of events has been established, the exact framework for the voyage is laid down: it is to be a revenge-seeking journey by sea under precise conditions predetermined by a druid. The consultation of a druid under such circumstances appears to have been a literary commonplace in the Irish tradition. It is the disregarding of the druid's instructions which leads to the failure to reach Máel Dúin's enemies and to the involuntary commencement of the marvellous voyage, the loss of the surplus crew-members, and the reconciliation and return. The story of Máel Dúin is a perfect structural whole. The same certainly cannot be said for the other extant *immrama* which provide implausible or most perfunctory frames for their voyage, indicating that the island-voyage is the essential part of the tale.

From the outset, the tale of Máel Dúin is ecclesiastical in inspiration: it begins with the story of Máel Dúin's conception, the violent union of king and nun being a hagiographic commonplace. Although the tale depends to some extent on motifs from secular saga (as one would expect in any good Irish tale of whatever provenance), the ecclesiastical materials of which it is composed are unable to be paralleled in native Celtic saga and probably derive from external sources through ecclesiastical channels. And in the *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* it is even more difficult than in the vernacular *immrama* to pin down many specifically Celtic motifs, in spite of the fact that the ethos of the work is unmistakably Irish.

This raises the whole question of the origin of the *immram*. Many of the episodes contained in the *immrama* are (even leaving aside theological material) of an origin which cannot be described as Celtic, and which must rely on bestiaries, lapidaries, and other compilatory works deriving ultimately from the learning of the world of classical antiquity. One may lay forth a summary of the evidence which will indicate quite clearly that these tales were ecclesiastical in inspiration and execution. The most straightforward indication of this is the use of knowledge which can have come only from the Latin schools of the monasteries. In the story of Máel Dúin a line of Vergil is quoted²¹; Zimmer's theory of the construction of that tale on the basis of the *Aeneid* was thoroughly demolished by William F. Thrall²² and need not be considered here, but the influence of classical sources on this genre can be considered certain²³. There is a clear reminiscence of the 'Phoenix' in *Immram curaig Máele Dúin*²⁴. Religious literature is also laid heavily under contribution:

²¹ §§34; *Aeneid* I, 203.

²² *Modern Philology* 15 (1917/8), pp. 449–474.

²³ Also, for parallel to episodes from 'Máel Dúin' in the Alexander-legend and in the Arabian Nights, see S. Fiore, in *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Kalamazoo), 4/1 (1973), pp. 36–43.

²⁴ §30.

in 'Máel Dúin' a psalm-verse is quoted (Ps. 102.5)²⁵; apocryphal christian motifs are found; religious terms, for example 'red martyrdom', are used; various expressions can only render Latin phrases; the influence of the *mirabilia*-literature is all-pervasive; the employment of hagiographical motifs and frameworks is notable, of which a particularly popular example is the frequent introduction of religious on islets in the ocean.²⁶ An apocalyptic flavour is often marked²⁷: for example, the motif of the burning river in 'Máel Dúin'²⁸ comes from that genre of literature; the theme of punishment directly related to the crime is almost an article of faith in the hell-scenes.²⁹ In short, the evidence for an ecclesiastical origin for the *immrama* is overwhelming. I make no attempt to deny the use of native Irish secular materials in the *immrama*, but these must be considered as sources subordinate to the ecclesiastical inspiration and sources of these tales.

One must ask, too, how the *immram*-genre could have arisen, in particular how it came about that the concept of innumerable isles in the ocean, which might be visited by these literary pilgrims from among the Irish, could provide the material for this group of wonder-tales.³⁰ The most obvious explanation lies in the existence around the coasts of Ireland and Western Scotland of hosts of islets, largely uninhabited except by the occasional solitary, which had come to be visited in the course of fishing-expeditions, of involuntary, storm-driven voyages, and of 'clerical sea pilgrimages'. The introduction of the element of the marvellous may have depended on the imaginative reports of returning travellers crazed for want of food and drink or terrified by exposure and dangerous seas.

There is also historical evidence to be considered. Since it is hardly necessary to produce here witnesses to the historicity of 'clerical sea pilgrimages', two examples will suffice. The first I take from a non-Irish source: under the year 891, the A-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the following tale—

²⁵ §30.

²⁶ E.g., 'Máel Dúin', §§19, 20, 30, 33.

²⁷ Assuming that the interpolation of part of *Fís Adamnán* into one of the prose texts of 'Snédgus and MacRiagla' to form the *Eachtra Clerech Choluim Chille* (ed. & tr. W. Stokes, *RC* 26 [1905], pp. 130–170, 285, from the unique manuscript, the Yellow Book of Lecan) is deliberate, this is another piece of evidence for the ecclesiastical literary milieu of which these tales were a part. For the interrelationships of the *immrama* and Irish apocalyptic, see St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Other-World* (London, 1930), pp. 62–96.

²⁸ §13.

²⁹ The overwhelmingly sabbatarian flavour of the hell-scenes in *Immram curaig Ua Corra* may suggest, since we know a version of the story to have existed by ca. 900 (see below), that its origin should be ascribed to the *Céli Dé* movement of the preceding century. See n. 87, below, for the possibility that it was already known ca. 800.

³⁰ On this subject see the brief but very useful paper of W. F. Thrall, 'Clerical sea pilgrimages and the *Immrama*', *The [J. M.] Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 276–283.

ond þrie Scottas comon to Ælfrede cyninge, on anum bate butan ælcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestælon forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hwær. Se bat wæs geworht of þriddan healfre hyde þe hi on foron, 7 hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to se to seofon nihtum mete; 7 þa comon hie ymb .vii. niht to londe on Cornwalum. 7 foron þa sona to Ælfrede cyninge; þus hie wæron genemnde, Dubslane 7 Macc bethu 7 Mælinmun.³¹

This contemporary annal provides independent testimony for the type of voyage which must lie somewhere at the roots of the *immram*-tradition. Examples of such voyages are legion in the hagiographic literature of Ireland, and may be regarded as closely affiliated to the *immram*-genre. However, more probably historical evidence may be derived from one of the earliest Hiberno-Latin saints' Lives, the late-seventh-century *Vita Sancti Columbae Tripartita* by Adomnán of Iona. In two places in this work,³² Adomnán refers to the voyages of Cormac who made three journeys to seek an *herimum in ociano*. His first journey fails because he has an unauthorised passenger aboard: one need hardly point the parallel with the story of Máel Dúin. Also notable is the description of the terrors of the sea, which equally reminds one of the *immrama*.

Another kind of evidence is provided by a 'Litany of Irish Pilgrim Saints' from the Book of Leinster,³³ in which are found references to the pilgrimages of Ailbe, Brendan, and others. This litany was composed *ca.* 900³⁴ in a monastery somewhere in the south-east of Ireland.³⁵ In view of its concentration on pilgrim saints, it is a valuable source for the present discussion; as Dr. Hughes says, 'the litany gives us a fascinating glimpse of the world behind the *immrama*'.³⁶ This source takes us on a little more than two centuries from the evidence of Adomnán and indicates a flourishing literature, whatever form it may actually have taken at that time. It contains three references to the story of St. Brendan; all of these agree in detail with the *Vita Brendani* rather than with the *Nauigatio*.³⁷

³¹ Ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892-99), i, p. 82; ii, pp. 103-105.

³² I.6; II.42. Ed. & tr. A. O. and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of St. Columba* (London, 1961), pp. 222-225, 440-447.

³³ Ed. & tr. Charles Plummer, *Irish Litany* (London, 1925), pp. 60-67; the text is found also in a number of other manuscripts. There is a full discussion of this work by K. Hughes, 'On an Irish litany of pilgrim saints compiled c. 800', *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), pp. 305-331.

³⁴ This is the dating established on linguistic grounds by Sarah Sanderlin, 'The date and provenance of the "Litany of Irish Saints—II"' (The Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints), *PRIA* 75C (1975), pp. 251-262. I am indebted to Miss Sanderlin for allowing me to read her article in typescript.

³⁵ E. G. Bowen, *Studia Celtica* 4 (1969), pp. 68-71, against Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-311. Bowen's view has now been accepted by Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), p. 209f. But see also Sanderlin, *art. cit.*

³⁶ *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), p. 316.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 315 and 323.

It includes the earliest reference to the story of the *Ui Chorra*.³⁸ And there are allusions to voyages and the Land of Promise in connexion with SS. Ailbe, Íbar, Munnu mac Tulcháin, and Patrick.³⁹

One has seen therefore that the very natures of the *echtrae* and the *immram* are quite different in every respect. One may reasonably feel incredulous that they should ever have been confused, so distinct are they. Their one obvious point of contact is that they deal with journeys to worlds which are motivated by forces quite distinct from those at work in contemporary Ireland. In the *echtrae*, however, the journey (which is by no means necessarily over sea) is an unimportant aspect of the story; the sea-voyage from island to island is, on the other hand, the *sine qua non* of the *immram*.

A feature which has been the cause of a great deal of confusion between these two distinct genres is the terminology of the otherworld. It is to this aspect that we must now turn our attention. One situation for the pagan Celtic otherworld was an island in the ocean: in *Echtrae Conli*, for example, the hero is lured to such a position. It is no wonder then, that in the mind of the Irish writer would lie the expectation that a voyager on the ocean (be he a cleric or a layman) might very easily happen upon the island of delights, of the ever-young, and so forth. Thus we find just this development in the *immrama*, but these islands have quite lost their pagan connotations. Ecclesiastical thought had long since developed the concept of the terrestrial paradise in which God's saints would dwell until the Day of Judgment; the idea is found chiefly in apocryphal texts,⁴⁰ where this terrestrial paradise tends to be situated across the River Jordan to the East. It is but a small step, however, to the creation of an Irish equivalent, an island-paradise in the Western Ocean; Enoch and Elijah are found dwelling on it in the *Immram Snédgusa ocus Maic Riagla*.⁴¹ There is nothing more natural than that this fusion of secular and ecclesiastical should have occurred in the mind of Irish clerics familiar both with the Christian legends and the concepts of their own native heritage as represented by one of the otherworld-locations shown in the *echtrai*.

A consideration of the otherworld-terminology may indicate what has happened. According to Kuno Meyer, *Mag Mell* is the most

³⁸ Invocation no. 44; Hughes, *ibid.*, pp. 316 and 327.

³⁹ Invocations nos. 18 and 43 (Ailbe), 2 and 7 (Íbar), 10 (Munnu), and 48 (Patrick).

⁴⁰ The term *terra reprobmissionis* (see below) appears in the apocryphon *Visio Pauli* (ed. Theodore Silverstein [London, 1935], p. 137). It occurs also at one point in the Vulgate, Hebrews xi. 9: 'Fide (de)moratus est in terra reprobmissionis'.

⁴¹ Cf. the island paradise which Brendan eventually discovers (*Nauigatio*, §28), and the account by Godfrey of Viterbo; for a brief consideration of this material see D. N. Dumville, *PRIA* 73 C (1973), p. 310f. In *Visio Pauli* (§20), St. Paul meets Enoch and Elijah inside the gates of Paradise.

frequent designation of the Irish elysium⁴². An important point to be made at the outset is that this name appears nowhere in the three extant *immrama*, nor is a corresponding Latin name found in the Brendan-literature. This is exclusively a motif of the secular tales. Its meaning is not absolutely clear, but may be something like 'Plain of Sports'.⁴³ It certainly represents the Irish pagan otherworld, as may be seen from its immediate context in *Echtrae Conli*, *Echtrae Laegairi*, *Serglige Con Culainn*, and the Bran story. It may be that, as time passed, the significance of the term for an Irish audience declined or became obscure, and a need was felt to gloss it. Thus in one branch of the textual tradition of the story we read in §63 *i n-inis na meld*,⁴⁴ while the other branch gives *i n-inis subai no na meld*.⁴⁵ Similarly in the prose *dinnshenchas* of Tonn Clidna we find the phrase *a Muig Mell Tire Tairngire*.⁴⁶ *Inis Subai* will be discussed later,⁴⁷ but the conjunction of *Mag Mell* with *Tir Tairngiri* is suggestive.

Tir Tairngiri, 'Land of Promise', also seems to have designated the pagan otherworld. There are a few examples from early secular texts. It was Zimmer's view that this term was at an early stage adopted into Christian usage as an equivalent of the Latin *terra reprobmissionis* which could refer both to the 'Promised land' of the Old Testament and to heaven, the 'promised land' of the Christian. Examples are legion from the earliest date (the term is common in the Würzburg glosses on the Pauline Epistles) and right through mediæval Irish literature. There must accordingly be a strong possibility that the term *tir tairngiri* is a Christian coinage, which was then able to be used in the secular tales as a current expression, and one which could be used without offence. Plainly there is no means of deciding whether this is an ancient prechristian otherworld name or a Christian development; nonetheless, in either case, its use received an extension (be it from pagan to Christian or from Christian to mythological) which reflects that fusion of secular and ecclesiastical which is such an outstanding feature both of the early Irish literary tradition and of early Irish history. It should be noted as a remarkable fact, however, that the phrase *tir tairngiri* is not found at all in the *immrama*. It is in the Latin Brendan legends that *terra reprobmissionis* appears, to be rendered naturally in the

⁴² Meyer and Nutt, op. cit., i, p. 18, n. 1. On the most slender evidence of one passage in the prose *dinnshenchas* he concludes (p. 32, n. 2) that 'the ancient Irish imagined Mag Mell to be in the south or south-west of Ireland'.

⁴³ RIA Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language, fasc. M, col. 96. Cf. the *Mag Mon* of 'Bran', §§14, 23, 35.

⁴⁴ LU 10097 and YBL.

⁴⁵ Rawl. B. 512 and R.I.A. 23. N. 10.

⁴⁶ RC 15 (1894), p. 437.

⁴⁷ p.86 and n. 69 below.

Irish versions as *tír tairngire*⁴⁸. *Tír tairngiri* occurs on a number of occasions in the *dinnshenchas*⁴⁹, whose collection of lore (made in the eleventh or early twelfth century, according to Stokes) may perhaps in part depend on traditions of great antiquity⁵⁰. In three manuscripts of the *Leabhar Gabhála Érenn*, four militantly christian stanzas, devoted to a description of *tír tairngire* as the lowest hell, are appended to a poem on the deaths of the Tuatha Dé Danann!⁵¹ Plainly, no decision can justly be preferred as to the pagan or christian origin of this expression.

A well known and often quoted example of the 'otherworld terminology' is found in the Würzburg glosses: *tír tairngiri innna mbeo*.⁵² It would seem to be a conflation of *tír tairngiri* with another expression which requires our attention: *tír na mbeo*, 'the land of the living ones'. In Irish literature, this formula, which is by no means as common as *tír tairngiri*, normally refers to the Christian heaven.⁵³ There is but one example known to me which describes the pagan otherworld: in *Echtræ Conli* the *sid*-woman who comes to Conle is called *in ben a tírib beó*.⁵⁴ The expression, in its christian sense, seems to have spread outside Ireland to Northumbria, where the poet Æðiluulf, in his Latin poem *De abbatibus* written at an unidentified cell of Lindisfarne between the years 803 and 821,⁵⁵ has the following passage:

Talia dum paucis perfectus, pro dolor, annis
pastor patrabat, uitam perductus ad almam,
corpora deseruit; nitidis comitatus ut ipse
alitibus testatus erat, pia castra beorum
ingreditur felix, letatus sorte superna.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ W. Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), lines 3564, 3839, 3844, 3865; Charles Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉrenn—Lives of Irish Saints* (Oxford, 1922), i. 44–95; ii, 44–92.

⁴⁹ Note a *tír tairngire*, *nó a tír Falga* in *Folklore* 3 (1892), p. 470f.; cf. the title *Forbais Fer Falga* in the tale-lists, and the text discussed by Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1921), pp. 429–431. In *Fled Bricrend* (§89) Curof's wife is described as *ingen ríg insi Fer Falga*.

⁵⁰ But Seán Ó Coileáin (*Ériu* 25 [1974], p. 90) is the latest to remind us, quite correctly, that the *Dindshenchas* are pseudo-etymological texts; their entries are often found 'petering out . . . in the exhaustion of the author's ingenuity'.

⁵¹ Ed. & tr. R. A. S. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn. The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, iv (Dublin, 1941), pp. 240, 241. One may compare a passage in Recension II of *Tenga Bithnua*, the 'Evernew Tongue', § 42 (cf. Recension I, § 69), which appears also to refer to Hell: 'Ocus teit iar sin co Mag Mell na Macraide & as gaibtheach am stathar isin maigh sin . . .' ('And it [the sun] goes thereafter to the Pleasant Plain of the Youths, and they are distressed indeed in that plain . . .'); see *Celtica* 9 (1971), pp. 36, 37.

⁵² Wb. 11¹⁹. Cf. *tír tarrgaire na finn*, from a poem in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 615, ed & tr. K. Meyer, in Meyer & Nutt, op. cit., i, p. 88.

⁵³ Thus Wb. 11¹⁹; LU 9300; Lism. Lives 2578; PH 3648, 8069.

⁵⁴ LU 9996.

⁵⁵ Ed. & tr. A. Campbell, *Aethelwulf De Abbatibus* (Oxford, 1967), p. xxiii.

⁵⁶ Lines 574–8. Campbell translates: 'When the abbot had performed such things in his perfection for, alas, but a few years, he left the body and was led to the blessed life. Accompanied by shining birds—so he was revealed—he entered the blessed dwellings of the living, rejoiced by his lot above.'

As Professor Campbell, the poem's latest editor, has rightly recognised, this is a partial rendering into Latin of the Irish concept.⁵⁷ (Indeed, it looks as if an expression such as *dún na mbeo*—though I have not seen this term in Irish—lay behind the Latin phrase.) In Christian usage *tir na mbeo* referred to heaven, as with one of the meanings of *tir tairngiri*. I think there can be little doubt, however, that this term is of pagan origin, representing a concept found also in the Brittonic side of Celtic tradition where it appears at a late date as the idea behind the *insula Avallonis* of Arthurian legend. Although examples of the phrase *terra uiuentium* can be produced from early Latin sources not of Irish origin, *tir na mbeo* is perhaps best regarded as a concept already entertained in Ireland before the advent of Christianity.

The three vernacular *immrama* may thus be seen to be quite free of the characteristic otherworld terminology, while their chief Latin equivalent—the *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*—knows only the *terra reprobmissionis (sanctorum)*,⁵⁸ the equivalent of that term, *tir tairngiri*, which is least certainly of prechristian origin. In the *echtrai*, on the other hand, this threefold terminology is happily used, and further expressions suggestive of otherworld delights are also found.

We are now in a position to summarise what we have learned thus far from this survey of the characteristics of *echtrai* and *immrama*. In spite of the fact that the *echtrai* are all, as they stand, products of the historical period and therefore of a Christian society, they nonetheless reflect somewhat of the mythology of the pagan Irish period and there is some reason to believe that they represent an ancient Celtic story-type. The central theme of an *echtrai* is the entry of the human hero into the supernatural world. He may be brought there by a combination of the powers of a fairy-woman and a magic apple-bearing musical branch, but these are not the only means. The otherworld is described as *Mag Mell* in some *echtrai*; the emphasis of this otherworld is on the promise of delights and the timeless quality of life, these aspects being represented or implied by the names like *Mag Mell*, *Tir Tairngiri*, *Tir na mbeo*, *Tir na mban*, and so forth.

The *immrama*, by way of contrast, are frame-tales in which the central theme is the island-voyaging. They are exclusively ecclesiastical in inspiration, though they draw to a limited extent on the motifs of the native secular literature (including the *echtrai*) and form their ethos from the society to whose literature they belong.

⁵⁷ Thus disposing of Michael Herren's claim (*Ériu* 25 [1974], p. 76) that there are no examples of Irish-derived words in texts by English writers of the pre-viking period.

⁵⁸ Save, perhaps, for the *insula deliciosa* (§1) or *insula deliciarum* (§29).

In so far as they resemble the *echtrae*, which is hardly at all, they do so by being stories of journeys into worlds controlled by supernatural forces.

Armed with these conclusions drawn from the evidence assembled above, it is now possible to approach with some confidence the story of Bran mac Febail. This was first edited and translated in 1895 by Kuno Meyer under the title 'The Voyage of Bran son of Febal to the Land of the Living'. Professor Meyer created an unfortunate precedent, for the tale itself nowhere uses the expression *tir na mbeo* or anything like it. For the rest of his title, however, Meyer can hardly be blamed. There exist at least nine manuscripts of this story, of which but one, the Yellow Book of Lecan, has a heading which gives a title to the tale: *Imram Brain maic Febuil andso 7 a eachtra annso sis*.⁵⁹ But even the semi-independent place of the YBL-text in the tradition of the work does not permit one to award any authority to this title; its absence from all the other witnesses is significant. However, towards the end of the work (§64) all manuscripts contain the words *atá i ssenchassaib linni chenae Imram Brain*, thus providing, after the fashion of other early Irish tales, a built-in title or colophon.

By 1941, when Professor Van Hamel's new edition of the tale appeared as part of a collection entitled *Immrama*, the name *Immram Brain* was well established; it has persisted, in spite of the strictures of Professor Dillon. The question must now be put whether the designation 'immram' is appropriate in the light of the evidence collected and studied above.

The story may be outlined as follows. An otherworld-woman with a magic branch comes to Bran and invites him to the Land of Women. She addresses him principally through a poem of 28 quatrains. He sets out by sea with 27 companions. During their voyage, they meet Manannán mac Lir driving a chariot across the sea; for him it is a flowery plain. He too addresses a poem of 28 quatrains⁶⁰ to Bran, chiefly prophesying his own forthcoming procreation of Mongán. He also tells Bran that he and his companions will soon reach the Land of Women. An intervening episode is that of *Inis Subai*, 'Island of Joy', whence a crowd of people laugh and jeer at Bran and his companions. One of the latter goes ashore, only to begin to act like those already on the island. They leave him there. They arrive at *Tir na mban* where a woman is allotted to each of the travellers. Eventually, after a lapse of many years, homesickness on the part of one Nechtán mac Collbrain makes them set out again for Ireland. On

⁵⁹ By a slip, Dillon (op. cit., p. 107) attributes this title to the Book of Leinster.

⁶⁰ This second poem has been reedited and translated by Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 92–101, 216–17.

their arrival, no one knows them, but the Voyage of Bran is named by the men Bran meets as part of their *senchassa*. Nechtán leaps ashore and turns to dust. Bran writes down his story in ogams and the company sails away, never to be heard of again.

The physical structure of the tale is therefore a number of short prose passages containing two poems spoken by otherworld characters. As a tale, it is structurally in a very poor condition. Four points are outstanding in this respect. First, when the company reaches *tír na mban* there is no indication that the woman who meets and greets them, drawing them to land with the magic clew, is the woman with the magic branch who first appeared to Bran in Ireland, though it must in fact be she. Secondly, if *Inis Subai* does have any place here, its function should be to relieve the company of a surplus crew-member whose presence on the voyage is impermissible. But there is no explanation of the visit. Thirdly, they fail, on the return voyage, to visit *Inis Subai* to collect their stranded companion, even though the queen of *tír na mban* has specifically instructed them so to do. Finally, though their return to Ireland is carefully manufactured to explain how their story is known, the people of Ireland already have '*Immrám Brain*' as part of their tradition.

All these points are real difficulties. The manuscripts are in substantial agreement and descend, in two main branches, ultimately from an archetype which is said to be the lost eighth-century codex, *Cín Dromma Snechtai*.⁶¹ This view has received general support, as has Kuno Meyer's dating of the text to the seventh century. It will be well, however, to quote Meyer in full:⁶²

'The Voyage of Bran was originally written down in the seventh century. From this original, sometime in the tenth century, a copy was made, in which the language of the poetry, protected by the laws of metre and assonance, was left almost intact, while the prose was subjected to a process of partial modernisation, which most affected the verbal forms. From this tenth-century copy all our MSS. are derived.'

If this be the common ancestor of all the extant manuscripts, it stands a century before the Book of Dubh Dá Leithe, which Van Hamel regarded as the hypothetical common ancestor of perhaps all, and certainly all but one, of the copies represented by the extant manuscripts of this story.⁶³ This whole matter of the later history of the texts assigned to *Cín Dromma Snechtai* requires further study, for it will throw considerable light on cultural activity in Ireland in the Middle-Irish period.

⁶¹ Thurneysen, op. cit., pp. 21–24, for this lost manuscript. On the date, see further n. 82 below.

⁶² Meyer and Nutt, op. cit., i, p. xvi.

⁶³ Ed. cit., p. 5f.

This brief summary of what is known about the text-history of the Bran-story confirms that the text, as printed, is a unity.⁶⁴ In its present form it appears to go back to the tenth century; Professors Carney and Mac Cana have had no difficulty in accepting the text, as it stands at present, as essentially faithful to a seventh- or eighth-century original.⁶⁵ If they be justified—and I am by no means sure that they are, for the text-tradition will take us back no further than the tenth century—then we must account for these serious discrepancies within the structure of the tale in terms of the activities of a writer of that early date. It is worth quoting at this point the words of Alfred Nutt:⁶⁶

'I think it extremely likely that Bran's visit to the Otherworld was once told as an independent tale, and that the Mongan episode is rather clumsily foisted in. But it seems certain that the author of this contamination was likewise the author of the Bran story, as it has come down to us; in other words, that we are entitled to use the Mongan episode for the purpose of dating the story *as we possess it*. I italicise the last four words purposely. The oldest written form of a story *may* be the starting point of a new literary organism; it may equally be the last link of a long chain, all the predecessors of which have perished. In either case it must be taken as the starting point of investigation, but the second possibility must always be kept in mind.'

I agree with this proposed bipartite division of the tale. We are thus brought up against a difficult point of method. The fact that both parts of the story contain linguistic forms which may indicate a seventh- or eighth-century original does not necessarily mean that the tale stood then essentially as it does today,⁶⁷ even though a *prima facie* case for that point of view may be said to have been established. For what we know of the redaction of Old Irish texts in the Middle Irish period should give pause for thought. We are not at present in a position to assert that similar deeds of conflation and harmonisation were performed in the eighth century; in so far as this process is reflected in extant texts it would appear to be a feature rather of the tenth and eleventh centuries, during which period we know the Bran-story to have been redacted.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ But there is some room for concern about the quatrain in §65 and about the whole of §66. The latter is omitted by YBL, the most independent manuscript of the tradition, and by the Stockholm manuscript (S). Both S and Rawl. B. 512 (R) omit the quatrain. The text-tradition must be re-examined in detail.

⁶⁵ Carney, op. cit., p. 280 and n. 1; P. Mac Cana, 'Mongán mac Fiachna and *Immram Brain*', *Ériu* 23 (1972), pp. 102–142, esp. 118–120. Mac Cana returns to the subject in 'On the "prehistory" of *Immram Brain*', *Ériu* 26 (1975), pp. 33–52. It seems to me that neither scholar, each with his very different view of the text, has faced the implications for this piece of its degenerate structure. Surely we cannot be certain that the text, as it stands, is faithful to a seventh- or eighth-century 'original'.

⁶⁶ Meyer and Nutt, op. cit., i, p. 137.

⁶⁷ The history of *Táin Bó Fraich* should be borne in mind here.

⁶⁸ Kuno Meyer, in Meyer and Nutt, op. cit., i, p. xvi (quoted above).

But whether we ascribe the extant story of Bran to the seventh to eighth centuries, or to the tenth, we must still account for its lamentably confused structure. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that before the present tale was created there existed a mythological story, analogous to *Echtræ Conli*, of which the extant tale is a confused and rewritten remnant, interpolated with the story of Mongán, and possibly with the motif of *Inis Subai*.⁶⁹ The affinities of the story, both as it stands at present and in the hypothetical unconfated form proposed by Nutt, are wholly with the *echtræ*-genre as its features were described at the outset. It abounds with otherworld-names, of which *Mag Mell* is the only one familiar from elsewhere.⁷⁰ The only element which is paralleled in the *immrama* rather than in the other *echtrai* is that of *Inis Subai* which sits so uneasily in the tale that its presence there must be seriously considered as the result of an interpolation, of however early a date.

If the tale in its present form does go back to the late seventh century, then the story of Bran's *echtræ* to the Land of Women must be very old indeed. Some evidence of the story's great antiquity is forthcoming from the verse text called *Immacallam in druid Brain ocus inna banfáitho Febuil hóas Loch Febuil*,⁷¹ surviving now in two manuscripts of the sixteenth century⁷² but apparently also to be attributed to *Cin Dromma Snechtaí*. This eight-quatrains dialogue, of which Bran's druid and his father Febul's *banfáith* or prophetess each utter four as they contemplate Lough Foyle, is an indirect witness to a version of the Bran story earlier than that of the extant tale. Professor Carney, who has just edited and translated this dialogue,⁷³ has assigned it on linguistic evidence to the early seventh century. This lost version of the Bran story must have presented the motivation and the action of the tale in a totally different and thoroughly non-christian fashion. Carney has named it *Echtræ Brain ocus Tomaíd Loch Febyul*. An outline may be reconstructed

⁶⁹ §61. The direct parallels to this incident are all found in the ecclesiastical literature of Ireland (that is, in the *immrama* and saints' Lives), though ignorance as to their sources must make us reserve judgement on this point.

⁷⁰ But note also *tir ingnath*, found in 'Bran' (§1: *a tirib ingnath*) and in *Echtræ Airt meic Cuind* (§§9, 23, 28: *tir na n-ingnadh*). Another example is noted by Mac Cana, *Ériu* 26 (1975), p. 38. As a parallel to *tir na mban*, note the interesting story in the *dinnshenchas* of Tuag Inbir ocus Loch nEchach (*RC* 16 [1895], pp. 150-3) where the phrase *i tir ban thsuthain* occurs (p. 151).

⁷¹ First printed by Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 9 (1913), pp. 339-340.

⁷² T.C.D. H. 4. 22 (from which it was printed by Meyer) and National Library of Ireland MS. G7.

⁷³ James Carney, 'The earliest Bran material', in the *Festschrift* for Ludwig Bieler. This paragraph attempts to summarise some of his conclusions. I am deeply indebted to Professor Carney for allowing me to see a typescript of his article in advance of publication. Independently, Professor Proinsias Mac Cana has discussed this text in *Ériu* 26 (1975), pp. 48ff; I am most grateful to him for allowing me to consult a proof-copy of his article.

as follows. The action (Bran's journey to the otherworld) was initiated by his druid's shamanistic visionary journey to the Land of Women, here situated at the bottom of a well, rather than by the visit of an otherworld woman as in the extant tale.⁷⁴ The well, rather than the sea, is the hazardous water through which the hero must pass to reach his otherworld destination. And the bursting forth of the well to drown Mag Febuil (and thus create Loch Febuil)⁷⁵ is the disastrous result of Bran's otherworld expedition.

In this seventh-century source, then, we have a witness to a very early version of the story of Bran's otherworld adventure. The extreme divergence between this account of the theme and the development found in the extant tale points the general moral on which Alfred Nutt insisted, that the oldest written form of a story may be the *last* link of a long chain, all of whose predecessors have perished; it takes the discovery of a new and earlier witness to remind us of this truth. It seems to me that Nutt's remarks on this story are wholly vindicated by the evidence of the *Immacallam*. And it seems all the more likely that the so-called *Immram* of Bran, while being essentially a text of the seventh or eighth century, is in its present confused form the result of interpolation and revision perhaps in the tenth century, by which date the growth of the *immrama*-tradition (on which see below) would provide a motive for the introduction of *Inis Subai* and the consequent title of '*Immram Brain*'.

As Professor Dillon saw clearly, and as the *Immacallam* demonstrates conclusively, the story of Bran belongs with the other early *echtrai*.⁷⁶ It has no essential feature in common with the *immrama*. Dillon accordingly adopted for this story the title *Echtræ Brain*; he should be followed. Nor is this title without authority, for it appears in the tale-list embodied in the story *Airec menman Uraird maic Coisse*⁷⁷ which appears to date from the eleventh century.⁷⁸ It is not found at all in the other tale-list, represented by the Book of Leinster⁷⁹ and T.C.D. MS. 1336 (H.3.17).⁸⁰ This may mean that it did not appear in their hypothetical tenth-century common ancestor.

A great deal more work is needed on *Echtræ Brain*, including a new edition with full linguistic commentary, before any further

⁷⁴ *Immacallam*, §§ 3–4.

⁷⁵ *Immacallam*, §§ 5–7.

⁷⁶ Op. cit., p. 107.

⁷⁷ Ed. M. E. Byrne, in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, edd. O. J. Bergin *et al.*, ii (Halle and Dublin, 1908), pp. 42–76. For an English summary of the tale, see Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (London, 1946), pp. 115–117.

⁷⁸ For the date, see Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii (London, 1926), p. 318; cf. J. Carney, *Éigse* 13 (1969/70), pp. 304–312.

⁷⁹ See the diplomatic edition by R. I. Best and M. A. O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, iv (Dublin, 1965), pp. 835–837; also Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), pp. 584–593.

⁸⁰ Ed. & tr. B. O'Looney, *PRIA* 15 [2nd S., 1] (1870–79), pp. 215–250.

firm conclusions can be drawn. A careful linguistic analysis is required of the prose sections to determine whether there are possible interpolations and to establish the *latest* possible date at which the prose could have been written. Only when this has been done shall we be able to speak with confidence about the history of the text.

Some comment is also needed on the chronology, absolute and relative, of the writing of the *echtrai* and *immrama*, so that their possible interrelationships may be seen against an accurate background. The oldest of all these texts, as it would appear, is *Echtræ Brain*, subject to the reservations expressed above. In Thurneysen's opinion,⁸¹ this text could be ascribed with some certainty to the *Cin Dromma Snechta*, allegedly written in the first half of the eighth century.⁸² In addition to *Echtræ Brain* it contained *Echtræ Conli*; Julius Pokorny, editing the latter, had no hesitation in assigning this text to the first half of the eighth century on linguistic grounds.⁸³ *Echtræ Nerai* may perhaps also be a product of the eighth century.⁸⁴ *Echtræ Laegairi*, another early example of this genre, was ascribed by its editor to the second half of the ninth century.⁸⁵

There is accordingly no lack of evidence for the existence of the *echtræ* as a genre at a very early date. The *immram* is in a rather different position. We first meet with the germs of the tradition in the late seventh century in Adomnán's account of Cormac's voyages. The eighth or ninth century is suggested for the composition of *Immram curaig Máele Dúin* by linguistic forms in the surviving text.⁸⁶ We have evidence from the Litany of Pilgrim Saints (discussed above) for a developed *immram*-tradition; although this shows that the story of the Uí Chorra was known by *ca.* 900,⁸⁷ all the extant *immrama*, apart from the prose version of 'Máel Dúin'

⁸¹ Op. cit., pp. 15–18.

⁸² Op. cit., p. 16: 'Das Buch von Druim Snechta war also aus der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts oder war—was weniger wahrscheinlich ist, und für uns ohne Belang wäre—aus einer Handschrift dieses Alters abgeschrieben'. But Thurneysen later argued (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 20 [1933–36], pp. 217–18) that the *Cin* could not antedate the tenth century: his argument on this point was lucidly and calmly dissected by Gerard Murphy (*Íriu* 16 [1952], pp. 145–151) who reestablished the eighth-century date. Any quarrel with this date must be based on different grounds; it will find now no support from Thurneysen's revised view.

⁸³ *ZCP* 17 (1928), p. 193. Oskamp, *Études celtiques* 14, p. 207, says that a seventh- or eighth-century date is 'not out of the question', but this seems to be based on the view that *Cin Dromma Snechta* was written in the seventh century (p. 210).

⁸⁴ Thurneysen's opinion, quoted by S. Ó Duilearga in *Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill*, ed. John Ryan (Dublin, 1940), p. 522, n. 5. Thurneysen's previous opinion (*Heldensage*, p. 312) had been that the tale could hardly be older than the tenth century.

⁸⁵ K. H. Jackson, *Speculum* 17 (1942), p. 377.

⁸⁶ Van Hamel, op. cit., p. 24; Oskamp, op. cit., p. 47f., who seem to prefer the later date.

⁸⁷ And possibly by *ca.* 800: in *Féilire Óengusso*, the verse for December 31 commemorates SS. Lochan, Enne, and Sylvester, which are the three names given by the extant *Immram* to the three Uí Chorra.

and the Latin *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani*,⁸⁸ belong firmly to the Middle Irish period. The first to be written was the tenth-century verse-text *Immram Snédgusa ocus Maic Riagla*, in imitation of which a versified recension of 'Máel Dúin' was created at much the same time and at any rate not a great deal later than ca. 1000.⁸⁹ To the eleventh century belongs the extant recension of *Immram curaig Ua Corra*,⁹⁰ while ca. 1100 or later the first of the three prose versions of *Immram Snédgusa ocus Maic Riagla* was written. Although the main development of the *immram* as a literary genre is therefore placed firmly within the Middle Irish period, there is one most suggestive piece of evidence, in addition to that of the litany, which may indicate that by the end of the Old Irish period, ca. 900, it was coming desirable for a saint's legend to include the story of an *immram* by its hero. That is the conclusion indicated by the appearance of such an episode in the *Vita Tripartita* of St. Patrick;⁹¹ the promoters of the interests of the heirs of St. Patrick were not the ones to allow his legend to be found wanting in any respect.

We may therefore suggest the following outline-development of the *immram*-tradition. The elements of this story-type were developing by the end of the seventh century. Their inspiration was essentially the wanderings involved in the 'clerical sea pilgrimages', but it may be that the possible borrowings by the *immrama* from the *echtrae*-tradition presuppose the existence of the *echtrai* and their influence on the growth of the new genre.⁹² This could in any case have been deduced on other grounds. What must be stated bluntly, however, is that there is no evidence for a 'pagan' or 'prechristian' voyage- or *immram*-literature from which the known ecclesiastical

⁸⁸ The date of the *Nauigatio* is disputed. The earliest extant manuscripts, which already present a corrupt text and more than one family, belong to the tenth century and probably to its second half. Selmer assigned the writing of the work to the first half of the tenth century, which is certainly too late. Carney's suggestion of ca. 800 is, however, too early, being based on the assumption (which has yet to be demonstrated) that this text was written in Ireland whence it was exported to the Continent. The author was unquestionably an Irishman; the structure is that of the *immram*; the ethos is Irish; the work draws on Irish sources; but there is nothing to suggest that Selmer was incorrect in believing this text to have been written on the Continent. A date in the second half of the ninth century will, in default of further evidence, seem the most plausible for the writing of the *Nauigatio*.

⁸⁹ Van Hamel, op. cit., pp. 81, 24.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁹¹ Ed. & tr. W. Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint* (London, 1887), i, pp. 28–31; ed. K. Mulchrone, *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1939), p. 18f. (lines 263–287). Cf. the case of the Breton Bili's Life of St. Malo, written 866 × 872: Kenney, op. cit., p. 417f.

⁹² This, at any rate, is the conclusion to be drawn from Myles Dillon's suggestion (*Early Irish Literature*, p. 107) that the *Echtræ Brain*, in its present form, provides the point of literary inspiration for the *immrama* and that their development is to be traced to this text. I should rather see at work the broad development I have outlined here. Thrall also considered the possibility that the Bran-story provided a point of transition from *echtrae* to *immram*, but was inclined to reject this notion (op. cit., pp. 276, 279 n. 2, 283).

genre derives. The ninth century, or the later eighth, must have seen the development of the *immram* as a full literary genre with the production of the *Immram curaig Máele Dúin*, the Brendan legends, and perhaps the other stories to which the Litany of Pilgrim Saints of ca. 900 is a witness; before this time the elements of the *immram*-tradition will have found their expression only in Latin. The full flowering of the genre belonged, however, to the Middle Irish period.

Some further evidence is provided by the tale-lists.⁹³ Thurneysen postulated for the two extant lists a lost common ancestor dating from the tenth century.⁹⁴ This is doubtless correct but, pending a full comparative study, the two texts must be treated separately for there are considerable discrepancies between them. Nor should they be taken, save in cases of complete agreement between the two lists, as evidence for a date earlier than the eleventh century (the version in *Airec menman Uraird maic Coisse*, Thurneysen's 'List B') or the second half of the twelfth century ('List A' from LL and T.C.D. MS. 1336). 'List B' contains no references to *immrama*: this may be an indication that by the eleventh century this tale-type had achieved no literary renown throughout Ireland; alternatively it may have been considered that the ecclesiastical nature of the subject-matter made these tales unsuitable for inclusion in the repertoire of a secular storyteller. 'List A', by contrast, names three *immrama* thus:⁹⁵

Imrama dano in so .i. Imrom Maele Duin. Imrom

Hua Corra. Imrom Luinge Murchertaig meic Erca.

The first two are extant and have been discussed above. The third is not now known to exist. Evidence is therefore lacking for a great body of lost *immrama*; the extant texts, supplemented by the evidence from the Litany and the saints' Lives, may fairly be taken to represent the extent of this genre in early mediaeval Ireland.

The lost literature of mediaeval Ireland is rather to be sought amongst the secular tale-types, represented in the present discussion by the *echtrai*, which were much less likely to be preserved by scribal activity than were texts of ecclesiastical origin. In the case of the *echtrai* we are particularly fortunate to have the evidence of lists of the eleventh and twelfth century, for it cannot be at a very much later date that the word *eachtra* comes to be used as a general term for an adventure-story. In this sense it is used in the titles of the 'romantic' tales of the early modern period⁹⁶, and is to be compared

⁹³ On these, see Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–24. Cf. above, p. 73.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁹⁵ Diplomatic edition (cited above, n. 79), lines 24945–6.

⁹⁶ The authoritative work on this literature is that of Alan Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediaeval Romances* (Dublin, 1969); also issued as *Béaloideas: The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* 34 (1966).

with OFr *aventure* rather than with OIr *echtrae*. The titles preserved by our two lists are most probably of *echtrai* of the older type.

'LIST B' (*Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, ii, p. 44) 'LIST A' (LL, iv, lines 2496i-66)

1. Echtra Brain maic Febail.	
2. Echtra Fergussa maic Lete.	1. Echtra Nera.
3. Echtra Nero maic Niatain.	
4. Echtra Oengusae maic Fergus Finn.	2. Echtra Fiamain.
5. Echtra Chonculaind.	3. Echtra Con Ruí.
6. Echtra Chrimthoinn Niad Nair.	4. Echtra Con Culaind.
7. Echtra Chuinn Chetchathaig.	5. Echtra Conaill.
8. Echtra Airt maic Cuind.	6. Echtra Conchobuir.
9. Echtra Muirchertaig maic hErco.	7. Echtra Crimthaind Nia Náir.
10. Echtra Chorbmaic ui Chuinn.	8. Echtra Macha ingine Áeda Ruaid.
	9. Echtra Nectain meic Alfroinn.
	10. Echtra Ailchind meic Amalgaid.
	11. Echtra Find i nDerc Ferna.
	12. Echtra Aedain meic Gabrain.
	13. Echtra Mael Uma meic Baitain.
	14. Echtra Mongain meic Fiachna.

These lists have but three titles in common, which fact may suggest that their hypothetical common ancestor was a very much smaller affair altogether. This may even be an indication of a dramatic increase, during the Middle Irish period, in the number of tales of secular inspiration available in written form. Some idea of one of the means of accretion to such lists may perhaps be derived from the fact that the three manuscripts which contain 'List B' are by no

means in total agreement. Within the section on *echtrai*, two of the three manuscripts omit the last entry, *Echtra Chorbmaic ui Chuinn*.

Of the three titles in common only one, *Echtra Nera*, refers to an extant text.⁹⁷ The *Echtra Con Culaind* may perhaps refer to a story representing some of the materials now known from *Tochmarc Emire* and *Serglige Con Culainn*. *Echtra Crimthaind Nia Náir* is known merely from a brief note in the *dinnshenchas*.⁹⁸

Most of the other tales in 'List B' are known. *Echtra Brain* has been discussed above. A story published from a legal manuscript by Professor D. A. Binchy may represent a summary of part of the *Echtra Fergussa maic Lete*⁹⁹; his connexion with the otherworld is certainly apparent in the delightful late tale, *Aided Fergussa*.¹⁰⁰ *Echtra Oengusae maic Fergusa Finn* is quite unknown. *Echtra Chuinn Chetchathaig* must represent the introductory section (§§1-9) of *Baile in Scáil*,¹⁰¹ which is also found as *Fís Cuind* i. *Baile in Scáil* in both lists; it was very likely originally an *echtrai* independent of the political prophetic material. *Echtra Airt maic Cuind* is extant in an Early Modern Irish version preserved only in the Book of Fermoy; this list provides welcome confirmation of its existence at an earlier date, though one is not at liberty to conclude that the extant text (which contains no old linguistic forms) represents in any particular the story as it may have been in the eleventh century. The entry on Muirchertach mac Erca is perhaps to be compared with the entry *Imrom luinge Murchertaig meic Erca* in 'List A', but this king seems to have been the centre of a considerable number of stories. Finally, *Echtra Chormaic* is the title of an extant text.

The position as regards 'List A' is very different. None of the remaining eleven titles can be identified with extant texts. Nor is it easy to suggest what they may have contained. In this list there is an *Aided*, as well as an *Echtra*, of Fiamaín but that too is lost.¹⁰² O'Looney made various suggestions about the *Echtra Conaill*,¹⁰³ while O'Curry thought that the journey of Conall might be that

⁹⁷ A further witness to the existence of *Echtrai* Nerai is the *dinnshenchas* of Áth Luain (RC 15 [1894], pp. 464-467). Stokes assigned the compilation of the collection of *dinnshenchas* to the eleventh century or the first half of the twelfth (*ibid.*, p. 272).

⁹⁸ RC 15 (1894), p. 332f.

⁹⁹ 'The Saga of Fergus mac Léti', *Ériu* 16 (1952), pp. 33-48. But see Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 539ff.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. & tr. Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (Dublin, 1892), i, pp. 238-252; ii, pp. 269-285.

¹⁰¹ Assigned to the late ninth century by G. Murphy, *Ériu* 16 (1952), p. 150, n. 1, who also edits and translates the earlier text *Baile Chuind* (pp. 146-149). *Baile in Scáil* is studied by Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature*, pp. 107-109, and *The Cycles of the Kings* (London, 1946), pp. 11-14. There are three editions of the first part (§§1-40, found in two manuscripts) of this text: *ZCP* 3 (1899-1901), pp. 457-466; 13 (1921), pp. 371-382; 20 (1933-36), pp. 213-227, 537. The text of §§41-65 (found in only one manuscript) is published in *ZCP* 12 (1918), pp. 232-238.

¹⁰² Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 446f.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

referred to in the Book of Leinster version of *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn*.¹⁰⁴ *Echtra Nectain meic Alfroinn* was very probably a close relative of *Echtrae Brain maic Febail*, for there the cause of the return from *tír na mban* to Ireland is Nechtán's homesickness; it is Nechtán who jumps ashore and is turned to dust.¹⁰⁵ *Echtra Macha* may be the anecdote edited under that name by Kuno Meyer,¹⁰⁶ and referred by Thurneysen to *Cín Dromma Sncchtai*, but for which title there appears to be no manuscript-authority; this *dinnshenchas* of Emain Macha is also found embedded in *Tochmarc Emire*¹⁰⁷ and in the Book of Leinster version of the tract *Do flaithiusaib hÉrend*.¹⁰⁸ For the other titles it is very difficult to suggest stories, though the characters named are mostly known and may even figure prominently in the extant literature. If all these tales actually existed, and we have no reason to doubt that they did,¹⁰⁹ they must represent the result of the vigorous expansion of written Irish secular literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There must also be a suspicion that this great expansion was a fundamental cause of the development of this genre to the point where, in the early modern period (from *ca.* 1200), the term *eachtra* denotes no more than a tale of adventure and magic.

The careful differentiation of genre apparent in the early period of Irish literature seems thus to have broken down or to have been radically transformed after the twelfth century; the Book of Leinster tale-list is perhaps a witness to the beginnings of this development, for yet further examples may be found of overlap between its various categories. It has been demonstrated that the *echtrae* is an ancient genre, going back to the beginnings of written secular prose literature in Ireland; nor is the possibility to be discounted that it represents a Common Celtic oral story-type. In the oldest literature the *echtrae*, the tale of the human in the otherworld, plays an important part.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Ed. & tr. Edmund Hogan (Dublin, 1892), pp. 10–17.

¹⁰⁵ His name is given in the printed texts of *Echtrae Brain* as Nechtán mac Collbrain. The patronymic found in the independent text of the Yellow Book of Lecan is much closer to that of 'List A': *mac Albruind*, *mac Alabraind* (variants quoted by Meyer, in Meyer & Nutt, op. cit., i, p. 33, n. 4; p. 35, n. 2).

¹⁰⁶ *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* 3 (1907), p. 325f., from RIA MS. 23 N 10, pp. 68–70.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. A. G. Van Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn and other stories* (Dublin, 1933), pp. 33–35.

¹⁰⁸ See the diplomatic edition by R. I. Best, O. Bergin, and M. A. O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, i (Dublin, 1954), pp. 79–80. Also separately, with translation, by W. Stokes, *RC* 16 (1895), pp. 279–283.

¹⁰⁹ But note the opinion of Professor P. Mac Cana, quoted by Oskamp, op. cit., p. 42.

¹¹⁰ Further traces may be deduced from the *dinnshenchas*. The most explicit is that for Ráith Mór Maige Line (*RC* 16 [1895], p. 48f.) which refers to a lost *Echtra Bresail Bricc maic Briuin*. The story of Ard Fothaid may contain a reference to another *echtrae* (*RC* 16 [1895], p. 39f.). Finally, the stories of Mag mBreg (*Folklore* 3 [1892], p. 470f.), Tonn Clidna (*RC* 15 [1894], p. 437f.), and Sinann (*RC* 15 [1894], p. 456f., and *Folklore* 3 [1892], pp. 486–8) all contain references to stories of people coming out of *tír taingire*.

By contrast, the *immram* can be seen and traced in a state of development in the Old Irish period from causes and sources which can be deduced from a knowledge of both the ecclesiastical history of the time and the literature available in this milieu. Although it achieved a great deal of international renown on account of the wide diffusion of the *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani*, the *immram*—a voyage-tale of ecclesiastical origin—is represented only by a small group of texts which, though delightful, cannot be said to belong to the mainstream of mediaeval Irish literature.

Such confusion as has existed in modern times between *echtrae* and *immram*, in so far as it does not derive from the story of Bran, may be said to result in large measure from an unwillingness on the part of students of Irish literature to abandon those preconceptions which Professor Carney has labelled 'nativist'. This excessive pre-occupation with the 'nativist' approach has obscured the fact that there are areas of the vernacular literature of mediaeval Ireland which owe a great deal to external influences; one does not have to accept all of Carney's arguments or examples to appreciate this truth. A beginning must be made in studying early Irish literature from this viewpoint: the *immram* will be an excellent place to start.¹¹¹

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¹¹¹ I wish to record here my indebtedness to Dr. Rachel Bromwich who, several years ago, read my first attempt to come to grips with this subject and offered encouragement and constructive criticism, and to Dr. Michael Lapidge who has more recently read drafts of this paper and suggested important improvements.

THE SINLESS OTHERWORLD OF *IMMRAM BRAIN*

IN my last essay on *Immram Brain*, in *Ériu* xxv 33 ff., I discussed several short texts which seem to me to preserve valuable evidence for the traditional sources used in its composition. In doing so I inevitably touched upon the traditional relationship between the tangible world of mortal men and that equally real though less accessible other world of the supernatural, but sound practical reasons prevented my exploring that complex and fascinating topic in greater detail there. This is the purpose of the present essay. Its scope will be extremely modest, however: to attempt a comprehensive examination of the early Irish concept of the Otherworld and its influence on Irish literature would be an attractive and fruitful undertaking, but not directly appropriate to the object of this series of essays, and I have therefore chosen to limit my discussion to certain specific elements in the early Irish view of the Otherworld which seem to me to have particular significance for the interpretation of *Immram Brain* and for the evaluation of its use of traditional sources. In my earlier essays I have given some of my reasons for dissenting from Professor Carney's view of *Immram Brain* as a 'thoroughly Christian poem'; in the following pages I hope to show that the account of the Otherworld in *Immram Brain*, far from confirming his interpretation as he has argued, serves further to undermine it.

The Interpretatio Christiana

In *Ériu* xxiii I remarked on the ecumenical purpose of the author of *Immram Brain* which was—as I see it—to create an aesthetic rapport between the pagan concept of the Otherworld and the Christian concept of Paradise. This is not to suggest that the assimilation of the pagan to the Christian concept was of his invention—no doubt it was in itself a fairly natural and, in the circumstances of the period, perhaps even an inevitable development: his particular contribution was to convey the identification artistically without making explicit statement of it and without distorting the traditional view of the pagan Otherworld, while at the same time contriving to copperfasten the equation of Christian and pre-Christian by drawing a clear analogy between the Birth of the Hero myth as related of Mongán and the Incarnation of God in Christ. His object, or at least his achievement, was to harness the evocative power and resonance of the Celtic Otherworld to the Christian ideal and this he carried off with a benign ecumenism that is unclouded by propaganda or polemic. Not that propaganda was absent from his work—

in a sense it was of the very essence of his Christian enterprise—nor indeed, given the early history of Christianity in Ireland, could polemic be very far removed.

By the time *Immram Brain* was composed the conquest of institutional paganism had long since been assured, but still many of the oppositions and tensions created by the establishment of Christianity remained unresolved. In most of its aspects the story of Irish Christianity is one of compromise and syncretism with indigenous tradition and usage, but in some matters the conflict was more total, and nowhere more so than in those areas where the Church encroached on the traditional precinct of the druids. Ecclesiastical legend, particularly that associated with the Patrician claims of Armagh, gives considerable prominence to confrontations between druid and cleric leading inevitably and dramatically to the humiliation and displacement of the former. This may preserve a conventionalized memory of the ideological and professional antagonisms engendered in the early days of the Christian mission; it may also reflect a later heightening of tension between the representatives of the two religious cultures or even a temporary revival or renewed assertiveness on the part of the protagonists of the native order. There are, for example, some grounds for believing that there was a temporary recrudescence of paganism in the sixth century during the reign of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, king of Tara, and D. A. Binchy has suggested that the legend of the cursing of Tara by St Ruadán and his fellow saints really derives 'from traditions of clerical hostility to Diarmait for his adherence to certain pagan customs, notably the Feast of Tara'.¹ In any event, whatever the precise historical background to these legends may have been, the total evidence makes it clear that those who formulated ecclesiastical attitudes tended to make a distinction between benign paganism and malignant paganism and to regard druidism as the embodiment of the latter.

This dichotomy receives perhaps its clearest expression in the text of *Echtrae Chonlai* 'The Adventure of Conlae', which was also composed around the theme of the invitation to the Happy Otherworld. Like *Immram Brain* it was included in the manuscript miscellany of Cín Dromma Snechta and seems to date from approximately the same period. Here the stranger woman approaches Conlae while he is with his father on the hill of Uisnech and she identifies herself as having come from 'the Lands of the Living, where there is neither death nor sin nor transgression. . . . everlasting feasts that do not need to be served . . . goodwill without strife . . .'.² She loves Conlae and she has come to call him to Mag Mell, where Bóadag is

¹ *Ériu* xviii 122 f.

² Ed. J. Pokorny, *ZCP* xvii 195–201; H. Oskamp, *ÉC* xiv 207 ff.

immortal king, a king without weeping or sorrow in his land since he took sovereignty. The woman is heard by all but seen only by Conlae. Conn then invokes the aid of his druid Corán to protect his son against the woman's magic. The druid chants against the woman and she departs; but before leaving she throws an apple to Conlae and for a month this is his only food. By it he is bound as inexorably to the Otherworld as was Bran mac Febail by the ball of wool thrown to him by the sovereign in the Land of Women. He yearns for the woman he had seen until at the month's end she returns and summons him once more to the Otherworld. Conn hears her and asks that the druid be called, and the woman says: 'Conn of the Hundred Battles, do not love druidry, for in a short while there will come a righteous man with many companies, numerous and wonderful, to give judgement on the wide shore. Soon shall his judgement reach you. He will scatter the spells of druids, with their evil learning, in the sight of the Devil, the dark and magical one.' Conlae is torn between love for his people and his longing for the woman, and she repeats her invitation:

There is another land which it would be no worse to seek. I see the sun sets; though it is far away, we shall reach it before night.

It is a land which delights the spirit of everyone who travels about it; there is no kind there save only women and girls.

Immediately Conlae sprang from his people into the crystal boat that awaited them, they disappeared over the distant sea and were not seen since.

The Otherworld to which Conlae went is the same as the Land of Women which became the home of Bran mac Febail and his company; but there are certain disparities in the way it is presented by the two texts. In both the term of the voyage is the Land of Women, but, whereas in *Echtrae Chonlai* the implication in the woman's words is that her magically propelled boat will travel there express, Bran's craft must of necessity make a more leisurely progress which, from the author's point of view, provides a convenient framework for the extended lyrical descriptions of the Otherworld spoken by 'the woman from unknown lands' and by Mannanán. These descriptions bring out the multilocal character of the Otherworld that is evidenced throughout Irish tradition but only barely hinted at in *Echtrae Chonlai* because of the tale's more specific and circumscribed area of interest. Even the brief prose narrative brings Bran and his companions to another island, Inis Subae 'the Island of Joy', before they arrive at the Land of Women, thus constituting a limited version of the concept of the Otherworld as a series of disparate islands, a concept that finds much fuller

expression in the later *immrama* and is evidently a common Celtic inheritance, since it is attested in early Welsh. In other words, while both texts have for their pivotal motif the invitation and its acceptance, in the one, *Immram Brain*, the acceptance is never placed in doubt and the voyage assumes something of the aspect of a voluntary quest such as we find in other subsequent tales of the journey to the Otherworld, while in the other the whole *raison d'être* of the tale is the clash of passion and pietas in the person of Conlæ and the clash of ideologies and moralities represented by the druid on the one hand and the fairy woman on the other. Both these conflicts are resolved when Conlæ departs in the crystal boat: his acceptance of the invitation is finally and irrevocably decided in spite of his loyalty to his father and to his people, and the woman—and by implication all that she symbolizes—triumphs over the druid and his ideology.³

The contrast is absolute: on the one hand the Otherworld is seen as the consummation of benign paganism, as a realm in which primitive virtue reigns and which is in a sense a naive prolepsis of the Christian Heaven, on the other the druids are made to obstruct the supernatural visitor and thus appear as the antagonists of the blessed region in which she dwells, while at the same time she herself is made to prophesy the coming of Christ (or St Patrick?) whose judgement will scatter their devilish science and spells. In *Immram Brain* the notion of Mag Mell is harmonized with that of the biblical *terra reprobationis*, *Tir Tairngiri* in Irish, first through the general Christian bias of the whole composition and more precisely through the pairing of Christ, who was both God and man, with Mongán mac Fiachna, who belonged both to the other world and to this; but here in *Echtrae Conlai* the Christian interpretation is urged with less restraint and circumspection and the benign conception of the Otherworld is invoked as a device to condemn the druidic order as the representatives of entrenched and organized paganism. That such an oppositions between druidic doctrine and the tradition of the Otherworld had ever any historical reality seems unlikely and it is probably safe to assume that it is the invention of the clerical *literati*.

In discussing the Old Irish text of *Imacallam Choluim Chille ocus ind Óclaig* in *Ériu* xxvi 33 ff., I remarked on the fact that Colum Cille seems to be concerned there to extract as much information as possible from his supernatural visitor on pagan 'pre-history' while making no effort to obtrude his own Christianity, whereas in Magnus Ó Domhnaill's version of the same incident the stranger

³ This ideological dimension to the tale has also been discussed recently by Dr Hans P. A. Oskamp, *ÉC* xiv 211 ff.

is converted by the vision of the Christian Heaven and thenceforth until his death remains a faithful servant to God and to Colum Cille. In the meantime, however, he is free to return to his own pagan Elysium and there await the day when death will win him access to the company of the saints. In this particular example of Christian revisionism the blissful Otherworld has become an intermediate station on the way to the supreme glory of Paradise and not only can it thus be accommodated easily within the framework of the Church's teaching without giving offense to the orthodox conscience, but in fact it becomes an integral part of the edifying narrative literature of the Irish Church. This gradual incorporation of the pagan Irish Otherworld in Christian eschatology has an interesting analogy in the evolution of the Arthurian cycle from secular heroic-romantic saga to Christian allegory (and more specifically in the evolution of the Otherworld talisman from magical vessel of plenty to sacramental grail), and both exemplify the endeavour of well-meaning redactors to harness the vigour and the symbolic resonance of insular Celtic traditions to Christian ideology and, in particular, to assimilate and subordinate them to the doctrine of eternal salvation and of Christ incarnate in the Eucharist. And just as the pagan Otherworld is itself subordinated to the belief in Paradise, so ultimately are the gods of the Otherworld made subject to the God of Christianity and brought within the biblical plan of creation and redemption. An excellent example is the Early Modern Irish story of *Altrom Tigé Dá Medar* 'The Nourishment of the Houses of the Two Milk-vessels' (*Ériu* xi 184 ff.), as for example in the following passage:

'Is there a god over our gods?' said Aengus [Óg, son of the Dagda]. 'There is, indeed,' said Manannán, 'the one God Almighty who is able to condemn our gods, and whom they are not able to despoil, i.e. the powerful Lord, who made heaven and earth and the sea with (its) wonders, and who made the four elements in entirety. . . .'

The paramountcy of God Almighty is insisted on throughout this text, and Eithne, the Otherworld heroine of the tale, is presented as a kind of crypto-Christian awaiting only the advent of Patrick and his missionaries to realize her conversion in baptism and to seal it in the customary fashion by a prompt death in the odour of sanctity. What is particularly interesting, given Manannán's role in *Immram Brain* as the precursor of God incarnate in Christ, is that it is he who is here credited with vindicating the primacy of the Christian deity.

The sinless Otherworld

The account of the Otherworld in *Immram Brain* is in most respects a fairly conventional one in terms of Irish and other comparable

traditions. It tells of a richly coloured world where there is enchanting music and varied abundance of food and drink, where young men strive in sporting contention, where women excel in beauty and candour, and where there is neither grief, nor sorrow, nor sickness, nor death. But it also introduces an element which speaks clearly of Christianity: that of sin and the Fall. It is dealt with in a short series of quatrains (§§ 44-48) which follow abruptly on Manannán's description of his marine kingdom and clearly the intention is to contrast this timeless world of beauty with the harsh realities of mortality. Manannán points up the contrast in §44: the reason why the inhabitants of his world knew not death or decay was that they were as yet untouched by the Fall (*nin taraill int immorbus*). The evils of the mortal world, he goes on, spring from that first sin when the serpent encompassed Adam's fall from grace. Because of it men's bodies are consumed by sickness and age during life and by the torments of Hell after death. But salvation will come from the King who created the heavens; he will be both God and man.

This idea is echoed in other early lyric texts, notably in *Echtra Chonlai*, *Serglige Con Culaind* and in the *Bé Find* poem in *Tochmarc Étaine*,⁴ and clearly it was central to the monastic view of the pagan Happy Otherworld as reflected around the seventh and eighth centuries in recreations of the Otherworld theme: that other, and happier, land which loomed so large in the Irish consciousness was a continuation of man's primitive condition before he tasted of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Thus was the pagan concept of the Otherworld brought poetically, if not rationally, within the framework of Christian orthodoxy.

It is at this point that my reading of the evidence begins to differ from that of Professor Carney. For him the inhabitants of the Otherworld—at least Manannán's Otherworld—are both sinless and chaste, and the two notions are so closely linked as to be almost synonymous (cf. 'The land of Manannán Mac Lir is shown as a place where the inhabitants are sinless owing to having avoided the curse of Adam' and 'Manannán's kingdom . . . is nevertheless characterised by an extreme of chastity').⁵ This I cannot accept, nor do I think it is borne out by a close scrutiny of the text. Professor Carney himself has to make a rather *ad hoc* differentiation between Manannán's realm and the Land of Women, because whatever virtues the female inhabitants of this latter could boast, chastity was not one of them. But even if we allow this arbitrary distinction and confine ourselves to the actual account of Mannanán's kingdom,

⁴ 'Do-deochadsa,' for in ben; 'a tirib beó áit inna bí bás nō peccad na imorbus,' ZCP xvii 195; Atbér . . . sil nÁdaim cen imarb9s, SC² 1. 557-8; daine delgnaide cen on | combart cen peccadh cen chol . . . teimel imorbus Adaim / dodonarcheil ar árain TE p. 48.

⁵ *Studies in Early Irish Literature and History* (Dublin 1955), 287.

we shall still not find much support for this interpretation. Here is stanza 41, as emended in the first couplet by David Greene and Frank O'Connor, *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry* (London 1967), 45:

Cluiche n-aímin, indel áig,
aigit fri findimmarbáig;
fir is mná míni fo doss,
cen pheccad, cen immorbus.

‘They play a delightful game in innocent conflict—a splendid arrangement, men and gentle women under the bushes, without sin or blame.’ This is hardly a picture of continence; the phrase *fo doss* lit. ‘under/in a bush’ alone puts the matter beyond any conceivable doubt, for it and its synonyms are commonplace throughout the languages and literatures of the world to express the idea of illicit and promiscuous love. The first couplet, as emended by Greene and O’Connor, has a counterpart in the Welsh *Myrddin* poems, if my reading of it be correct:

Afallen beren a dyf tra Rhun,
Cywaethlyswn yn ei bôn er bodd i fun.⁶

‘Sweet little apple-tree that grows beyond the Rhun, I would contend beneath it for a maiden’s pleasure.’

It seems to me that Professor Carney’s misreading of the evidence—as I see it—derives from his presumption that *Immram Brain* is a thoroughly Christian composition: given this premise it is easy to assume that, where sexual relations are concerned, sinlessness is synonymous with chastity. If, on the other hand, one adopts a less absolute approach to the text, if in particular one allows the native and traditional element to find its own level in the course of the enquiry rather than reduce it or preclude it in advance, one will arrive at a very different interpretation. It will be seen that the inhabitants of the Otherworld as represented by the monastic authors and redactors were sinless, not because they did not indulge in sexual pleasure, but because they did so in the same pristine innocence that had prevailed among men before they became conscious of evil.⁷

⁶ *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. Thomas Parry (Oxford 1962), 20; *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Pwllheli 1906), 49.8.

⁷ This belief in absolving innocence is a familiar feature of numerous millenarist and eschatological movements in widely different periods and places. For example, a very recent instance, a variant of the cargo-cult which appeared in the island of Espírito Santo in the New Hebrides in the years 1944–5, exemplifies most of the features in Irish Otherworld tradition which are given emphasis in the present essay. In addition, it enjoins on its followers to discard their clothing and ornaments as part of the return to the primordial state. The motivation of the movement is conveniently summed up by Mircea Eliade:

Life in the Land of the Living is a state of gratuitous happiness where, in the words of the Vedic hymn (IX, 113.11), 'joy and delight, pleasure and amusement dwell, where the desires of desire are fulfilled'. It is gratuitous in the sense that the Brahmins believed the Golden Age (*Krtajuga*) to be so: 'dass im Goldenen Zeitalter das Sittliche nicht gewollt zu werden brauchte, weil es „von selbst erfüllt“ war.'⁸ This is what distinguishes it so essentially from the life of mortal men, who must pick their way toilfully between good and evil, ever subject to the pains and tribulations born of their human frailty; and the same primordial event which brought about this debasement of man's condition also produced the separation and distancing of heaven and earth, of the blessed other world and the world of men, which seem to be common to most cosmogonies. One of the areas in which this schism is most clearly marked and most consistently expressed is that of sexual relations. Taking together the related concepts of the Golden or Millennial Age and of the blissful Otherworld we find that love was unrestrained and blameless, and/or that sexual commerce was not necessary to ensure reproduction, and/or that childbirth was free of pain. The dossier is endless. In a Sumerian myth of the paradise of Dilmun there is mention of three generations of goddesses who are conceived by the water-god and born without pain or travail. According to Samuel Noah Kramer, who believed that the Sumerian Dilmun may be the prototype of the biblical Paradise, the painless birth of the goddesses 'illuminates the background of the curse against Eve that it shall be her lot to conceive and bear children in sorrow.'⁹ In fifteenth-century Bohemia radical reformists of the Taborite movement looked forward to an

In relation to our researches, the principal interest of this eschatological nudist cult lies in its paradisaical elements. What Tsek [the founder of the cult] announces in his message is in fact the imminent restoration of Paradise on Earth. Men will no longer work; they will have no more need for tools, domestic animals or possessions. Once the old order is abolished the laws, rules and taboos will lose their reason. The prohibitions and customs sanctioned by tradition will give place to absolute liberty; in the first place to sexual liberty, to orgy. For, in human society, it is sexual life that is subject to the strictest taboos and constraints. To be free from laws, prohibitions and customs, is to rediscover primordial liberty and blessedness, the state which preceded the present human condition, in fact the paradisaical state. In Judaeo-Christian language, this is the situation of Adam before the Fall. So the *malamala*, or nudists of *Espirito Santo*, try to make their sexual conduct like that of animals, that is to say cast away all shame, for they consider themselves without sin. This too is why they expect both immortality and the coming of the Americans loaded with gifts. It is hard to say whether, in the mind of the cult's founder, immortality is one of the Americans' presents or if it is the spontaneous result of the coming of the eschatological Kingdom. In either case, immortality and an abundance of food are the outstanding syndromes of Paradise. Man lives for ever and in the most perfect happiness since he eats without having to work and love is freed of its traditional prohibitions.' (Mircea Eliade, *The Two and the One*, London 1965, 127; also J. Graham Miller, 'Naked Cults in Central West Santos', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, lvii (1948) 330-41.)

⁸ Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, *Chiliasmus und Nativismus* (Berlin 1961), 388.

⁹ *The Sumerians: their history, culture and character* (Chicago and London 1963, 1970), 149.

era when 'they would rejoice for ever in a state of innocence like that of the angels or of Adam and Eve before the Fall' and when, among other things, women would conceive without intercourse and bear children without pain.¹⁰ Given the close association of sin with conception and travail in Christian thought and teaching it will be seen that the statement in the early Irish text *Tochmarc Étaine* that there will be 'conception without sin, without lust' in the Otherworld is very much in the same tradition.

For many authors in different ages, like Jean de Meun, the continuator of the *Roman de la Rose*, or the author of the description of the Isles of the Blessed summarized by Diodorus Siculus (II, lv-lx), the paradisaic concept was characterized by complete and uninhibited promiscuity, and since the concept, however varied its actual expressions, always projects a basic opposition between now and then, or here and there, it is apt to be pressed into the service of artistic and ideological argument, as for example by the fourteenth-century Welsh poet who wrote:

Before there was the law of a pope or his trouble,
Each one made love
Without blame to his loved one.
Free and easy enjoyment will be without blame,
Well has May made houses of the leaves—
There will be two assignations, beneath trees, in concealment,
For me, myself and my dear one.¹¹

—or indeed by the monastic authors in seventh and eighth-century Ireland, as I suggest later.

For the poet of *Immram Brain* sinlessness and chastity were far from being synonymous in the Otherworld setting however closely related they were in the historical view of Christian morality, but obviously it was open to later authors to equate the two if it served their purpose. This is precisely what the author of the Early Modern Irish tale of *Echtra Tadhg meic Céin* does. In the course of his voyage over the sea Tadhg comes upon a fair and fruitful land, and despite the hardship he and his companions have endured they require neither food nor fire, being fully sustained by the sweet fragrance of the laden branches. They come to a plain in which there are three hills and three forts. When they finally reach the third hill, they find before them a youthful couple beautifully arrayed. Tadhg addresses himself to the woman and asks her name, and she replies: 'I am Veniusa and I am daughter to Adam; for we are four daughters in the four mysterious and magical countries which the woman told

¹⁰ Cf. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1970), 213 f.

¹¹ *The Poetry from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. J. G. Evans (Llanbedrog 1911), 83. Translation by Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* (London 1961), 287.

you of earlier and our names are Veniusa and Letiusa and Aliusa and Eleusa. The guilt of our mother's transgression does not permit that we be in one place, but because of our virginity and purity which we have consecrated to God we have been situated in these pleasant abodes.' 'Who is this handsome youth by your side?' said Tadhg. . . . The young man had in his hand a fragrant apple of the colour of gold; he would eat a third of it and yet, for all that he ate, it was in no ways diminished, and that was the food that sustained the pair of them for ever and neither age nor decay could affect them when they had eaten of it. The young man answered Tadhg saying: 'I am son of Conn Céthchathach.' 'Are you Connla then?' said Tadhg. 'I am indeed, and it was this beautiful woman who brought me here.' . . . 'I gave to him my sincere love and affection,' said the woman, 'and contrived to have him come to me here in this land, where it is our mutual delight ever to look on each other, and apart from that we commit no sin or impurity.' In what follows the Otherworld is closely assimilated to and virtually identified with the Christian Heaven.¹²

Here the motif of sinless sexuality has been reduced to a pious, puritanical, and somewhat extravagant exemplar of Christian love, while the traditional Otherworld has become a kind of wan prefiguration of Paradise clouded in a Pre-Raphaelite sentimentality. The whole tone of the text is reminiscent of *Altrom Tige Dá Medar*, which I referred to earlier.

Another good example of the religious reviser at work is *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* 'The Adventure of Art son of Conn'.¹³ As a result of Conn's liaison with Bécuma, the unrighteous woman from the Land of Promise, a blight had fallen on the land of Ireland and the druids declared that it could only be removed by bringing to Ireland the son of a sinless couple and mingling his blood with the soil of Tara. Conn sets out on a voyage to an Otherworld island and there he finds such a youth: 'his father and mother never came together except when that boy was conceived, nor did our fathers and mothers ever come together save at our own conception'—this from the direct and irrefutable testimony of the boy's father. Thus is the concept of the sinless sexuality of the Otherworld turned neatly—if not very convincingly—on its head.

The three tales I have mentioned—*Echtra Taidg meic Céin*, *Altrom Tige Dá Medar*, and *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind*—represent a type of Early Modern composition which seeks to give an edifying twist to traditional themes and which seems to reflect certain trends and external influences of the period after the coming of the Normans

¹² *Silva Gadelica*, ed. Standish H. O'Grady, I, 350.

¹³ Ed. R. I. Best, *Ériu* iii 149 ff.

and the reform of the Irish Church. It comprises, however, only a part of the written prose of the period dealing with mythological themes and is perhaps to be thought of as a deviation from the mainstream of tradition rather than as a transformation of it. Certainly in the present instance it is not implied that the notion of a primeval condition of innocence in which there was sensuality without sin came to an end with the early monastic lyric literature: it is a familiar motif in the later literature as well, though here it is sometimes given a more human and more homely setting in keeping with the character of its new contexts. My first example is from a fifteenth or sixteenth-century tale about the legendary poet, lover and trickster-figure, Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh. It tells, in a mixture of comedy and tragedy, of the love that Cearbhall and the daughter of the king of Scotland bore each other and how it was finally frustrated in a Tristan-style dénouement. The setting is superficially terrestrial, but, as with many of the later romances in Irish, no boundary is set between the natural and the supernatural and most, if not all, the events appear to take place in the Otherworld of Irish storytelling. One episode tells of a visit to Cearbhall by Fearbhlaidh and her conniving foster-mother. The latter leaves the two lovers together and the text continues as follows:

‘He drew her towards him into the bed, put his arm around her neck and kissed her passionately. Three days and three nights they spent in this manner, with little food or drink or sleep, and without sin or blame.’¹⁴

The main difference between this and its correspondent in *Immram Brain* is one of temper: for the sincerity and Christian concern of the early poet is substituted a note of wayward and tongue-in-cheek romanticism that is familiar in Early Modern Irish prose. But the motif occurs elsewhere in Modern Irish traditional literature without this touch of flippancy. Among the popular love songs to which I have already referred there are quite a few in which a young man invites a girl to accompany him (less often the roles are reversed) to a land which is variously named but which is obviously the blissful Otherworld of tradition. It is a land of peace and plenty, abounding in honey and mead and full of the sound of bird music. There, freed from the restraints imposed by society, they can give themselves up to the consummation of their love. This is how one poet puts it (allowing for the lameness of my fairly literal translation):

¹⁴ *Ériu* iv 54 §22; *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhad* 1928 35 §22. The text refers to the visit to Cearbhall's dwelling place as if it were a visit to the Otherworld: *Do cloc fion rioccht uile Farbhlaidh* ɏ a buíme do bhreith a siodhuiph.

O God, that I and my love of the smooth white breast were together
 And none awake in the land of Ireland;
 Men and women deep in sleep
 While my love and I make play!
 O fair-hued and loveliest of women,
 O guiding star of my destiny,
 I shall never believe from priest or brother
 That there is sin in making love.¹⁵

This verse contains two of the three thematic elements which go to make up stanza 41 of *Immram Brain* (p.101 supra): the euphemistic expression 'game, playing, amusement' (*cluiche, súgradh*) for the act of making love and the assurance that it is innocent of sin.¹⁶ We have seen that the third element, dalliance under a bush etc., is of frequent occurrence in these love-songs as well as being more or less universal in popular literature. More significantly, our love-song closes with the expectation or the promise that 'Never never will death come near us in the middle of the fragrant wood' (*Is go deó deó ní thiocfaidh an bás dár ghoire [sic]/I lár na coille cumhra*), which, if taken in isolation, might seem little more than a romantic hyperbole, but seen in context is an obvious echo of the intimations of immortality which are an essential part of the Otherworld picture as found in *Immram Brain* and other early texts.

One thing is clear beyond all doubt: the Irish Otherworld of *Immram Brain* and comparable early texts is not 'characterised by an extreme of chastity'. What is less clear is the historical relationship between this Otherworld and its analogue in the Modern Irish love-songs. Professor Ó Tuama has already adverted to the connexion between the two, showing that it is one of style as well as of theme, but it was not part of his immediate purpose to define this connexion in historical terms, and indeed, given the inadequacy of the written materials for the intervening period, it is doubtful whether such a definition could be other than speculative. Because of their mainly oral transmission the love-songs we speak of are sparsely documented before the seventeenth century, but enough remains to show that they had already a considerable history behind them. In their themes

¹⁵ D. J. O'Sullivan, *The Bunting Collection of Irish Folk Music and Songs* (Dublin 1925-1939) V, 72; Seán Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine* (Dublin 1960) 275 f.:

A Dhia gan mise 's mo ghrádh bhfuil a brollach mín, bán,
 Is gan neach i gCrioch Fáil 'n-a ndúsgadh,
 Fir agus mná 'n-a geoldadh go sáimh
 Ach mise 'gus mo ghrádh a' súgradh!
 A ghéig chailce an áigh is deise do na mnáibh
 A réalt eolais a thóigear dhúmh-sa [sic],
 Ní chreidiom-sa go bráth ó shagart nő ó bhráthair
 Go bhfuil peacadh ins a' pháirt do dhúbladh!

¹⁶ It is true, as Professor Ó Tuama points out, that the idea that love is not a sin, but a virtue, is familiar in the poetry of *amour courtois* (op. cit., 286 f.), but the significance of the instance cited from the Irish song is that it occurs in an Otherworld setting.

and constituent motifs they are largely derivative of the early French *chansons d'amour* and Dr Ó Tuama would assign their beginnings to the period of the Anglo-Norman conquest. On the other hand, as he emphasizes, the temper and style of the French *genres* have been wholly transmuted in the Irish setting, and, as we have already observed, at least some of their thematic elements existed in Irish literature long before the Anglo-Norman period. This applies particularly to those songs featuring an invitation to the land of the living and in the case of these the question is: Do they stand in lineal descent from the early monastic treatments of the Otherworld theme represented by *Immram Brain*, *Echtra Chonla* and similar texts, or is the relationship a collateral one with the two groups deriving their image of the Otherworld separately from the same continuum of oral tradition?

Two points argue for the former alternative. First, the conscious dissociation of sexuality and sin appears to be a monastic gloss on native traditions about the Otherworld, and the fact that it occurs once or twice in the later songs may therefore imply a lineal connection with the early texts. Secondly, as Dr Ó Tuama has pointed out, the Modern Irish love-songs are not folksongs in the normal sense of the term. Their style marks them out as the work of poets with some training in native art forms and this makes it all the more plausible that their authors were conversant with the early monastic lyric literature. But one must exercise some caution here. We have little direct and unbiased information on pagan religion in Ireland before Christianity, but, as I have argued elsewhere, there are grounds for believing that modern authors have underestimated the degree of organization and sophistication which existed in Irish pre-Christian religion. There has been a tendency to think of it as a morass of magic and superstition and consequently to assume that those elements in secular monastic literature which smack of theology must be wholly Christian innovations. We know, however, that the Irish druids had an organization encompassing the whole country and it would therefore be strange if their doctrines and ritual were as rudimentary and amorphous as is sometimes supposed; in fact there is some evidence, mainly terminological, that they were not.¹⁷ What has happened, if my argument be correct, is that part of druidic teaching was deliberately erased through the influence of the Christian Church but that another, and perhaps even greater, part was similar enough to Christian teaching to be overlaid by it or absorbed within it.

For this reason it might be wise not to assume too readily that the idea of sin as we find it in *Immram Brain* and the other monastic

¹⁷ I discuss this whole question in greater detail in a forthcoming article.

texts on the Otherworld is simply a Christian innovation. In comparable societies sin, by whatever term it was denoted, was defined in relation to and as a violation of the moral order, in other words of the order established by usage and social prescription. Sexual relations form part of that order and are governed by rules and restrictions which may vary from one society to another but are nonetheless present and more or less binding. Like other social restraints these are temporarily discarded at certain festive and ceremonial times of transition and renewal while their total and permanent absence is the mark of that inverted image of this mortal world which is the Otherworld. There is no reason to suppose that such a reversal of normal social prescription on sexual relations did not characterize the Irish concept of the Otherworld, in which case the seventh-century (?) poet of *Immram Brain* (or a predecessor) may have done little more than adapt to the Christian ethic and terminology one of the motifs of the traditional contrast between the two worlds.

For the temporary discarding of the normal restraints on sexual behaviour within certain defined periods and precincts there is at least some evidence for the post-Norman era. In her comprehensive study of Lughnasa, the festival of the Celtic god Lugh, Máire MacNeill has surveyed a remarkable range of local or regional assemblies, whether religious or purely festive or both, which continued the ancient celebration virtually to our own day. Time after time, in her accounts of the individual assemblies, she notes that they were much frequented by courting couples and that they were commonly regarded as appropriate occasion for matchmaking and, in Ulster at least, for contracting runaway matches. As she herself remarks, it is hardly surprising that such open-air gatherings in late Summer should encourage dalliance and courtship, but, even when due allowance is made for this, there remains some evidence for what she calls 'a special marriage tradition':

Certainly some of the customs already touched on reflect a concern with mating, as do the 'Teltown marriages' of recent tradition,¹⁸ the *Tulach na Coibche* of the ninth-century Cormac's Glossary, and the memory of pagan marriages at Slieve Croob in County Down. There is also the reference in one early source to the wedding-feast of Lugh at Taitliu, and the bridal on the first day of the harvest moon at Morvah in Cornwall. And yet, in Irish rural tradition Lughnasa is not a marrying time: in fact it is not lucky to marry in harvest. . . . For these reasons there must be some doubt in suggesting that the legends of abduction and contest for a girl have to do with a myth or rite of divine marriage at Lughnasa. Lughnasa, I would suggest, was one episode in the cycle of a divine marriage story but not necessarily the bridal time.¹⁹

¹⁸ Cf. Máire MacNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (Oxford 1962), 316. This refers to the tradition reported by O'Donovan that temporary marriages used to be contracted at the Fair of Teltown which, if the contracting parties so desired, could be freely dissolved after a year and a day.

¹⁹ Op. cit., 424.

One must agree that the cited evidence is insufficient to identify the Lughnasa festival as a homely reflex of a divine marriage ritual. On the other hand, one may fairly question Máire MacNeill's main reason for doubting such a connection, namely that Lughnasa is not in fact a marrying time. This is perhaps to compare things that are not truly comparable: the behaviour that was permitted and indeed expected within the precinct of a sacred festival was in many respects the reverse of conventional everyday behaviour and one cannot therefore, strictly speaking, equate the mating customs of the Lughnasa festival with the normal patterns of marriage within the community. Indeed, in many societies Spring, and especially the month of May, was the season of love and spontaneous unions, but was nonetheless regarded as an unfavourable time for conventional marriages. In any case, whether or not one accepts the connection between the Lughnasa festival and a divine marriage ritual, it is still tempting to see in the matchmaking and courting that attended these assemblies not merely the expression of a casual and natural *joie de vivre* but rather the attenuated reflex of a regular and ritual relaxation of normal social convention.

We have one item of testimony which is of special interest in this regard. In an early nineteenth-century account of Struel Wells near Downpatrick and of the exercises which were performed there during the prescribed period of visitation we are told that, once the ceremonies were concluded, the pilgrims resorted to the tents and adjoining fields to enjoy themselves, it being understood that as long as they remained on the sacred ground they could not contract new guilt.²⁰ In this brief observation we have a useful testimony to one of the essential features of sacred festivals of regeneration throughout history and throughout the world. Such festivals of cosmic renewal are held periodically, most typically at the New Year but also at other crucial times within the yearly cycle, for example at the points of the agricultural year when the seed germinates and the harvest stands ripe or on certain specialized occasions such as initiations or the consecrations of kings. A general and fundamental feature of the feast is the deliberate return to Chaos, achieved through the subversion of social

²⁰ Philip Dixon Hardy, *The Holy Wells of Ireland* (Dublin 1840), 70:

Thus end the ceremonies of the day. Those of the evening follow, and form a remarkable contrast. The employments of the day seem to be considered as the labours of virtue, those of the evening are her rewards, by which they are amply compensated. Their eyes, after having been bathed in the sacred stream, instantly discover the flowery path of pleasure, which conducts them to the tents prepared for their reception, where they are supplied with copious draughts, of which the water of life was but a faint emblem. In these tents, and in the adjoining fields, under the canopy of a pure sky, they spend the whole night quaffing the soul-inspiring beverage, and indulging in various gratifications to which the time and place are favourable; for it is understood, that while the jubilee continues, and as long as the happy multitudes remain on the sacred ground, they cannot contract new guilt!

order and status, as a preliminary to the re-creation of the Cosmos, in other words the renewal of nature and society. Sometimes this renewal involves a ritual purification by which the sins and imperfections of the individual and of the community are cancelled out, sometimes it involves the re-enactment of an exemplary hierogamy, but nearly always—and this holds *a fortiori* for agricultural festivals²¹—it involves the temporary casting off of social restraints and the inception of a state of more or less total anarchy and licence. Sexual and alimentary licence serves a double purpose: it contributes to the general overturning of normality on the one hand and on the other it promotes the fertility of nature by its sheer abundance and prodigality. One suspects that this is the essential and primary role of the 'concern with mating' which characterizes the Lughnasa assemblies.

Not only does the festival of renewal form a break with the existing order, but it also effects an interruption of profane, historical time and the restoration of primordial, mythic time: in Dumézil's definition it constitutes a means of access to the Great Time, 'une ouverture sur le Grand Temps.' And not merely does it take place within a defined interlude of sacred time, it also takes place within a defined area of sacred space, whether it be the precincts of a church or of a consecrated site. It is this which lends significance to the reference cited above to Struel Wells: as long as the pilgrims remained within the sacred precinct (and while the festival lasted) they could, without fear of incurring fresh guilt, indulge freely in the uninhibited pleasures which characterized such assemblies and which eventually brought down upon them the wrath of reforming clerics. For our immediate purpose the relevance is clear: within the compass of sacred time and space constituted by the festival men and women could give themselves up to pleasures which were both unbridled and innocent, just as in the Golden Age at the beginning of the world, or in the blissful Otherworld which mirrors in such constant terms the ideal existence of innumerable peoples and races and which received one of its most sensitive literary interpretations in the lyrical compositions of the early Irish monastic *literati*, among them *Immram Brain*.

The Land of Women

In my representation of the Otherworld concept used by the author of *Immram Brain* I differ from Professor Carney on two specific points, apart from a more general divergence on the character and

²¹ Witness the frequent condemnations by medieval Church Councils and other interested authorities of the licentious behaviour associated with harvest festivals; cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindische Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zurich-Leipzig, 1937), II, 113.

extent of the traditional oral sources of written Irish literature.²² First I cannot accept his equation of sinlessness and chastity in the Otherworld of *Immram Brain*, for reasons which I hope to have made clear in the present essay. Secondly, I see no grounds for his assumption that Tír inna mBan 'The Land of Women' is 'obviously inspired by Greek material.' All other considerations apart, I would suggest that the notion of an Otherworld peopled by beautiful women is one which lends itself admirably to the theory of polygenesis, and indeed the evidence would seem to indicate that in this respect at least the Irish, and the Celts in general, had no need to take lessons from the Greeks or from the many other peoples who thronged the Paradise of their imagination with houris and asparases and suchlike heavenly creatures. To attempt an exhaustive documentation of this aspect of the Irish Otherworld is hardly necessary nor appropriate in the present context: I shall refer merely to a few salient points.

To begin with, a vast area of Irish mythology, and particularly that part of it most intimately concerned with the land of Ireland, its physical features, and its fertility, is dominated by the great figure of the goddess in whose dispensation lay such basic issues as peace and war, prosperity and sovereignty. It is hardly surprising then that she should sometimes be thought of as dominating the Otherworld realm to the virtual exclusion of the gods.²³ It is an enduring aspect of the Irish notion of the supernatural: the woman who invited Bran and Conlae to the Land of Women can hardly be dissociated from those goddesses, such as Áine and Aoibheall and Clíodna, whose fairy dwellings constituted familiar landmarks in the Irish countryside and whose traditions flourished until recently among the local populations. Nor can they be dissociated from the corresponding goddesses of British tradition, Rhiannon, for example, in medieval Welsh literature and Morgain la Fée in Arthurian romance. It would seem indeed that the documentation of the Land of Women extends much further back than the earliest

²² My remarks in this regard were formulated very many years ago and refer to Professor Carney's views as published in print. It is only fair to add that he has, by all indications, recently modified his earlier views on the sources of *Immram Brain* and it seems likely therefore that the discrepancy between our interpretations of the evidence is less serious than formerly.

²³ A word of qualification may not be out of place here. Professor Carney observes that the Island of Women 'is not identical with Manannán's kingdom which is populated by men and women' (*Studies in Irish Literature and History*, 287 n.1), which seems plausible enough at first glance and may even be true. Nonetheless, one may perhaps allow for the possibility of artistic hyperbole—or mere simplification: it is noteworthy that the Otherworld of *Echtræ Chonlai* where there is no kind 'save only women and girls' is said elsewhere in the same text to be ruled by an immortal king named Boadach. More important is the fact that—and this may explain the apparent inconsistency in *Echtræ Chonlai*—the several variant images of the Celtic Otherworld are extremely fluid and prone to merge and overlap continually.

vernacular records in Irish or Welsh. In the first century A.D. Pomponius Mela wrote of the island of Sena off the coast of Aremorica in which dwelt nine priestesses who had the power of healing and prophecy and could stir up the winds and the seas and transform themselves into the shapes of animals.²⁴ These formidable ladies have close analogues in the Middle Welsh tale of *Peredur* as well as in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* and I see no reason to reject the suggestion that they are an early literary reflex of the inhabitants of the otherworld Land of Women, and in particular of the thrice nine women who welcomed the voyagers in *Immram Brain*.²⁵

It is true that the Irish goddess is not always as seductive as in *Immram Brain* or *Echtræ Chonlai*—as goddess of war and destruction she can be as ugly and malevolent as she is otherwise benign and beautiful, and indeed one aspect is but the obverse of the other—but naturally where the narrative has to do with the Happy Otherworld it is the bounteous and sensual element that prevails. In this role one might equally well refer to her the remarks of Heinrich Zimmer on the Apsarases of Indra's heavenly paradise: 'Apsarases are the perfect dispensers of sensual delight and amorous bliss on a

²⁴ *De Chorographia* iii, 6.

²⁵ Cf. Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston 1903, New York 1960) 43 ff.; Roger Sherman Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff 1956) 75, 129, 154 ff. For Irish cf. *Acallam na Senórach*, ed. W. Stokes, IT IV, i, 114, ll. 5953 ff.:

'Maith, m'anam, a ingen, ea tfr assa tangais,' ar Find, 'i cuich tú féin?' 'A Tír na n-ingen aníar mara fuinend grian tictim, i ingen rig in té sin mé féin.' 'Ca h'ainm thusa, a ingen?' ar Find. 'Bébind ingen Treoin, ingen ríg Thire na n-ingen missi,' ar sí. 'Cret ima tucad Tír na n-ingen ar in té sin?' ar Find. 'Ní fuil d'fheraib inti, ar inn ingen, 'acht m'athair sea cona tri macaib i .ix. n-ingena i secht fichtib ingen ro geined uada, conid airi sin adearar Tír na n-ingen rissin té sin.'

'Greetings, lady, what land have you come from and who are you? 'I come from the Land of Maidens in the west where the sun sets, and I am the daughter of the king of that land.' 'What is your name, lady?' said Find. 'Bébind daughter of Trén, king of the Land of Maidens,' she said. 'Why was that land called the Land of Maidens?' said Find. 'There are no men in it,' said the girl, 'save my father and his three sons, and to him have been born nine daughters and seven score. That is why it is called the Land of Maidens.'

Cf. also in the same text, IT IV, i, 205–6, ll. 7354 ff.:

Ocus tangadur reompu co Lis na mban i Cúil radhaire, risi raiter Cúil ó Find isin tan-so, i tangadur issin fidúnad anúnn, i ro frithailed co maith ind sídchi sin iat. . . . 'Más ed,' ar in t-óéla[ch], 'atá nf aile dob aíl lium d'fhiarfaigi dít .i. crét fa tucad Lis na mban ar in lis-sa?' Adubairt Cailte: 'Nonbur deirbshethar ro boi annso do Thúath dé Danann. i tangadur i coinde nonbair óclach d'Fhiannaib Eireann, i ar tiacht dóib ro urmaisedur clanna Morna orro ann, i ro marbúdar iat ar tiacht a coinde in nonbair sin don Fheind. Condad uatha sin atá Lis na mban ar in ad so.'

'They came then to Lis na mBan 'the court of the women', . . . and they were well attended to that night. . . . 'Now there is another thing that I should like to ask you,' said the man: 'why was this mound called the court of the women?' and Cailte said: 'There were nine sisters of the Tuatha Dé Danann living here and they came to meet nine of the warriors of the Fian. But when they had come, the family of Morna discovered them and slew them. It is from them this place is called Lis na mBan.'

In the passage cited above from Pomponius Mela we are told that the nine priestesses devoted themselves only to the service of those voyagers who had set out for the sole purpose of consulting them. Would it be too fanciful to see in this a distorted reminiscence of voyage legends akin to *Immram Brain*?

divine scale, and in sheer celestial harmony. They are the embodiments of a strictly supra-earthly quality of sensual love, Divine Love as distinct from, and opposed to Earthly Love, which latter is intrinsically fraught with drama and tensions, the misunderstandings, quarrels, and reconciliations of lovers, and a hardly avoidable intimate flavor of dignified, dutiful resignation, such as is intrinsic even to perfect matrimonial adjustment. Apsarases represent the "Innocence of Nature," "Delight Without Tears," "Sensual Consummation Without Remorse, Without Doubts or Subsequent Misgivings."²⁶ This is essentially the same distinction as separates ordinary human love from the ideal love of the Otherworld people pictured in *Immram Brain*. In some respects the distinction may seem tenuous enough: the pre-eminent marks of Otherworld love are above all its innocence and its freedom from guilt and remorse—in other words from sin—and where these are not stressed or explicitly stated the distinction may be mainly a matter of context.

This may have some relevance for a question which has been raised by Professor Seán Ó Tuama in regard to the Modern Irish love-songs referred to above. He notes that the illicit love which is the whole burden of these songs runs directly counter to the religious morality to which the Irish people as a whole subscribed. But, though in terms of their conventional morality this love was always sinful, or at least amoral, it was almost never regarded as such by the poets who composed these songs or by the people who sang them. Professor Ó Tuama would explain this apparent contradiction in two ways: the notion of love extolled in the love-song was of its essence romantic and unrealistic and had therefore little direct reference to or influence upon the everyday life and behaviour of the people who maintained them in their popularity, and secondly, the official morality which governed their life and behaviour was more lax and less demanding in earlier centuries than it became later. As these two arguments are presented it might seem that there is a certain inconsistency between them—in the one case it is suggested that the love-songs had little relevance to ordinary life, on the other that they reflect it with some degree of historical accuracy—but there may be nonetheless an element of truth in both, just as there is no doubt some truth in Professor Ó Tuama's contention that the amoral attitudes expressed in the love-songs derive from the heretical influence of the continental *amour courtois*. My own feelings, however, is that his appeal to historical authenticity here is less relevant and less convincing than his appeal to the artistic imagination. Certain it is that many of the motifs and much of the mentality that went to the making of the Modern Irish love-songs were already part of Irish

²⁶ H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (Harper Torchbooks, New York 1962), 163.

literary tradition before the coming of the Normans and in this particular instance it seems reasonable to suppose that the characteristic amoral love of the later love-songs is, in some measure at least, a continuation of the unrestricted but innocent love that figured so largely in the traditional concept of the Otherworld. The invitation motif which occurs frequently in the songs matches the corresponding motif in the Otherworld tales and clearly, as Professor Ó Tuama appears to suggest, there must be some lineal connection between the two.

'There is neither mine nor thine'

The burden of my argument so far is that, notwithstanding the palpable Christian motivation of the authors of *Immram Brain* and *Echtrae Chonlai*, their image of the Otherworld is essentially a traditional one in which the Christian notion of heavenly chastity has as yet no function. I see no grounds for the assumption that this image is dependent on Classical sources—with one possible exception. In the well known poem in *Tochmarc Étaíne* in which Midir invites Étaín to share with him the pleasures of Mag Már 'the Great Plain' he refers to it as a land in which there is 'neither mine nor thine' (*Is ann nád bí muí na tuí*).²⁷ The particular locution he uses has its counterparts in many medieval (and later) commentaries touching upon the concept of a Golden Age. Peter Martyr, the Italian chronicler of the Columbian expeditions, writes of the natives of Hispaniola: 'These natives enjoy a golden age, for they know neither *meum* nor *tuum*'.²⁸ Marc Lescarbot in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* praises a community of savages because, among other things, 'they possess that mutual charity of which Europe has been deprived since the pronouns *mien* and *tien* came into existence'.²⁹ Ronsard questions the wisdom of civilizing the natives of the American continent who as yet do not recognize the names of virtue and vice and who share in common the bounty of nature:

Et comme l'eau d'un fleuve, est commun tout leur bien,
Sans procez engendré de ce mot *Tien* et *Mien*.³⁰

Others who use the pronominal formula are Francis Bacon and Cervantes and it seems in fact to have been a commonplace in the Renaissance period and after wherever men spoke of a utopian society or of the ideal state of nature.³¹

For us the problem concerns not the idea but its formulation. The notion of a primitive and unconscious communism seems to be

²⁷ Ed. Osborn Bergin and R. I. Best (Dublin 1938), 48.

²⁸ Quoted by Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (OUP paperback 1972), 60.

²⁹ See Harry Levin, op. cit., 65.

³⁰ Op. cit., 74.

³¹ Op. cit., 63, 71, 82, 109, 142, 161; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1970), 214, 217.

virtually inseparable from that of an ideal existence whether in the past or in the future or in a praeternatural domain. It turns up frequently in the writings of Classical antiquity and of the Christian era (for a comprehensive documentation one may refer to Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, chapters 10-12 on 'The Egalitarian State of Nature' and 'The Egalitarian Millennium'), but of course it is older than both and much more extensive in its range of occurrence. Writing of the concept of Nirvana D. D. Kosambi observes that 'When first propounded, it was a negation, a return of the individual to the sinless, undifferentiated state. . . . The memory of a classless, undifferentiated society remained as the legend of a golden age when the good earth spontaneously produced ample food without labour because men had neither property nor greed.'³² In the Puranas it is remarked that the cultivation of the soil and the development of private property brought strife and contention and vice into the world as men sought to possess for themselves more and more of its goods. The evidence is almost inexhaustible. One point, however, is especially relevant to our consideration of the early Irish literary view of the Otherworld: almost everywhere, it would seem, where belief has existed in a golden age or in a millennium, the idea of material or economic communism has been closely coupled with that of sexual communism. The probability is, therefore, that they were also associated in the traditional Irish concept of the Otherworld, whether or not this association received explicit literary expression in written texts.

The question remains however whether the precise *mine/thine* formula in *Tochmarc Étaine* is borrowed from a Classical or late medieval Latin source or whether it is merely a coincidental use of the same graphic terminology to express an identical concept. Before attempting to answer this question it would be necessary to check closely the incidence of the *meum/tuum* formula in Classical and early medieval Latin literature, and this I have not been able to do as yet.³³ Whichever answer we finally decide on will be of considerable interest for the history of written Irish literature, but it will nevertheless remain peripheral to the argument sustained in the present essay: that the Otherworld of *Immram Brain*, when due allowance is made for the literary and ideological pull of its textual setting, reflects fairly a traditional concept and is not dependent on Christian or Classical analogues.

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³² D. D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay 1956), 162.

³³ It would seem from Norman Cohn's paraphrase of the views of Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150-ca. 215) that the latter used the pronominal dictum ('It was these human laws which created the distinction between Mine and Thine, so that things which by right belong to all can no longer be enjoyed in common.' Op. cit., 190).

VARIA I

1. A Hittite-Celtic Etymology

THE Hittite word for 'booty' is the neuter *ša-a-ru*. The animate accusative *šarun* cited by Friedrich, *HWb.* from KUB XXXIV 23 II 29, whence his gender assignment 'n./c.' is clearly incomplete; the form should perhaps be read *ša-a-ru-un-t[i-eš] (?)* 'were looted(?)' with Güterbock, *JCS* 10, 1956, 85 (Deeds of Suppiluliumas, CTH 40), with *-u-* for the expected *-uwa-* of the denominative verb, though an (unattested) derivative with a suffix *-u-nt-*, like *šarhuntalli-* 'räuberisch' (*HWb.* 3. Erg. 28) or the divine name *Tarhunt* is also conceivable.¹

The noun *šaru* is attested in the Annals of Mursilis (ed. Götze, *MVAeG* 1933, reprinted 1967) in nom. and acc. *ša-a-ru*, dat. *ša-a-ru-(u-)*. The same text provides seven examples of the denominative verb *šaruwāi-* 'plunder', as it is given in Götze, *Madduwattaš* 83 (*šaruwāi-*) and in Friedrich, *HWb.* 188 (*šaruwāi-*, class 13): 3 sg. pret. *ša-ru-wa-a-it* (AM 2x), *ša-a-ru-wa-it* (AM 1x), 3 pl. pret. *ša-ru-wa-a-ir* (AM 2x), inf. I *ša-a-ru-(u-)wa-u-wa-an-zi* (AM 2x). The consistent scriptio plena of the first syllable of the noun (*ša-a-*) as against its more frequent absence in the finite forms of the verb, may be significant as an indication of stress placement; the problem must await the availability of fuller data on the *-aizzi* class as a whole.

Now a significant number of the *u*-stem denominatives in *-uwāi-* (3 sg. pres. *-uwāizzi*) catalogued by Götze in *Madduwattaš* 81 ff., and assigned by Friedrich to his class I 3, belong to this class in New Kingdom Hittite only secondarily, as a result of a particular inner-Hittite development, the increasing productivity and spread of the *-āizzi* class. Some are replacements of old statives in *-e-*, as I have suggested in *TPS* 1971 [1973] for *haššue-* 'be king' (Friedrich *haššuwai-*, a stem-form nowhere attested), *huišu-e-* 'be alive' (later *huišuwai-*), and others. In other verbs we may observe the elimination of the inherited **-u-je/o-*, the type of Latin *metuō*, Greek *μεθύω*, Ved. *gātuyāti* (O. Hitt. 3 sg. pres. *-uezzi*) by *-uwāi-* (Class. Hitt. 3 sg. pres. *-uwaizzi*), or *-uiya-* (Class. Hitt. 3 sg. pres. *-uiyazi*).

A clear case of the replacement of original *-u(i)e-* by *-uwāi-* is the verb 'to count', *kappuwāi-* in Friedrich *HWb.* The Classical Hittite forms 3 sg. pres. *kappuwāizzi*, 3 pl. pres. *kappu(w)anzi*, 3 sg. pret. *kappuwāit* contrast with the Old Hittite 2 sg. pres. *ka-pu-u-e-ši* KBo III 28, 13 = BoTU 10γ 12 (Palace chronicle, CTH 9), 3 pl. pres.

¹ For the gender correct also Kronasser, *Etymol. der heth. Sprache* 251, where furthermore **šaru-* and *šayu-* should be interchanged.

kap-pu-u-en-zi (Laws §83, A, old ductus), 3 sg. pret. *kap-pu-u-e-et* (KUB XVII 10 IV 20, 26, Telepinus myth, archaizing), 3 pl pret. *kap-pu-u-e-er* (KUB XXIX 1 III 6, the 'Bauritual').

A clear case of the replacement of *-u(i)e-* by *-uya-* may be seen in *šar-ku-e-ez-zi* 'puts on shoes' in the oldest version of the KILAM festival, KUB XX 4 I 8 (Old Hittite, CTH 627.5) corresponding to *šar-ku-i-ya-zi* in the later parallel KBo X 51 I 4' (CTH 627.1). So far as I know there is no evidence for a stem *šarkuwāi-*, which is Friedrich's lemma. The verb is probably a denominative to *šarku-* 'high, lofty' in the sense 'hochziehen', with Sommer, *HAB* 86.

A thoroughgoing philological sifting to determine the relative antiquity of the denominative verbs in Hittite, in particular those showing a 'mixture of *-ai-* and *-iya-* inflexion', remains one of the most pressing tasks for the future in Hittite studies. In the case of denominatives from *u*-stem nouns and adjectives, all of which may exhibit in Classical Hittite a 3 sg. pres. *-uwaizzi*, such an examination would probably yield three originally distinct formations: stative verbs (built on adjectives) in *-u-e-*, IE **-u-ē-*; functionally unmarked denominatives (built on nouns and adjectives) in *-u(i)e-*, IE **-u-je/o-;*² and quite possibly a genuinely old residue of forms in *-uwāi-*, IE **-u-ā-je/o-*, built not directly on a *-u-* stem but on a collective noun in **-uwa*, IE **-u-ā*, **-u-e₂*.³

In the case of *šaruwāi-* 'plunder' it is likely that the original Hittite form was *šaru-je*, as is indicated by the oldest attestation of the 3 pl. pret., in the Middle Hittite prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal (CTH 375), as *ša-ru-u-e-er*, rather than the classical *šaruwair* of AM. We are left with a Hittite noun *šāru* 'booty', perhaps accented *šáru*, and a denominative verb (probably formed within Hittite itself) *šaru(i)e-*, perhaps accented *šaru-je-*.

In form and inflexion Hittite *ša-a-ru*, dat. *ša-a-ru-i*, is identical with Old Hittite *gišta-a-ru* 'tree' (KBo XVII 3 IV 12), abl. *t/da-la-ru-az* (KUB XXIX 1 I 2), the inherited word corresponding exactly

² The 3 pl. *kap-pu-u-en-zi* in old ductus cited above may indicate an early sound change **-ja- > *-je-* (later reversed in OHitt. *-(i)e- > Class. -ya-*) since we would expect the Indo-European form to **-jonti*. OHitt. *u-en-zi* (old ductus, *passim*) 'they come' is ambiguous, since an IE athematic **j-enti* is perfectly possible. I do not know what to make of the contrast in KBo XVII 36 (old ductus) between 3 pl. pres. *pé-e-ra-an-x ti-i-in-zi* II 6' 'they go before' (from *tiya-*; 3 sg. pres. *ti-i-e-ez-zi* ibid. II 9') and 3 pl. pres. II NINDA *ti-an-zi* II 3', III 11', 'they place two loaves', *A-NA GIŠ BANSUR-ŠU-NU ti-an-zi* II 13' 'they place on their table' (from *dai-*). This spelling of the latter verb is common, perhaps ubiquitous, in old ductus texts. The problem deserves to be circulated among Hittitologists.

³ Though I have no early forms, *halluwāi-* 'quarrel' might be an example of the last category, since *hallu-* 'deep' is not related and the noun *halluwater* may indicate an earlier abstract **halluwa(h)*, IE **-u-ā*, **-u-e₂*, in the light of H. Eichner, MSS 31, 1973, 53–107. Likewise *genzuwai-* 'be well minded toward, love', related to *uzengzu* 'bosom, loins', which is attested as such in archaic Hittite texts: *ge-en-zu-wa-it* HAB II 18, *ge-en-zu-wa-i-ši* KBo III 7 III 30 (Illuyankas myth), and *uruwai-* 'bow', of unknown origin, consistently inflected *a-ru-wa-iz-zi* etc. from the oldest Hittite (e.g. Zukraši) on.

to Greek δόρυ, Vedic *dáru*, and reconstructible as *dóru. Strict parallelism, then, allows us to infer the preform of ša-a-ru 'booty' as *sóru: quite possibly an Indo-European noun belonging to the same archaic inflectional class as *dóru 'tree', *gónu 'knee', *sónu 'back, top', and *₂dóju 'age, life, vital force'. Now beside *dóru we find also thematic forms with *e*-vocalism: *déruo-, neuter plural and collective *déruā, in Russ. *dérevo*, pl. *derevá* (beside normal *derév'ja*) 'tree', Lith. *dervà*, acc. *deřvā* 'pitch (pine)'. The parallelism of *dóru and *sóru would then allow us further to postulate, purely theoretically on the model of *déruo-, déruā, thematic forms *seruo- and *seruā- from the same root.

These forms exist in fact; they are the prototypes of a group of words in Insular Celtic, Welsh and Irish, which provide us with the hitherto missing etymon for Hittite šāru, and assure its Indo-European antiquity.

The basic forms are Welsh *herw* (masc.) 'raid; outlawry' from *seruo-, and Archaic Irish *serb* (fem.) 'theft' from *seruā. That the two Celtic words belong together and are to be so reconstructed was rightly seen by Pokorny, *IEW* 910, though his attribution of both to IE *ser- 'flow' (following Walde-Pokorny and ultimately Brugmann) is semantically far-fetched, and nothing in the semantics of OIr. *sirid*, originally 'ranges, traverses, wanders through' (*RIA Contribb.*) justifies his connection of it with *herw* and *serb*. In *IEW* 1028 Pokorny inadvertently derives OIr. *serb* from *ster-*uā* (to Gk. στέρεω, στέρουσαι, following Whitley Stokes), which is excluded by the initial of Welsh *herw*.

Welsh shows the noun *herw* 'raid; outlawry', and the verb phrase *myned ar herw* 'go on a raid', as well as the denominative verb *herwa* 'pillage', and the compound (with 'man') *herwr* 'depredator, rebel'. A collection of early attestations in the texts has been made by Vendries, *BSL* 36, 1935, 124-130, though his connection of the Celtic forms with Latin *seruos* is to be rejected. There is no reason to doubt Pokorny's reconstruction, save that the proper segmentation is *seruā- rather than his *ser-*uo*-; the *u* is part of the stem. The word is masculine in Welsh, but an old neuter (like *déruā-om) is also perfectly plausible.

Early Irish shows the noun *serb*, which clearly belongs to an archaic stratum of the language since it is attested uniquely in the glossaries, from O'Davoren 1466 on: *serbh* i.e. *gait*, ut est *fod sert serb* 'serb, i.e. 'theft', as in *fod sert serb*'. (The meaning of the quoted passage is obscure to me: we may have a form of the verb *fo-fern* 'spreads abroad'. Perhaps 'who proclaimed it as theft' vel sim.?) The verbal noun *serbad* of the denominative verb is likewise attested only

in the glossaries: O'Dav. 1154 *a serbad* i. *a ngait 'a serbad*, i.e. "stealing them". The only more freely used form, though still confined to the laws and quotations from them in O'Davoren, hence archaic, is the compound verb *fo-serba* 'steals, pilfers', with the diminutive force of the preverb *fo-*: the examples all refer to the stealing of single sheep or pigs (cf. the passages in *RIA Contribb.* s.v.). The noun *foserb*, attested in O'Dav. *foserba becca* i. *mingata* 'small little pilferings' is clearly a back-formation to the verb *fo-serba*, but valuable for pointing to the original *ā*-stem inflexion of the simplex *serb*. We may reconstruct a base **serū-ā*, from which the denominative *serbad* (Celtic **serū-āti*, **serū-ājeti*) was formed at an early enough period to be freely compounded with a preverb.

We have in the family of Hittite *šāru*, Old Irish *serb* and Welsh *herw* an hitherto unknown Indo-European root **soru-*, **serū-*, preserved only in these two branches of Indo-European. Its morphology and phonological shape would suggest that it may belong to the small and archaic class of neuter primary nouns of the shape *ToRu* (alternating with *TReu-*, *TeRu-*): **dóru-*, **gónu-*, **sónu*, **góngiu*. A discussion of the much vexed question of the original ablaut and inflexion of this class must be postponed for the future; but the word family as here presented adds further, and welcome, evidence.

2. Ir. *tindabrad*

Old and later Irish attest a word *tindabrad*, *tinnabrad*, *tionnnabhradh* which in both form and semantics looks much like a verbal noun: it is glossed in the *RIA Contribb.* as 'the act of falling asleep'. The Classical Modern Irish *o*-stem inflexion (IGT Decl. §11, cf. *do thoigh thionnnabhraidh* 'to the dormitory' *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir* ed. D. Greene, l. 837) can represent the normal transfer from the original *u*-stem inflexion of a verbal noun in *-ath*, *-ad*.

The earliest attestation appears to be in the poem now known as Créd's lament, as edited by D. Greene and F. O'Connor, *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry*, pp. 78-80. They print the second stanza

Roigrád fir ala thíre
ro-shiacht sech a chomdine
ruc mo lú, ní lour dath,
nim léici do thindabradh

and render 'Crazy love for an outlander who surpassed all his contemporaries has taken away my looks; colour is wanting. It does not let me sleep.' Their restoration of old final *-th* in *tindabradh* gives a perfect rhyme with *dath*; the single ms. has *tindabrad* (ed.

K. Meyer, *Ériu* 2, 1905, 15–17).⁴ The poem is dated to c. 800 by G. Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 86, though if the rhymes in -th are real, an earlier date could be envisaged. For the semantics and the syntax as complementizer compare the lines *is ed do-gní frim in guth/nachom-léici do chotlud* [or *chotluth*] 'What the voice does to me is not to let me sleep', *Liadain and Cuirithir* 18, 18.

Though *tindabraith* seems similar to a verbal noun, no base form occurs: the verb *tinnabraid* cited in the RIA Contribb. from the Metrical Dindshenchus (pret. 3 sg. abs. *tinnabrais* iv 314.17) is clearly a later back-formation. The word is to my knowledge nowhere discussed in the literature. Yet an etymological analysis is, I think, possible.

Initial *tind-* is the regular outcome of the preverbs *to* + *ind*, as in *do-indnaig* 'bestows', v.n. *tindnacol*. The elision of the vowel of the first preverb under stress is Common Celtic; the Brittonic correspondent is *d-an-* (Pedersen, *VKG* II 301) in W. *danfon* 'send'. If we segment out the final *-ath*, *-ad* as the banal nominal suffix (*OIGr.* §723), we are left with *tind-abr-ath*, the nominalization of a *tind-abr-*. The whole means 'falling asleep'. The aspectual or mode of action notion is well captured by the preverb complex *tind-*, roughly 'into'; the semantic kernel 'sleep' must lie in *-abr-*.

The Indo-European root for 'sleep' is **suep-*, zero-grade **sup-*: Ved. ipv. *ni sú svapa* 'fall well asleep', YAv. ipv. *x^afsa*, Hitt. 3 sg. middle *šup-tari*. Celtic preserves the widespread nominal form with suffix *-no-*, of Ved. *svápnah*, Lat. *sonnus* etc., in Ir. *súan*, WCB *hun*.⁵ Beside these forms with *-no-* we find also, in Hittite and Greek alone, nominal derivatives of the root with an *-r-* suffix: Gk. *ὕπνος* 'true dream', and the denominative verb Hitt. *šuppariya-* 'sleep, dream', which I have discussed elsewhere.⁶

Indo-European medial *p* before liquid is not lost in Celtic, but voiced to Common Celtic *b*, lenited in Irish and Brittonic to *β* (*OIGr.* 139, 403): Gaulish and OBrit. *gabro-*, Ir. *gabor*, W. *gafr* 'goat'. I therefore suggest that our morpheme-isolate *-abr-* 'sleep' continues, in composition, an Indo-European *-*sup-rV-*, an archaic derivative in *-r-* from the root for 'sleep'. This form is connected in Celtic and Irish with no identifiable uncompounded form, nor with any primary verbal root. That such a connection once did exist, however, is likely from the very presence of the preverbs, which suggest verbal composition. It is easily imaginable that the lost simplex

⁴ Consistency might require in the last stanza of the poem *Cráidid mo chride coinech/ a Christ cháid, arrom foídeadh* 'What has been sent to me, chaste Christ, tortures my lamenting heart', for *arrom foídeadh*, their ingenious and convincing emendation of ms. *cainech, i forroidhedh*.

⁵ On these see J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 12, 1966, 67–76, E. P. Hamp, *Glotta* 68, 1970, 143, and my paper referred to below.

⁶ *Studies for Einar Haugen* 554–561 (1972).

primary verb was precisely IE **suep-/*sup-*, with vocalic endings; the Celtic loss of *-p-* would have rendered the connection of this verb with a Celtic **(-)subr-* quite opaque. In any case the verb **suep-/*sup-* disappeared entirely in Celtic; the stem **-subr-* occurred only in composition.

It is curious and perhaps not accidental that the same restriction applies to the Celtic rhyming stem **-kubr-* (from IE **kup-r-*): it occurs only in composition, in *accobor*, *ad-cobra* 'desires', and the isolated *milchobor* 'bear < honey-lover', *ólchobor* 'fondness for drink' (Watkins, *Ériu* 19, 1962, 114-116). Again, the base verb **kup-* of Lat. *cupiō*, perhaps Hitt. *kup-ta* 'planned', disappeared entirely in Celtic. On the prehistory of this relation between compounded and free forms in Old Irish nominal and verbal composition see the article in *Ériu* just cited.

The post-syncope devoicing of the final of the preverb to *int*, *tint*, due to a following morpheme-initial *h* = lenited *s* (*OIGr.* 519), which we find in such forms as *tintiúth*, (*to-ind-śouth*), *tintáith* (*to-ind-śoath*), *do-intám* (*to-ind-śoam*), *intamail* (*ind-śamail*), *intamlid* (*ind-śamlaid*), represents a living alternation based on the synchronic existence of simplex forms with normal word-initial unlenited and lenited *s*: *soud* etc., *in-samlathar*.⁷ But where no simplex with initial *s* existed, as in the case of a putative **soþrath*, the consequent elimination of the morpheme boundaries within a *t(o)-inde-hoþrathu-* would be expected to result in the total loss of *h* from **-s-*, before syncope, just as in the *s*-stem dat. plur. *tigib* (not **tichib*) < **tegesobi* (*OIGr.* 84).

The double preverb *to-inde-* was evidently fused into a semantic unity, even where the two are formally separable, as in *do-intái*, *-tintái*; there is no **in(d)-soi* to which *to-* was later added. This means that even if—as is not unlikely—there had existed a deuterotonic verb **to-'inde-subr-*, later **to-'inde-hoþr-*, the absence of an uncompounded **subr-*, **soþr-* (contrast *soid*, *-soi*, and compare the absence of an uncompounded **kubr-*, **koþr-*) would equally well have erased the morpheme boundary within the stress unit, resulting in **to-indehoþr-* and the same non-recoverable loss of medial *-h-* as in the *s*-stems. The expected form is therefore precisely *tindabrah*, not the phonologically "regular" **tintabrah*.

Precisely the same phonological treatment is found in the name *Findabair*, historically a compound of *find* and *siabair*, rather than **Fintabair*, as noted by T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 319.n.1. On the etymology cf. Pedersen, *VKG* 1.266;

⁷ That the Irish did synchronically perceive the etymological relation between *soid* and its compounds is clear from the glossing of the latter by the former and vice-versa: O'Dav. 1499 *na boin iar tou[d] . . . i. [i]ar mbreith a laoigh esti . . . no iar soudh a laoigh: O'Clery soadh 7 86dh i. toionntódh no cláochlódh.*

Vendryes, *RC* 32, 1911, 232.n.1 and 46, 1929, 264. The contrast in treatment between *Fintan* (**windo-senos* 'fair and old', a productive dvandva type) and *Findabair*, *tindabrad*, is to be attributed to the opacity of the latter two in Primitive Irish. The formation of the name is Common Celtic in date, W. *Gwenhwyfar*.

The dialectal distribution of the root **sup-* with *r*-suffix in Greek οὐπαρ, Hittite *šuppariya-*, and Irish *-abr-* is precisely that of the root **leh₂-* in Greek λα-*Fós* 'people (under arms)' Hittite *laḫha* (directive) 'military campaign', *laḫhiyalaš* 'warrior, hero', and Irish *laéch* 'warrior, hero'. On the semantics of the Greek word, where the Mycenean data are particularly important, and the connection with Hittite *laḫha* (first proposed by A. Juret, *REA* 42, 1940, 198–200), see A. Heubeck, *Studi V. Pisani* II 535–544 (1969); on the Irish word see *Celtica* 6, 1963, 241.n.1, where the three-fold equation was first proposed.

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VARIA II

1. The Middle Irish preterite passive plural ending -(a)it

THE explanation of this ending put forward by Gerard Murphy, *Feilscribhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* (1940) 76–81, has been generally accepted. He suggested that we should look for its origin in forms such as pres. 3 pl. *techtait* 'they possess' and its obsolescent relative form *t(h)echta*; as the latter was eliminated in favour of *t(h)echtait*, so the pret. pass. pl. *ro techta* was replaced by *ro techtait*. As he pointed out, the ending *-tha* lacked expressiveness in Middle Irish (see also *Ériu* xxiv 125), while *ro techtait* was quite unambiguous. There is, however, one phonological difficulty about his explanation, in that the falling together of pres. 3 pl. rel. and pret. pass. pl. occurred only in verbs where the stem ended in [x], [s], [t] or [d], for only in these was the contrast between the endings *-ta* [-də] and *-tha* [-θə] neutralised. Generalisation of allophonic variants is, of course, not unusual, but the necessity for assuming it here detracts somewhat from the cogency of Murphy's theory.

It is more than seventy-five years since Strachan stated (*ZCP* ii 482) that the ending under discussion does not occur in *Saltair na Rann*; this was accepted by Murphy in the note quoted above, and it is, in the strictest sense, correct. But the recently published B fasciculus of the Academy's *Contributions* lists *bertait*, *SR* 2981, as preterite plural passive, and with good reason. When we look at the context we find that Jacob has just married Leah and Rachel and taken their slave-girls Bala and Selpha (= Zelpha) as concubines. The verbs are in the past tense: *Bai inailt in cehtar dé / oc na sethraib sochraide* 'Each of the two fair sisters had a slave-girl'; *Ro bátar uili 'ma-le . . . i comlepaid Iacóib* 'They were all . . . sleeping with Jacob'. And then:

2981 Bertait iu maic fo thrí
dó fri bríg bailcc fo glanlf,
uiii ona sethraib sreth
cethrur ona hineiltib.

The meaning can only be 'three times four sons were born to him'. I have expanded *maic* in view of the rhyme with *bailcc*; the form is doubly guaranteed as nominative plural, since an emendation to *maccu* would give too long a line. The verb must therefore be passive, and the context strongly suggests that it is in the past tense. We could, of course, emend to *bretha*, which is the form used in this meaning elsewhere in the *Saltair*: *Bretha do Adaum . . . , 1969; Bretha do Gedeon . . . deich meicc*, 5313; *bretha secht maicc* (:) *n-aircc do Dauid*,

6604; *bretha dó* . . . 6760. But not only would the emendation be violent, but there are other considerations. *Bertait* is one of three forms listed by Strachan in his *Verbal System* as pres. 3 pl. with suffixed pronoun. We have seen that it cannot have had that function in the passage examined; the same is true for the other two cases.

The first of these occurs in the description of the fall of the angels into Hell:

949 Rí do-rat tromdígail tind
for slúag n-anhettail n-Iffirn;
 trúaga tána fri gortai,
 búana bána bithbochtai

953 And uili céstaít int slúaig
i craesluch Iffirn adrúaid . . .

The word *slúaig*, both in singular and plural, has been used regularly in this canto to describe the damned (883, 907, 919); the torments are referred to as *píana* and the tormentors are not personalised. Taking these considerations with the verb *do-rat* in the past tense, and the fact that a masc. (or neut.) suffixed pronoun would give no sense here, we cannot translate 'the hosts torment it', but only 'the hosts were tormented'. We have thus a second case of a preterite passive plural ending *-tait*.

The other example is of less apparent force, for it occurs in a cheville:

457 Na doirsi chaindelbdai glain
lainderdai dond líc lógmair
 co n-ollbladaib, segtait slóig,
 cona comladaib dergóir.

Here there can be no question of a past passive. But a suffixed pronoun will not do either; if we translate 'hosts seek it out' there is no singular noun to which we can direct it. The cheville *segtait slóig* is formulaically identical with others such as *suí co saídri segtai rainn* 'a sage with riches whom verses seek out', 2363; *dorus snéid sair segdai mál* 'a small (?) door in the east which princes seek out', 4253; *Ruiri na rind réltai mál* 'the King of the planets whom princes declare', 865; *ro báidid ann . . . cóic cét ríg regtai rainn* 'there were drowned there . . . five hundred valiant kings whom (or which) verses reach', 4015. In all these case we could admittedly assume a suffixed pronoun, and translate 'verses seek him out', 'princes seek it

out' etc. There are, however, reasons for believing that relative constructions are in order here. We have the example *A Chū Chulaind cardda raind*, *TBC* 1655, where there can be no doubt of the meaning 'whom verses love'. Furthermore, the Stowe equivalent is *cardait*, 1472, while *YBL* (*TBC²* 2413) offers us the interesting *cardid* 'with *id* added above'. There is another example of relative *cartait* in *cnúas crinmainn crainn cartait* (*cardait*, *cardat*, v.ll.) *máil* 'eine Ernte der Dichtkunst vom Baume, den die Dichter lieben', *Bruchst.* i §57.

From the Old Irish point of view, this *-tait* ending is that of the 3 pl. pres. abs. with suffixed 3 sg. masc.-neut. pronoun, e.g. *bertait* 'they carry it, him'. Its utilisation in 3 pl. relative function is paralleled by that of forms which appear to be those of the OIr. 3 sg. abs. with the same suffixed pronoun, e.g. *beirthi* 'he carries him, it'; *mórthai* 'he exalts him, it'. Strachan compiled his *Verbal System* in 1896; by 1899 he was commenting (*ZCP* ii 488) on the 3 pl. rel. form *toingthe*, for examples of which see *TBC²* 828, 3625; *BDD²* 707, 1522, and linking it with the forms with suffixed pronoun. In a footnote he suggested that some of the chevilles in *SR* might be explained in the same way, and he was certainly correct. The forms in question are *báighi tréith*, 2499; *derbtha bí*, 4861; *derbtha tréith*, 6917; *nóithi máil*, 2585, 6681; *táircthi rúin*, 4353. All of them clearly conform to the *cardda rainn* formula, that it to say, the verb is to be interpreted synchronically as 3 pl. relative. In his review of Henderson's *Fled Bricrend* (*ZCP* iii 413) he drew attention to the variants *tiagait*, *tiagta* H and *tiagtha* L; he noted that H had preserved the old relative form while in L 'the same is corrupted into *tiagtha*', and referred to his note on *toingthe* in the previous volume. He also added some further examples, not all of which are certain; we can, however, retain *trath tiagtha co celebraid / fir betha co mbuaid*, *LB* 261^a79. Another example supplied to me by Liam Breathnach is *tri laich ata dech gaibthi gaisced*, *BDD²* 757, as against . . . *gabthae gaisced*, 1241.

Strange to say, Strachan's comment at *ZCP* ii 488 was that 'such a corruption would be possible if, as seems certain, the relative form of the third plural disappeared from the language at an early period'. In fact what we are seeing is the preservation of the category of the third plural relative by using a variety of morphemes; the Mid.Ir. reflex *tiagta* is found beside *tiaghaid* in a poem showing such late features as the independent pronoun as subject of the copula (*Celtica* ii 278). The other morphemes available for the purpose were those which contained a suffixed pronoun; as Liam Breathnach has shown in an unpublished thesis, suffixed pronouns are preferred to infixes pronouns in only 14% of the possible cases in the Würzburg Glosses, and we may assume that forms such as *beirthi*, *bertait* were no longer

perceived as containing a suffixed pronoun by the beginning of the ninth century. The morphemes were available for re-allotment: to quote Strachan on Middle Irish once more, 'when a genuine old form is revived, it may be used as it never was when it was a living form', *Ériu* i 153.

In *Saltair na Rann*, the normal expression of the 3 pl. rel. is the old absolute form, the variants being restricted to chevilles; even in the latter we occasionally find the absolute, as in *derbait mál*, 1101. That is to say, the *Saltair* offers us a stage of the language in which (i) *derbta mál*; (ii) *derbtait mál*; (iii) *derbtha mál* and (iv) *derbait mál* all mean the same thing: 'which (whom) princes affirm'. We now have the precise phonetic conditions necessary for the rise of the new preterite passive plural ending. *Ro derbtha* had, as Murphy saw, an ending lacking in expressiveness which was identical with variant (iii) of the forms of the 3 pl. rel. of the present tense. Our two examples *bertait* and *céstait* studied above show the utilisation of variant (ii) to provide an expressive alternative. This was apparently unsuccessful, and it was replaced by variant (iv) in the form *ro derbait*, which, on the literary evidence, survived well into the Modern Irish period. We would, however, do well to distrust such evidence. The distinction of number in such categories as the relative and the passive was being steadily eliminated from the end of the Old Irish period onwards, and the evolution of new and distinctive plural forms was against the general drift of the language. It is more than likely that such forms were restricted to writing and never at any time belonged to the spoken language.

2. OIr *muinid* 'teaches'

'Die Etymologie ist unbekannt', said Pedersen of this verb, *VKG* §783; the very tentative suggestion by Vendryes, *Lex. étym.* M-75, that it might be derived from the root **men-* 'think', is phonologically improbable. My friend Michael O'Brien used to speculate on the possibility of a connection with *mún* 'urine', through the idea of toilet training, but no parallels for such a semantic development are known; Professor Carl Theodor Gossen tells me that the Rumanian verb *a dezmirda* 'to bring up (a child)' is derived by some scholars from **dis-merdare*, but this derivation is disputed by others and, in any case, the prefix in the Rumanian word would weaken seriously any comparison with *muinid*. It is by no means the commonest verb meaning 'teaches' in Old Irish; it is comparatively rare in the Glosses, and it does not occur at all in the early legal tracts. Instead we find *for-cain*, transparently analysable as 'sings over', and thus a

clear case of inheritance from the old oral tradition: it glosses a wide range of Latin words, such as *commonere*, *educare*, *erudire*, *instituere*, *monere*, *perdocere*. But *múinid* gradually replaces *for-cain* in the later language; the chances are, therefore, that it is either derived from the old popular vocabulary, or is a Latin loanword. If the former is true, it must remain unexplained, for no similar word is found in any neighbouring language; we should therefore consider the second possibility.

The obvious candidate is *moneo*, with precisely the right meaning, and the translation *huanaib muintib* gl. *a monitis*, *ML 70^b1*; as has been noted above, *for-cain* also appears as a gloss on *monere*, cf. *for-canainn* on *iniquos monere non destiti*, *ML 94^b13*. But the phonological difficulties are at first sight formidable, for the *-o-* of *moneo* is short, while the *-u-* of *múinid* is long. However, there are several considerations which may mitigate these difficulties. Firstly, confusion of *o* and *u* in Hiberno-Latin manuscripts is well-known; secondly, Old Irish often fails to reproduce the quantity of Latin vowels, cf. *ceist* from *quaestio* and *cárachtar* for *character*. It may fairly be objected that a phonological derivation of *múinid* from *moneo* would demand that we invoke both these tendencies in turn, so that *-o-* would become *-u-* and would then be lengthened. There is, however, a further possibility, the confusion of *moneo* and *munio*. No early examples are known to me, but Baxter-Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-list*, p. 274, offer *munio* for *moneo* (1253) and *munitio* for *monitio* (1564). Furthermore, Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, does not derive any words from *moneo*, but he lists under *munire* dialect verbs *munir* with such meanings as 'former quelqu'un à la pratique d'un métier', 'dompter une bête', 'corriger un enfant pour le rendre obéissant'. All these, which clearly derive phonologically from *munire*, appear to have semantic fields much more reminiscent of *monere*—and of Ir. *múinid*. The semantic link between *moneo* and *munio* can be found in a word such as 'edify'; if *moneo* was eliminated from prehistoric French, it is not in the least impossible that the surviving *munio* should have extended partially into its semantic field. Nor is it impossible that a similar development should have taken place in Ireland.

That this in fact happened is suggested by a passage in the Milan glosses, where *eruditus* is translated by *amba foircthe* 'when he was taught', 35^d6, and, a little further on, the *munitus* of the sentence *securus habitabit Dei munitus semper auxilio* is glossed *ambas foircthe* 'when he shall be taught', 35^d12. The editors note here that the glossator was translating *monitus*, and of course they are quite right, but they fail to draw the conclusion that, to a ninth century glossator, *munitus* = *monitus* = *foircthe* = *múinte*. The derivation of the

latter from a blend of *munitus* and *monitus* would seem, at the lowest estimate, to be probable.

3. OIr óbar, úabar; W ofer

In the Glosses óbar, úabar is an adjective rendering Latin *inanis*, and at Wb 27^a9 it is linked with *fás* 'empty'. This offers an exact semantic equivalent to the Welsh adjective *ofer* 'vain (= useless), frivolous' and to Bret. *euver* 'fade, paresseux, négligent'. Yet the etymologists have made heavy weather of the comparison. Pedersen, *VKG* i 49, compared these words with Goth. *abrs* 'strong, vigorous', but this was rightly rejected by Meillet, *Lexique* O-4, who, moreover, thought that the equivalence of OIr ó- and W o- was a difficulty. As I showed in a recent note, the prefix meaning 'from' appears in Irish as ó- / úa- and in Welsh as an o- not subject to *i*-infection, so that the comparison between OIr óthath / úathath and W *odid* is valid. Whether this prefix derives from IE *au- or, as Hamp suggests (*Ériu* xxvi 174), from IE *apo-, is irrelevant; in either case the basic meaning is '(away) from'. Presumably the second element is *b(h)er-, though other compounds, such as *inber* 'estuary', are nouns, not adjectives.

Apart from a few early examples, Ir. úabar is a noun meaning 'pride, vanity'. This is the same semantic shift as that seen in Lat. *vanus* and its English derivative *vain*; the basic meaning is 'empty, useless', which still survives in the English phrase *in vain*, but the English adjective normally has the meaning '(unjustifiably) proud'. Since the Welsh cognate shows that the vowel of the second syllable was originally -e-, the historically justified form of the adjective is úaibrech, which is also that found in the earlier language; however, IGT Decl. §17 says: úaibreach do chanamhain atá, úabreach an cert.

4. easnamh and aithneamh

Both these words have a rather spotty attestation in the literature. Taking *easnamh* first, we find, under the headword *esnam?* of RIA Dictionary *E*, only a reference to the appearance of *easnamh* in IGT Decl. §28, and to the glossing of *easnadh* as 'want, defect' by Peter O'Connell, with a note 'later esnadh, esnamh as synon. of esbaid'. The latter statement leaves something to be desired, as Dinneen shows, s.v. *easnamh*: '*Easnamh* implies that a certain amount of a commodity is forthcoming, indeed the greater part of what is required, but not enough; *easba* does not necessarily imply that any quantity whatever is forthcoming . . .'. This corresponds exactly with current

usage of the word; *tá scilling in easnamh orm* means 'I require one shilling to make up the amount' and it is not possible to substitute *easpa*. The variant *easnadh* derives from dialects where *-adh* and *-amh* have fallen together as [ə] or [u]; IGT *easnamh* gives the historically justified spelling. In spite of the late attestation, it is clear that we have here an old compound of *ess* + *sním*: the cluster *-sN-* would resist palatalisation. The semantics is graphically illustrated by the very doubtful form *ea-snàth* which Dwelly quotes from Armstrong with the gloss 'want of sufficient web for the loom'; it seems likely that *ea-snàth* is nothing more than a creditable attempt to offer an etymological explanation for *easnamh*.

RIA *Contribb. A* suggest either *gním* or *sním* as the second element of *athnam*, the form which they give as the headword; in view of the etymology of *easnamh*, there can be no doubt that it is *sním* and that the older form is *aithnem*, which appears as a variant, again in IGT Decl. §28. The original meaning was no doubt 'superfluity' or the like; this fits in well with the meanings 'wealth, spoil, gain' attested from bardic verse. As far as I know it has not survived in spoken Irish.

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VARIA III

Modern Irish *beirt*

The lexeme *bert* (f. *ā*/ m. *o*; → *beart* in Mod. Ir.) has a fairly wide semantic range in Old Irish. Within the general signification of 'anything borne, carried, worn, etc.' it has three disparate referents: 1 'burden, load, bundle'; 2 'clothing, covering, clothes, attire, apparel, accoutrement'; 3 (a) 'deed, exploit, feat, trick; effort, task, action; (b) 'move in a game, play in a game, game.'¹ It was later extended to include the connotation 'two persons'.

It was M. A. O'Brien who first suggested that Mod. Ir. *beirt* 'two persons' is formally the dat./acc. sing. of *bert*, and this derivation was developed and published by Myles Dillon in an article on 'Semantic Differentiation' in *Language* 29 (1953) 325. O'Brien's explanation has been generally accepted since and indeed there is no reason, on formal grounds, to question it.² What is not certain, however, and what still remains to be solved is the semantic extension involved: from which of the referents of *bert*, and by what process, did *beirt* 'two persons' develop?

Brian Ó Cuív (*Éigse* 8 (1956) 101) suggested tentatively that 'beirt "equipment" developed a meaning 'pair of articles' . . . and hence "two persons"'. David Greene (*Éigse* 12 (1967) 68) suggested that *beirt* was used as a loan translation of English *cast* 'two hawks which may be used for flying together' and that it was then extended to include 'two persons'. As Greene himself admitted this is entirely speculative since we have no evidence that *beirt* was used as a translation of *cast*. Indeed, it is almost certain that it was not since *cast* itself was in fact borrowed into Irish (→ *ceast*) and is still extant in some of the dialects with another of its referents, viz., 'a handful or throw of fish'.³ Although *ceast* then could conceivably denote, and in certain contexts almost certainly did denote 'two fish', this interesting snippet of information hardly helps in solving the problem of *beirt*.

Other solutions, within the connotation 'apparel' suggest themselves (*coisbe(i)rt* 'foot-gear', 'leggings' always denoted two articles, and

¹ RIA *Contr. B*, s.v. *bert*.

² In Ulster Irish the nom. *beart* also developed the meaning 'two persons' (S. Ó Seacháigh, *Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Baile Átha Cliath 1939) 76), and in the literature the dat./acc. *beirt* often replaces the nom.: *beirt d'ór álainn Aifrice uime, beirt do chroicinnibh fláidh & fearbóig uime* (TCD H.2. 6(1715) 123a, 126a).

³ See Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*, s.v. *cast*. *Cast* normally denotes a unit of three fish; it is realised phonetically in Irish as /k'as't/ in Munster (Cape Clear, Co. Cork—my own notes; R. B. Breathnach, *Seana-Chaint na nDéise* II (Dublin 1961) 82) and /kaesg/ in Donegal (H. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn* (Baile Átha Cliath 1959) 155. See also *Béaloideas xi* (1941) 37–8.

perhaps *beart chatha* 'battle apparel' in some contexts also denoted two articles⁴) but there is one difficulty inherent in them all. These derivations assume that *bert* was first of all used in reference to a pair of (inanimate) objects and that it was then extended to include 'two persons'. The evidence, however, seems to suggest the opposite process for, as far as I can ascertain, there are no examples in the literature (earlier than the present century) of *beirt* 'two' being applied to inanimate objects and in most of the modern dialects *beirt* (and the other personal numbers) can be used only with 'human' nouns (i.e. nouns incorporating the feature +human) or in reference to them. The only exceptions to this rule are the dialects of Cape Clear (Co. Cork) and of Donegal where the personal numerals can be used with all types of nouns (human and non-human, animate and inanimate, etc.) and in referring to them: *cúigear nó seisear macraeili* 'five or six mackrel', *do bheirt ordóig* 'your two thumbs', *tá bó amháin chomh trioblóideach le beirt nó triúr* 'one cow is as troublesome as two or three', *chuaigh seisear acu amach ar maidin* 'six of them (boats) went out this morning';⁵ *beirt chaorach* 'two sheep', *beirt lochannai* 'two lakes', *ceathrar ba* 'four cows'; *tá triúr ba agam* 'I have three cows';⁶ *Ca mhéad bó agat?—Tá, triúr* 'how many cows have you?—Three'.⁷

Although there seems to have been a tendency (at all stages of the language) for the personal numerals to be used also with non-human nouns: *olae á oinur* Ml.121^c4, *dias fidchrainn* Laws iv 310.12, *dias chorr cruadhluirgnech* Buile S. 96, *ro tirchanit in triar sin don cur-sa isin* Roimh CCath. 834, *iul agus aoibh is aithne/dhavibh* 'n-a dtiur ni tiobairthe Aithd. D. 37.11, *ar cheathrar ainmheinte* Trompa na bhF. 2906, *cóig aicme chuíigir* (letters of the alphabet) IGT I §3, *ním-reilce*... *dond ochtar ard airdeirc* (the capital sins) ZCP vi (1905) 260.5, *seacht ndeichneabhar* (a decade of the rosary) Parth. 270,⁸ this tendency was never systemised and forms like *dias fidchrainn*, *ceathrar ainmheinte*, etc., were always exceptions to the general rule. The Donegal and Cape Clear usage is then another manifestation of this tendency (even in these dialects the usage is merely an optional one) or else a very late independent development and it is doubtful if it represents 'the older usage' as Ó Cuív tentatively suggested. If this is so, ideally then one requires a 'human' context initially to establish the use of '*beirt*' denoting 'two persons'. This holds for the derivation of *beirt* that I offer here—viz. that *beirt* 'two persons'

⁴ Cf. *gaisced* 'weapons, arms, armoury' < *gae* + *sciath*.

⁵ These examples are taken from my own notes on Cape Clear Irish.

⁶ Wagner, *op. cit.*, 153, 155; LASID 4, p. 172, s.v. *bó*.

⁷ Ó Searcaigh, *op. cit.*, 77.

⁸ For further examples see *Contr.*, s.v. *dias*, *triar*, etc. Thurneysen (*Gramm.* §388) points out that when the personal numerals are used in the dative of apposition they may also denote 'things'. This, apparently, is the origin of this tendency.

is derived from *bert* 'a move in a game' but specifically a move entailing two pieces in a board game.

It is extremely difficult, owing to the vague and sometimes ambiguous character of the evidence, to elucidate the technicalities of the various board games mentioned in Irish literature⁹ but it is clear, I think, that a move entailing two pieces was not an unusual one in most of them. According to H. J. R. Murray (*A history of board games* (Oxford 1952) 11) one of the common captures in all board games was 'intervention'. This is achieved by one player (A), by a legal move, placing a man between two of his opponent's (B) 'thus producing the position BAB. Both Bs are taken and removed from the board'. In several other captures as well (approach, withdrawal) two or more pieces could be taken (Murray, *ibid.*). The converse of intervention was the move called interception by Murray (*ibid.*) and enclosure by MacWhite (*op. cit.*) i.e. a man is taken when two pieces of the opposite side occupy the square adjacent to it and in the same straight line. This was a common capture in *fidchell* and *brandub* and is, apparently, the move referred to in the tale of Mac dá Cherda and Cummaine Foda¹⁰.

One of the games not discussed at all by MacWhite is *táiplis* even though this is the game most frequently mentioned in the later literature. *Táiplis* was, apparently, a form of the medieval *tables* and the forerunner of modern backgammon. It and the other varieties of the game mentioned in Irish sources (*geaman*, *táiplis mhór*, *tioc-teac*, *langmhír*) are race games in which the moves are controlled by the casting of dice. Each player throws two dice and the two units of each throw could 'be used separately to move two pieces the indicated amounts, or they may be combined to move one piece the sum of the units' (R. C. Bell, *Board and table games* (Oxford 1969) 44). When a player cast doublets, however, there was no choice—'two pieces are moved at a time' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London 1973) 2, s.v. *backgammon*, 992). In *Ériu* xvii (1955) 7–15, D. Greene published three texts in which *táiplis* is described in a series of erotic ambiguities. The throw of the dice most frequently mentioned in these texts is *aon is dó* 'one and two'¹¹ This, though a low throw, had special privileges: 'Acey Deucey: this is a variant in which the roll of 2-1 gives special privileges, as choice of

⁹ See E. MacWhite, 'Early Irish Board Games' *Éigse* v (1945) 25–35. Further relevant material has been edited by D. Greene, 'Un Joc Grossier in Irish and Provençal' *Ériu* xvii (1955) 7–15; and S. Mac Airt, 'Board-Games' *Celtica* iii (1956) 270–1.

¹⁰ 'Maith', or Guaire, 'imrem fidchell'. 'Cindas gontar ind fir?' or Cummaine. 'Ni anse, dias dub dam-sa im óinfer find duid-seo forsin n-óintí oc imchosnam na saigti thall' *Ériu* v (1911) 32.

¹¹ Cf. 'Fuaireas foireann ban chaomh sa tsoileor ud shíos/agus bean acu ar gach taobh den táiphleasc/shuíos leo síos, d'imríos dó agus aon/agus chailleas dhá dtrian mo ghealltaí' (QUB Bunt. MSS 10, 78).

any doublet [i.e. the moving of two pieces simultaneously] and a second turn' (*Encl. Br., ibid.*). According to Cotton, in the 'Irish' form of backgammon 'two men were placed on the ace point' and in tick-tack (one of the varieties of *táiplis* frequently mentioned in modern Irish)¹² one of the most advantageous moves was 'of going in with two of your men Likewise if your are in, and your cast is such that you may also go into your adversaries eleventh point by two other men, and you see it not . . . you lose two'.¹³

It is evident, I think, that the moving of two pieces simultaneously or, conversely, the taking of two pieces in one move was a regular feature of the board games mentioned in Irish sources and that it was a prominent feature of some of them. I suggest that it was in such a context (a move involving two pieces) that *bert* 'a move in a game' was extended to include the connotation 'two persons' by *be(i)rt* being transferred from the move itself to the two pieces being moved.¹⁴ Such a context, in fact, entails no semantic leap for though the object in this instance is technically inanimate (two 'pieces') it is metaphorically human since the pieces of board games in most languages are invariably referred to in human terms. Thus in Irish one piece is a *fer*:¹⁵ *fer fidchille* LU 9073, as *amlaid doibh fén* & *fer gonta d'feraib na fichele aige* *Irische Texte* 2 ii (1887) 139.416-7 and more than one are *fir*: *cindas gontar ind fir?* *Ériu* v (1911) 32.19, *clár n-argit* & *fir óir* LU 10806; collectively the pieces are either a *foirenn*: *ind fuirend boí forsin chlár* *TBFr.*² 85, *leth a fairne d'ór buide* LU 1105 or *muinter*: *Ni gonfa-so mo moindter-sa . . . ni ruba fer dia muinter* *Ériu* v (1911) 32.23-4; and in referring to any specific number of pieces the personal numbers are normally used: *dias dub dam-sa im óinfer find duid-se forsin n-óintí* *Ériu* v (1911) 32.20-1, *a tá mo brandub co mbloiddh/isin tsléib os Leitir Broin/cuiciur airgit gil can glór/ocus ochtur do dergór* *Acall.* 3949-50; *ní raibh dfhuirinn agamsa/ach triúr i dtúis an chluiche* Greene (1955) A, 21-2.

The semantic development then was: *be(i)rt* 'a move in a game' → 'a move entailing two pieces in a board game' → 'two pieces/two men' → 'two persons'. *Beirt* 'two persons' is well attested in the literature from the fourteenth century and it then gradually began to replace

¹² See *Contr.*, s.v. *tic*.

¹³ Charles Cotton, *The compleat gamester in Games and gamesters of the Restoration* (London 1930) 74, 77.

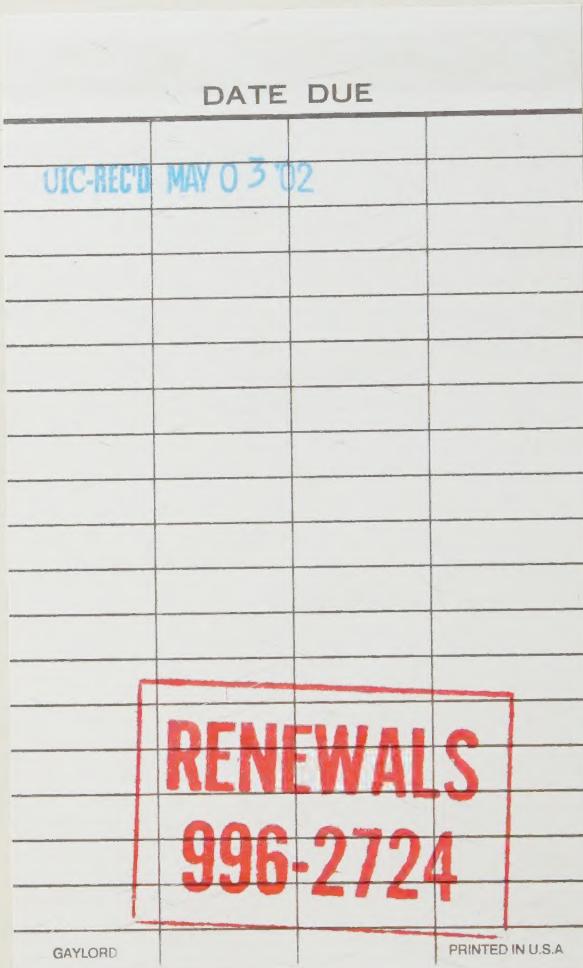
¹⁴ In one of the passages discussed by Greene (1955, C 30-1) in 'cuir an t-aon a gcaulith agus an bheart (bheirt, v.l.) eile air thí a dó' *beart/beirt* (apart from its erotic equivocation) may be taken as meaning either a 'move' or the 'two pieces' being moved and in the poem *Imir do chluiche a Chormaic* (LCAB 130-2) *dā nguin* of line 29 corresponds to *beirt* of line 32. Cf. also *Goin deisi challios cluiche Leabhar Branach* 6770.

¹⁵ Cf. 'do ghoin sise an treas duine', Greene (1955) A, 24.

dias. This process was never completed, however, for in Donegal¹⁶ both *beirt* and *dias* (*dis*) are still in use and *beirt* never acquired the connotation 'two persons' in either Scottish Gaelic or Manx. This would suggest that the development was a comparatively late one and that it did not occur until after the break-up of Common Gaelic.

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¹⁶ In some varieties of Donegal Irish, by analogy with *beirt* apparently, the other personal numbers are always feminine: *an tseisear*, *an chígear*, M. Mac Gabhann, *Rotha móir an tsaoil*, 234; *le chígear bheaga dilleachtai Máire*, *Mo dhá Róisín*, 6, *lán na cùigíre aca* 102.

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