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ABSTRACT
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This volume contains some of the papers read at the seventh symposium of *Societas Celtologica Nordica* which was held at Uppsala on 21–22 May 2004. The twelve papers published here not only reflect the breadth of Celtic Studies but also the connections between the Celtic and Scandinavian traditions in general. One paper discusses the location of historical *Lochlainn*: was it Scotland or Scandinavia? The papers on language address topics in the areas of etymology and verbal morphology, topographical lexicon and onomastic formula, periphrastic verbal construction as well as a comparative corpus study of the use of the autonomous and passive progressive in Modern Irish. Literary articles deal with such topics as the shifting faces of the supernatural in Irish tradition, tripartitie structure in medieval Welsh narrative, aspects of the poet's role in sixteenth-century Ireland as well as an article on an example of a dream-vision (*aisling*) parody from eighteenth-century Ireland. A final article discusses some documents of Irish interest from the Carl Wilhelm Von Sydow archive in Lund University.

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

After a ten year intermission the seventh symposium of *Societas Celtologica Nordica* was held in Uppsala from 21st–22nd May 2004. A Call for Papers that went out the previous autumn was duly answered and over the two days twenty one papers were read on various aspects of Celtic Studies, twelve of which are published in this volume. It is no exaggeration to state that the Uppsala symposium revitalised the *Societas*. Since then symposia have been held in Oslo (May 2005) and in Helsinki (September 2006).

The twelve papers published here not only reflect the breadth of Celtic Studies but also the connections between Celtic and Scandinavian traditions. Colmán Etchingham's paper deals with the question of 'The location of historical *Laithlinn/Lochlainn*. Was it Scotland or Scandinavia?' Two papers are devoted to onomastics and topography: Liam Mac Mathúna discusses the provenance of the Early Irish topographical lexicon while Ruairí Ó hUiginn looks at onomastic formula in Irish. Jacqueline Borsje devotes her paper to the ''terror of the night' and the Morrígain: shifting faces of the Supernatural' while Ian Hughes discusses the 'Tripartite Structure in *Manawydan Uab Llyr*', the only paper in these proceedings devoted entirely to medieval Welsh literature. The topic of Jan Erik Rekdal's paper is 'Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's role as poet and its dialogical implications' while William Mahon discusses 'Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin's Aisling Parody: *An Phis*'. Those who were present at this paper were not disappointed as they had the pleasure of hearing the speaker give a fine singing rendition of *An Phis* which promptly demanded an encore. Three papers deal specifically with linguistic topics: Natalia Nikolaeva (now O'Shea) deals with the question of 'Reduplicated presents in Celtic'. Patricia Ronan examines 'Do-Periphrasis in Early Irish' while Karin Hansson considers 'The Autonomous and the Passive Progressive in 20th Century Irish'. In the area of lexicography, Gearóid Mac Eoin discusses the origin of 'Irish *sugán*, English *suggan*'. During his lecture Prof. Mac Eoin actually produced for the audience an example of a *súgán*, a hay rope. Finally, Eugene McKendry discusses and evaluates 'Documents from the Carl Wilhelm Von Sydow archive in Lund University'.

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COLMÁN ETCHINGHAM

The location of historical *Laithlinn* / *Lochla(i)*nn: Scotland or Scandinavia?

Introduction: the problem stated

The historical evidence for early Viking-age Norway is notoriously limited. Literary materials, such as Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, other sagas and skaldic poetry, including the 'tradition'of the Ynglings of Vestfold, were used in the past as the basis for a more or less uncritical historical narrative. This is no longer acceptable to many scholars (see e.g. Krag 1991; Helle 1998; Wamers 1998: 59, Ó Corráin 1998a: 297–300). The tales of the chieftains' flight from increasing royal power, or of royal expeditions such as Haraldr Hárfagri's to the west, are generally recognised as literary compositions of the post-Viking middle ages. Whether or not they incorporate earlier 'traditions', they are hardly reliable evidence for the reality of Norway's history in the ninth century.Yet some still deploy such materials selectively in an effort to reconstruct the history of Viking-age Norway, among other things attempting to fix and re-fix the chronology, domain and provenance of Haraldr hárfagri (e.g. Helle 1998: 253–257; Wamers 1998: 59–72). Other scholars adopt a more radically sceptical approach and give the medieval literature a wide berth, admitting for this period little but the evidence of archaeology, place-names and inscriptions (e.g. Sawyer 1982). These latter are clearly contemporary evidence for the early Viking Age, but are equally clearly insufficient to form the basis of narrative history. The political history of ninth-century Norway is, accordingly, quite obscure.

   Beginning in the late nineteenth century, discovery of the ship burials at Oseberg, Gokstad and Borre has shown that the Vestfold region, south of Oslo, was of major importance in the ninth century (see conveniently Sawyer 1982: 47–48). This is reinforced by excavations at Kaupang, in the same region, initiated by Charlotte Blindheim in 1950 and more recently directed by Dagfinn Skre (Skre, Pilø, Pedersen 2000, 2001). These discoveries also serve to underline the dearth of historical evidence for the ninth century. The well-known reference, in the Frankish annals, to Danish intervention in Vestfold in the early ninth century (Scholz 1970, for AD 813), is exceptional. It is

particularly intriguing in view of the approximate coincidence in time with the early settlement-evidence uncovered by Skre at Kaupang (Skre, *et al.* 2000: 20; 2001: 13). One is at a loss to know how this southeast Norwegian power-centre related to the rest of the country. In particular, how did it relate, if at all, to the Norse expansion into what I term the Insular Viking zone (Etchingham 2001), in northern and western Britain and Ireland? This expansion seemingly emanated primarily from western and south-western Norway, as evidenced by the distribution of Insular ecclesiastical metalwork in graves of the ninth and tenth centuries (Wamers 1985, 1998).

The early Viking-age history of Norway is, of course, primarily a matter for specialists in Norwegian studies, of which I do not pretend to be one. Yet, it is also a matter of more than passing curiosity for those of us in Britain and Ireland who seek to appreciate better the early Viking Age here. We need to understand what we can of the region whence our Viking raiders and settlers ultimately came. The present contribution is restricted to a review of the evidence concerning *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. These are two versions of a Gaelic term or, perhaps, two separate terms, which are used in Irish sources to designate a Viking kingdom, the location of which has been disputed by scholars for about 150 years (see Todd, 1867, xxxi). One interpretation would locate *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in, or would identify it with Norway. An alternative view is that it should be sought in the west, in the Insular Viking zone. In this paper, I focus on the strictly historical evidence and, moreover, I concentrate chiefly on *Laithlinn*. Elsewhere, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh[1] analyses the more extensive literary evidence relating to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. Our two contributions are independent but are envisaged as complementary and have benefited from discussion in the course of preparation. I should also like to acknowledge the suggestions for improvements made by Catherine Swift.

Early references to *Laithlinn*

There are but a handful of extant instances of the term *Laithlinn*, each more or less securely dated to the mid ninth century. Twice in this period, at the height of early Viking activity in Ireland, the contemporary annals refer to a 'deputy' or 'son' of the 'king of *Laithlinn*'.

> *Bellum re nÓlcobur rí Muman ₇ re Lorggán mac Cellaig co Laighniu for gennti ecc Scíaith Nechtai[n] in quo ceciderunt Tomrair erell tánise rígh Laithlinne ₇ dá cét déc imbi* (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: AD 848.5).

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[1] At the Uppsala Symposium Dr. Ní Mhaonaigh gave a paper entitled 'Literary *Lochlainn*' and that paper is to be published elsewhere. Ed.

'A battle won by Ólchobur, king of Munster, and by Lorcán son of Cellach, with the Leinstermen, against heathens, at Scíath Nechtain, in which fell Jarl Þórir, deputy of the king of *Laithlinn* and 1200 with him'.

Amhlaim mac rígh Laithlinde do thuidhecht a nÉrinn coro gíallsat Gaill Érenn dó ₇ cís ó Goídhelaib (Mac Airt *et al.* 1983: AD 853.2).

'Áleifr, son of the king of *Laithlinn*, came to Ireland, and the Foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and tribute [was rendered] by the Irish'.

From these two items we may deduce, at a minimum, that *Laithlinn* denoted some territorial or political entity. Its Viking ruler was envisaged as a king by Irish annalists of the mid ninth century, who were evidently aware, too, of the lesser dignity of *jarl*. Some writers would link these two to an intervening reference to Viking royalty in Ireland in 849, in which *Laithlinn* is not specified.

Muirfecht secht fichit long di muinntir rígh Gall du thiachtain du tabairt greamma forsna Gaillu ro badur ara ciunn, co commascsat hÉrinn n-uile iarum (Mac Airt *et al.* 1983: AD 849.6)

'A marine expedition of 140 ships of the adherents of the king of the Foreigners came to exercise power over the Foreigners who were there before them, and they disturbed all Ireland after that'

The designation *Laithlinn* also occurs in two Irish poems, which are dated to the mid ninth century with reasonable confidence. One of these is a verse that has become something of a commonplace in illustrating Irish reaction to the Viking threat. It is generally dated to the mid ninth century (see Ó Corráin 1998a: 302–303) and includes our term in the slightly variant spelling *Lothlind*.

Is acher in gaíth innocht
fu-fuasna fairggae findfolt
ní ágor réimm mora minn
dond láechraid lainn ua Lothlind
(Stokes and Strachan, 1903, 290)

'The wind is fierce tonight
it tosses the sea's white mane
I do not fear the coursing of a quiet sea
by the fierce warriors of *Lothlinn*'.

Here *Lothlind* again clearly refers to the place of origin of the Vikings whose attentions the poet hoped to be spared. The second poetic reference to *Laithlinn*, recently publicised, occurs in a verse attached to the Four Masters' ver-

sion of the annal-record of a battle in 868 at Cell ua nDaigri—according to
Edmund Hogan (1910: 214), Killineer near Drogheda, Co. Louth.

> *Dos-fail dar Findabhair find*
> *Fiallach grinn dond Laithlind luind*
> *As ar chédaibh rímhter Goill*
> *Do cath fri rígh nÉtair n-uill*
> (Ó Corráin 1998a: 304).

> 'There comes over fair Findabair
> a keen host from fierce *Laithlinn*
> —the Foreigners are counted in hundreds—
> to do battle with the king of great Étar'

This reference is obscured in the inferior version presented by the edition of
the Annals of the Four Masters. The superior readings of the autograph
manuscripts were first noticed in print by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, who was
alerted to the significance of the reference by Francis John Byrne (Ó Corráin
1998a: 304). If this poem can be dated approximately to the time of the bat-
tle of 868, it would seem to be the latest in a mid-ninth-century cluster of
attestations of *Laithlinn* in a form with medial *-th-*.

Beginning about 150 years later, a different form—*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*—appears
in the annals (for 1014, 1058, 1102 and 1103). *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* is much more
commonly attested in non-annalistic literature. While the dates of these liter-
ary attestations are hardly capable of precise determination (cf. Ó Corráin
1998a: 310 n.67; 313–314), the annalistic data prompt the inference that
Laithlinn/*Lothlind* are earlier forms and *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* a later one. It is note-
worthy that where records corresponding to those of the Annals of Ulster for
848 and 853 occur in linguistically modernised versions in the Fragmentary
Annals (Radner 1978: 102 §259 = AD 853) and the Four Masters
(O'Donovan 1856: i, AD 846 = 848, AD 851 = 853), *Laithlind* is replaced by
Lochla(*i*)*nn*. The meaning of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* varies in what appear to be Middle
Irish texts that date, in their present form, to no earlier than the eleventh cen-
tury. It may denote a specific Viking polity or, alternatively, it may signify,
more loosely, the Viking world in general. Previous commentators have usu-
ally agreed that earlier *Laithlinn* is to be equated in meaning with later
Lochla(*i*)*nn*, while disagreeing strongly as to whether its location, when a
specific polity is indicated, is Scandinavian or Insular. A further possibility,
of course, is that the two words are not synonymous.

The 'Viking Scotland' hypothesis outlined

Ó Corráin, whose discussion of *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* is the most recent (1998a), is an emphatic advocate of an Insular location. His paper usefully collects the references to *Laithlinn* cited above, and many to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, but both the present writer and Ní Mhaonaigh, elsewhere, would take issue with Ó Corráin's interpretation of the data. This interpretation rests on a series of convictions that Ó Corráin states at the beginning of his paper. The body of that paper seeks to reinterpret references to *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in the light of these convictions. Among Ó Corráin's stated convictions is that much of north and west Scotland was conquered by Vikings by about 825. He believes that a kingdom, which Ó Corráin would identify with *Laithlinn*/ *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, was established in Scotland before the middle of the ninth century. This kingdom, he maintains, comprised the Northern and Western Isles, as well as much of the coastal mainland, from Caithness and Sutherland to Argyll. Ó Corráin affirms that south-western Norway was the source of Viking raids on Ireland, up to about 825. However, some early raids, shortly before 825, were also mounted, he adds, "very likely" from the developing Scottish settlements that he postulates. He is emphatic that the "main thrust of the ninth-century Viking attack on Ireland (c. 825 to c. 850) was mounted from Scotland". He declares that "*Laithlinn* was the name of Viking Scotland" and that this was the place of origin of the dynasty that dominated Dublin and later York (Ó Corráin 1998a: 296–297).

These convictions are characterised by Ó Corráin as "the most plausible and economical interpretation of the historical record" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 296). This would seem, therefore, to constitute his outline hypothesis. One might expect the hypothesis to be sustained, in what follows, by reasoned argument from the evidence. A curious feature of his paper, however, is that these convictions subsequently assume virtually the status of ascertained fact. A litany of data is invoked that seems to the author to accord with his thesis. Alternative interpretations are not considered and, as we shall see, counter-indications are minimised or overlooked. There is a further dimension to Ó Corráin's setting out of his premises at the beginning of the paper. He invokes with approval the work of those such as Krag and Sawyer, mentioned above, who see little merit in the 'tradition' of the Ynglings of Vestfold. This adequately disposes of those scholars, from J. H. Todd to A. P. Smyth, who would identify the mid ninth-century Amlaíb (Áleifr) of Dublin with the Ynglings of Vestfold (Ó Corráin 1998a: 297–299). From Helle's work, Ó Corráin then draws the plausible if perhaps unduly firm conclusion that "in the early Viking Age there were no kings of Norway" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 299–300). His further assertion, however, strikes the present writer as a logical non sequitur: "the kings and sons of kings mentioned in the Irish annals cannot, therefore, be linked to any Norwegian dynasty, regional or otherwise" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 300; cf. 337). A lack of direct evidence indeed

prevents demonstration of such a link, but it does not follow that one can rule it out, and certainly not on the premises stated.

Before proceeding further, therefore, it should be pointed out that Ó Corráin's stated convictions seem incapable of proof or refutation, in default of adequate evidence. The truth is that the "historical record", of which he regards his convictions as "the most plausible and economical interpretation", is conspicuous by its absence. Annalistic or other historical data, either for the regions of Scotland in which he would locate his *Laithlinn/ Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, or for Norway, where he insists it was not, is negligible for the first half of the ninth century. With respect to both locations, therefore, his case would appear to be an *argumentum ex silentio*. Evidence that could bear on some of Ó Corráin's stated convictions is, in fact, archaeological, as is implicit in his reference to early raiding from Norway, for which the only direct evidence is the Insular metalwork in Viking-age graves. More of that below.

Ó Corráin's thesis is not new, as he acknowledges. He cites Michael Dolley (1966: 18–19), Peter Sawyer (1970: 89; cf. 1971: 2, 211) and Archie Duncan (1975: 84). In the 1960s and 1970s, these writers suggested in passing that *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* should be located in Scotland. Sawyer did so expressly in opposition to the view of Nora Chadwick (1962: 24–26) that a *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* located in south-western Norway was where the ninth-century campaign against Ireland was planned and directed. Chadwick's preference for a Norwegian location was not novel either and can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century at least (see Todd 1867: xxxi). Her treatment of the question would likely strike the modern reader as outdated in various respects, notably in her willingness to weave a narrative from the strands of non-contemporary literary materials, more or less uncritically received.

In addition to the trio of historians just mentioned, Ó Corráin pointed to the views of the philologist David Greene in support of the thesis that *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* was not located in Norway (Ó Corráin 1998a: 305–306). Greene (1976: 76–77) sought to rebut the earlier philologist, Carl Marstrander's derivation of *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* from the name of Rogaland, in southwestern Norway (Marstrander 1911: 250–251). Only coexistence of the forms *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*—with medial *-ch-*–—and *Laithlinn* could account for a development from the *-g-* in Rogaland. As Greene emphasised, however, and as Marstrander had, upon consideration, realised (Marstrander 1915: 56–57), what appear to be the earlier forms are, in fact, all characterised by *-th-*, as we have already seen. For Greene "these early forms" (i.e. *Laithlinn /Lothlind*) were to be distinguished and must be preferred to the *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*-forms in any explanation. Of the "early forms" he remarked that "none of the examples necessarily mean 'Norway' or 'Scandinavia'; all we can extract from them is that they refer to some maritime centre of Viking power" (Greene 1976: 76). One could hardly take serious exception to these conclusions of Greene's. His proposed etymology of *Laithlinn*/*Lothlind* was, on his own admission, tentative and weak, and his suggestion as to the location of

the place was couched in properly cautious terms: "it is at least possible that the original *Lothlind* was ... perhaps in Gaelic-speaking Man or Western Scotland" (Greene 1976: 77). It is not these qualified observations, however, but Greene's firm rejection of Marstrander's toying with a derivation of *Laithlinn*/*Lochla(i)nn* from Rogaland that is enthusiastically endorsed by Ó Corráin, who proceeds with etymological speculation of his own (Ó Corráin 1998a: 305).

Remarkably, moreover, Ó Corráin's historical model—his convictions outlined above—would appear to be determined in some measure by the opinions of Greene the philologist. The latter is quoted approvingly by Ó Corráin in asserting that "for the first two centuries of contact with the Vikings, there is no strong evidence that the Irish learned much about Scandinavia proper; this need not surprise us, since the connections of the Vikings of Ireland were predominantly with the Atlantic area rather than with the homeland" (Greene 1976: 77). To this Ó Corráin adds "There is, then, no good historical or linguistic evidence to link *Lothlend*/*Laithlind* with Norway, and none to link the dynasty of Dublin to the shadowy history of the Ynglings of Vestfold" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 306). Greene's unsubstantiated claim regarding the historical context is not subjected to critical scrutiny, therefore. Rather, it would appear to be regarded as in itself lending weight in some way to Ó Corráin's own *a priori* convictions.

Proceeding from the known: the meaning of historical *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*

So much for earlier scholars' views. Let us reconsider the strictly historical evidence and attempt to proceed, in time-honoured fashion, from the known to the unknown. The position is clearest regarding the form *Lochla(i)nn* that appears in the later annals. The evidence of three of the four references in the annals is unambiguous. Two of these three are relatively well known and relate to Magnús Berfœttr, or Magnus Barelegs, who was indisputably king of Norway and was active in the Insular Viking zone between 1098, or conceivably 1097, and 1103 (Etchingham 2001: 148–151, 155–6). The first pertinent reference is in the Annals of Ulster for 1102 and reads:

> *Maghnus rí Lochlainni co longais móir do thuidhecht i Manainn ₇ síth mbliadhna do dénum dóibh ₇ do feraib Érenn* (Mac Airt *et al.* 1983: AD 1102.7)

> 'Magnús king of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* came with a great fleet to Man and a year's peace was made by them and by the men of Ireland'.

The Annals of Tigernach for 1103 then record:

> *Maghnus rí Lochland ⁊ na nIndsi ⁊ fer ro tríall forbais for Érinn, do marbad a nUlltaib* (Stokes 1897: 24)

> 'Magnús, king of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* and the [Scottish] Isles, and a man who attempted to beleaguer Ireland, was killed in Ulster'.

Less widely known is the record in the Annals of Tigernach for 1058, reporting the expedition by an earlier Magnús, son of Haraldr Har∂rá∂i, king of Norway and invader of England in 1066 (Etchingham 2001: 152–156). It reports:

> *Longes la mac ríg Lochland co nGallaib Indsi Orcc ⁊ Indsi Gall ⁊ Átha Clíath do gabáil rígi Saxan acht nocor' deónaig Dia sin* (Stokes 1896: 399)

> 'A fleet [led] by the son of the king of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, together with the Foreigners of the Orkneys and the Hebrides and Dublin, to seize the kingdom of England, but God did not permit that.'

Together these items are seriously damaging to any attempt to equate *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* with 'Viking Scotland'. The second and third of them are discussed in an earlier publication by the present writer, in which it is pointed out that Tigernach's record for 1103 is relegated to a footnote by Ó Corráin, while that for 1058 is missed entirely (Etchingham 2001: 151–153). Regarding the latter, it may be significant that Greene also seems to have imagined that the references to Magnús Berfœttr c. 1100 are the earliest annalistic identification of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* with Norway (Greene 1976: 77). On the other hand, Ó Corráin was alerted to, and publicised an earlier reference, that in a poem of 1072 that describes Haraldr Har∂rá∂i himself as *rí Lochlainne* 'king of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*' (Ó Corráin 1998a: 318).

We may now consider in summary the essential points in this group of references to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. In the title accorded Magnús Berfœttr in 1103, *rí Lochland ⁊ na nIndsi*, what one might term the quintessence of 'Viking Scotland'—the Isles—are distinguished from *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. The latter can mean none other than Norway, notwithstanding Ó Corráin's curious remarks, of which more below (1998a: 318–320; cf. Etchingham 2001: 151). In the record for 1102, *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* is distinct from Man, to which Magnús is said to have voyaged, yet Ó Corráin at one point proposes that Man was a component of his *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* (Ó Corráin 1998a: 306). In the case of the less well-known annal for 1058 (see Etchingham 2001: 153–154), Magnús son of King Haraldr Har∂rá∂i of Norway is entitled *mac ríg Lochland*, and is accompanied on his expedition by *Gallaib Indsi Orcc ⁊ Indsi Gall ⁊ Átha Clíath*. Here the key insular elements of 'Viking Scotland' are themselves further differentiated—as the Orkneys and Hebrides, respectively—and dis-

tinguished both from the Dubliners and from Magnús's core realm, *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, which again must mean Norway. This meaning was established in Irish usage, then, by the mid eleventh century, at the latest.

The fourth reference to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in the annals is also, on the face of it, the earliest precisely datable instance. It occurs in the Annals of Ulster account of the battle of Clontarf in 1014.

> *Slóghud la Brian ... co hÁth Clíath. Laighin uile do léir i tinól ar a cinn ₇ Gaill Átha Clíath ₇ a coimlín do Ghallaib Lochlainn leó ... In quo bello cecidit ex adhuersa caterua Gallorum ... Siuchraidh mac Loduir iarla Innsi Orcc ... Brótor .i. toísech na loingsi Lochlannaighi...* (Mac Airt *et al.* 1983: AD 1014.1)

> 'A hosting by Brian...to Dublin. All the Leinstermen were assembled against him, and the Foreigners of Dublin, and an equivalent number of the Foreigners of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*...There fell in this battle, on the side of the band of Foreigners...Sigur∂r Hlö∂versson jarl of Orkney...Bró∂ir, i.e. commander of the *Lochlannach* fleet'

Arguably consistent with an Insular location for *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* here are the associations of Bró∂ir in the section of *Njáls Saga* that treats of the battle of Clontarf. An origin for this narrative in a twelfth-century Dublin Ostman 'Brjánssaga' is postulated by Ó Corráin, building on his predecessors' work (1998b: 447–452), though the existence of such a saga is doubted by Ben Hudson (2002). Bró∂ir is described in *Njáls Saga* as a Viking lurking in the vicinity of the Isle of Man, and is not associated with Scandinavia (Sveinsson 1954: 443). Another point is that his name, in the form Brótor/Bruatar, appears as that of native Irish rulers at the beginning of the ninth century. It has been claimed by Raghnall Ó Floinn that this is a borrowed Norse name (Ó Floinn 1998: 163). The earliest attestation, an obituary notice for 814 (which was not noticed by Ó Floinn), is, however, evidently too early to allow for such borrowing (O'Donovan 1856: i, AD 809 = 814) occurring, as it does, only nineteen years after the first reported Viking raid. In fact, as recently pointed out by Hudson, Bró∂ir does not seem to be in origin a Norse name at all (Hudson 2002: 253–254). It does not occur in any purely Scandinavian context, and the only Viking so designated, apart from the protagonist of Clontarf, was a twelfth-century Dublin Ostman (Mac Airt *et al.*, 1160; Stokes 1897: 190). It is more likely to be a borrowing by the Insular Vikings from the natives. In Irish usage, indeed, it may well be a personal name fashioned from a borrowing, in turn, of the Old Welsh common noun *broder/ brodyr* 'brother' (a point long since made to me by Liam Breatnach), as is implied by T. F. O'Rahilly (1946: 205).

It should be borne in mind that the status of even the Annals of Ulster account of Clontarf may be problematic. It is not necessarily uncontaminated by later literature, in which *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* sometimes denotes not a specific

polity, but, evidently, Viking territories in an unspecific sense, or even the otherworld. In any event, mention of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in the annal for 1014 is not diagnostic and is certainly not a clear-cut reference to 'Viking Scotland', to set against the unambiguous references to Norway in the annals for 1058, 1102 and 1103, as well as in the poem of 1072. Other considerations apart, to attribute such a connotation to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in this instance raises the problem of the relationship of 'Viking Scotland', supposedly so designated, to what would surely be its most important component, the earldom of Orkney. Sigur∂r, earl of Orkney, is named in the roll of the dead in the extract from the annal for 1014 quoted above. If Orkney were merely a component of the *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* postulated by Ó Corráin, one must presume that Sigur∂r was the subordinate of the naval commander Brótor. No such relationship is suggested in the sources, Irish or Norse, however. Ó Corráin does not appear to recognise that this is a problem. He remarks that "the associations of Brotor, otherwise Bró∂ir, are less well established" and notes his location in Man in *Njáls Saga*, apparently content to show that this *Lochlannach* lacks explicit Scandinavian associations (Ó Corráin 1998a: 307). To sum up, then, it is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in the Annals of Ulster for 1014 refers to Norway. Alternatively, it may refer more loosely to Vikings and the Viking world, in the literary manner already noticed. Both of these are, in any event, attested meanings of the term. Neither in the 1014 annal, nor elsewhere, is it clear that *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* denotes 'Viking Scotland'.

Problems concerning the relationship envisaged by Ó Corráin between his *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* and its constituent elements are not confined to this example. As already noted, he opens his paper with the equation of *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* and 'Viking Scotland', in terms that bear repeating: "*Laithlinn* was the name of Viking Scotland" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 297), which comprised "the Northern and Western Isles and large areas of the coastal mainland from Caithness and Sutherland to Argyle" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 296). Repeated reaffirmation of this general conviction thereafter (310, 313, 317, 318, 325, 334, 337) is accompanied in one case by an extension of the definition, such that "*Lothlend*/*Laithlind* ... probably includes Man" (306). These statements punctuate analyses of specific items, several of which arouse rather than allay this reader's misgivings. Ní Mhaonaigh assesses the literary material in its own right elsewhere, but a few remarks on Ó Corráin's treatment of Scotland's political geography in his two favoured prose literary examples of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* seem in order here.

In *Cath Muige Tuired*, support for an invasion of Ireland is sought from both *rígh na nInnsi* 'king of the Isles' (=Hebrides?) and *ríg Fomoire* 'king of the Fomoire', who summon all the forces *ó Lochlainn síar* 'from *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* westwards'. There was rivalry about the expedition between the men *ó Sgiathia Lochlaindi ₇ a hInnsib Gall* 'from *Sgiathia* of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* and from the Hebrides'. Ó Corráin expounds this as follows (1998a: 313):

"The text artfully merges the Fomuire and the Vikings, and places the Fomuire in the Scottish territories of the Vikings, as ninth-century Ireland knew them. *Sciathia* of the text is not Scythia but a learned latinisation of *Scí* 'Skye'...and it is clear that it is part of *Lochlainn*. The final sentence conveys that there was rivalry between the king of Skye (who could have controlled the Inner Hebrides) and the king of *Insi Gall*, which we can perhaps read as the Outer Hebrides in the present context".

Nowhere else—to the best of this writer's knowledge—has a restricted connotation of 'the Outer Hebrides' been proposed for the well-known *Insi Gall* and no corroborative evidence is offered. It may, accordingly, be discounted, as part of an ad hoc contrivance that serves merely to deny the text what seems its natural reading, namely, that *Insi Gall* 'the Hebrides' as a whole are distinguished from an otherworldly 'Scythia of *Lochla(i)nn*', associated with the mythological Fomoire.

Ó Corráin's treatment of the essential matter in his other key narrative text, *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, is no less disturbing. He declares that *Cath Ruis na Ríg* confirms the "equation of *Lochlainn* with Scandinavian Scotland" (1998a: 313). He quotes a passage in which emissaries seeking support are despatched

> *co Conall...co airm i fail ac tobuch a chísa ⁊ a chánad i crichaib Leódus, i n-insib Cadd ⁊ i n-insib Or[c] ⁊ i crichaib Scithia ⁊ Dacia ⁊ Gothia ⁊ Northmannia ...⁊ co íathaib Gallecda co Gallíathaib na nGall .i. co Amlaíb nó Ólaib hua Inscoa ríg Lochlainne, co Findmór mac Rofhir co ríg sechtmad rainne de Lochlainn, co Báre na Sciggire...⁊ co Siugraid Soga co ríg Súdiam, co Sortabud Sort co ríg Insi Orc...* (Ó Corráin 1998a: 314–315)

> 'to Conall...to where he is levying his tribute and his due in the territories of Lewis, in the Shetlands and in the Orkneys and in the territories of *Scithia* and *Dacia* and *Gothia* and *Northmannia*....and to the Foreigners' lands [i.e.] to the foreign lands of the Foreigners, that is to Amlaíb or Ólaib ua Inscoa king of *Lochla(i)nn*, to Findmór son of Rófhir the king of the seventh part of *Lochla(i)nn*, to Báre of the Faroe Islands...and to Siugraid Soga the king of *Súdiam*, to Sortabud Sort king of the Orkneys...'

Here, by contrast with the previous example, he would have us believe that "one may take Scythia to be Svealand (Sweden)". Moreover, we should understand "Dacia to be Denmark, Gothia to be Gotland and Northmannia to be Norway...If these are to be understood as continental Scandinavia, it is interesting that Latin-derived learned names are used for these regions and, evidently, in the mind of the writer, they are quite different from the *Lochlainn* of which Amlaíb ua Inscoa is king" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 315–316). He maintains that *Súdiam* derives from "*Suðrøyjom*" (better *Suðreyjum*), the dative plural of *Suðreyjar*, 'Southern Isles', "the normal name for the Hebrides, usually called *Inse Gall* in Irish" (316). In this he was anticipated, in fact, by Proinsias Mac Cana, whose discussion of this passage (Mac Cana

1962: 83–84) is not alluded to by Ó Corráin. Ó Corráin claims that the king of *Súdiam*, *Siugraid Soga*, is "a clear reflex of" Sigur∂r earl of Orkney, who "apparently was overlord of the Hebrides as well". He conveniently disposes of *Sortabud Sort*, actually represented here as *ríg Insi Orc* 'king of Orkney', by declaring "this personage seem [sic] unhistorical". He makes no comment on the fact that *Súdiam* and *Insi Orc*, no less than his "continental Scandinavia", seem to be portrayed as "quite different from" *Lochla(i)nn*. He proposes that the "seventh part of Lochlainn...may refer to Viking Caithness", on the basis of the "division of Scotland into sevenths in *De situ Albaniae*" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 316). He does not address himself to the evident corollary, namely, that the whole of *Lochla(i)nn* must then be equated with the whole of Scotland.

He identifies Ólaib ua Inscoa with Amlaíb Cúarán (Ó Corráin 1998a: 316–317) and states "the historical Amlaíb Cuarán was king of York for a brief period c. 943 before his reign as king of Dublin (945–980) and has no direct connection with Norway. All the associations of the derived literary persona constructed from the historical figure are with Viking Scotland, and *rí Lochlainne* in *Cath Ruis na Ríg* must mean, for its author, king of Viking Scotland" (317). In reality, Amlaíb Cúarán or Áleifr Sigtryggsson was, above all, king of Dublin from the early 950s, when he was expelled from York for the second time (Downham 2003: 43–49; cf. Sawyer 1995). His only attested connection with Scotland is his death in Iona in 980 (Stokes 1896: 342) but he is, in fact, linked to Norway in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, which portrays him as brother-in-law of Óláfr Tryggvasson (Hudson 1991: 261; A∂albjarnarson 1941: 267, 269). If there were anything more than the vaguest literary reflex of this very real historical character in *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, one might suppose that Ó Corráin's *Lochla(i)nn* had, by Áleifr's era, lost virtually all connection with Scotland and essentially denoted Dublin. Ó Corráin makes no such case, doubtless wisely. What he does argue, nevertheless, requires suspension of disbelief to a degree that is beyond the capability of this reader.

In these two literary instances, as in that of the Annals of Ulster for 1014, what is particularly unconvincing is the treatment of references to specific components of Viking Scotland. These include, most notably, the Northern and Western Isles, which occur alongside references to *Lochla(i)nn*, from which they are, on the face of it, distinct. This seems the natural reading of these texts. Of course, this reading could be mistaken. Ó Corráin must surely do better to convince the reader of this, however, than to offer what appear to be merely ad hoc 'solutions' calculated to sustain his *a priori* convictions. His comments leave important questions unanswered, indeed unasked. How the regions of Scotland colonised by Vikings related to one another is a valid subject of dispassionate enquiry, for which Ó Corráin's enthusiastic pressing of his case is an unsatisfactory substitute.

The lack of conviction attaching to the above analyses persists when he comes to comment on those instances of *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* that can hardly be supposed to denote anything other than Norway. These, for Ó Corráin, comprise the annalistic references of 1102 and 1103 to Magnús Berfœttr and the poetic reference of 1072 to Haraldr Har∂rá∂i (but not, of course, the overlooked reference to the latter's son Magnús, in the annals for 1058). Ó Corráin considers that the poem of 1072 is the "earliest precisely datable historical example of *Lochlainn* meaning 'Norway'" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 318). However:

> "*Laithlind*/*Lochlainn* took on the new meaning 'Norway' only when there were kings of Norway and when these posed a serious military threat to the British Isles. Effective control of the Northern and Western Isles—and this made the king of Norway king of *Lochlainn*—would inevitably be a precondition of successful Norwegian intervention in Ireland, and the change of meaning evidently took place in that context" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 320).

The parenthetical clause appears to mean that he thinks that Norwegian royal adventures in the west in this period led to a renaming of Norway itself by the Irish chroniclers, who now applied to it the designation they had hitherto reserved scrupulously for 'Viking Scotland'. This again is a counter-intuitive proposition that requires to be argued and not merely asserted. It is directly belied, as pointed out above, by the Annals of Tigernach for 1103 (relegated to a footnote by Ó Corráin) and for 1158 (missed entirely). These clearly identify the essential components of Viking Scotland, namely the Isles, as such, and equally clearly distinguish them from *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. Moreover, if the latter designation underwent this remarkable "change of meaning" before the last quarter of the eleventh century, did no one alert the author of the tale *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, noticed above? The twelfth-century dates for that text, suggested by previous writers, find acceptance by Ó Corráin (1998a: 313–314), yet *Cath Ruis na Ríg* is nevertheless interpreted by him as using *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* in the 'old' sense of 'Viking Scotland'. The inconsistency is neither acknowledged nor explained.

Proceeding to the unknown: the meaning of historical *Laithlinn*

The apparently later form *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, when denoting a specific polity, as it certainly does in three of the four examples from the annals, clearly means the eleventh-century and later kingdom of Norway. What of the earlier form *Laithlinn*, of which attestations survive only from the mid ninth century? We have already noticed modern scholarly scepticism about non-contemporary literary accounts of the ninth-century unification of Norway. If this scepticism be justified—and a rigorous approach to source-criticism suggests it

must be—*Laithlinn* is unlikely to be simply an earlier form of the later term *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, with the same connotation of 'Norway'. There is, in any event, no reason to assume that *Laithlinn* should have the same meaning as *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. After all, the words are not the same, even if the one is replaced by the other in sets of annals in which the language has clearly been modernised (O'Donovan 1856; Radner 1978). The two words are attested, in the contemporary annals at least, in different periods and with no apparent continuity. We have already adverted to the weakness of Marstrander's derivation of *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* alike from *Rogaland*. The development of *R* > *L* is problematic but, more seriously, the *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*-form must have coexisted with *Laithlinn*, if both originated in the medial -*g*- of *Rogaland*. However, as we have seen, the actual evidence for the *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*-form is not found, in the annals at least, until the eleventh century.

Moreover, to insist that ninth-century *Laithlinn* is 'Viking Scotland' seems very questionable. In the first place, the way in which the case is made hardly carries conviction, as outlined above. A necessary condition of sustaining that case would be to test the hypothesis empirically. It is surely not enough simply to take the equation of *Laithlinn* with 'Viking Scotland' as a starting point and then return to it as conclusion. This would seem to be a circular argument. The body of literary references to *Lochla*(*i*)*nn* are discussed elsewhere by Ní Mhaonaigh. In her view they do not point unequivocally to a Scottish location and many are plainly open to other interpretations. The same is true of the strictly historical data. The Irish annals of the Viking Age constitute a significant corpus of references to Scotland. It is appreciably less full than in the period of the 'Iona Chronicle', before the mid eighth century, yet it still offers glimpses of Scottish political geography in the Viking Age. One component may have to be eliminated, however, as Clare Downham has made a plausible case for doubting that there is a reference to *Scí* 'Skye' in the Annals of Ulster for 795 (Downham: 2000). Yet a range of other components of Scotland, Viking and otherwise, do make an appearance in the Irish annals between the late eighth century and the twelfth. A digest of these is appended to this paper. What is clear is that *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn* is never noticed in an unambiguous reference to Scottish affairs, while what are indisputably the two key components of Viking Scotland, the Hebrides and the Northern Isles, are noticed as such. References to *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, discussed above, can be included in the corpus of annalistic references to Scotland only if viewed with the eye of faith.

A second point that bears repetition is the elusive logic of insisting that *Laithlinn* cannot be a location in Norway. The argument appears to run something like the following: later tradition about a ninth-century kingdom of Norway is unreliable. On the contrary, Norwegian royal power emerges only in the eleventh century. This leads to the relatively unexceptionable if surprisingly emphatic statement that "in the early Viking Age there were no kings of Norway" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 299–300). However, I fail to see the

reasoning behind Ó Corráin then proceeding to claim that the multi-ship fleets that raided Ireland after about 820 cannot have been dispatched from Norway. "Because of the logistical problem of bringing large fleets from Norway and because of the large numbers one can infer from their activities, these probably came from nearby, and the Viking settlements in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland are the most likely bases. It is possible that the time of calm in Ireland between 813 and 821 corresponds to a period of intense activity in Scotland" (Ó Corráin 1998a: 324). Are we seriously expected to believe that the Vikings could venture from Norway to the Scottish Isles and, already by about 820 or 825, could establish a foothold there that enjoyed a logistical capacity lacking in Norway itself? Apart from the absence of any positive evidence for such suppositions, in the documentary or archaeological record, are they at all likely? What is the "logistical problem" that Ó Corráin has in mind? In fact, the most challenging part of a naval expedition from Norway to Ireland would have been the leg of about 400 kilometres across the open North Sea to Shetland, which could be undertaken in as little as 24 hours with favourable winds (Crawford 1987: 12–13). Once this was completed, Orkney, mainland Scotland, the Hebrides and Ireland could be reached easily by a series of much shorter journeys. In truth we are in no position to argue from silence that early Viking Norway cannot in principle have generated great raiding expeditions to the west.

The credibility of Ó Corráin's construct, which appears arbitrary and ad hoc, is further undermined by his recent apparent willingness to entertain a further proposition. This is that we should identify the lately-discovered Woodstown site near Waterford with the arrival in the adjacent territory of Uí Fothaid of a massive, 120-ship fleet, an event reported in *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* (Todd 1867: 222 §4) and dated by synchronism to 811 or 812. This proposition was advanced in Ó Corráin's contribution to a public debate at the Irish Conference of Medievalists, St Kieran's College Kilkenny, June 2004. It has since been more widely publicised by being included in the Discovery Channel website, though without attribution to Ó Corráin. (http://dsc.discovery.com/news/20041018/viking.html). The suggested connection is an intriguing possibility, but surely no more than that, and firmer conclusions are premature in advance of a proper evaluation of the archaeological importance of the Woodstown site. In the present context, however, the problem is simply this: to accept the historical authenticity of so large a fleet at around 811 or 812 contradicts Ó Corráin's assertion that only a 'Scottish' *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*, established no earlier than 820, could generate such a fleet. Of course, given the quality of argumentation highlighted in this paper, perhaps Ó Corráin would now wish to push back the date for the establishment of this unsubstantiated entity. Alternatively, one could simply accept as possible—no more than that, on the evidence—that large-scale fleets were dispatched to Ireland direct from Norway at various points

in the ninth century. This seems to me at least as plausible an approach as one that excludes such a possibility *a priori*.

I can only endorse the remarks of Wamers, in response to Greene's advocacy of an Insular location for *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. "Why should we invent a 'maritime centre' on an island in the west for which there is neither historical, literary nor archaeological evidence?" (Wamers 1998: 66). To do so rests on an *argumentum ex silentio* on the double. The silence about ninth-century Norway in reliable contemporary documentation permits it to be dismissed conveniently. The comparative documentary silence about Scotland encourages the invention of its Viking-age history. In the case of Scotland, however, there is enough evidence in the Viking-age Irish annals to render the case at least unlikely, if not conclusively refutable. Documentation apart, moreover, the archaeological evidence from Viking Scotland is interesting. Firstly, while some early Viking-age burials, such as those at Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronsay, and Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, include re-used ornamental metalwork, plausibly the product of church raiding, akin to that found in Norwegian graves, such material seems to be uncommon (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998: 113–142, 152). Scotland, then, lacks much of the direct archaeological evidence for raiding in Ireland that is found in Norway. Secondly, general archaeological reflexes of a significant Viking settlement in Scotland as early as 825, and for the establishment of a powerful kingdom there by about 850, as postulated by Ó Corráin, are not found in the most recent survey of the material, by James Graham-Campbell and Colleen Batey (1998). Again, Graham-Campbell is elsewhere notably sceptical about archaeological evidence for a Viking presence in Man—in one of Ó Corráin's formulations a part of his Insular *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*—before the tenth century (Graham-Campbell 1998: 116–120). These assessments may prove to be excessively cautious, of course, and the silence of archaeology, as of the documentation, is not conclusive, but it does tend to underscore Wamers's point about the absence of any class of positive evidence for an Insular *Laithlinn*/*Lochla*(*i*)*nn*.

In the case of Norway, moreover, the position is surely more open than is allowed by Ó Corráin. Here, for example, by contrast with Scotland, the abundant Viking-age grave-deposits of Irish metalwork would seem to indicate the provenance of the Viking raiders, chiefly in western and southwestern Norway, for, as Wamers's studies appear to show, the distribution is not indicative of substantial trading of this material (1985, 1998). Ó Corráin's remarks on these deposits in Norway are interesting. In the paper to which the present contribution is a response, he observes that "we know from good archaeological evidence that early Viking raids on Ireland originated" in Rogaland (Ó Corráin 1998a: 304). This, he believes, was the case only up to about 820 or 825, after which, as we have seen, it is his conviction that 'Viking Scotland' took over (Ó Corráin 1998a: 296–297). In fact, according to Wamers, Rogaland is devoid of material closely datable to around 800, but

has an abundance of data of somewhat later ninth-century date, and is chiefly distinguished from other west Norwegian regions by an almost complete absence of deposits datable to the tenth century (Wamers 1998: 57–59). Elsewhere, Ó Corráin mentions other west Norwegian regions: the "early graves (identified by Egil Bakka and discussed by Wamers), dating to the decades about 800 (and confirmed by dendrochronology) are concentrated in mid-west Norway, Møre og Romsdal and Sogn og Fjordane and point to when and where raids began" (Ó Corráin 1998b: 439). Here he paraphrases Wamers (1998: 51–52), but makes no mention of Trøndelag, further north, where this category of material is attested, though not as abundantly (cf. Wamers 1998: 52, 55). Wamers's studies show that the Insular grave material continued to be deposited throughout the ninth century in all regions. "Three-quarters of the burials can be dated to the period from *c*. 800 to the late ninth century, and only one-quarter to the period from the late ninth to the tenth centuries—most of the latter belonging to the first half of the tenth century" (Wamers 1998: 51). These conclusions were also paraphrased elsewhere by Ó Corráin (1998b: 438). The principal regional and chronological peculiarity that strikes Wamers, then, relates not to the period *c*. 825, but to the aforementioned absence from Rogaland alone of tenth-century material. This prompts Wamers to suggest a connection with the expulsion of the Vikings from Dublin in 902 (Wamers 1998: 72). However that may be, the key point is that the west Norwegian grave deposits of Insular and specifically Irish origin do not suggest a significant threshold in the first quarter of the ninth century, when Ó Corráin maintains 'Viking Scotland' took over raiding in Ireland.

It is a perfectly plausible hypothesis—but no more than that, on the evidence—that mid ninth-century *Laithlinn* was, in fact, a polity in Norway. As to where it was, there are a number of reasons why western Norway offers the best prospect, not least the distribution of the grave-deposits. We should also consider the case, made by scholars such as Helle, Krag and Wamers, noticed above, that the Vestfold Ingling 'tradition' of Haraldr Hárfagri is an overlay, barely disguising the primarily Oppland and west Norwegian focus of his activities in the literature. There is, of course, no reason to regard a 'western' Haraldr Hárfagri, shorn of what may be regarded as Vestfold accretions, as a more truly historical figure. It may simply be that we can detect a version of the legend that indicates the interest of the Icelandic saga-writers in the ubiquitous *Austmenn* 'Easterners', hailing chiefly from the most proximate regions of Norway. (For the equation of *Austmaðr* and *Norrœnn*, 'Norwegian', with implications for the style 'Ostmen' preferred by the Hiberno-Vikings of the twelfth century, see an explicit example in Nordal and Jónsson 1938: 52–55) However, if there is good reason to identify western Norway as the primary source of early Viking raiding in Ireland, there is a reasonable chance that this too was the region from which a superior authority—in the Irish annals *rí Laithlinne* (848 and 853) and *rí Gall* (849)—

sought hegemony, through his representatives, over Viking adventurers and Irish alike.

Might Wamers's tentative canvassing (1998: 66 n.84) of Hla∂ir in Trøndelag merit serious consideration? Hlá∂ir enters the shadowy early 'history' of Norway as a key ally of Haraldr Hárfagri's putative drive for unification, supposedly in the later ninth century, and continues to feature in the tenth-century 'history' of Norwegian kingship. The evidence is essentially saga-literature and skaldic poetry of questionable value as historical source-material. Therein the jarls of Hla∂ir are portrayed as effective rulers of Norway at certain points in the tenth century. Hákon Sigur∂arson, jarl of Hla∂ir, is represented as acknowledging the overlordship of Haraldr Blártann of Denmark in the later tenth century. The jarls of Hla∂ir were subsequently agents of Knútr, ruler of Denmark, Norway and England in the early eleventh century. There is silence about Hla∂ir for the period before the later ninth century, even on the part of the literary sources underlying the traditional historians' narrative. This region was, however, more fertile, and perhaps richer and more strategically significant than that further south, in western and southwestern Norway (see e.g. Foote and Wilson 1970: 41–44, 46; Andersen 1977: 75–101). Trondheimsfjord and the Trøndelag region, moreover, witnessed deposition of Irish ecclesiastical metalwork in Viking-age graves, although, as Wamers remarks, such material has not been recovered from the immediate vicinity of Trondheim/Hla∂ir itself. (Wamers 1998: 66) As regards the name, a derivation of *Laith* from *Hla∂ir* seems linguistically feasible, assuming loss of the Old Norse case ending *-ir* (*-i*-stem nominative plural?) in composition. The second element *linn* would remain to be explained. In view of the invariably palatal quality of the *-l-* in the Irish sources, this seems unlikely to derive from Norse *land*, which should give *-lann*, the form found in the apparently later *Lochla*(*i*)*nn*. Perhaps it is simply the Irish *linn* 'pool, lake', a reference to the elaborately indented waterway of the Trondheimsfjord.

Conclusion

However that may be, the essential thrust of this paper is that there is no reason to rule out direct contact between Ireland and Norway in the ninth century, or to discount the possibility that *Laithlinn* may be an Irish reflex of ninth-century Norwegian politics. After all, the Norwegians of the eleventh century did mount expeditions that recruited support in an old-established network of settlements in the west. Granted that serious historians should be consistent in their scepticism about what are doubtless propagandist literary 'traditions' of a later era, is it not, after all, possible that comparable expeditions were mounted in the ninth century? Could it be that the contemporary Irish annals offer us a glimpse of the ninth-century history of Norway that is

more reliable than the Icelandic sagas, albeit a glimpse that is fleeting, tantalising and capable only of tentative interpretation?

Appendix: Viking Age Scottish polities (including Man) in the annals

Airer Goídel (AU 1164)

Alba (AU 798?, CS 818?, AU 829?, 866?, 871?, 900, 918, 952, 954, CS 962, AU 965, 967, 971, AT 976, 977, AU 980, 989, 995, AT 997, AU 1005, 1006, 1020, 1027, AT 1029, CS 1033 [1031], AU 1034, 1040, 1045, 1054, 1055, 1058, 1062, 1065, 1072, 1085, 1093, 1094, AT 1099, AI 1105, AU 1106, 1116, 1118, 1124, 1130, ALC 1138, AT 1148, AT 1152, 1153, AFM 1154, 1165)

Áru (AFM 1154)

(Britani) Ailech/Sratha Cluade (AU 870, 872)

Bretain (Tuaiscirt) (AFM 940 [938], AU 952, 971, 975, AT 997)

Cenn Tíre (AU 807, AFM 1154, AU 1164)

Cruithenthúath (AU 866, CS 904)

Dál Ríatai (Scottish?) (AFM 836 [835], AU 986, 989, 1013, 1165)

Foirtriu (AU 820, 834, 839, 865, 866, 904)

Gall-Goídil (AU 856?, 857?, 1034, AFM 1154, ALC 1199)

Insi Gall (AFM 853 [851]?, AClon 937 ['the Islands']?, CS 941 [Insi Alban = Insi Gall, AFM 939], ARC 963 [§282, Insi Alban], AFM 974 [972 = Lagmainn na nInse]?, AU 980 [Gaill na nInsedh {sic}], AU 989, 1005 [rí na nInnsi], AI 1015 [Gaill na nInnse], AT 1058, AT 1072, AFM 1083, AI 1095, AU 1098 [Gaill na nInnsi], AT 1103 [rí...na nIndsi], AI 1111, AFM 1142, AU 1164)

Insi Orc (AU 1014, AT 1058, AU 1170, 1171)

Mana (AU 914, 987, AT 1061, AU 1073, 1087, AFM 1096, AU 1102, AFM 1154)

Moreb (AT 1020, AU 1032, 1085, 1116, 1130)

Picti (AU858, 862, 865, 875, 876, 878)

Na Renna (AI 1094)

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Liam Mac Mathúna

On the provenance of the Early Irish topographical lexicon

Introduction

Drawing on a series of studies of the landscape vocabulary of the Old and Middle Irish periods, this paper considers the contributions of two analytical approaches to an examination of the provenance of the Early Irish topographical lexicon. On the one hand, it presents in summary form stratified evidence posited on the basis of etymological enquiry reaching back to Indo-European origins (e.g. Insular Celtic, Common Celtic, Western IE, IE root), complemented by the history of the form and meaning of words traceable within Irish texts. On the other hand, it examines recurring patterns of semantic development (e.g. the transfer of sense from a lexeme for a part of the human anatomy to application to a physical feature of the landscape). The evidence adduced is drawn from case studies from within the lexical field of the physical world in its broader aspects (in particular words for MOUNTAIN, VALLEY, PLAIN and WATER EXPANSE).

Lexical field studies in general

Over quite a number of years now, the author has been engaged in a series of semantic and etymological studies of words which are members of the lexical field PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE LANDSCAPE, primarily as they are attested in the earlier stages of the Irish language. The structured study of various areas of the vocabulary of Old and Middle Irish broadly follows the lead of Jost Trier (1931), Leo Weisgerber (1954) and others whose concept of word-fields (or lexical fields) was based on the realisation that words are not discrete, semantically autonomous items. One cannot discuss a mountain—or at least two mountains—without having an accompanying or intervening valley or glen in mind as well. Words are interrelated, be it in simple

binary opposition, e.g. **big** versus **small**; in complementarity, **day** as opposed to **night** (where each might vary from 6 to 18 hours in duration at Ireland's latitude), or a succession of days (including nights, each 24 hours long) in **the seven days of the week**, or in some other discernible pattern. Therefore, following this approach, the words investigated are not treated as independent semantic units, having their senses in isolation, but rather as constituents of a mosaic, with the sense (and denotation) of each lexeme being determined by its relationship with whatever other lexemes join with it to make up the greater whole of a 'word-field' or 'lexical field', and beyond this, ultimately the entire vocabulary of the language. Accordingly, the emphasis in the main has hitherto been on synchronic rather than on diachronic aspects of the language. A further important characteristic of the lexical field approach which is worth noting is that it is principally concerned with the study of the ordinary and regular words of a language and is not especially interested in the odd or the exotic. It focuses on patterns and systems, not on strays and erratics. The vocabulary studies undertaken in this way are then structured within the general type of concept referential framework formulated by scholars such as Walther von Wartburg (Hallig and von Wartburg 1963) and Carl Darling Buck (1949) for the entire lexicon of languages.

   An extensive examination of the topographical vocabulary of the Old and Middle Irish periods (conventionally AD 600–900 and 900–1200 respectively), allows consideration of text types as well as the contrasting of narrative usage and place-name embedding (Mac Mathúna 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2004). The emphasis hitherto has been on the detailed analytical study of the contexts of occurrences, often in core texts such as the Würzburg, Milan and St Gall glosses, the First Recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and *Bethu Phátraic*. Close attention to the nuances of context is the foundation stone, and remains the *sine qua non* of all this structural lexical-semantic endeavour. However, in this paper the focus is on the broader picture in a preliminary attempt to draw some general inferences from the evidence already assembled and to assess the potential for identifying universal patterns within the lexicon of Early Irish. To this end, the results of earlier research are brought together in tabular form, to facilitate the desired overview. However, it has to be stressed at the outset that every allocation of a place in a table, every grouping of a word, represents a judgement call, which is more or less convincing. Only the more problematic cases can be explicitly adverted to in the discussion in this paper. Nonetheless, the very process of grouping and tabulating in order to ascertain patterns and trends serves to lessen, if not altogether eliminate, the danger of a particular instance skewing or otherwise undermining the general arguments.

   Let us now consider a summary of words denoting heights—mountains, hills and hillocks. Two tables contain the relevant information, the first representing an assessment of etymological background, the second detailing the semantic origin.

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HEIGHT: Etymological Background

	Period of Irish when first attested	Derived from Irish topographical substantive	Loan-word	Has Celtic cognates	Has close western IE links	Has IE root	Of uncertain origin
slíab	OIr.			X	X	X	
tulach	OIr.			X		X	
ard	OIr.			X		X	
ardae	OIr.	X					
brí	OIr.			X	X	X	
benn	OIr.			X	X	X	
mullach	OIr.			X		X	
cnocc	Mid.Ir.		> Welsh	X	X	X	
cnuchae	OIr.	X					
crúach	OIr.			X	X	X	
druimm	OIr.		> Welsh ?			X	
dígas	OIr.			X			
dígsa	OIr.	X					
dind, dínn	OIr.				X	X	
dindgna	OIr.	X					
temair	OIr.						X
escir	OIr.						X

HEIGHT: Semantic Origin

	Semantic origin
slíab	slippery, to slide
tulach	to swell
ard	high
ardae	derivative of **ard**
brí	high, mountain
benn	projecting point
mullach	globular mass, heap, lump
cnocc	lump, protuberance (part of body)
cnuchae	derivative of **cnocc**
crúach	to bend
druimm	back (part of body)
dígas	sloping
dígsa	derivative of **dígas**
dind, dinn	a spike, a point
dindgna	derivative of **dind, dinn**
temair	?
escir	?

One can see that the vast majority of the seventeen words are attested from the OIr. period. Four are derivatives of another lexical item contained in the tables. Nine of the thirteen individual, non-derivative words have Celtic cognates, while two seem to have given rise to borrowings into Welsh. The evidence for western IE links and derivation from IE roots is quite strong, with only two words (*temair*, *escir*) being of uncertain origin.

The semantic evidence relating to the HEIGHT lexemes will be considered below along with that for the topographical subdivisions of VALLEY, PLAIN and WATER EXPANSE. The evidence relating to VALLEY is tabulated next:

VALLEY: Etymological Background

	Period of Irish when first attested	Derived from Irish topograph-ical substantive	Loan-word	Has Celtic cognates	Has close west-ern IE links	Has IE root	Of uncertain origin
glenn	OIr.			X			
comglenn	OIr.	X	calque on Latin				
fán	OIr.			X	X	X	
fánaid	OIr.	X					
fánglenn	Mid.Ir.	X					
cobfán	Mid.Ir.	X					
srath	OIr.			X	X	X	

VALLEY: Semantic Origin

	Semantic origin
glenn	steep slope
comglenn	prefix **com-** + **glenn**: calque on Lat. **convallis**
fán	to be bent
fánaid	derivative of **fán**
fánglenn	noun + noun compound of **fán** + **glenn**
cobfán	prefix **com-** + **fán**
srath	to spread out

Summarising the situation with regard to the etymological background of the seven words for VALLEY, one sees that most of them are already attested in the Old Irish period. No fewer than four of the seven consist of inner-Irish derivations (one of which is also a calque on a Latin term), while all three of the non-derivatives have Celtic cognates, and two have identified connections with other western IE languages and can be derived from IE roots. The next two tables summarise the lexical position in relation to PLAIN:

PLAIN: Etymological Background

	Period of Irish when first attested	Derived from Irish topographical substantive	Loanword	Has Celtic cognates	Has close western IE links	Has IE root	Of uncertain origin
mag	OIr.			X		X?	
machaire	Mid.Ir.						X
clár	OIr.			X		X	
róe	OIr.				X	X	
réid	Mid.Ir.			X	X	X	
réide	OIr.	(X)					

PLAIN: Semantic Origin

	Semantic origin
mag	open space
machaire	?
clár	board, plank; flat object; flat part of the body
róe	space, far
réid	fit for riding > level, smooth
réide	derivative of **réid**

With regard to the six words for PLAIN, it can be seen that four are attested in OIr., just one being an inner-Irish derivative. Perhaps due to the vagaries of transmission, the substantive *réid*, which like the abstract *réide* is to be derived from the adjective *réid* 'level, smooth', is actually attested first in Mid.Ir., somewhat later than *réide*. Three out of the five lexemes (excluding

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réide) have attested Celtic cognates, with good representation across western IE languages and IE roots. The words relating to WATER EXPANSE are now set out:

WATER EXPANSE: Etymological Background

	Period of Irish when first attested	Derived from Irish topographical substantive	Loanword	Has Celtic cognates	Has close western IE links	Has IE root	Of uncertain origin
linn	OIr.			X	X		
loch	OIr.		> Welsh	X	X		
in(d)ber	OIr.			X		X	
gabul	OIr.			X	X		
gobél	OIr.						X
cúan	Mid.Ir.				X	X	
muinc(h)enn	OIr.						
muir	OIr.			X	X	X	
ler	OIr.			X	X	X	
fairrge	OIr.						
ocían	Mid.Ir.		< Latin				

WATER EXPANSE: Semantic Origin

	Semantic origin
linn	lake
loch	lake
in(d)ber	to flow in
gabul	bifurcation (part of body)
gobél	?
cúan	the sea
muinc(h)enn	nape of neck, neck (part of body)
muir	inland body of water, lake
ler	to flow
fairrge	substantive based on **fairsing** 'ample, broad, spacious'
ocían	Lat. **oceānus** 'the ocean'

Nine of the eleven words considered here go back to OIr. sources, one was borrowed from Latin, while another was borrowed into Welsh. Although four items show significant inner-Irish formal development (*in(d)ber*, *gobél*,

muinc(h)enn, *fairrge*), none is a derivative of another substantive to be found in the table. Six of the eleven lexemes have Celtic cognates. A similar number have close western IE links, while somewhat fewer can be traced back to IE roots. Despite the possible incorporation of *bél* 'mouth', one word (*gobél*) has to be deemed to be of uncertain origin. The following table summarises the relationship of the various kinds of WATER EXPANSE to LAND:

WATER EXPANSE: Relation to Land

	Inland pool, lake, etc.	Coastal inlet	The sea
linn	X	X	X
loch	X	X	X
in(d)ber		X	
gabul	X	X	
gobél		X	
cúan	X	X	X
muinc(h)enn		X	X
muir			X
ler			X
fairrge		X	X
ocían			X

The pattern shown up by this tabulation would seem to be that words which can be applied to inland stretches of water are also applicable to coastal stretches, with possible further extension to the open sea, generally in marked contexts.

When combined the above tables contain a total of 41 lexical items, and yield the following information:

Etymological Background of Total of 41 Topographical Lexemes

First attested in OIr.	First attested in Mid.Ir.	Derived from Irish topographical substantive (9) or undergone significant morphological development within Irish (6)	Loanword	Has Celtic cognates	Has close western IE links	Has IE root	Of uncertain origin
34–35	6–7	15	2 < Latin	21	17	17–20	4
			2–3 > Welsh				

Semantic Origin of Total of 41 Words

Semantic origin	Lexical items
derivative of another Irish topographical substantive	9 (ardae, cnuchae, dígsa, dindgna; comglenn, fánaid, fánglenn, cobfán; réide)
part of body	5 (cnocc, druimm; clár; gabul, muinc(h)enn)
slippery, to slide, steep slope	2 (slíab; glenn)
to swell, globular mass, heap, lump	2 (tulach, mullach)
high, point	4 (ard, brí, benn, dind/dinn)
high/low	1 (dígas)
to bend, be bent	2 (crúach; fán)
to spread out, open space, far, spacious	4 (srath; mag, róe; fairrge)
level, smooth	1 (réid)
inland expanse of water	3 (linn, loch, muir)
open expanse of water	1 (cúan)
to flow in	2 (in(d)ber, ler)
loanword	1 (ocían)
unknown	4 (temair, escir; machaire; gobél)

Of the forty-one Old and Middle Irish topographical lexemes considered in this paper, almost a quarter (nine) are derivatives of other Irish topographical substantives, while a further six have undergone significant inner-Irish morphological development (*slíab*, *tulach*, *mullach*, *in(d)ber*, *muinc(h)enn*, *fairrge*). Only four of the total of forty-one are of uncertain origin. One is a loanword from Latin (*ocían*). Twenty-one lexemes can be more or less plausibly assigned a place within the Celtic languages, where cognates can be found for them. In many instances, links with western Indo-European languages from the Germanic and Italic groups are identifiable and their ulti-

mate origins traced back to postulated IE roots. This situation may be summarised as follows:

> Internal Irish diachronic morphological / semantic development: 15
> Celtic and IE origin: 21
> Loan from Latin: 1
> Uncertain or unknown origin: 4

The high percentage of inner-Irish developments illustrates the particular importance of giving the history of individual words within the language their due. Were the time-line extended from 1200 AD to the present, one would expect to be dealing with an even greater proportion of words exhibiting inner-Irish development, alongside what would probably be a somewhat smaller proportion traceable to IE roots. The post-1200 AD lexicon is also likely to include a greater number of loanwords (principally from Norman French and English), with twentieth-century and contemporary terminological coinings introducing yet another dimension. There are indications that the many words of humble origin which are first recorded after 1600 AD will pose particular etymological challenges, the scale of which should become clear as the CD-ROM corpus covering printed material approximately 1600–1882, issued by the Foclóir na Nua-Ghaeilge project of the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann 2004), is analysed.

Reverting to the Early Irish period, there are indications that a significant lexical shift took place in the topographical lexicon from about the year 1000: *tulach* began to be challenged by *cnocc* in the sense HILL, *mag* by *machaire* in the sense PLAIN, while *inis* yielded to *ailén* (later *oileán*) in the sense ISLAND (Mac Mathúna 1994). These developments were paralleled by other changes such as that of the primary sense of *lár* moving from GROUND, FLOOR to MIDDLE. Thus the origin of a Co. Galway island name *Inis Meáin* and many other established place-names in Ireland are to be dated to the earlier period of this lexical divide, when the elements in question were still productive. When found, names such as the semantically equivalent **Oileán Láir* are applied to secondary topographical features, such as islets in lakes. One of the texts which seems to track this change well in the topographical domain is *Acallam na Senórach* (Stokes 1900), and it is hoped to continue the investigation of this text beyond the initial 200 pages already covered.

One now reverts to the forty-one topographical items under discussion. Setting aside the four words of uncertain origin and the nine showing internal Irish derivation from a topographical substantive, one is left with twenty-eight lexical items. Some five (incl. *clár*) of these twenty-eight lexemes can be taken as representing figurative application of a word for a part of the body being transferred to a physical feature of the natural landscape. A number of words show

how the sense has the potential to go either in the semantic direction of MOUNTAIN or VALLEY via SLOPE (2; *slíab*, *glenn*) or otherwise (1; *dígas*). A further potential interconnection is shown from 'to spread out, spacious' > VALLEY (1; *srath*), PLAIN (2; *mag*, *róe*), WATER EXPANSE (1; *fairrge*). Words describing an inland water expanse may be extended to a coastal inlet, bordering a SEA EXPANSE (1; *gabul*) or indeed applied to the SEA itself as well (3; *linn*, *loch*, *cúan*). Otherwise, words for HIGH (4; *ard*, *brí*, *benn*, *dind/ dinn*) or SWELLING (2; *tulach*, *mullach*) can describe a HEIGHT or PEAK. The number of loanwords in this lexical field (1; *ocían*) is considerably fewer than one encounters in cultural domains, which have come under sustained Latin influence. On the other hand, the probable loans from Irish to Welsh (3; *cnocc*, *druimm*, *loch*) are of interest, despite their small number: the linguistic evidence for ongoing contact between the Irish and the British or Welsh is important in itself, irrespective of the particular direction of individual loanwords. All of this leaves just *in(d)ber*, *cúan* and *ler* to be considered. *In(d)ber* is related, through its second element to *commar* 'confluence', *topar* 'well, spring' within Irish and to *aber* 'a rivermouth, confluence' in Welsh, all of which are reflexes of an IE root **bher-* 'to move strongly (of water)'. *Ler* is traced to an IE root **lei-* 'to pour, flow, drip', while *cúan* is variously derived from an IE root **kap-* 'to grasp' or linkable to OIr. *cúa* 'hollow, cavity' and *cuas* 'hollow, cavity', Mod.Ir. *cuas* 'cove, creek'.

Inner-Irish derivatives

As we have already noted, nine, that is almost a quarter of the forty-one topographical lexemes in question are derived from other topographical substantives. Four of these relate to HEIGHT (*ardae*, *cnuchae*, *dígsa*, *dindgna*), neither *cnuchae* nor *dígsa* being of frequent occurrence. A very high proportion of the words for VALLEY fall into this category (four out of seven), two (*fánaid*, *cobfán*) being derived from *fán* alone, one from *glenn* alone (*comglenn*), while the fourth is a compound of both words (*fánglenn*). Just one word relating to the domain of PLAIN is in this category (*réid*), while mention may be made of a tenth word, one for WATER EXPANSE (*fairrge*), which Thurneysen has shown to be an inner-Irish derivative from **foirs(n)ge*, an abstract noun formed from *fairsing* 'ample, broad, spacious'.

Quite a number of semantic shift patterns can be identified and are now set out:

PART OF HUMAN BODY → FEATURE OF NATURAL LAND-SCAPE
Although the particular sample of forty-one lexemes of the regular topographical lexicon of Early Irish, which has been under discussion until now,

only contained some four words which were originally applied to parts of the body, the inclusion of words with a lower rate of occurrence yields a richer crop:

> *Cenn* 'head; end, termination' PROMONTORY
> *Mullach* 'crown of head; top' HEIGHT
> *Drech* 'face; surface' LAND
> *Derc* 'eye; cavity, hollow' HOLLOW
> *Lecca* 'cheek, jaw; side, slope of hill' HEIGHT
> *Druim(m)* 'back; surface; hill' HEIGHT
> *Druim(m)chlae* 'raised surface; ridge' HEIGHT
> *Druimne* 'back; hill' HEIGHT
> *Drumman* 'humped back; hillock' HEIGHT
> *Muin* 'back; surface' LAND/HEIGHT
> *Ucht* 'breast; breast of hill' HEIGHT
> *Uchtach* 'hillock, breast of mountain' HEIGHT
> *Táeb* 'side; side of hill' HEIGHT
> *Slis* 'side, flank; coast, margin, bank': COAST/HEIGHT
> *Gabul* 'fork of body, thighs; bifurcation in glen, branch of river, creek' VALLEY; WATER EXPANSE
> *Ind, inn* 'extremity; summit of hill' HEIGHT
> *Tonn* 'skin; (surface of) land, sea, wave' LAND; WATER EXPANSE; SEA
> *Cnes* 'skin; surface' LAND; SEA
> *Cnocc* 'lump, protuberance' HEIGHT

This list represents a culling from a sample of early texts and *DIL* and confines itself to those words which could be said to be of more or less regular occurrence in the Old and Middle Irish periods. It could easily be added to, e.g. (1) by including elements which occur exclusively, or predominantly, in place-names (e.g. *ára* 'kidney'—HEIGHT; ISLAND; *bél* 'mouth'—WATER EXPANSE; *blén* 'loin'—HEIGHT), (2) by including words of no great recorded frequency, and (3) by extending the period investigated down to current Modern Irish.

In regard to the latter point, P. W. Joyce has observed:

> A real or imagined resemblance to different parts of the human body, has originated a great variety of topographical names all over the country. Most of the bodily members have been turned to account in this manner: and the natural features, compared with, and named from them, are generally, but not always, hills. (Joyce 1995: I, 522)

He provides a list consisting of the following elements to be found in Irish place-names:

Ceann 'head; head, front or highest part of anything'
PROMONTORY; HEIGHT
Eudan 'forehead; hill, brow' HEIGHT
Srón 'nose; prominent point of hill, promontory' HEIGHT,
PROMONTORY
Braghad 'throat; gorge or deeply-cut glen' VALLEY
Guala, gualann 'shoulder; hill' HEIGHT
Druim 'back; long low hill or ridge' HEIGHT
Tón 'backside; hill, low-lying or bottom land' HEIGHT
Taebh 'side; side of a hill' HEIGHT
Más 'thigh; long low hill' HEIGHT
Lurga, lurgan 'shin; long low ridge, long stripe of land' HEIGHT
Cos 'foot; foot, bottom or lower end of anything' BOTTOM
Bun 'bottom or end of anything' BOTTOM
Barr 'top of anything' HEIGHT
Gabhal 'fork; fork formed by streams or glens' WATER EXPANSE;
VALLEY
Cúil 'corner or angle' (Joyce I, pp 521–530) VALLEY

SLOPE   → HEIGHT
SLOPE   → VALLEY
HEIGHT ← → HOLLOW, DECLIVITY
In a number of instances, comparison with other languages shows that the
sense developed from a common point of origin could apply to a HEIGHT or
a HOLLOW, DECLIVITY, thus: HEIGHT (*slíab*, *dígas*), VALLEY (*glenn*).
In all three cases this has been mediated by words for SLOPE, which could
be applied upwards (HEIGHT) or downwards (DECLIVITY).

HEIGHT / ISLAND
The word for 'kidney', *ára*, has been applied in place-names to islands, e.g.
Ára off the Galway coast, as well as inland names such as *Tipra Árann*. A
physical feature of the landscape could be seen to rise up, to jut up from the
surrounding sea, just as it could from lower, surrounding terrain. Similarly
Cnocc 'hill' is employed in alternative names for both Tory and Rathlin,
given in *Acallam na Senórach*:

> gu Cnoc in ḟomhoraich budhthuaidh, re n-abar Torach thuaiscirt Eirenn 'to
> the Hill of the Fomorians in the north which is called Torach of the north of
> Ireland' (*Acallam na Senórach*, lines 1880–1882)

> a Cnuc Árdmulla amuigh don mhuir,' risi n-abar Rachlaind nó Rachrainn isin
> tan-sa 'from Cnoc Ardmulla from out of the sea, which is called Rachlainn or
> Rachrainn now' (*Acallam na Senórach*, lines 3643–3645)

HEIGHT → FORTRESS

Several words denoting 'hills' could be applied to 'fortified hills' or 'fortresses', e.g. *dígas*, *dind, dinn*, *dindgna*.

WOOD(ED HEIGHT) → WOODLESS PROMONTORY

A word for a WOOD(ED HEIGHT) came to refer to a WOODLESS PROMONTORY: *ros*.

SLOPE OF HILL / PLAIN / GAP → BATTLEGROUND

So widespread is the theme of joined combat in the extant sources that several topographical features from a variety of domains may refer to battlegrounds, the general context being sufficient on its own to impart the sense of 'site of conflict'. Thus, from the domain of PLAIN one regularly has *róe* in that sense, less frequently *mag* as a simplex on its own. This latter is usually prefixed by *ár* 'slaughter' to form a compound *ármag* denoting 'field of battle, battle-field'. This was no doubt both in order to parallel the other types of *mag*, such as *cluichemag* 'playing-field', and to distinguish it from them. *Gort* 'a field' often referred to a 'battle-field', while a further, albeit rarer word, in this sense is *blár*. Similarly, *lerg* 'slope', *bern, berna* 'gap, pass' and *áth* 'ford' can all refer to a place of duelled combat.

LAND (VALLEY or PLAIN) ← → SEA

In other cases, words originating in the sense EXPANSE could be applied to LAND, TERRAIN (*srath*, *mag*, *róe*), be it a VALLEY (*srath*) or a PLAIN (*mag*, *róe*) or, on the other hand, to an EXPANSE OF WATER (*fairrge*). This is also true of *tonn* and *cnes*, two words for 'skin', which can also be applied to the surface of both land and sea. Quite a number of other words can be used either of land or sea. These include:

> *ochsal*, *asca(i)ll* 'gulf'
> *muinc(h)enn* 'inlet'; 'a place affording passage'
> *belach* 'passage'
> *léibenn* 'expanse'
> *gabul* 'branch of a river, inlet of the sea'
> *gobél* 'a gap or opening (inlet)'
> *léinseach* 'smooth tract (of water)'; 'flat stretch (of ground)' in the modern language

It has also been noted how words can transfer their primary denotation from

WATER EXPANSE TOTALLY SURROUNDED BY LAND, A LAKE → WATER EXPANSE MOSTLY SURROUNDED BY LAND, AN INLET →THE OPEN SEA.

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A tendency for a shift to occur in lexical items from about 1000 AD onwards has also been noted:

	OLDER LEXEME	NEWER LEXEME
HILL	tulach	cnoc
PLAIN	mag	machaire
ISLAND	inis	ailén
MIDDLE	medón	lár

It may be mentioned that similar changes have been noted in relation to RAIN, and MOON, and to the meteorological phenomena of THUNDER and LIGHTNING.

Conclusion

Before attempting to summarise and draw conclusions, a caveat has to be entered, lest it be assumed that every physical feature can be clearly delineated linguistically and that all that is now required to complete the analysis of the topographical lexicon is patience and perseverance. These attributes will no doubt be needed but sound judgement based on familiarity with the semantic environment and close analysis of texts and contexts will continue to be essential. The reason for this only becomes clear gradually as one studies texts closely and realises that there is no straightforward one-to-one correspondence between a term for a physical feature and that particular feature as a part of the real world.

Thus, as we have seen, *mag* enters into quite a number of semantically linked compounds, usually with another noun (see further *DIL* M 26, s.v. *mag*). At first sight, what seems like a semantically rather unlikely compound, but one which actually occurs regularly, combines *mag* with what might well be considered to be its opposite number, namely *slíab* (s, n., later m.) '(a) a mountain, a mountain-range; (b) a moor' (*DIL*). *DIL* renders the compound *magslíab* n. (m.) as 'a table-land, plateau', e.g.

> *Rancatar iar sin indsi móir ⁊ mag mor inte ⁊ magsliab mór inti cen fraech, is se ferach slemoin.* 'Then they came to a large island and there was a great plain therein and on this a great table-land, heatherless, but grassy and smooth.' (*The Voyage of Máel Dúin* §28 = Oskamp 1970)

Here, rather paradoxically, *mag* and *magslíab* form the contrasting pair, while attention is drawn to the fact that the table-land, or plateau, is rich in grass rather than covered in heather, as would be expected. Another instance

of the compound in question is *a mullach maighsléibhe* 'on the summit of a table-land' (*Buile Suibne* §45, verse = O'Keeffe 1913).

A word too about *machaire* may be instructive here, as several aspects of this lexeme invite attention. First of all, *machaire* is very thinly represented in early texts. For instance, it is altogether wanting from the Glosses, while the excerpted saga texts have a single textual occurrence and just one place-name example, both from *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. The textual occurrence is to be found in an apparently late, poetic account of Cú Chulainn's chariot, close in spirit, and indeed in wording, to another passage entitled 'The Scythed Chariot':

> *carpat Con Culaind co lúas faindle nó cliabaigi allaid tar cend machairi maigslébe,* 'the chariot of Cú Chulainn with the swiftness of a swallow or a wild deer across a plain on high ground' (*Táin Bó Cúailnge I*, lines 2948–2949 = O'Rahillly 1976; my translation)

This closely parallels an earlier citation from *Táin Bó Cúailnge I*, lines 2285–2286, apart from the tautological combination of *machaire* and *magslíab* being used instead of *róe* and *mag*. Such paradigmatic substitution of semantically close lexemes within a patterned mould may well be characteristic of the early storyteller's approach to his art.

As it happens, the only instance of *machaire* in *Bethu Phátraic* (Mulchrone 1939) occurs as a place-name which is specifically said to have replaced an older name: *Drummana ainm in tíri hi mbátar, Machare indiu.* 'Drummana was the name of the territory (land) in which they were, Machaire today.' (*Bethu Phátraic*, lines 1227–1228). The replacement of a name, which originally meant 'ridges, hillocks', by one meaning 'plain' to designate the same area is not without its own irony, and indeed may act as a restraint on over-confidence in successfully 'explaining' the meaning of place-names by reference to their topographic context. Thus, it is not just ostensibly contradictory combinations such as *mag* (PLAIN) + *brí / crúach / tulach / slíab* (HEIGHT), which provide pitfalls for the unwary. In this connection one may also note the contrary phenomenon of two elements reinforcing a particular topographical message: *i nDruimnib Breg* literally 'in the ridges of the hills' (*Bethu Phátraic*, line 1382).

These examples show that the way landscape is viewed can change not only diachronically over time, but that it can also vary synchronically, when viewed from different perspectives. But these perspectives too can no doubt be mapped and delineated. A search for change over time has now to be complemented by a realisation that hill-tops may be fortresses, that slopes can become either hills or hollows, that plains, mountain-gaps, and fords functioning as battle-grounds may take precedence over the original physical features, that words for water expanse can interchange between inland, coastal configurations and the open sea. Words for land and sea may also be

interchanged. What seems to be a unitary *Machaire*, literally 'Plain' today may have been *Drummana*, a series of 'Ridges' yesterday.

There is inevitably then a certain tension between (1) the attempt to identify trends and isolate patterns and (2) detailed textual studies which underline time and again the truism that every word has its own history, both as a narrative lexeme and as a place-name element. In this connection one may recall from the First Recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* the occasion when Mac Roth saw the hills rise up as islands from the glens and valleys:

> 'In fecht n-aili didiu,' or Mac Roth, 'doréccacha úaim in mag co n-acca in tromchiaich ro lín na glendu ₇ na fántu co nderna na tilcha eturru amail indsi i llochaib. '"The second time I looked out over the plain," said Mac Roth, "I saw that a dense mist had filled the glens and valleys, so that the hills between them rose up like islands in lakes . . ."' (*Táin Bó Cúailnge I,* lines 3558–3560)

But even the mist was not what it seemed, as Fergus explained to Ailill:

> An tromcheó atchonnarcais ro lín na fántu, anála na trénfer sein ro lín na glenntu co nderna na tulcha amail indsi i llochaib eturru. 'The dense mist you saw which filled the valleys was the breath of those champions [the Ulstermen] which filled the glens and made the hills to rise among them like islands in lakes.' (*Táin Bó Cúailnge I*, lines 3569–3571)

The topographical lexicon of Early Irish and its complementary toponymy reflect ongoing cultural interaction with the physical environment of Ireland. Structural analysis of vocabulary can undoubtedly yield significant insights into patterns and trends. However, these are likely to be at their most revealing when part of a two-way process, whereby, on the one hand, they are brought to bear in all their regularity on a narrative or discourse analysis of a particular text or group of texts, and, on the other hand, they are alive to the creative impulse which rises above the ordinary and the given, allowing the exception to interrogate the rule, and generate the challenging intellectual dynamics which are at the core of lexical field analysis of Early Irish.

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Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Onomastic Formulae in Irish

Any reader of medieval Irish literature will be aware that place-names and their associated lore plays no small part in that tradition. This aspect of the literature, usually referred to as *dinnshenchas*, 'the lore of places', manifests itself in many different ways,[1] ranging from brief attempts at explaining place-names to longer more complex onomastic tales, to the extensive tracts in verse and prose known as *Dinnshenchas Érenn* which are devoted entirely to this end.[1]

Let us take an example. In the Irish saga *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the hero Cú Chulainn encounters and kills an adversary called Fer Baeth at a place called Fochaird in the district of Muirtheimhne in what is part of the modern County Louth. The episode is thus described in the text (emphasis mine):

[1]   *Focheird Cú Chulaind in sleig n-íarom i ndegaid Fir Baíth co n-érrmadair áth a dá chúlad co ndeochaid for beólo sair co torchair tara aiss issa nglend.* **'Focherd sin ém!' or Fer Báeth. Is de atá Focherd Murthemne.**

     Nó iss é Fíacha asrubairt:

     'Is beóda do ḟeocherd indiu, a C[h]ú Chulaind,' or sé

     Conid de attá Foc[h]erd Murthemne.

     'Then Cú Chulainn threw the holly shoot after Fer Báeth and it struck the depression at the back of his neck and went out through his mouth, and he fell on his back in the glen.

     "That is indeed a throw" said Fer Báeth.

     From this comes the place-name Focherd Muirthemne.

     Or Fiacha said: "your throw is lucky today Cú Chulainn."

     Whence the place-name Focherd Muirthemne.' *TBC Rec.* 1, 1780–1787

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[1]   For a discussion of *dinnshenchas* in the literary tradition see Ó Cuív (1989–90). The methodology used by the framers of this tradition has been discussed in a number of studies by Baumgarten (1983, 1987, 1990).

[2]   Edited by W. Stokes (1892, 1893, 1894, 1895), Gwynn (1991). For a discussion of the different recensions and their relationship to each other see T. Ó Concheanainn (1981).

As can be seen, the storyteller attempts to associate the event he is narrating with the origin of the place-name Fochaird. This he effects by means of what we might call the 'utterance technique' whereby a character in the tale utters a phrase that contains a word or words that can be reconciled with an element of the place-name. In this case, he has taken the verbal form *fo-ceird* 'throws' and has treated it as a noun 'cast'. Not content with one explanation of the name, however, he uses the same 'utterance technique' to offer a second which, while adhering to the etymological explanation offered by the first, outlines the circumstances of the utterance somewhat differently.

At a later point in the tale, we are offered a further etymology for this selfsame name. Having slain 14 warriors at Cróinech in Fochaird, Cú Chulainn recites the poem beginning *Fó mo cherd láechdachta…* 'splendid is my heroic deed…' in which he boasts of his martial prowess. After the text of the poem has been given, the following comment is added:

[2]   *Combad de sin dano rod lil a n-ainm as Focherd dond inud .i. **fó cerd** .i. maith in cherd gascid donecmaic do Choin Chulaind and sin* 'So that it is from that exploit that Focherd remained as the name of the place, that is *fó cherd*, good was the feat of arms which Cú Chulainn performed there' *TBC Rec. 1* 1965–1967.

In this case the storyteller segments elements in the name and attempts to reconcile the segments so arrived at with common words in the lexicon and thus to arrive at an etymology. In this particular instance, he has dealt with the name as though it were a compound of *fó* 'good' and *cerd* 'craft'.

Táin Bó Cúailnge offers yet another aspect of the *dinnshenchas* attached to this name. Here we are informed that Fochaird is the new name of the place, the old one being Ard Aignech.

[3]   *Is and íarom baí in chomdál i nArd Aignech frisi ráter Fóchaird indiu* 'then the meeting was held at Ard Aignech which today is called Fochaird' *TBC Rec. 1* 1938–1939

Apart from illustrating some of the onomastic devices used in this text, the lore concerning Fochaird is of further interest as it is used in some other, later, sources. The first of these is *Acallam na Senórach* which, although adhering to the explanation established in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* that the name derives from Cú Chulainn's great cast, offers an alternative 'older' name to that found in the Ulster tale [3]:

[4]   *táinic roime…d'Ard in Ghaiscid atúaid, frisi ráidhter Fochaird Muirt[h]-emne, bhaili a nderna Cúchulainn in foic[h]erd gaiscid ar sluaiged tána bó Cuailngi* 'he came to Ard in Ghaiscid which is called Fochaird Muirth-

emne, where Cú Chulainn made the heroic case on the hosting of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*' *Acall.* 2313–2317

The association of Cú Chulainn's feat with the place-name is further echoed in the seventeenth-century text *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*:

[5]   *Tiaghaitt imároen go Fochaird Muirtheimhne bhail i nderna an Cuchulainn airrderc an fhoicherd ghaisgidh* 'They went together to Faughart Muirthemhne, the place where the famous Cú Chulainn performed the Champion's cast' *Beatha AR* §51

While the etymology established in example [1] above clearly won some acceptance, examples [3] and [4] show there was no such agreement regarding the earlier form of the name. This is borne out by the late seventeenth-century composition *Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh* where, within the same text, two further alternative 'old' forms are given of this very name:

[6]   *Ro imigh Conghal remhe iarsin go crich Rois ₇ i Magh Temil Mhara risan abar Fochaird Mhór Muirthemhne* 'Conghal marched then to the territory of Ross and to Magh Temil Mara, which is called Fochaird Mhór Muirthemhne' *Caith. Con. Cláir.* 30

[7]   *Táinic Conghal iarsin ...tar Fertais na ...risa raidhter Fochaird Muirthemhne* 'Conghal then came through Fertais na....[2] which is called Fochaird Muirtheimhne' *Caith. Con. Cláir.* 182

The treatment of this one name in a number of texts serves as an illustration of some of the many ways in which *dinnshenchas* can be employed. In its clearest and most distilled form, however, it is found in *Dinnshenchas Érenn*, the Middle Irish tracts in prose and verse which are devoted to tracing the origin of Irish toponyms.

   The onomastic legends that form the prose texts of this latter body of lore are generally presented within set formulaic phrases. Each legend or etymology is introduced by the name to be discussed followed by the question *canas ro (h)ainmniged* 'how was is named?' or less frequently *cid dia tá* 'whence is it?'[3], e.g.

[8]   a. *Mag Life, canas ro ainmniged? Dinds.* 12

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[2]   Although the manuscript is not legible at this point, it is clear that the alternative 'older' name given in this example is quite different to those given in exx. 3, 4, and 6.

[3]   The former is by far the preferred introduction in the Rennes Dinnshenchas (Stokes 1894, 1895). In the Bodleian/Edinburgh recension (Stokes 1892, 1893) they are used in roughly equal numbers. Gwynn (1935: 92) has suggested that such formulae may be representative of didactic methods of the bardic schools in which *dinnshenchas* formed part of the curriculum.

    b. *Cloenloch, canas roainmniged? Dinds* 116

    c. *Dubthír, canas ro ainmniged? Dinds.* 84

[9]   a. *Nás, cid dia tá ? Dinds.* 20

    b. *Neimthend, cid dia tá? Dinds.* 83

    c. *Sliab Bladma, cid dia ta? Dinds.* 10

The introductory question is normally followed by the phrase *ní ansa* 'not difficult (to answer)' which in turn is followed by the legend associated with the name. The opening of these explanatory passages is marked stylistically; they normally begin with a noun rather than having the verb-initial structure which is more usual in sentences in Irish (Mac Cana 1974: 106–8).

The explanations offered for place-names are quite fanciful and not a little forced. As Brian Ó Cuív (1990: 103) has noted, they draw most heavily on figures and traditions associated with the mythological cycle, and while the Ulster and Fenian Cycles are also represented, they feature to a much lesser degree.[4] This choice is evidently in deference to the chronology established by scholars of the 'pseudo-historical' school which ordained that the person-ages and the events associated with the Mythological Cycle belonged to a distant prehistoric period at which time many of the features of the Irish landscape were held to have been formed and named.

More often than not, we are informed that the place-name commemorates a person associated with the place, through death or burial there or through performing a feat at that particular location. As Rolf Baumgarten (1990: 117) has shown*,* such aetiologies involve a process of de-onymisation, whereby the first element in the toponym is treated as a common noun followed by a defining genitive. This defining genitive is usually treated as a personal name, no matter how unlikely, and the legend then tells how the person came to be associated with this particular place. Loch nDechet (*Dinds.* 75) is thus held to derive from a certain Dechet who was there drowned. We are told that a similar fate befell Garman at Loch Garman (*Dinds*. 40), and Ruad, the daughter of Maine Milscothach, at Eas Ruaid (*Dinds*. 81). Mag Roigni (*Dinds*. 43) is so named from the fact that a Roman named Roigni is supposed to have cleared what was up to then a wooded ridge. A similar type of legend is used to explain the name Mag nAidne (*Dinds*. 62).

Where the toponym is a compound, the whole compound or the first element thereof may be treated as a personal noun. When it consists of a single element, this then can be treated as a name. Clóenloch (*Dinds*. 116) is supposed to derive its name from a certain Clóen son of Ingor son of the King of the Britons of Ail Cluaide who fell there, Duiblinn (*Dinds*. 26) is named af-

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[4]   Gwynn (1935: 91–114) lists some of the sources of legends used in *Dinnshenchas Érenn*.

ter a certain Dub daughter of Rodub who was drowned at that spot, Crechmáel (*Dinds*. 86) is held to derive from a Crechmáel who was killed there, while we are informed that Eithne (*Dinds*. 88), the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech, gave her name to the river in which she drowned, etc.

Apart from the death-tale or famous-exploit type, another ploy used in these legends is the utterance technique we have observed above in the case of our first example. In this case a person utters a phrase containing the name, or elements of the name, which later was given to the location. The *dinnshenchas* of Inber n-Ailbine (*Dinds*. 5), for instance, tells of how the son of Ruad was murdered by his own mother who then hurled the head of the child after Ruad, at which everyone said with one voice, *is ollbine, is oillbine*! 'it is an awful crime! It is an awful crime!'[5] This technique proved to be popular with the etymologists who framed the legends.

In this particular case, the second word has been understood as a compound of *oll* 'great' and *bine* 'crime'. Segmentation of this kind, through a process known as *bélra n-etarscartha* ('language of separation'), was an extremely popular device not only in *dinnshenchas*, but also in the many branches of literature and learning of which the *dinnshenchas* is but one.[6] In similar fashion, Temair is explained as a compound of a personal name Tea and the noun *múr*; Nemthenn (*Dinds*. 83) is held to consist of the noun *nem* 'poison' and *tenn* 'strong', and we have seen the same process employed in example [2] above in the explanation offered in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* for the place-name Fochaird.

Not infrequently, a number of alternative explanations is offered for a single place-name. The difference between them may sometimes be slight. A variant of the *dinnshenchas* of Loch Garman tells us that the name may be derived from a Garman Glass mac Degad rather than from Garman mac Boimme Lecca with whom the main legend is concerned. In other cases, the differences are more marked. The *dinnshenchas* of Cleitech on the Boyne (*Dinds*. 114) informs us that it is named after a certain Cleitech who lived and was buried there. It offers the alternative explanation that the name may be a compound of *cleithi* 'chief' and *ach* 'groan' because of the lamenation made there by the the men of Ireland on the death of Cormac mac Airt. Yet a further version suggests that the word be segmented as *clethe* 'top' and *tech* 'house'. As Baumgarten (1983) has pointed out, multiple etymologising of this nature is a feature of medieval etymology.

Each legend in *Dinnshenchas Érenn* closes with another formulaic phrase. This is usually in Latin and most commonly consists simply of *unde* fol-

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[5] A version of this legend is also incorporated in the tale *Tochmarc Emire* (§46). See Van Hamel (1933: 39–41)

[6] For a discussion of this kind of etymologising within the Irish law tracts see Breatnach (1996: 114–115).

lowed by the place-name, *unde est* or *unde...dicitur* 'whence is said', or *unde ...nominatur* 'whence is named'.

[10]   a. *unde Mag Lifi Dinds.* 12
              b. *unde Crechmael Dinds.* 86

[11]   a. *unde Ráith Ésa dicitur Dinds.* 3
              b. *unde dicitur Móenmag Dinds.* 63

[12]   a. *unde Dun nGabail nominatur Dinds.* 23
              b. *unde Cloenloch nominatur Dinds* 116

Very frequently, the close of the prose section serves as an introduction to the verse version with which it is bound. In such cases the link may be formed by use of the phrase *unde dixit poeta,* or an Irish equivalent such as *conid de(sin) asbert in fili.*

While the pattern of using an introductory Irish phrase and a closing phrase in Latin is maintained in most cases, we sometimes frequently find that these closing phrases occur in their Irish form. Corresponding to *unde (est)* we find *is/conid de atá, conid de asberar* is the equivalent of *unde dicitur,* while *is/conid uad/uaithi ainmngithir* corresponds to *unde nominatur*:

[13]   a. *Is desin atát Crotha Cliach i Mumain Dinds.* 47
              b. *conid uaithi ainm[igthir] in loch Dinds.* 67
              c. *conid airesin asberar Findloch hi Ceru Dinds.* 68

Only in a very small number of instances do we find that the introductory question is framed in Latin,[7] e.g.:

[14]   a. *Dún Máisc, unde nominatur? Dinds.* 154
              b. *Srúb Bó, unde nominatur? Dinds.* 155

Our primary collection of *dinnshenchas* legends, *Dinnshenchas Érenn,* did not come into being in a vacuum. As evidenced by our first examples, an interest in topography to a greater or lesser degree is evident in a number of Old and Middle Irish sagas and saints' lives. Apart from being an exercise in linguistic and etymological speculation, this interest may have been inspired by a number of other motives; in some cases the storytellers attempt to lend

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7   Although it should be noted that the Latin forms are preferred in the dinnshenchas legends contained in the Book of Leinster; cf. LL 21032, 21059, 21069, 21084, 21107, 21119, 21131, 21144, 21157, 21170, 21182, 21204, 21231 as against 21042 where the formula *canas ro ainmniged* is used.

the sagas an air of verisimilitude by associating characters or events in their tale with the origins of certain known toponyms; in other cases the goal may have been more practical. In hagiographies, for instance, the association of a saint with the origin of a toponym, particularly where that toponym referred to an ecclesiastical centre, may have had the further incentive of ensuring that that centre would remain loyal to its putative founder and his or her successors. For instance, the Tripartite Life of St Patrick explains the names Áth Fiacla and Cell Fiacla by invoking a legend that St Patrick lost a tooth at a ford and when it was miraculously discovered placed it in a nearby church.[8]

Devoted as it is to the explanation of Irish place-names, *Dinnshenchas Érenn*, presents this onomastic material in a distilled and highly structured form, and the formulaic phrases we have highlighted above are very much part of this structure. In other texts, such material has to be woven into the narrative and this does not always allow of the fixed formulaic structure of *Dinnshenchas Érenn*. One notable exception, however, is the Fenian compendium *Acallam na Senórach*, a text in which the lore of names has a pivotal role. A formulaic structure similar to that observed in *Dinnshenchas Érenn* was quite suited to the *Acallam* and was easy to accommodate within its framework where each episode normally opens with a question. In this text Patrick, one of his company, or some other figure takes the role of the questioner, while the omniscient fíana, Oisín and Caoilte, provide him with the answers to his many questions, as illustrated by the following example:

[15]   *is ann tángatar, gu Cathair Dhaimh díleann, risa n-abar Dún Rosarach, ₇ is ann bái Find mac Cumaill, a n-Almain Laigen in tan sin. Do fiafraig Muiredach do Cháilti: cid fa tucadh Almha uirre?' Freagrais Cailte: 'óclach do Thuaith dé Danann do bhí isin Brugh braenach breacṡolus. Bracan a ainm, ₇ do bí ingen a n-oighi aigi, Almha a hainm, ₇ tucastar Cumhall mac Trénmhoir hí, ₇ ba marbh do bhreith mheic do Chumall hí, ₇ ro múired in tulach tonnghlas so thairrsi, gurub uaithi ainmnigther an tulach, ₇ Tulach na faircsina a hainm co sin. Nó Almha ainm antí ro ghabh re linn Neimhidh. Nó dana Nuadha drái doróine dún ₇ dingna ann, ₇ do ghab almhain don dún, cunad de atá Almha'* 'They came to Cathair Damh Díleann which is called Dún Rosarach, and it is there, in Almha in Leinster Fionn mac Cumhaill was. Muiredach enquired of Cailte "why was it called Almha?" Caoilte replied: a warrior of the Tuatha Dé Danann lived in the dewy bright mansion. Bracán was his name and he had a daughter named Almha. Cumhall son of Trénmhór took her and she died giving birth to a son of Cumhall. And the green-sodded hillock was heaped over her, so that from her the hillock gets its name. Tulach na Faircsina was its name up to then. Or Almha was the name of the person who took it during the time of Neimheadh. Or Nuadha the druid constructed a fort and abode there and

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8   *Trip.*² 2310–2316.

took a herd from the fort so that from it Almha takes its name' *Acall.* 1249–1261.

The introductory question is prompted by mention of the place-name in the text, and takes the form of the interrogative *cid* followed by a prepositional relative phrase.[9] The answer is noun-initial and the explanation of the name offers a number of possible etymologies. As with *Dinnshenchas Érenn*, the different explanations close with phrases such as *gurab uaithi ainmnighther* and *cunad de atá.* Given the prevalence of this kind of lore and of such formulae within it, it is not surprising that the *Acallam* was viewed as part of the *Dinnshenchas* tradition.[10] While such onomastic lore may not have the same prominence in other texts as it does in the *Acallam*, we encounter closing formulae such as those listed above in compositions in which place-name legends are embedded. We have already encountered some examples in [1] and [2] above. Some further instances are:

[16]   *ro bith Luan mac Suanaigh oc Áth Luain* **conid uaid ainmnigter ind áth** 'Luan the son of Suanach was killed at Áth Luain so that the ford is named after him' *Bruid. DC* §28

[17]   *Luid didiu inailt do Medb, Lóchu a ainm, do thabairt uisce, ₇ bantrocht mór impe. Indar la Coin Culaind bá sí Medb. Sraíthius di c[h]loich a Cuinc[h]iu conda ort ina réid.* **Is de atá Réid Lócha i Cúalngiu** 'a handmaid of Medb's called Lócha went with a great compnay of women to fetch water. Cú Chulainn thought that she was Medb. He threw a stone at her from Cuinche and killed her on her plain. Hence comes the place-name Réid Lócha in Cúailnge' *TBC Rec.1* 974–977

[18]   *ro bhris cuing carpait Cormaic and* **conid de dogarar Fidh Cungae** *ó sin ille* 'the shaft of Cormac's chariot broke there so that it is thenceforward called Fidh Cungae' *Bruid. DC* §13

Longer narrative texts can exploit *dinnshenchas* in other ways. One of the most interesting of these is the use of the onomastic itinerary to which Baumgarten (1987: 17–21) and Ó Cuív (1990: 100–102) have already drawn attention. These are encountered where a journey between two points is described. As an alternative to phrases such as *ní haithristear sgéaluigheacht orra nó go rángadar…*'there is no account of them until they reach...'[11] a list

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9   As in this example the *Acallam* favours the use of the preposition *imm* or one of its later forms, e.g. *fa*, or *'ma,* in the opening questions.
10   Murphy (1961: 24).
11   E.g. *Tór. DG* 381.

can be given of the places through which the journey takes place. Within the confines of such lists it is not possible to give detailed accounts of the lore associated with each name, as the idea of motion entailed in the journey is achieved by having names in close proximity to each other. A number of shorthand devices are therefore used which refer to or hint at the lore associated with the name without giving all details. Death-tale legends, for instance, can be invoked by placing the phrase *áit/dú/baile i dtorchair* X 'where X fell', after the place-name e.g.

[19]   *Do éirghedar na sluaigh amach tar Magh Finn, **áit a ttorchair** Fionn mac Lonchraois le Coin Culainn roimhe sin. ₇ thángadar a nDuibhthír, **áit a ttorchair** Dubh mac Lonchraois le Coin cColainn* 'the hosts set out over Magh Finn where Fionn son of Lonchraos had fallen by Cú Chulainn before that, and they came to Duibhthír where Dubh son of Lonchraos had fallen by Cú Chulainn' *Aided CC* §6

[20]   *Do glúaisetar fir Erenn rompa ar sin co rangatar tar Glenn Cainneire siár ar sodain, agus co Glenn Mugaigthi, **ait ar mugaighedh** morán do maithib bfer n-Erenn, agus tar Glenn Calraidi, **ait a ndorchar** Callraide mac Birraighe maile* 'The men of Ireland moved west across Glenn Cainneire thereafter and on to Glenn Mudhaigthi where many of the Irish chiefs were put to death and across Glenn Calraighe where Callraighe son of Birrach Mael fell' *Celtic Review* iii, 122 (*Táin Bó Fliodhaise*)

[21]   *is eadh tángadur ...tar leithcheann Leitreach Lomáin **áit a ttorchair** Loman Lóm mac Lobuis re Lugh, ₇ tar Doire Chuilligh **áit a ttorchair** Cuilleach Corr mac Tinne Thortbhuilligh re Lugh, ₇ tar Snámh Sealgáin ar **Sionainn áit a ndorchair** Sealgán mac Puint re láimh Logha, ₇ tar Magh Eangha **áit a ttorchair** Eangha Árdmhór mac Piollchait re Lugh* 'the way they went was past Leithcheann Leitreach Lomáin where Lomán Lom son of Lobus fell by Lugh, and past Doire Chuilligh where Cuilleach Corr son of Tinne Tortbuilleach fell by Lugh, and over Snámh Sealgáin where Sealgán son of Pont fell by Lugh's hand, and over Magh nEangha where Eangha Árdmhór son of Piollchat fell by Lugh' *Cath MT* 1189–1196

Another manner in which the itinerary can be coloured is by adding an extra element to an already-existing place-name. This often has the effect of treating a common noun as though it were a personal name and the name so devised carries with it the suggestion that it derives from a person who was killed there or who was connected in some other way with the place. Several of these extensions may be *ad hoc* formations devised by the authors of the texts in which they appear. In other cases, however, reference is made to an onomastic legend known from *Dinnshenchas Érenn* or elsewhere. Thus, Eas Ruaidh (Assaroe, Co. Donegal), frequently carries with it the extension Eas

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Ruaidh meic Bodhuirn (Modhuirn). This invokes one of the *dinnshenchas* legends associated with Assaroe which tell of how Aedh Ruadh son of Badhorn of the Ulstermen was drowned there while swimming.[12] This extended form of the name is found not only in *Acallamh na Senórach*, but in many other sources, including the Annals, e.g.

[22]   *co siachtadur…co hEs Ruaid meic Baduirn* 'until they reached Assaroe' *Ann. Conn*. 1247.7

[23]   *Co rancatur a sirthi co Sid Aedha uas Es Ruaidh meic Baduirn* 'his raiding-parties reached Sidh Aedha above Asaroe' *Ann. Conn.* 1398.2

Another well-known toponym frequently subjected to similar extension is Benn Étair (Howth, Co. Dublin). This appears as Benn Éadair meic Étghaeith 'son of Étghaeth' or, with further detail, *Benn Étair meic Étghaeith an féinneda* 'B.E. son of Étghaeth, the warrior', e.g.

[24]   *Roghabhsat Longphort ag Beinn Edair meic Etghaeith* 'they camped at Benn Édair meic Etghaeith' *Acall*. 188.

         Cf also *Acall.* 249, 4678, 4683, 5308, 5674

[25]   *go ttáinic do Bean[n] Éadaind mic Éadghaoit[t] in fhéineadha* 'until he came to Beann Éadaind son of Éadghaoth the warrior' *Feis TC* 386[13]

In this particular case reference is made to the *Dinnshenchas* of Benn Étair which tells of how a certain Étar, son-in-law of Manannán son of Ler, died and was buried on the summit that supposedly bears his name.[14]

   Through its association with the Connacht hero Fraoch mac Idaith (or mac Fidaig), the toponym Carn Fraoich frequently appears in a similarly-extended form:

[26]   *rucustar leis he co Carn Fraich meic Fidaich* 'he carried him to Carnfree' *Ann. Conn.* 1310. 7

         cf also *Ann. Conn.* 1225.5, 1228.4, 1315.7.

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[12]   *Dinds*. 81. This particular toponym occurs only in its extended form within *Acallam na Senórach*.

[13]   This extended toponym occurs elsewhere in the same text with a degree of reinterpretation, i.e. *gur gabhamur cúan ⁊ caladhphort a mBeinn Éadain mic Céidfhir* 'until we landed at Howth' *Feis TC* 1041.

[14]   *Dinds*. 29.

One of the most prominent and productive features in such onomastic itineraries, however, is the use of alternative names, a feature we will now consider. This involves stating that places traversed in the course of the itinerary were formerly known by different names. We have already seen individual examples of the practice in [3]–[7] above, but in some texts of the Early Modern Irish period we are presented with long itineraries in which each place-name mentioned is given an 'earlier' alternative:

[27]   *Is si so sligi do deochatar .i. tar cend Conlocha agus tar sal Srotha Deirg agus a crich Breis mic Ealathan **re raiter** tír Fiachrach Mide, agus tar traig Ruis airgid **ris a raiter** traig Eothaile agus tar Srath na nDruad **ris a raiter** Srath an Fhérain, agus a magh Coraind ingine Fail mic Fidhga, **ris in abartar** Clar mic Aire an Choraind clann Uaine, agus laim re maolan cinn tSeinnsleibi **ris in abartar** Ceis caom Alainn Coraind, agus tar Sruth Fainglinn **ris in abartar** Buill.* 'This is the road on which they travelled: past the end of Conloch and the heel of Sruth Dearg into the territory of Breas son of Elathan (now) called the land of Fiachra Mide and across Traig Ruis Airgid which is (now) called Traig Eothaile, and over Srath na nDruad which is (now) called Srath an Fhérain, and into Magh Coraind daughter of Fal son of Fidhga which is (now) called Clár Machaire an Choraind Clann Uaine, and by Maolán Cinn tSeanslibhe which is (now) called fair and beautiful Ceis Corainn, and across Sruth Fáinghlinn (now) called Buill' *Celtic Review* ii, 26 (*Táin Bó Fliodhaise*).

Alternative names such as those given above generally appear within fixed formulaic phrases. Most often these take the form (old) PN + prepositional relative phrase + verb (passive present indicative) + (new) PN. The two principal *verba dicendi*, *as-beir* and *ráidid*, tend to be used in these formulae, and they, as well as the preceding relative preposition *(f)risa-* can appear in a variety of morphological or orthographical variants, variants that sometimes appear to be used to stylistic effect where long sequences of names appear. Note, for instance, the alternation between *re raiter, ris a raiter, ris in abartar* in example [27] above. A common alternative construction involves the use of the verb *gairid* + preposition *de* as can be seen in the following examples

[28]   *co Cnoc Uachtair Fharcha dá ngoirthear Uisneach Midhe in ionbhaidh si* 'to Cnoc Uachtair Farcha which is now called Uisneach Midhe' *AS* i 275.

[29]   co *ránccador Slíabh Lugha i cCúil Radhorc dá ngoirthear Cúil ó bhFinn isin tan so* 'until they reached Sliabh Lugha in Cúil Radhorc which is now called Cúil Ó bhFinn' *AS* iii 133.

The further addition of a phrase such as *in tan-sa/in ionbhaidh-si* 'now', or *indiu*/*aniugh* 'today' following the 'new' name appears to be an attempt at underlining the antiquity of the tradition found in the tale. The reader is given to understand that the events therein narrated happened at such a remote period in the distant past that even features of the landscape and well-known places bore toponyms quite different to those known in contemporary nomenclature. In a number of cases the juxtaposition of placenames in the formula may reflect some reality. The well-attested name Sídh al Femen occurs within such a formula in *Acallam na Senórach* (*Acall.* 2776) where it is followed by the phrase *risa raiter Sídh ban find issin tan-so*. The association of Sídh mBan bhFionn or Sliabh na mBan with the mythological site Sídh al Femen is well established (Hogan 1910: 597). What is a somewhat firmer identification is found in the concluding section of the second recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* where the name Dublind is followed by *rissa rátter Áth Cliath* (*TBC-LL* 4909). Likewise, in deference to an actual historical tradition, Keating attaches the phrase *re ráidhtear Alba* '[now] called Alba' to the name Cruithentuath 'Pictland' (Keat. ii. 706).

On the other hand, in the vast majority of examples lack of attestation outside of its occurrence within this formulaic phrase suggests that the 'older' toponym is most probably a literary invention. This is also implied by the fact that, as in the case of Fochaird discussed above, several quite distinct 'older' names are provided in different texts or even within the same text for certain toponyms, e.g.:

[30]   a. *Cnoc na Dála … fris a ráiter Carn Fraich meic Fhidaig AS* iii, 138.
b. *Carn na hÁirmhe ris a n-abarthor Carn Fraoch an tan-so AS* i, 141.

[31]   a. *₇ dochuadar ar Cnoc na rig risa raiter Maistiu Acall.* 4814–4815.
b. *₇ co Lis na Morrigna risa raiter Maistiu isin tan-so Acall.* 4818.

[32]   a. *ó ta Leic Essa Lomanaig, risa raiter Luimnech ... Acall.* 7740.
b. *go rángadar go Ros Dá Ró-shaileach ris a ráitear Luimneach an tan so Tór. DG* 381.

In his discussion of the use of this formula within *Acallam na Seanórach*, Seán Ó Coileáin (1994: 59) has suggested that many of the names so used serve a compositional purpose in that they hint at other events or tales rather

than referring to actual places. As he points out: 'not only is it doubtful that the "earlier" name had any reality outside of the text, but the "later" one frequently serves to suggest the subject matter of a story other than that being ostensibly told' and he goes on to state that some of the stories thus suggested 'may never have had more than a potential existence … to be actualised in the imagination of the hearer.' (1994: 60). A predilection to make use of toponyms to suggest other events or tales is a marked feature of this text. This is evident, for instance, in the death-tale type already encountered where the *dú/bail i torchair* formula gives the barest outline of a tradition associated with the name. In some cases, both the *risa-ráittear* and the death-tale type can be combined:

[33]   *Lodur an laochraidh…do Thulaigh ghlais Greanuinn risa*
         ráitear Lodán aniu iar ttuitim Lodáin Leithdheirg re Lugh
         ann 'the warriors went…to the verdant Tulach Greanainn,
         called Lodán today, after Lodán Leithdheirg had fallen by
         Lugh there' *Cath MT* 1276–1280.

In other examples the later name may also have patronymic extension:

[34]   *ráncatar co sen-Áth Mór ar n-a mhárach risi n-abar Áth*
         Luain meic Lugair mic Luigdech 'the following day they ar-
         rived at Sen-Áth Mór which is called Áth Luain meic Lugair
         mic Luigdech' *Cath ML* 890–892.

Given this tendency to hint at traditions underlying various toponyms, his view will have a certain validity when applied to many of the names, especially the 'earlier' ones, found in this formula. The potential of names such as Ros in Churad ('the wood/hill or the champion'), or Lis na Laechraide ('the ringfort of the warriors'), given as 'earlier forms' of the placenames Ros Cré and Caiseal respectively (*Acall.* 701, 5387) is evident. The 'suggestive' use of such names, however, may have been a secondary consideration in the development of the formula. Not all of the 'earlier' names present such suggestive potential, and in very many cases the storyteller may have had nothing more in mind with the formula than an antiquarian embellishment of his tale.

In several cases neither the 'earlier' nor the 'later' name can be identified. This may suggest that both are literary inventions. On the other hand, it is possible, as Nollaig Ó Muraíle (1994: 124) has suggested, that many of the 'later' names may once have had an actual existence but are now forgotten, and his minute examination and tentative identification of some names in *Acallam na Senórach* suggest that as far as the 'later' names in the formula are concerned, the composer of this text was concerned with real toponyms.

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As a literary device, the *risa-ráiter/dá ngairther*-type formulae outlined above would appear to be a development belonging to the Middle Irish period. They do not appear in texts such as The Tripartite Life of Patrick or *Bethu Brigte*, although both provide ample scope for their use. It may be that as the events outlined in these hagiographies were considered to have taken place in the recent historical past and as such did not belong to a time in which the toponomy of Ireland might be held to be considerably different from the time in which they were written. But neither do these phrases feature in earlier sagas such as *Fled Bricrenn, Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó, Togail Bruidne Da Derga* or in several other early heroic tales. I have noted just one example in the first recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,[15] and three in the later LL recension.[16] Likewise, the text of *Mesca Ulad* preserved in LL contains a small number of examples, but the part of the text found in the earlier LU manuscript has none. Examples are somewhat more numerous in texts such as *Bórama Laigen* and *Buile Shuibhne*, suggesting that its development probably belongs to the later part of the Middle Irish period.

The text that exploits it most fully is, of course, *Acallam na Senórach*. By my estimation there are roughly 100 examples in the first recension of this text. Thereafter its use becomes quite prominent and, where itineraries are involved, becomes a marked feature of many texts belonging to the first centuries of the early Modern Irish period. It is widely used in the later version of *Táin Bó Fliodhaise*, for instance, although it does not occur at all in any of the versions of the Old Irish saga on which this text is based. Likewise it is prominent in the later *Cath Maighe Tuireadh*, where again the earlier version of the text does not provide a solitary example. The second version of *Acallamh na Senórach* also provides very many examples of its use, although there are proportionately less examples than in the first recension.[17]

The extended use and development of this and other phrases coincides with the development of *Dinnshenchas Érenn*, and many of the tales in which they occur may well have been redacted by the selfsame scholars who redacted different recensions of *Dinnshenchas Érenn*. While it may thus be a comparatively late feature in this particular form, its roots can possibly be traced back to earlier onomastic constructions. We have already noted its absence in earlier saga and hagiographical texts. The interest the latter type of texts shows in toponyms seems to centre on the explanation of names through reference to the acts of saints, as seen in the cases of Cell Fiacla and Áth Fiacla alluded to above, or otherwise resides in various attempts at identifying places referred to in the legends which they recount.

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[15] i.e. ex. [3] above

[16] *TBC-LL* 559–560, 2440–2441, 4909.

[17] By Ó Muraíle's reckoning (1994: 104) the second recension (*AS*; c. 104, 000 words) is almost 50% longer than the first (*Acall.*; c. 70, 000 words). Where the first recension has c.100 examples of this formula, I have counted slightly more than 60 examples in the second recension.

In some cases the acts of the saint or of a warrior or some deed recounted in the tale can result in an 'older' name being replaced by a new one, the circumstances being explained in the accompanying narrative:

[35] *Gabsat cethri ollchóiceda Hérend dúnad ⁊ longphort in n-aidchi sin ic Bélut Aileáin. Bélat Aileáin a ainm connici sain, Glend Táil immorro ó sain ara mét ra thálsat na halmha ⁊ na immirgi a loim ⁊ a lacht and do ḟeraib Hérend* 'the men of Ireland encamped that night at Bélat Aileáin, but from that time its name was Glenn Táil, because of the great amount of milk that the herds and cattle yielded there to the men of Ireland' *TBC-LL* 1372–1375.

[36] *In slíabso im– i ndernad in cotach bud Sliab in Chotaig a ainm o ṡun[n] immach & Sliab Nechtain a ainm conici seo* ' "let the mountain on which the pact was made be called Sliab in Chotaig," and Sliab Neachtain [had been] its name until then' *LL* 38595.

In other cases a visit by the saint or warrior to a place named or otherwise, or an act carried out there may be followed by a phrase such as *dú hitá...(indiu)* 'where...is today', or their Latin equivalents, e.g.

[37] *Rucsat na daim co n-ici baili itá indiu Dún Lethglaisi* 'they brought the oxen to the place where Dún Lethglaise is today' *Trip*² 2993.

[38] *Taraill leis is[n]aib Glinnib sair, dú ita indíu Cenél Muinremair* 'he went into Glinne where today is Cenél Muinremair' *Trip*² 1683–1684.

[39] *Is ed doluith dú itá Cluain macc Nois indiu* 'he place he came to is where Cluain macc Nois is today' *Trip*² 914–915.

[40] *Is ann dī ro-boí in dal ubi nunc est Cell Dara* 'the assembly was held where now is Kildare' *BBrigte* 88.

The attempted identification of an earlier toponym can otherwise be effected by a textual note or by a marginal gloss. The first recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* shows a number of examples of this feature. For instance, to the placename Fid Mór is attached the marginal note *áit hi fil Loch Carrcín indiu* 'where Loch Carrcín is today' (*TBC Rec.1* 130n.). Gránairud Tethba túascirt has the note *.i. Gránard indiu* in one manuscript and *Irarrd indiu* in another (ibid. 214n.), while Iraird Cuillend has the note *.i. Crossa Caíl* at one point (ibid. 219n.) and *is fris atberar Crossa Caíl indiu* at another (ibid. 256n.).

It may well be that many such examples and the *dú/bail/áit itá X indiu* type listed above represent genuine attempts at identifying places referred to

in older texts. Whether they are genuine or not, the use of this type of iden-
tificatory phrase would have further contributed to the development of the
risa-ráitear construction. An interesting insight into this very development is
afforded us by comparing the treatment of a placename in the following ex-
amples taken from the two main recensions of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

[41]   *Dointaí iarom Óengus mac Óenlama Caíme…in slóg n-ule oc
         Modaib Loga—is inund ón dano 7 Lugmod* 'Then Óengus mac
         Óenlaime Gaibe…turned back the whole army at Moda Loga
         (which is the same name as Lugmod)' *TBC Rec. 1* 2490–2491.

[42]   *imsóe reme na slúagu a Modaib Loga risi ráter Lugmud in tan so*
         'he drove them before him from Moda Loga which is now called
         Lugmud' *TBC-LL* 2440–2441.

In the first recension the placename Moda Loga is followed by an identifica-
tion with the placename Lugmod.[18] In the second recension, however, this
identification has been incorporated in the formulaic phrase. Another insight
in the development of the formula is seen in the following examples from the
earlier and later versions of *Caithréim Cellaig*:

[43]   *ránic iarum cusin loch frisi ráiter Claenloch ind[iu]* 'he reached the
         lake called Claenloch today' *CCellaig* p.7, 211.

[44]   *ráinig as co Loch Clāen risa ráiter Clāenloch andiu* 'he
         reached Loch Cláen which today is called Cláenloch' *CCellaig*
         p.38, 258–259.

Here the common noun *loch* has been transformed into an 'older' placename
Loch Cláen in anticipation of the 'later' Cláenloch.[19]

Bibliography

Acall. = Stokes (1900A).
Aided CC = *Aided Con Culainn* in Van Hamel (1933), 69–133.
Ann. Conn. = Freeman (1944).
AS, i, ii, iii = Ní Shéaghdha (1942–1945).

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[18] Note in this example that the 'older' name has the more modern structure of noun + geni-
tive while the 'modern' name, being a noun+noun compopund, has what is the older structure.
[19] For the origin of the 'placename' Loch Cláen, see Ó Concheanainn (1964: 35–6). Note
again the 'earlier' placename has the structure noun + defining adjective, while the 'later'
name has the structure of adjective + noun.

Beatha AR = Walsh (1948).

Baumgarten, Rolf (1983) A Hiberno-Isidorean etymology. *Peritia* 2, 225–228.

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BBrigte = Ó hAodha (1978).

Bruid.DC = Stokes (1900B).

Caith. Con. Cláir. = MacSweeney (1904).

Cath ML = Jackson (1990).

Cath MT = Ó Cuív (1945).

CCellaig = Mulchrone (1971).

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JACQUELINE BORSJE

The 'terror of the night' and the Morrígain: Shifting faces of the supernatural

Introduction

> A rich man has a beautiful but poor woman as his lover. They have two sons together. One day he tells her that he is going to marry a rich woman, chosen by his family. He will take the children with him. She weeps and wails like a madwoman, but it is to no avail.
>
> Then she picks up the children and goes to the river, where she drowns them. She falls down, and dies in grief. In heaven, she is welcomed because she has suffered. But before they let her in, she must return to collect the souls of her children and bring them with her.
>
> So she goes to the river. Her long hair flows over the riverbanks; her long fingers grope deep into the water and she calls out for her children.
>
> Parents tell their children not to go to the river after dark, because the Weeping Woman might mistake them for her own children and take them with her forever.[1]

In this Mexican tale, we see shifting imagery of a woman. A lovely but unfortunate woman transforms into a nocturnal ghost, forever restless, lamenting, looking for her children. At the same time, we are told about a horrible creature that might harm living children. She reminds us of other mythological supernatural women, such as the Jewish Lilith and the Greek Lamia, whose children were killed, causing them to become relentless, murdering demons.[2] The narratives portray these women in a linear chronological development from happy to sad to horrible and from beautiful to ugly, but somehow these women never seem entirely to lose their original characteristics. Their representations in text and art shift between the various stages in a

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[1] For several versions of the tale, see Pinkola Estés (1992: 301–303, 490). I am grateful to John Carey for his helpful comments upon a previous version of this paper.

[2] For more about them, see below.

non-linear way. In other words: we are dealing with coexisting, diverse images of the supernatural. We tend to emphasise one aspect,[3] but often there are several sides to supernatural beings that are equally 'true'.

This tendency is sometimes also noticeable with regard to early Irish mythological beings. The subject of this contribution is the supernatural woman called the Morrígain, who is usually classified as a War Goddess. Máire Herbert (1996: 141), however, has rightly pleaded for a fresh, open-minded study of the primary sources about supernatural women, without preconceived ideas about their function. In this paper the imagery of the supernatural in the Old Irish poem *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*[4] will be studied. I hope to show that the poem represents not only familiar images from the Irish background of the Morrígain, but that we may also detect unfamiliar, foreign faces of this figure. This shifting of images makes the Morrígain into a more complex and a richer symbol than merely a supernatural representative of war.

1. The supernatural in *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*

Reicne Fothaid Canainne is a poem,[5] which Fothad Canainne—a Connacht leader of a band of warriors (*fían*)—is supposed to have uttered after his death. A prose text, extant in Old and Middle Irish, gives information on the events preceding his death.[6] Fothad is at war with a Munster *fían* leader, called Ailill mac Eogain.[7] Fothad desires Ailill's wife, a beautiful woman whose name is not mentioned. She demands a bride price and then agrees to meet Fothad in a tryst. On the night of their meeting, however, a battle between the two *fíana* ensues, in which Fothad is killed. The woman who came to the tryst finds herself in a grave mound, listening to a poem uttered by the severed head of her lover.[8]

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[3] This might be due to us being influenced by Classical categorisations, in which we find several gods and goddesses bound up with a single function. It should be noted, however, that this unifying system is often contradicted by, for instance, textual evidence, art and cultic details.

[4] *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* was edited from Dublin, Royal Irish Academy (RIA), MS B.IV.2 and translated by Kuno Meyer (Meyer 1910: 10–17). Meyer dates the poem to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century (ibid. 1), but elsewhere assigns it to the eighth century (ibid. xix). For a perceptive analysis of this poem as an example of a spectral dialogue with the past, see Nagy (1997: 299–303).

[5] The term *reicne* indicates a certain type of poem.

[6] The Old Irish version was edited from Dublin, National Library Ireland, formerly Phillips MS 9748, now G 7 and translated by Vernam Hull (1936: 401–404), who dates its archetype to the first half of the eighth century or even earlier (ibid. 400). For an edition and translation of the later recension from Dublin, Trinity College Dublin (henceforth TCD), H.3.17 (1336), see Meyer (1910: 4–9).

[7] He is called Ailill Flann Bec in the later recension.

[8] *Iss ant cechain cent Fothith in recne seo dan mnae bue isin firt*, 'Then the head of Fothath sang this *recne* to the woman who was in the grave-mound' (Hull 1936: 401, 403). She is described as carrying her lover's head to his grave in the later Middle Irish recension.

In the Old Irish poem, central to this paper, it is the spectral shape of Fothad (§49), who addresses the woman on the battle field. He refers to his bloody corpse and unwashed head being elsewhere (§2). Before focusing on the supernatural beings mentioned in this poem, we will first look at its structure. A schematic survey is given below; the numbers refer to the stanzas.

1a. Woman, do not speak to me
1b–7. A lament about his death
    1b. I look back at what happened at [Linn] Féic.
    2. My bloody corpse lies beside Leitir Dá mBruach; my unwashed head is among the slaughtered warriors.
    3. My tryst with you was a tryst with death.
    4. My death at Féic was destined for me.
    5. Our last meeting was doomed (but I do not blame you).
    6. If we had known, we would have avoided this tryst.
    7. I was generous during my life.
8–19. A lament about the death of his men
    12–19. Description of his men
20. A lament about the present situation
21–22. The battle and death of Fothad & Ailill
23. Warning to the woman
    Watch out for the terror of the night
    Do not have a conversation with a dead man
    Go home with my treasures
24–41a. Description of the treasures
41b–44. Warning to the woman
    41b–43. Watch out for the Morrígain
    44. I am in danger; I cannot protect you
    Go home while parting is still fair.
45. His departure in the morning
    Go home; the night is ending
46–47. Request for a memorial
    46. Remember this *reicne*
    47. Put a stone on my grave
48–49. The farewell
    48a. My imminent departure and the torture of my soul by a dark one
    48b. Only the adoration of the King of Heaven matters
    49a. The dark blackbird's laughter to the believers
    49b. My speech and face are spectral
    Woman, do not speak to me.

The poem is addressed to the woman. The dead man contradicts himself regularly, which heightens the emotionality of the poem. His tryst with the woman turned out to be a tryst with death. The woman was the cause of this and yet, he does not blame her. His death was destined, but if he had known this outcome, he would have avoided the tryst. He speaks of his love for his men and the woman, and asks her to remember his poem and make his gravestone. If she does this, her love would not be a waste of time, because she would create two everlasting memorials for him. Yet, he concludes that earthly love is a folly—the only thing that counts is the adoration of the King of Heaven.

There are several supernatural entities mentioned in this poem, such as the spectral shape of Fothad, the terror of the night, the Morrígain, the dark one, and the King of Heaven. Three of them will be discussed in this paper: first, the terror of the night; second, the Morrígain, and third, the dark creature mentioned at the end of the poem. I will try to show that the imagery of these three is interrelated or, in other words, how the faces of the supernatural shift and mix.

2. The terror of the night and Irish *úatha*

Fothad starts his poem by silencing the woman. After lamenting the death of himself and his men, he warns her of danger threatening her:

> Ná tuinithe aidc[h]e úath
> illeircc et*er* lectaibh cúan,
> ní fiu cobraim fri fer marb,
> fodruim dot daim, ber lat m'fadb (Meyer 1910: 12, §23)

> Do not wait for the terror of night
> on the battle-field among the resting-places of the hosts;
> one should not hold converse with a dead man,
> betake thee to thy house, carry my spoils with thee!
> (Meyer 1910: 13, §23)

What is this 'terror of night'? Does this merely refer to the general human fear of the dark night, augmented by the presence of bloody corpses on the battlefield? The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) translates *úath* as 'fear, horror, terror; a horrible or terrible thing'.[9] Fothad does not seem to refer to merely an emotion here, but to a supernatural being that may endanger the woman. She must hurry, because it is somewhere on the battlefield.

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[9] See DIL, *s.v.* 1. *úath*.

There are several descriptions of *úatha* in early Irish literature, of which I give a selection here.[10] *Úatha* are extremely frightening beings, often associated with battle. The *Lebor na hUidre* (LU) version of *Fled Bricrenn*, 'The feast of Bricriu', supplies the following portrayal of *úatha*:

> No sgrechat na geniti dó. Immacomsinitar dóib. Brútir a gai ₇ bristir a sciath ₇ rebthair a étach immi. ₇ nos curat ₇ nos traethat inna geniti hé. Amein a Cu C*hu*laind or Láeg. a midlach thruag. a siriti lethguill dochóid do gal ₇ do gaisced in tan ata urtrochta[11] not malartat. sía[ba]rthar co urtrachta[12] im Choin C*u*laind andaide ₇ imsoi cusna húathaib ocus nos ce*r*band ₇ nos bruend iat combo lán in glend día fulriud (Best & Bergin 1929: 268, ll. 8875–8882).

> The *geniti* screech at him. They wrestle with each other. His spear is fragmented and his shield is destroyed and his clothes are torn around him. And the *geniti* beat and subdue him. 'Well then, Cú Chulainn', said Lóeg, 'wretched coward, one-eyed sprite, your fury and your valour have gone since it is spectres that ruin you'. Thereupon Cú Chulainn is contorted in a spectral way and he turns towards the terrors and he hacks and fragments them so that the valley was full with their blood.

Apparently, the terms *urtrochta* or *airdrecha*, 'spectres', and *úatha* were seen as suitable synonyms for *geniti*, '(female?) creatures'. Previously in the text at line 8872, the supernatural fighters are referred to as *geniti glinne*, '(female?) creatures of the valley'.[13] After the fight, they are referred to as 'dark enemies' (*lochnamait*; line 8894). Their spectral nature seems to be expressed by the term *airdrecha*. It could be that the term *geniti* indicates their female gender, because a gloss in *Lebor na hUidre* by scribe H (see below) and glossaries explain *genit* and/or *gen* as 'woman'.

It is worthwhile to have a closer look at this lemma in the glossaries. We read in *O'Mulconry's Glossary*:[14]

> gen .i. benglyn*n*on .i. fogl*aid* .i. ba*n*foglaid bid anglin*n*

genit glinde .i. ben inglin*n*[15]

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[10] A comprehensive description of this and other kinds of supernatural being will be given in my monograph *Signs of Doom. Supernatural Attendants of Fate in Medieval Irish Texts*; for more about *úatha*, see Borsje (2005 [2006]).

[11] London, British Library, Egerton 93 reads: *urtraig*; DIL lists the term s.v. *airdrech*. See *Fled Bricrenn* §§66–68 (edition and translation: Henderson 1899; the readings from Egerton 93 are to be found in Henderson's edition); the extant text is dated to the eleventh century, but has older layers (Mac Eoin 1982: 119, 121).

[12] Egerton 93 reads: *hurtracha*; see DIL s.v. *airdrachda*.

[13] For more about the *geniti glinne*, see Borsje (1999: 234–238), and the literature mentioned there in footnote 57, especially Breatnach (1994).

[14] O'Mulconry's Glossary (edition from Dublin, TCD, Yellow Book of Lecan = H.2.16 (1318)), and partial translation: Stokes 1900) is an Old Irish compilation with a few Middle Irish entries (Mac Neill 1932: 119); nr 640 belongs to the first stratum, dated to the middle of the seventh century (ibid. 113).

> *gen*, that is: a *glynnon* [valley?] woman; that is: a robber; that is: a female robber, who is in a valley

> *genit glinde* [creature of a valley], that is: a woman in a valley.

The lemma *genit glinne* is thus explained as a woman in a valley, whereby *genit* is explained as *ben*, 'woman'. The interlinear gloss, however, explains *gen* as 'woman', albeit a special type: the rather mysterious *glynnon* woman. The latter in its turn is glossed as a robber, to be precise, as a female robber dwelling in a valley. The additional gloss that explains *gen* as *ben*, 'woman', seems to be inspired by the two previous lemmata in the glossary (nrs 638–639), in which *gene*—representing the Greek word for 'woman' *γυνή*—is explained with Latin *mulier*, 'woman'.

In another glossary, found in Dublin, TCD, MS H.3.18 (1337), *genit glinne* is explained as *gen* and then two further explanations are given, one seemingly in Latin and one in Irish:

> Genit glinde .i. gen .i. mulier[16] glynoon; ben bid hi nglin*n* (Binchy 1978, II: 628, l. 17)

> *Genit glinne*, that is: *gen*, that is: *glynoon* woman; that is a woman who is in a valley.

It seems to me that *glynnon* and *glynoon* are fake Latin (or Greek?) terms (cp. Welsh *glyn* = Irish *glenn*) which are used here to specify *gen*, which does not simply refer to 'woman' as it did in lemmata 638 and 639 of O'Mulconry's Glossary, but which is here used to explain *genit*, a supernatural type of woman. The main lemma of O'Mulconry's Glossary, however, directly explains *genit* as woman, just as *genaiti* is glossed *mná*, 'women', in Lebor na hUidre, line 3520. This latter use of the word *genaiti* also refers to supernatural women, who, moreover, are said to laugh in an ominous way (for more on these *genaiti* with their ominous laugh (*gen*), see below). The examples of *geniti* in the literature confirm their supernatural nature.

What we can deduce from the episode in *Fled Bricrenn* about these *úatha*, *geniti glinne* and *airdrecha* is the following. They are very powerful, possibly female, supernatural fighters. Three excellent Ulster heroes are sent to them to test their valour and two of them return naked and defeated. Cú Chu-

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[15] This is a transcription from the Yellow Book of Lecan, for which I am indebted to Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh. The edition of Stokes is as follows: *Genit glinde .i. ben i nglinn. (gen .i. ben, glynnon .i. foglaid .i. banfoglaid bid a nglinn)* (Stokes 1900: 264, nr 640). His interpunction seems to indicate that he took the gloss as *gen=ben*, *glynnon=foglaid*. The explanation of *glynnon* as *foglaid* is difficult to make sense of. It seems that Stokes's interpunction is misleading.

[16] Binchy has a comma here, perhaps influenced by Stokes, who had Irish *ben* followed by a comma. I think that this is misleading. Compare also O'Curry reproduction of the gloss: *Genit ghlinne, .i. gen .i. mulier glynoon. ben bid hi nglinn* (O'Curry 1855: 120–1, n. c).

lainn, the most formidable hero, is able to overcome them, but only when he is roused to his extraordinary martial fury, brought about by the taunts of his charioteer Lóeg. The *úatha* are screaming, fighting, nocturnal apparitions, associated with a valley. The word 'spectre' gives the impression that they are made of thin air, but it should be noted that they appear to have a body that can be grasped and fought with. Moreover, their valley is covered with their blood after the fight.

These *úatha* may be female; another episode in the *Lebor na hUidre* version of *Fled Bricrenn* describes a male Úath (see §§75–78). This Úath mac Imomain (Terror son of Great Fear) possesses great supernatural power, is a shape-shifter and functions both as a test (like the *geniti glinne* or *úatha*) and as a judge (unlike them) of the three contestants for the hero's portion.[17]

Another encounter with *úatha* is found in an adventure of Finn mac Cumaill. This narrative has come down to us in the form of a prose tale and two poems, usually referred to as 'Finn and the Phantoms'.[18] Finn, Oisín and Caílte are lured to a mysterious house in a valley, where they spend the night in a gruesome, spectral company. A churl, a three-headed old woman,[19] a headless man with one eye in his chest, and nine bodies with nine loose heads make 'music' for them by shrieking horribly. The churl kills their horses[20] and roasts the flesh on spits of rowan. When it is still raw, it is offered as a 'meal'. Finn refuses to eat, which is taken as an insult. The fire is extinguished, and Finn and his companions are beaten up during the dark night. At sunrise the house and its inhabitants vanish, and the human victims and horses are well again. Finn discovers the identity of their enemies through a mantic procedure:[21] they were the three or nine Terrors of Yew Valley. It should be noted that the prose version mentions three *úatha*, Poem I three *fúatha* and Poem II nine *fúatha*. In the Middle Irish period, it is difficult to distinguish *úath* from *fúath*, 'form, likeness; hideous or supernatural form, spectre', because even though *fúath* is a different word, semantically *úath* and *fúath* converge (Mac Cana 1980: 95, n. 72). The *úatha* are thus por-

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[17] For more on this Úath mac Imomain, and the place of this episode in the *Fled Bricrenn* tradition, see Borsje (2005 [2006].

[18] The prose version (ed. & tr. from Leiden, Codex Vossianus by Stern 1892: 5–7, 12–17, 274; cp. Stern 1897: 503; Pokorny 1921: 194) is dated to the eleventh or twelfth century (Murphy 1953: 26); Poem I starting with *Oenach indiu luid in rí* (ed. & tr. from the Book of Leinster: Stokes 1886: 289–307) is dated to 1100–1140 (Murphy 1961: 20, n. 19); Poem II, starting with *Áonach so a Moigh Eala in rí* (ed. & tr. of this poem from *Duanaire Finn*, Dublin, University College, OFM, A20, formerly in Killiney: Mac Neill 1908: 28–30, 127–130) is dated to the second half of the twelfth century or later (Murphy 1953: 25). It should be noted, however, that John Carey (2003: 16–18) has recently argued on the basis of these poems that Murphy's dates may often have been too late.

[19] This woman is not mentioned in Poem II.

[20] In the prose version, it is only Finn's horse that is being killed.

[21] Nora Chadwick (1935: 116–118) interprets the whole tale as dealing with mantic processes, but her line of reasoning is rather speculative. I am grateful to Gregory Toner for sending a copy of the article to me.

trayed as nocturnal, shrieking, fighting and frightening shapeshifters, associated with a valley.

These terrifying beings also appear in hagiography. *Fúatha* threaten the seventh-century Saint Moling in his youth, according to the Middle Irish *Geinemain Molling ocus a bethae*, 'The birth of Moling and his Life'.[22] When the saint is sixteen years old, he wanders through Luachair, singing his prayer. Suddenly, he sees an ominous company on his path: an unshapely, ugly monster *(torathar)*—explained by the text as the *Fúath aingeda*[23]—and his dark, ugly, unshapely household—explained as people in the shape of spectres *(arrachta)*. The whole company consists of the Wicked *Fúath*, his wife, his servant, his dog and a group of nine persons (§15). St Moling manages to escape from them by making three enormous leaps. The *fúatha* cry loud and pursue him, but it is to no avail.

The main *fúath* in St Moling's *Life* is male. Whitley Stokes (1906: 269, 306; 1907: 15, 60) translates *in Fúath aingeda* as 'the Evil Spectre', taking *aingeda* as *andgedae*, sister form of *andgid*, derived from *andach*, 'evil'. Proinsias Mac Cana (1980: 96) points out that the first title of the *úath*-group in Tale List A is *Uath Angeda* and suggests that this refers to an earlier form of the Moling tale. According to Mac Cana (1980: 95–96), the original tale may have been about a hag. He bases this upon a Middle Irish poem ascribed to Moling,[24] in which the saint has a female adversary, called Aingid.

These *fúatha* share the following characteristics with the *úatha* that were described above: residence in a wild place,[25] their loud shouting, and their fighting habits. Interestingly, the spectres are said to be engaged in *fogal*, 'attack, injury, damage; plundering', and *díberg*, 'marauding, freebooting, pillaging' (Stokes 1906: 268; 1907: 14), which occupation is also ascribed to *geniti glinne* in the above-quoted gloss on the relevant lemma in *O'Mulconry's Glossary*.

Finally, two poems use the term *úath* to describe the ugly appearance of the Sovereignty. The poem *Temair Breg, baile na fían*, extant in the Book of Leinster (LL) and Rawlinson B 502 (ed. & tr.: Joynt 1910), ascribed to Cuán Ó Lothcháin (†1024) tells of the meeting of the five sons of King Eochu Muigmedón with an old, female seer *(écess)* in the wilderness, who guards a well. When the son who is destined to be king kisses her horrible mouth, she turns into the beautiful appearance of the Sovereignty. The second poem, the

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[22] The text is edited and translated by Stokes (1907) from Dublin, RIA, 476 olim 23 O 48 al. Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (LFF); Brussels, Royal Library, MS 4190–4200; the Life is dated to the twelfth century but it contains older material (Mac Cana 1980: 96, n. 75).

[23] The Brussels MS reads here a corrected form *aingidh* and LFF has *aingide* (Stokes 1906: 268; 1907: 14). See DIL s.v. *an(d)gaid*, 'wicked, cruel, merciless'.

[24] From Brussels, Royal Library, MS 5100–4, starting with *Is feta in t-airiughadh* (ed. Stokes 1908: 32); dated to the eleventh century and later (Kenney 1929: 463).

[25] The episode about the *fúatha* takes place at "the extensive marshy rush-land of Luachair in the Sliabh Luachra area which today covers parts of the three counties Cork, Kerry and Limerick" (de Paor 2001: 67).

metrical *dindshenchas* on Carn Máil (Gwynn 1924: 134–143), also describes king's sons in the wilderness after a hunt. They are visited by an old, ugly woman, characterised as *úath olair abbáeth*, 'obese lustful terror' (ibid. 140–141). She threatens to eat them and their dogs, but when one of them says that he will yield to her sexual desire, she transforms into a radiant, young beauty. These *úatha* are dark, ominous appearances, who function as tests for the sons of a king, and the right reaction of the young man destined for royalty brings about her transformation into a radiant, promising figure. Again, an *úath* turns out to be a shape-shifter, and this specific type has the gift of prophecy as well.

Thus far, I have discussed humanoid *úatha*. There are also bestial terrors, of which I will only mention an example from a text in Old Irish. The previously described *úatha* turned out to be a test for kings-to-be. The *úath* in *Echtrae Fergusa maic Leiti* (ed. & tr. Binchy 1952) forms a test for a ruling king. When King Fergus mac Leite sees a monster (designated water beast, *muirdris* and *úath*) under water, his face becomes deformed by fear. This 'loss of face' makes him unfit to be a king and in the end, he also loses his life (see also Borsje 1996: 17–91).

As our poem is Old Irish, our main focus is on texts that are contemporaneous with it. Therefore, we should take our clues from *Fled Bricrenn* and the lemma on *genit glinne*, which belongs to the Old Irish stratum of *O'Mulconry's Glossary*.[26] It is possible that Fothad warns his lover of one of these frightening, screaming, utterly destructive fighters, possibly robbers living in a valley, operating at night. Some readers may have associated the terror of the night with these supernatural beings.

3. A demon called 'terror of the night'

There is another possibility that should be considered as well. Readers who were acquainted with the Bible may have made a different identification. In the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament, there are two references to a harmful supernatural being, associated with the night and with a sudden attack. It is called *paḥad laylâ* or 'the terror of the night'.

In Jewish sources and liturgy, *Psalm* 91 (*Psalm* 90 in the Vulgate) is called 'a song for evil encounters', which should be recited before sleep.[27] What people feared were attacks by harmful supernatural beings. The Psalm lists several demons[28]—among them we find the terror of the night:

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[26] I will later include *Echtrae Fergusa maic Leiti* in the discussion as well, but as candidate for identifying a frightening being on the battle field, the water monster is obviously not suitable.

[27] See the article 'Terror of the night' by M. Malul (in Van der Toorn, Becking & Van der Horst 1995/99: 851–854: 852; see also the index s.v.).

[28] In fact, we find a kind of demon catalogue: verse 5 describes demonic attack at night and in the morning, and verse 6 mentions the same danger in the evening and at noon (for a survey

Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius
non timebis a timore nocturno (PsG 90:5)[29]

His [i.e. God's] truth shall surround you with a shield
You will not be afraid of the terror of the night.

This Psalm was not only used by Jews in their daily rituals, but was also part of medieval Irish liturgy. Psalm 90:5 is quoted in 'Gloria in Excelsis' in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* and paraphrased in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*.[30] We know that these texts were sung or recited at night, and thus one prayed for protection from demons and dangers.

The second reference to the 'terror of the night' is in the *Song of Songs*. The text tells of sixty strong men surrounding the bed of King Solomon:

omnes tenentes gladios et ad bella doctissimi
uniuscuiusque ensis super femur suum propter timores nocturnos
(Ct 3:8)[31]

All holding swords and most expert in war
Every man's sword upon his thigh because of terrors of the night.

A scene of warriors with swords on their thighs is also known in early Irish literature. In *The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn*[32] men are thus said to swear as testimony to the truth of their boasts upon battle deeds. Even though the context is completely different, it is interesting that this statement was put in a 'demonic' context by a gloss explaining that a demon used to talk from the sword. Elsewhere, I have tried to argue that if we want to iden-

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of rabbinic and patristic interpretations, see De Fraine 1959; with thanks to Niek Schuman for sending me a copy of the article). Cassian refers to these verses when he writes in *Conlatio* VII.32: *nocturnos quoque siue diurnos ac meridianos daemonas similiter scripturarum auctoritas docet* (Petschenig 1886: 212), 'In the same way the authority of Scripture teaches us that there are demons of the night and of the day and of the noonday'. Similarly, the Milan Glosses to the Psalms ascribe these attacks to either enemies or demons lurking at their favourite times (Stokes & Strachan 1901, I: 379).

[29] Quoted is the Latin translation from the Septuagint; the Latin translation from the Hebrew text is somewhat different but this is not relevant here. *Timor nocturnus*, 'terror of the night', translates Greek φόβος νυκτερῐνός, 'terror of the night' (Ps 91:5 Septuagint) and Hebrew *paḥad laylâ* 'terror of the night' (Ps 91:5 Hebrew Bible).

[30] For the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* Manuscript T; see Bernard & Atkinson 1898, I: 51; for its originally being sung at night, see ibid. II: 136); (*ut non timeamus a timore nocturno*) in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (Warren 1895: 21, nr 34) occurs in a prayer for peace spoken after the office of nightfall (see Curran 1984: 179–80).

[31] The Hebrew Bible reads here *paḥad ballêlôt* 'terror in the nights', and the Septuagint θάμβος εν νυξίν, 'fear in the night'.

[32] *Serglige Con Culainn* (see §2; edition: Dillon 1953a; translation: idem 1953b) is considered to be the conflation of a ninth-century text with an eleventh-century one (Thurneysen 1921: 413–416; Dillon 1941–42; and T. K. Salberg 1992).

tify these 'demons', we should think of supernatural women, such as the Morrígain (Borsje 1999).

Apparently, demons and weapons were associated with each other, but there is a contrast between the biblical and Irish texts in the function of armour within this association. In Irish texts, demons are sometimes said to dwell *in* armour (i.e., helmets, shields and weapons). As we saw, in Psalm 90 God's truth functions as a shield and thus as a way of protection *against* demons. A similar function is attributed to the swords held by the strong men around the bed of King Solomon. This scene reflects the belief, widespread in the Ancient Near East, that a couple was vulnerable to the attacks of evil spirits and night demons during the wedding night, especially when the marriage was consummated. This is why armed servants are present in the room —as a protection against demonic attacks. This type of harm to newly-weds was in particular ascribed to 'Terror of the night' (Malul in Van der Toorn, Becking & Van der Horst 1995/99: 854).

If the author of *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* knew of this belief, then the expression 'terror of the night' in the context of the poem is well suited to the occasion. The lover, already killed, warns his beloved woman of this 'terror' in the night that should have been the start of their marriage. This supernatural attacker of newly-weds could thus have been assumed to be nearby.

It is, however, uncertain to what extent the author of our poem was aware of the mythological and cultic background of the terror of the night as referred to in the *Song of Songs*. What we badly need is knowledge about which Jewish traditions were known to medieval Christians (Kieckhefer 1989: xii–xiii; 1998). A channel of transmission that is still traceable today is represented by the writings of the Church Fathers. In their comments on these two biblical passages, they explain the 'terror of the night' in a sexual and demonic way.[33] Thus far, I have not found an exposé on the cultic background of the verse in the *Song of Songs*, but we could surmise that if the author of *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* was acquainted with the Bible, the demonic nature of the terror of the night is obvious from Psalm 90. What should be noted is that some Jewish theologians identified this demon as Li-

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[33] To name just a few examples: Jerome (c. 341–420) associates the terror of the night from Psalm 90 without further ado with the Devil, who is always in the darkness, attacking the innocent in secret (Morin 1958: 129, ll. 60–62). Gregory the Great (c. 540 – 604) warns against sudden passion in his *Pastoral Rule* III.32 (Judic, Rommel & Morel 1992, II: 490–495). He quotes 'Solomon' (Prov. 23:35) as an example of someone who sleeps while being beaten. Gregory interprets the scene in an allegorical way: when the soul is asleep, it feels no pain and sees no threatening evils. This is why the strong warriors in the *Song of Songs* have swords on their thighs. Again, he interprets this in an allegorical way as holy preaching (the sword) that should be used against the evil temptation (terrors of the night) of the flesh (the thigh). The terrors in the night are invisible threats that one should be prepared to fight with during the night. The Venerable Bede (672/673–735) associates the swords from the *Song of Songs* with the spiritual armour of God needed against the forces of darkness, mentioned in the *Letter to the Ephesians* (Eph 6:11–12, 17), and the thigh he explains in a sexual way as the procreation of the flesh, quoting *Exodus* 1:5 (Hurst & Hudson 1983: 238–239).

lith (Langton 1949: 47–48; Malul in Van der Toorn, Becking & Van der Horst 1995/99: 853).[34] As will become clear in this paper, the question whether (Irish) Christian exegetes also linked the nocturnal terror with this *succubus* demon is an intriguing one. The fear of nocturnal temptation expressed by the Church Fathers seems to hint at a similar identification (see also Youngs & Harris 2003: 139–140).

We return to the Old Irish poem. There is a third possible way to interpret the terror of the night. Looking at the structure of the poem (see above), we observe that the warning to the woman is interrupted by the command to take away the treasures. Then an elaborate description of Fothad's treasures is given, which breaks off in the middle of quatrain §41. It is as if the spectre takes up the warning again, by focusing on a supernatural being nearby: the Morrígain. It might be the case that 'the terror of night' already refers to her.

We learn from the Old Irish *Glossary of Cormac* that the supernatural beings called *úath* and Morrígain have something in common:

> Gúdemain .i. úatha ⁊ morrígnae (Meyer 1912: 58).

> False demons, that is: terrors and Morrígnae.

Apparently, both 'terrors' and *morrígnae* were good equivalents for the word *gúdemain*, translated as 'spectres' in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language*. This translation is presumably based upon the somewhat popular translation by John O'Donovan: '.i. spectres and fairy queens', to which Stokes added: "*Guidemain* seems to mean 'false demons', from *gó*, *gúa* (= W. *gau*) 'false' and *demain* for *demuin*, n. pl. of *demon*, a demon, *daemonion*, (Corn. *gevan* or *jevan*), gen. s. *demuin*" (O'Donovan & Stokes 1868: 87).[35] As we will see, the meaning 'false demons' is indeed more likely, because this is one of the interpretations offered by another gloss (see below). It should be noted, moreover, that the last name of the red woman *alias* the Morrígain in the Yellow Book of Lecan version of *Táin bó Regamna* is *Úath* (Corthals 1987: 30, l. 34). What is important to us now is that both the Morrígain and the terror of the night could be classified as terrifying demons. It is possible that Fothad's warning is not a double but an interrupted warning about a supernatural being nearby on the battlefield, known as the terror of the night *alias* the Morrígain.

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[34] The Hebrew word for night, *laylâ*, has also been connected with Lilith in folk etymology.

[35] T. F. O'Rahilly (1942: 156–158) has pointed out that the plural of *demon, demun* is irregular. Besides *demna*, we find *demain* and *demuin* attested as nom. pl. in e.g. an anecdote on Coirpre Cromm mac Feradaig and St Cíarán of Clonmacnoise in the Book of Ballymote (Meyer 1905: 226, ll. 8 & 10: *demain*) and in Brussels, Royal Library, MS 5100–4 (Stokes 1905: 372, ll. 4 & 7: *demuin, deamuin).*

4. Supernatural women and demons

Fothad describes the Morrígain as follows. He calls her 'an evil guest'. She visits, stirs up and frightens people. She is washing entrails and spoils. She laughs and throws her long hair over her back. All these characteristics deserve further study.[36] For the purpose of the present paper, I have selected one in particular: her laughter.

The laughter of the Morrígain is described as follows:

> Dremhan an caisgen tibhes (Meyer 1910: 16, §42).

> Horrible the hateful laugh she laughs (ibid. 17, §42).[37]

The ambiguity of laughter in Irish has been noted previously: Joseph Vendryes (1938) points out that *tibid* not only means 'laughs, smiles' but also 'to beat, hit, push'; Philip O'Leary (1991) discusses the danger of laughter as a literary motif; and, most recently, Liam Mac Mathúna (2006) displays the full spectrum of laughter in his survey of Irish lexical expressions for laughing and smiling.

The expression used in our poem—*tibid gen*, 'to laugh a laugh' or 'to smile a smile'—is also found elsewhere in early Irish literature. Especially interesting for a comparison with the description of the Morrígain are examples of supernatural women laughing in an ominous and dangerous context.[38] I selected an example from *The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn*, the text

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[36] For a full discussion, see my forthcoming monograph.

[37] *Cais* in *caisgen* means both 'love' and 'hate'; DIL *s.v. gen* suggests here the translation 'a short sarcastic laugh'. David Greene & Frank O'Connor (1967: 92) translate 'dreadful the twisted laugh she laughs'. The last two lines of stanza 42 are connected with the last two lines of stanza 41 by the Morrígain's washing activity and the word *dremun*, applied both to the human entrails and to the Morrígain's laughter (§41b: *Dreman inathor dímar, Nodusnigh an Mórríoghan*; §42b: *Is mór do fhodboibh nigius, Dremhan an caisgen tibhes*). *Dremun* means literally 'furious, frantic, precipitate'. We should perhaps translate the sentence on the laughter as 'Furious the sarcastic laugh she laughs' and interpret *dremun* in the first instance as referring to the Morrígain washing frantically or furiously.

[38] Another interesting example would be a poem from the early eighth century, which uses similar phrases: a woman (representing the sea?) is described who throws her long white hair in a small boat and who laughs a sarcastic laugh at a sacred tree (Stokes 1896: 175). This woman is described as follows: *Ind ben ru-lá a moing find/ ine churach fri Coning/ is cass ru-tibi a gen/ in-díu fri bile Torten* (Pokorny 1923: 5), which David Greene and Frank O'Connor (1967: 109) translate thus: 'The woman has tossed her white mane at Conaing in his curragh. It is crookedly that she has smiled today at the tree of Tortu'. One should compare this with the Morrígain, of whom Fothad says: *Rolá a moing dar a hais* and *Dremhan an caisgen tibhes* (see also Muhr 1999: 194–195). Similarly, a supernatural woman called Lí Bán seems to warn of the dangerous sea, personified as a woman, in a poem in the *Lebor na hUidre* version: *is mairg frisi tibi gen in ben di thonnaib tuli* (Best & Bergin 1929: 96, ll. 2977–2978), 'Woe the person to whom the woman from the waves of the flood laughs a laugh'. This poem is part of the Middle Irish *Aided Echach meic Maireda*, 'The Death of Eochu Son of Mairid' (edition and translation: O'Grady 1892, I: 233–237; II: 265–269). I am indebted to Ranke de Vries for sending me her unpublished edition and translation of the text.

with the scene of warriors with swords on their thighs, mentioned above. This is the well-known tale about Cú Chulainn and his relationship with a woman of the *síd* called Fand, which means 'tear'. The story ends indeed in a sad way for Fand and to a certain extent for Cú Chulainn, but laughter is part of the first meeting between Cú Chulainn and representatives of the Otherworld. It is, however, ominous laughter, which is expressed by the words *tibid gen*. Two women approach Cú Chulainn, who lies asleep against a pillar stone. They both laugh at him and then almost kill him by beating him with horsewhips:[39]

> Dolluid in ben cosin brot úane chucai, ₇ tibid gen fris, ₇ dobert béim dind echfhleisc dó. Dotháet alaili cucai dano, ₇ tibid fris, ₇ nod slaid fón alt chétna (Dillon 1953a: 3, §8, ll. 74–76).

> The woman in the green mantle came to him and laughed at him, and struck him with her horsewhip. The other came to him, too, and laughed at him, and struck him in the same way (Dillon 1953b: 50).

These two women are Lí Ban and Fand from the síd, who first visited Cú Chulainn in bird form but were attacked by him, despite his wife's warning against this, because of the supernatural power (*cumachtae*) she perceives behind the birds.

At first sight, the contrast could not be greater when we compare the Morrígain as described in our poem with the beautiful, enticing women of the *síd* in this tale. If we look closer, however, there are some similarities. The laughter combined with the beating might be seen as a sign of the sinister side of the *áes síde*. A similar hint is found in a poem, uttered by Cú Chulainn's charioteer Lóeg, when he calls the women *genaiti*:

> Mór espa do láech
> Laigi fri súan serglige,
> Ar donadbat genaiti ^{.i. mná}
> Áesa a Tenmag Trogaigi^{.i. a Maig Mell}
> Condat rodbsat,
> Condot chachtsat,
> Condot ellat,
> Eter bríga banespa (Dillon 1953a: 11, §28, ll. 316–323).

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[39] Readers who knew the *Pastoral Rule* of Gregory the Great are offered an allegorical interpretation of this scene on a silver platter. Not only does Gregory give such an interpretation of a scene of men with swords on their thighs, which occurs both in the *Song of Songs* and in the beginning of *The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn*, but also does he connect this with someone lying asleep while being beaten from *Proverbs*, interpreted as the soul unaware of pain and threatening evils. Thus, one could interpret Cú Chulainn as a symbol for the soul, attacked by evil temptation (compare footnote 33 above and see below on the interpretation of the women of the *síd* as demons).

It is great frivolousness[40] for a warrior
To lie in sleep of wasting sickness,[41]
For it shows *genaiti*[42 i.e., women]
Folk from Tenmag Trogaige,[i.e., from Mag Mell]
And they have subdued[43] (?) thee,
They have confined thee,
They torture thee
in the toils of female frivolousness[44] (Dillon 1953b: 59).

We have seen that the word *geniti* is used for supernatural frightening female fighters, also called terrors (*úatha*), who beat and subdue Cú Chulainn in *Fled Bricrenn*; and this is consistent with the image that Lóeg paints in this poem. They have subdued and tortured Cú Chulainn, who is confined to his bed. It should be noted that a gloss explains *geniti* here as 'women' (*mná*), which reminds us of *O'Mulconry's glossary*, quoted above: a *genit* is a woman (*Genit glinde .i. ben i nglinn*). The well-known colophon at the end of the text tells the readers that they should call these women[45] 'demons'.[46]

One could wonder now what this has to do with the Morrígain. The only two points of comparison are 1) ominous laughter in a battle context and 2) supernatural women associated with fighting. At this point we need to pay attention to an obscure, heavily glossed poem that accompanies the text of *The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn* in the manuscript margin. We read in the upper margin of *Lebor na hUidre* folio 50a:[47]

M*ac* Lona*n*[48] d*ixit*
Mían mná Tethrach[.i. badb] a tenid[.i. gae 7 arm]
Slaide sethnach[.i. táeb] iar sodain.
Suba[.i. fuil] luba[.i. corp] fo lubaib[.i. fó feraib]
Ugail[.i. súli] troga[.i. cend] dír drogain[.i. fiaich] (Best & Bergin 1929: 124)

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[40] Dillon translates 'idleness'. I have replaced this by the alternative 'frivolousness', because in this way *espa* can be translated in the same way in the first and the last line.
[41] DIL (*s.v. lige* 1*b*) translates 'to yield to the sleep of wasting sickness'.
[42] Dillon translates 'demons'.
[43] Dillon translates here 'injured (?)' and refers elsewhere (Dillon 1953a: 82) to DIL *s.v. rodbad*, where the translation 'subduing, overpowering' is suggested.
[44] Dillon translates 'women's wantonness'.
[45] Admittedly, the colophon equates demons with the *áes síde*, but as I have argued elsewhere (1999: 231–232) the colophon links up closely with the narrative and makes a more subtle connection between the demons and the female supernatural protagonists on three counts: first, the use of the word *cumachtae* in text and colophon; second, the showing of pleasures; and third, the showing of secret places. The reference to fighting probably refers to male dwellers in the *síde*.
[46] Such an identification would make perfect sense to readers of the *Pastoral Rule* of Gregory the Great (see above), in which both a scene of someone asleep who is being beaten and a scene of swords on thighs are allegorically explained in the context of attacks on the soul by demons.
[47] I am deeply indebted to Joanne Findon for sending me the text of her fascinating article on this quatrain, which is forthcoming.
[48] For more on the poet Flann mac Lonáin († 891, 896 or 918), see Mac Mathúna (2003) and Findon (forthcoming).

The desire of the woman of the scaldcrow[49][i.e. *badb*] are her fires[i.e. spear & armour]
The slaughter of a body[i.e. side] thereafter
Juices[50][i.e. blood], body[i.e. body/corpse] under bodies[i.e. under men]
Eyes[i.e. eyes], heads[i.e. head] belonging to a raven[i.e. of a raven][51].

Joanne Findon emphasises the fact that this poem is found on the page where an emotional poem is written, uttered by Fand, in which she says farewell to Cú Chulainn. Findon (forthcoming) points out that one's eyes are, however, drawn to the upper margin of the page first, where the scribe (M) "has boxed in the quatrain and its glosses with dark lines, as if to highlight it particularly". The quatrain speaks of the desire of the scaldcrow woman, and this is glossed by the words: 'that is: Badb'. Findon states that the bloodthirsty desire of the Badb in the marginal quatrain is here in fact juxtaposed with the sexual desire of Fand in the poem in the main text. In her opinion this comparison "is an outrageous textual distortion that completely misrepresents [Fand's] Otherworld nature as it is configured in *this* text" (Findon forthcoming). Findon (ibid.) suggests that this poem might be a Christian warning against fascinating Otherworld portrayals, and especially the moving description of female desire as expressed by Fand.

Just as readers in the Middle Ages could have different readings of the same text, so can we. Even though I admire Findon's reading that focuses on

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[49] *Tethrach* also means 'of the sea', and 'of Tethra'. We should perhaps translate 'the scaldcrow woman', i.e. the supernatural woman in her bird- and battle-aspect. This desire (*mían*) is also elsewhere in the literature connected with the Badb, Macha and the Badb in plural. A *rosc* in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* Recension I reads: *Comérgid, ríg Macha mórglondaich. Muintir fial. Miandaigther Bodb bú Imbial. Insernd crú cridi. Inreith níth niaba nertaid gal cridi crú for telaib nó for tinn teched .i. for toind teiced tercbaid nó teilcfid isnis nithu. Ní fríth fri Coin Culaind cosmail Con Culaind conben mian Macha mochtrád más ar búaib Cúail[n]gi. Comérgid* (O'Rahilly 1976: 118, ll. 3930–3935). A poem in *Acallam na Senórach* mentions the desire of *badba: ticfa mian na mbadb do'n bhert/ niam na narm acá nimert* (O'Grady 1892, I: 230), 'that for which the ravens (lit. *badba*) lust shall come of the event, when there is glint of weapons in their play' (ibid. II: 261). The Badb, the Morrígain and Macha are sometimes identified with each other, as we can read in e.g. *O'Mulconry's Glossary: Machæ.i. badb. Nó así an tres morrígan, un<u>de</u> mesr<u>ad</u> Machæ .i. cendæ doine iarna n-airlech* (Stokes 1900: 271, nr 813), 'Macha, that is: Badb. Or she is the third Morrígain; *unde* Macha's nut harvest, that is: the heads of people after the slaughter'. A similar gloss is found in H.3.18, where the three Morrígna are identified as Macha, Badb and Morrígain (Binchy 1978, II: 632, l. 20).

[50] *Sub*, '(wild) strawberry, raspberry', was also spelled *sug, sum. Subae* means 'joy, pleasure, happiness'. *Súg* (in the nom. pl.), 'juice, sap', also used for the fluids of the body, such as blood, milk, tears, and urine, fits the context better. On the other hand, perhaps we should translate 'The strawberries of plants under plants' taking the red fruit of the plants on the ground as a metaphor for the red blood from the men on the ground. I am indebted to Johan Corthals for this suggestion.

[51] My translation is based upon Stokes (1873–75: 491) and Findon (forthcoming). It should be noted that this translation is tentative. There is room for doubt because some of the words are obscure and it is uncertain whether the interpretations proposed by the glossator are identical with the intentions of the author.

the contrast, I want to look at the similarities between the Badb and Fand, and include the Morrígain in my reading.[52]

The tale is clearly a moving love story, but there is more to it. There is a good reason why Lóeg called Fand and Lí Ban *geniti*. *Geniti* shriek, fight, and hover above fighting armies, inciting or frightening warriors. Some of them help Cú Chulainn by making him more dread-inspiring in battle; others oppose him or are even involved in his downfall (Borsje 1999: 234–238). Looking again at the role of Fand and Lí Ban in *The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn* we note that they not only overpower Cú Chulainn and beat him up, but they also incite him to fight in the Otherworld, on the side of Lí Ban's husband. Schematically, Lí Ban and Fand represent: first, an approach to Cú Chulainn in a different—bird—form; second, a threat represented by the beating; third, an offer of sex; and fourth, an incitement to fight. This is similar to what the Badb and the Morrígain represent for Cú Chulainn in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* Recension I.

As a boy of five, Cú Chulainn is on the battlefield on a dark night, fighting with a spectre (O'Rahilly 1976: 15–17, 138–39). The Irish word is *aurddrag* (DIL *s.v. airdrech*), the term also used for the *úatha* or *geniti glinne* that Cú Chulainn fights with in *Fled Bricrenn*. The spectre overpowers him, but then the voice of the Badb from among the corpses incites him to fight:

> Immasínithar dóib. Doscarthar Cú C[h]ulaind. Co cuala ní, in [m]boidb dinib collaib. "Olc damnae laích fil and fo chossaib aurddrag!" (O'Rahilly 1976: 16, ll. 497–500).

> They wrestled then and Cú Chulainn was thrown. He heard the Badb[53] crying from among the corpses. "Poor stuff to make a warrior is he who is overthrown by phantoms" (ibid. 139).

This spectre seems to personify the terror experienced on the battlefield. It seems as if Conchobar hints at this terror (*úath*) by using the word *úathbás* when Cú Chulainn has found him after conquering the spectre:

> "Cid día tánac isin n-ármag," ol Conchobar, "co ndeochais úathbás and?" (O'Rahilly 1976: 16, ll. 506–507).

> 'Why have you come to the battle-field' said Conchobar, "where you may die of fright?" (ibid. 139).

Moreover, in the same epic text, it is the Morrígain who approaches him in female human form with an offer of assistance in the fight and of sex, fol-

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[52] Findon's conclusion is similar to John Carey's reading of the colophon at the end of the tale (Carey 1994). For a different reading of the colophon see Ó Cathasaigh (1994).
[53] O'Rahilly translates 'the war-goddess'; the text uses the older form *Bodb*.

lowed by a threat and a fight when he refuses her (O'Rahilly 1976: 57, 61–62, 176–177, 180–181).

These similarities make me wonder: was the quatrain perhaps added as a reminder of other supernatural women, who are closely related to Cú Chulainn? This comparison, moreover, highlights non-stereotypical sides of supernatural females. The Morrígain is not only dangerous, but also sensual. The Badb is not only an enemy but also helpful. Fand is not only beautiful but also connected with violence.[54] Even though we find them sometimes lumped together in a single category as demons, yet early Irish literature with its many voices has kept differentiation alive.

The glossaries not only apply the common denominator of demons to supernatural beings but also supply different names and nuances for them. This seems to be another instance of the shifting of the faces of the supernatural. In the area of classification there appears to be some flexibility as well. For instance, we have seen that *Cormac's Glossary* brought *úatha* and *morrígnae* together as *gúdemain*. In another glossary on 'The last *Bretha Nemed* or judgments of privileged (or professional) persons',[55] *gúdemain* are explained as scald crows and women of the *síd*, which are then connected with the Morrígain in a plural form in a gloss in the upper margin:

> Glaido*mui*n .i. sindaigh ⁊ mac *tíre*.
> Gudo*m*huin .i. fen*n*óga ⅂ bansigaidhe;
> In marg. sup.:
> ut est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. ⅂ go conach dea*m*ain iat na bansighaide, go co_nach demain iffrin*n* iat *acht* .d.[56] aeoir na fendóga.
> In marg. dext.:
> ⅂ eamnait a nglaedha na sinnaigh, ₇ .e.[57] a ngotha na *fennog*a (Binchy 1978: 604.1–4).

> Howlers, that is: foxes ^or a wolf.
> *Gudomuin* (*Gúdemain*, false demons), that is: scald crows or women of the *síd*.
> (In the upper margin:)
> *Ut est*: false (?) howlers, that is the false demons, the *morrígna*; or it is a falsehood so that the women of the *síd* are not demons; it is a falsehood so that the scald crows are not demons of hell, but demons of the air.
> (In the right-hand margin:)

[54] John Carey (1982–83: 273–274) suggests that this connection of two distinguished qualities either within one supernatural woman or expressed by contrasting figures within a group is to be considered as a conscious paradox.

[55] For more about *Bretha Nemed déidenach* and the glossary, see Kelly 1988: 268–269. The glossary is found in Dublin, TCD, MS H.3.18 (1337) (see Binchy 1978, II: 603–604, 725–726).

[56] Binchy explains this as *demain*. [Before .d. the *s* with suprascript stroke has been expanded as *acht*. Ed.]

[57] Binchy explains this as *eamnait*.

> Or: the foxes double their howls and the scald crows double their sounds/vowels.[58]

The word *gúdemain* apparently needed explanation and it is interesting to note that both marginal comments connect the term with the previous lemma on *glaídemuin*. The gloss in the right-hand margin etymologises both words as having to do with sound. *Glaidomuin* is explained from *glaéd*, 'howl, shout, call', and *emuin*, 'pairs, twins'. *Gudomuin* is split up in *guth*, 'vowel, sound', and *emuin*, 'pairs, twins'.

The gloss in the upper margin is concerned with classification. It is possible that the author took inspiration from *Cormac's Glossary*, because false demons are here explained as *morrígna*. Perhaps this glossator also added the wolf to the explanation of howlers as foxes, because this is the explanation of howlers in *Cormac's Glossary*: *Gláidemain .i. maic tíre gláidaite .i. focerdait húalla* (Meyer 1912: 58, nr 696), 'Howlers, that is: wolves that howl; that is: they utter wails'. At first sight, it may seem that the glossator added a third category to the howlers and false demons: false howlers. Demons are, however, also infamous as producers of horrible sounds, screams and shrieks (see Carey 1992: 33–36; Borsje 1999: 231–236). It looks, therefore, as if the foxes and wolves should be seen as the true howlers, and the others perhaps as screamers but not as true howlers. The glossator then goes on speculating about other 'false' classifications and seems to suggest that women of the *síd* are not really demons. Scald crows, furthermore, are demons of the air and—he seems to say—thus not really demons either, because the true demons are located in Hell.

I have thus tried to make sense of the comments in the upper margin, and my views remain of course tentative.[59] There is one aspect that is absent in my interpretation, and that is etymology. What etymological basis did the author of the gloss in the upper margin have for connecting *glaidomuin* with *gudomuin* other than that they appear in the same order in *Cormac's Glossary*? The only thing I can think of is that the author saw *glaidomuin* as consisting of *gláed*, 'cry, shout, howl', and *demain*, 'demons', just as *gúdemain* was possibly formed from *gú*, 'false', and *demain*, 'demons'. Thus, the lemmata on 'howl demons' and 'false demons' would have led to an explanation starting with 'false howlers' in order to distinguish the howlers[60] from the shriekers.

The classification of scald crows as demonic in Irish texts is well known, but is it also possible to put foxes and wolves in the same category? I hope to address this question in a future study because it needs further research but is

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[58] My translation is based upon Hennessy (1870–72: 36).
[59] I consider my previous interpretation of this gloss (see Borsje 1999: 242) to be partly mistaken.
[60] DIL translates *glaídem* with 'a wolf (?) (lit. a howler)'; the only instances cited are the lemmata in the two glossaries central here.

beyond the scope of the present paper. It suffices within the context of this study to point out that supernatural beings, birds of prey and wild beasts are associated with demons, because all of these may howl or shriek, and they may inhabit similar places that are wild or deserted. We encounter collections of these creatures as an evil omen for the battle to come in, for instance, *In cath catharda* (Stokes 1909: 64–73), the Middle Irish adaptation/translation of Lucan's *Civil War* (Duff 1928: 40–45). Thus, the centre of Rome is described as becoming a night lair for wild beasts; nocturnal birds fly around at day time; phantoms and shades from the Underworld terrify the human inhabitants at night; the Badb of battle (a Fury in the source text) goes around, and many other abnormal phenomena are described. The Irish text adds the loud howling of hounds and wolves at night to the description.[61] Biblical visions of destruction also portray deserted cities, inhabited by wild beasts, birds of prey and frightening female and male demons. There are several examples of such scenes; one of them will be discussed below.

5. Black birds and demons

We move on now from the study of the terror of the night and the Morrígain to the third supernatural being. The first two entities are said to be a threat to the living woman. The supernatural being to be discussed now is said to be a threat to the dead man. Toward the end of the poem, Fothad announces that soon his soul will be tormented:

> Scar*fid* frit céin mo c*hor*p toll,
> M'anum do píenad la donn,
> Serc bethu cé is miri,
> ingi adradh Rígh nimhi (Meyer 1910: 16, §48).

> My riddled body must part from thee awhile,
> My soul to be tortured by the black demon.
> Save (for) the worship of Heaven's King,
> Love of this world is folly (ibid. 17).

Kuno Meyer translates *donn* as 'the black demon'. In a later publication (Meyer 1919: 542), he corrects this into Donn, the proper name of an ancestral deity of the Irish, the presumably pre-Christian Death God. David Greene and Frank O'Connor (1967: 92) likewise translate 'the death god'. As this line is immediately followed by Fothad's sudden insight that only the adoration of the King of Heaven matters and love for this world is foolish,

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[61] *No feartais coin ⁊ cuanarta ⁊ meic tire na hEtaili ualla mora sechnon na cathrach gach n-oidhchi*, 'The dogs and hounds and wolves of Italy used to utter great howls throughout the City every night' (Stokes 1909: 68–69, ll. 884–885).

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we can safely conclude that an infernal demon is meant here by *donn*, which literally means 'a dark one'.[62]

'Dark' (*teimen*) is also used to describe a blackbird, which is mentioned in the final quatrain:

> Is é in lon teimhen tibi*us*
> imc[h]om*arc* cáich bes hires,
> Síabr*a* mo c[h]obr*a*, mo gné,
> a ben, náchamaicillé! (Meyer 1910: 16, §49).

> It is the dusky ousel that laughs
> a greeting to all the faithful:
> My speech, my shape are spectral –
> hush, woman, do not speak to me! (ibid. 17).

Initially, I took this description as another reference to the dark tormentor of the soul, for *lon* can also signify 'demon'. A dangerous demon, laughing at dead people would supply a nice parallel with the terrifying Morrígain, laughing at living people. The lines even rhyme together:

> Is mór do fhodboibh nigius,
> Dremhan an caisgen tibhes (on the Morrígain).

> Is é in lon teimhen tibius
> imc[h]omarc cáich bes hires (on the blackbird).

Meyer translates *imchomarc* as 'greeting', but it may also signify 'enquiry, interrogation', and thus it could be connected with the Devil, the challenger and accuser of human beings.

I have, however, come to a different conclusion. *Lon* means 'demon' in two texts only, and then it is always part of a compound, as *lon craís*. This demon of gluttony is found in the Middle Irish *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*[63] and 'The Death of King Herod'.[64] Clearly, this is something different from what is portrayed in our poem. The blackbird in this poem seems to represent the biological species.[65] Blackbirds start to sing half an hour before sunrise,

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[62] According to Meyer (1919: 542), the pre-Christian Donn amalgamates here with the Christian Devil. Meyer (1919: 544) furthermore refers to a now lost poem on the torments of Hell, ascribed to Fothad Canainne. One stanza is extant in *Lebor Brecc*. Incidentally, Death is sometimes also personified as a demon in the Bible and, for instance, climbs into the houses to snatch away youths (see Cathcart 1978: 45, n. 21).

[63] Edited and translated by Meyer (1892); more recently edited by Jackson, who dates Version B of the text to the end of the eleventh century (Jackson 1990: xxvi).

[64] This tale is found in Lebor Brecc; for an edition and translation, see McNamara, Breatnach, Carey and others 2001: 412–433.

[65] I am indebted to my friend Erik van Triest for information on blackbirds and other birds. It should be noted, though, that according to Alexander Krappe (1927: 96–97), "Blackbirds and

which is earlier than the other birds. Its song is, therefore, the messenger of the start of the day. Immediately after its mention, Fothad says that his speech and face are spectral, and—as we all know—when the day begins, phantoms must vanish.[66] The song of the blackbird is melodious and melancholic, but does not resemble laughter. We should, therefore, see the laughter in the poem symbolically, and it could help to combine this laughter with that of the Morrígain. People doomed to go to hell will fear the sound of the blackbird, but the faithful can enjoy it. They are protected from danger, just as those who recite before sleep 'the psalm for evil encounters'. Neither the terror of the night nor the laughter of the Morrígain nor the dark demon will affect them.

Conclusion

The supernatural beings in *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* overlap to a certain extent. The terror of the night could represent a nocturnal, frightening female, from Irish or Jewish tradition, and the term might also hint at the Morrígain. The Morrígain threatens the woman on the battlefield; a dark one threatens Fothad as an infernal tormentor. The laughter of the Morrígain is both paralleled by and contrasted with the laughter of the dark blackbird. Diverse details are visible in the imagery of the supernaturals, even though the category 'demonic' serves as an umbrella.

It could very well be that another demon hovers in the background of this imagery: the Jewish Lilith, seducer of men, killer of babies. Like the Morrígain, she is a nocturnal terror, she has long hair and she howls (see e.g. Patai 1964: Krebs 1975; Fauth 1982). She lives in deserted places, among other demons, birds of prey and wild beasts. In this habitat she is described in the *Book of Isaiah*. Jerome replaced Lilith by Lamia in his Latin translation of the Bible:

> et occurrent daemonia onocentauris
> et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum
> ibi cubavit lamia (Hebrew: *lîlît*) et invenit sibi requiem (Is. 34:14).

> And demons will meet ass-centaurs
> and the hairy creature shall cry out, the one to the other
> There the Lamia has lain down and found rest for herself.

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thrushes, in Ireland, are human souls condemned to stay on earth to expiate their sins. Ravens, crows and owls are generally thought to be animated by lost souls". He refers to *The Gael* (*An Gaodhal*) 1902, p. 397. It is uncertain whether this belief goes back to medieval times.

[66] Compare also, for instance, the above-mentioned tradition on 'Finn and the phantoms'.

A gloss on this verse in Vatican Library, Codex Reginae Lat. 215, written in 876 or 877, ascribed to Eriugena (Contreni 1976; Ó Néill 1986), explains Lamia as 'the Morrígain':

> Lamia monstrum in feminae figura .i. morigain (Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903, I: 2).

> Lamia is a monster in the form of a woman, that is: a *morrígain*.

Lilith, the terror of the night according to some Jewish thinkers, is thus equated with the Morrígain, who seems to be described as another nocturnal terror in the Old Irish poem *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*.

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IAN HUGHES

Tripartite Structure in *Manawydan Uab Llyr*

Evidence of tripartite structure in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi as well as in many of the other medieval Welsh narratives has been evaluated by numerous scholars during the last few decades. R. M. Jones's inaugural lecture as Professor of Welsh Language and Literature at The University of Wales Aberystwyth dealt specifically with the appearance of tripartite structure in Welsh Literature, both in poetry and in prose. He argued that triadic forms are not necessarily mere stylistic devices, but rather the basis of order in literature, and he enumerated examples of this form in the Four Branches (R. M. Jones 1981/82). Three years previously, Jeffrey Gantz had already dealt with the tripartite structure of the First and Fourth Branches, where he recognized three distinct parts to the action of both branches (Gantz 1978). R. M. Jones further took up this topic in a lecture given at the opening plenary session at the Seventh International Celtic Congress held at Oxford in 1983 in which he defined a clear threefold movement to be found in each of the Pedair Cainc (R. M. Jones 1986). Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan in an article on 'Triadic Structures in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi*' discusses 'narrative structure, groupings of characters, narrative techniques, and notable incremental repetition'. In so doing, she illustrates some of the less obvious examples of triadic structures in the texts (Lloyd-Morgan 1988). Sioned Davies, in dealing with the tripartite structure of the Four Branches in *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (1989) (and subsequently in the English version *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, (1993)), admits that there are some problems with such a structure for the Second and Third Branches, stating '*Branwen* has but two obvious sections', and '*Manawydan*, too, has two sections' (Davies 1993: 23), even though she refers to 'the third section' of *Branwen* three pages later (Davies 1993: 26). Indeed, in her major work entitled *Crefft y Cyfarwydd,* Davies seems to come round to the idea of there being three sections in each of the four texts (Davies 1995: 53–58). I myself have argued elsewhere that a tripartite structure is to be found in all Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Hughes 1993).

The basic idea of a tripartite structure in the Four Branches has thus been recognized and to some extent analyzed by various scholars. My purpose here is to concentrate on the Third Branch, *Manawydan fab Llŷr*, and to ex-

emplify and to analyze in detail the instances of tripartite structure which are found in the text and to discuss some of the less obvious occurrences thereof. I hope to show that tripartite structure in *Manawydan* is found at all levels of the narrative and is integral to the text as a whole.

Manawydan consists of three distinct sections of narrative which may be summarized as follows: (i) the introduction; (ii) the 'disappearances'; (iii) the 'restoration'.

The concise introductory section focuses on the relationship between the end of the previous text, *Branwen*, and the text of *Manawydan* itself. It has often been noted that the initial sentence of *Manawydan* is quite different in style and in character from the opening sentences of the other three branches. These all begin with a variation of the formula: character's name + title + territory.[1] This, of course, would be impossible in the case of Manawydan since he is not lord of anywhere, although it would have been possible to adapt such a formula for Pryderi as Lord of Dyfed. However, it seems quite obvious that the author's intention is to concentrate on Manawydan rather than on Pryderi. It has also been noted that the initial sentence of *Manawydan* displays certain literary characteristics:[2]

> *Guedy daruot y'r seithwyr a dywedyssam ni uchot cladu penn Bendigeiduran yn y Gwynuryn yn Llundein, a'y wyneb ar Freinc, edrych a wnaeth Manauydan ar y dref yn Llundein, ac ar y gedymdeithon, a dodi ucheneit uawr, a chymryt diruawr alar a hiraeth yndaw.*[3]

This is stylistically different from the rest of *Manawydan*, being reminiscent of Welsh translations of *Historia Regum Britanniae* rather than the remainder of the Four Branches. It begins with an adverbial clause of time, Latin in style and construction and even rather cumbersome. Attention might be drawn to the use of the literary adverb *uchot*, 'above', rather than the expected *eiswys*, 'already', or *kynt*, 'earlier', or *gynneu*, 'previously', which

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[1] 'Pwyll, Pendeuic Dyuet, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith cantref Dyuet.' (Williams 1964: 1: 1–2); 'Bendigeiduran uab Llyr, a oed urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc o goron Lundein.' (Williams 1964: 29: 1–3); 'Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned, a Pryderi uab Pwyll oed arglwyd ar un cantref ar ugeint yn y Deheu.' (Williams 1964: 67: 1–3)

[2] Sioned Davies calls it an *ymgais lenyddol i gysylltu'r ddwy gainc [Branwen a Manawydan], neu'n hytrach ddwy episod ...* (Davies 1995: 51), 'a literary attempt to join the two branches [Branwen and Manawydan], or rather two episodes … .' Saunders Lewis goes even further and suggests this opening sentence belongs to an ecclesiastical author *sy'n cofio'i Ladin ac yn sgrifennu ar femrwn mewn llyfr* (Lewis 1973: 19), 'who remembers his Latin and is writing on parchment in a book.' Patrick Ford quite rightly states that '*Manawydan* is connected sequentially with *Branwen*, in that the story begins with a reference to the concluding events of the preceding tale. But the continuity is a temporal one only, for the story recounts events of a very different kind.' (Ford 1981/82: 119)

[3] Williams (1964: 49: 1–6). 'When the seven men we spoke of above had buried the head of Bendigeidfran in the White Mount in London, with its face towards France, Manawydan looked upon the town, in London, and on his companions, and heaved a great sigh, and felt much grief and longing within him.'

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might be considered to be of a more oral nature. It also includes the verb *dywedyssam*, 'we told/said', which does not quite agree with the literary adverb *uchot*, though there is further example of the latter in Branwen.[4]

Immediately following this opening sentence, the focus is moved to Manawydan's sadness at the loss of his brother Bendigeidfran, again tying up with the events of the final section of *Branwen*. We hear of his reluctance to stay in London and his eventual decision to return to Wales. It is worth noting that this is the *first* of three occasions in the text that Manawydan returns from England to Dyfed. Here, at the beginning of the text, he returns in the company of Pryderi, soon to be his stepson. On the second occasion, he returns to Dyfed from just over the border in England near Hereford, again accompanied by Pryderi, and on this occasion also by Rhiannon, his wife, and Cigfa, Pryderi's wife. On the third occasion, Manawydan returns from England to Dyfed accompanied only by Cigfa.

The first section of the text serves to highlight certain important pieces of information necessary for a fuller appreciation of the rest of the text. Firstly, we are reminded that Caswallon son of Beli has usurped the crown of Britain by force. Manawydan could well have sought vengeance on Caswallon for this act of violence since he, Manawydan, has the right to the crown himself after the loss of Bendigeidfran his brother. This theme of vengeance is, however, carefully avoided by the author. It is not a feud between two parties in Britain that is of interest to the author but rather a feud between Dyfed and a more otherworldly opponent. It is Pryderi's offer of the position of Lord of Dyfed to Manawydan and also his offer of his widowed mother Rhiannon in marriage to him that persuades Manawydan not to remain in England. Thus any possible contention between Manawydan and Caswallon is avoided from the outset, clearly explaining Manawydan's later reluctance to act in any way in which he and Pryderi might incur the anger of Caswallon. Pryderi also pays homage to Caswallon in the name of the Lord of Dyfed, thereby avoiding friction between the Crown of Britain on the one hand and the Lordship of Dyfed on the other.

Secondly, this first section of the text serves to emphasize the abundance of agricultural settlements in Dyfed on the one hand and the natural fecundity of the land on the other:

> *Ac wrth rodyaw y wlat ny welsynt eiryoet,* [i] *wlat gyuanhedach no hi,* [ii] *na heldir well,* [iii] *nac amlach y mel na'y physcawt no hi.*[5]

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[4] [*y*] *gwr anagneuedus a dywedassam uchot* (Williams 1964: 31: 21). '[the] quarrelsome man of whom we spoke above'.

[5] Williams (1964: 51: 7–9). 'And as they wandered through the country, they had never seen: (i) a land more habitable, (ii) nor a better hunting ground, (iii) nor a land more abundant than that in honey and fish.'

Finally, this section lays emphasis on the strong bonds of friendship that are formed between the four main characters, those of Manawydan, Rhiannon, Pryderi and Cigfa:

> *Ac yn hynny tyuu kedymdeithas y rydunt yll pedwar, hyt na mynnei yr un uot heb y gilid na dyd na nos*.[6]

It is in the second section of the text that the main action of the story begins. This mainly revolves around three significant disappearances that occur in Dyfed: (i) the *first* is the disappearance of *cyfannedd* in Dyfed; (ii) the *second* is the disappearance of Pryderi and Rhiannon; (iii) the *third* is the disappearance of the crop of wheat planted by Manawydan.

As regards the disappearance of *cyfannedd* in Dyfed, it is worth examining first of all what is actually meant by this word, when used as a substantive, as an adjective and as a verb in the context of *Manawydan*. Literally, *cyfannedd* means 'dwellings, habitations' and in this is implied human life in general. When Dyfed loses all signs of *cyfannedd* therefore, what actually disappears is everything connected with human habitation: farming, culture, all men, women and children and all farm stock. Thus the land becomes *anghyfannedd*, 'uninhabited by humans', and returns to its wilder, more natural state. When Manawydan seeks to *cynfanheddu* Dyfed later on in the text, what he is actually doing is bringing with him the outward signs of human habitation—agriculture and farming—by (i) ploughing the land, (ii) sowing in the tilled earth and then (iii) reaping the crops sown. *Cyfannedd* as a noun is then the opposite of *diffeithwch*, 'uninhabited land', just as the adjective *cyfannedd* is the opposite of *diffeith*, or of *anghyfannedd*. This opposition is very important for a proper understanding of the text. Dyfed does not in any way become a wasteland, as has been understood by some critics.[7] On the contrary, there is plenty of wildlife there, animals for hunting, fish for catching and wild bees for making honey. Indeed, this point is emphasized on more than one occasion in the text, both before the descent of the mist and the loss of *cyfannedd* and also afterwards. Therefore, the first disappearance is *cyfannedd* and this occurs when Manawydan, Pryderi, Rhiannon and Cigfa, in the company of a retinue of men, visit Gorsedd Arberth for the *first* time. A *twryf*, 'a loud noise', is heard and a *niwl*, 'a fog', descends, and after a while lifts again. All human life and all farm stock disappear with it, except for the four characters named above. The foursome now look to see what actually has disappeared and their search for human life in Dyfed is related in three stages.

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[6] Williams (1964: 51: 9–11). 'And during this time, [such] friendship grew among the four of them that no one [of them] wished to be without the other, day or night.'

[7] Most notable in this respect is W. J. Gruffydd who calls Dyfed a "waste land" on several occasions (Gruffydd 1953: 75ff.). However, Andrew Welsh quite rightly states: "But Dyfed is not a 'waste land': it is deserted but not infertile." (Welsh 1992: 379)

In the first stage, they view the scene from their vantage point on Gorsedd Arberth and this is too related in three stages.

(i) Initially, they look far afield in the direction of the farmsteads where previously had been seen cattle and livestock. They see nothing and this 'nothing' is listed carefully:

> *A phan edrychyssant y ford y guelyn y preideu, a'r anreitheu, a'r kyuanhed kyn no hynny, ny welynt neb ryw dim, na thy, nac aniueil, na mwc, na than, na dyn, na chyuanhed,*[8]

(ii) Next, they look towards the *llys* from Gorsedd Arberth and see that the houses of the *llys* are all empty without men or animals in them:

> *tei y llys yn wac, diffeith, anghyuanhed, heb dyn, heb uil yndunt;*[9]

(iii) They then look more closely to home and see that their companions, those who went with them to Gorsedd Arberth, have all disappeared:

> *eu kedymdeithon e hun wedy eu colli, heb wybot dim y wrthunt, onyt wyll pedwar.*[10]

In fact all people and domesticated animals have disappeared from view from Gorsedd Arberth save for the four main characters.

The *second* stage of their search for *cyfannedd* brings them to the *llys*, 'the court'. This also consists of three distinct areas of search:[11] (i) they begin in the *yneuad*, 'the hall'—representing the public and official part of the *llys*; (ii) they then proceed to the *ystauell*, 'the chamber', and the *hundy*, 'the dormitories'—the former representing the domestic and private quarters of the lords of Dyfed and the latter the sleeping chambers of the household; (iii) finally, they enter the *medgell*, 'the mead-cellar', and the *kegin*, 'the kitchen' —where the servants would normally be at work. They see no sign of life anywhere.

The third stage of their search for life brings them once again outside. After they have eaten and drunk some more, they set off throughout the land of *Dyfed* in search of human life. They see nothing and no-one, except for wild animals, and content themselves, for a while at least, with consuming the

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[8] Williams (1964: 51: 25–28). 'And when they looked to the direction where they could previously see the flocks and the herds and habitation, they saw no manner of anything, no house, no [domestic] animal, no smoke, no fire, no man, no human life.'

[9] Williams (1964: 51: 28–52:1). 'the houses of the court [were] empty, desolate, uninhabited, without man, without animal in them.'

[10] Williams (1964: 52: 2–3). 'their own companions lost, not knowing anything of them, apart from the four of them.'

[11] The five buildings, listed here as (i) *yneuadd*, (ii) *ystauell* and *hundy*, (iii) *medgell* and *kegin* are reminiscent of the nine buildings which, according to Medieval Welsh Law, it was the duty of the king's villeins to erect for the royal household (cf. G. R. J. Jones 2000: 296–9).

produce of nature about them. Thus the search undertaken by the four friends for all that has disappeared has been cleverly and concisely related in three separate stages.

At the beginning of the *third* year whilst engaged in *three* country pursuits, those of (i) hunting, (ii) fishing and (iii) collecting wild honey,[12] they make their way over the border to England where they engage in *three* crafts in succession, making (i) saddles, (ii) shields, and (iii) shoes. Each time due to the quality of their workmanship and their ensuing financial successes, they are threatened by the local craftsmen. Each time Pryderi suggests they attack the local craftsmen, and each time Manawydan counsels caution, whereby they decide to move on to the next town where they take up a new craft.

On the third such occasion, they decide to return to Dyfed. This is the *second* time that Manawydan and Pryderi leave England for Dyfed. However, this time it is a very different Dyfed from the previous occasion. There is no welcome awaiting them there nor a feast prepared before them. Therefore, both men engage in hunting with dogs to secure food—wildlife still seems to be abundant in Dyfed even though agriculture is notably absent. Whilst in the vicinity of an unnamed *gorsedd*, 'hillock', probably to be identified with Gorsedd Arberth, both men see a splendid *caer*, 'a fort', where no *caer* had previously stood. Pryderi, followed later by Rhiannon, enters this *caer*, and sees a golden vessel, hanging by golden chains from the sky, above a marble fountain. On attempting to seize the vessel, Pryderi's movements are severely restricted and he is, to all intents and purposes, imprisoned within the *caer*. The actual details of Pryderi's inability to move are related in three stages: (i) his hands stick to the vessel, (ii) his feet stick to the slab on which he is standing, (iii) and his power of speech fails him. The same occurs to Rhiannon when she comes to the aid of her son. Now both Pryderi and his mother are whisked away with the *caer* when it too disappears—this is the *second* major disappearance in this *second* section of the text. It is worth recalling that this disappearance, too, is preceded by a loud noise, just as in the case of the first, and, as we shall see, also with the third. Now only Manawydan and Cigfa remain in Dyfed and on noticing Cigfa's worry at being left alone with him, Manawydan seeks to reassure her that she need have no fear of him. There are again three parts to his promise, each of which begins by his taking God as his witness:

(i) *'Mi a rodaf Duw y uach it, na weleisti gedymdeith gywirach noc y keffy di ui,'*[13]

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[12] These have all been referred to previously (cf. Williams 1964: 51: 7–9).
[13] Williams (1964: 57: 18–19). 'I give you God as surety that you never saw a truer companion than you will find me.'

(ii) *'Y rof a Duw, bei et uwni yn dechreu uy ieuengtit, mi a gadwn gy-wirdeb wrth Pryderi, ac yrot titheu mi a'y cadwn;'*[14]

(iii) *'E rof a Duw,...titheu a gey y gedymdeithas a uynych y genhyf i, her-wyd uyg gallu i, tra welho Duw yn bot yn y dihirwch hwnn a'r goual.'*[15]

The decision taken is that they will both return together to England. This time Manawydan engages in only one of the crafts previously undertaken by him and Pryderi—that of shoemaker. The outcome, however, is as be-fore—the other shoemakers bring threats against him because of his success. Now both he and Cigfa return to Dyfed, the *third* and final time for Ma-nawydan to return from England to Dyfed (within the confines of this text at least). Again, this is different from the previous two occasions since this time Pryderi is absent. On this occasion, Manawydan brings with him wheat seeds to sow in what appears to be an attempt to bring some kind of *cyfannedd* back to Dyfed, in the form of farming and agriculture. At first he returns to hunting and fishing—hunting without dogs this time since we are told that he accustomed himself to catching wild animals in their lairs, presumably by trapping them. (We must recall that his hunting dogs have disappeared with Pryderi and Rhiannon in the magic *caer.*) Dyfed is still fertile enough for nature and wildlife to flourish. Manawydan now seeks to *cyfanheddu* Dyfed, by attempting to return the land by his own hand to its previously fertile and cultivated state. He prepares *three* fields: (i) firstly he digs the land—*ryuor-yaw*—, (ii) then he sows—*heu*—and (iii) finally, when the seasons have passed, he prepares to reap the wheat—*medi.*

When, however, he comes to the *first* field, early in the morning, he sees the stalks bare, and the ears of wheat have vanished. The same happens in the case of the *second* field. Manawydan now insists on keeping watch over the *third* field during the night, ready to confront his assailant. Suddenly, he hears a loud noise—the *third* such noise referred to in the text—and sees that which has laid waste the previous two fields and is laying waste the third field before his very eyes—mice. This is the *third* and final disappearance in the text. Manawydan succeeds in catching one of the mice since it is preg-nant and he returns to the court with the mouse in his glove.

The *third* major section of the narrative of the text—the restoration—begins when, the following day, Manawydan returns to Gorsedd Arberth with the mouse with the intention of hanging it. This is the *third* visit to this mound, the other two being on the first evening when the mist first de-scended on Dyfed and on the day of the hunt when Pryderi and Rhiannon

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[14] Williams (1964: 57: 20–22). 'Between me and God, if I were at the beginning of my youth, I would keep faith with Pryderi, and for your sake too I will keep it.'

[15] Williams (1964: 57: 23–25). 'Between me and God, you will have the companionship you seek from me, according to my power, while God sees that we are in this tribulation and mis-ery.'

disappeared in the *caer*. This third visit relates how the 'hero'[16] of the text succeeds in releasing Dyfed from the enchantment and returning *cyfannedd* to the land.

There are three steps in the process of hanging the mouse: (i) *firstly*, Manawydan inserts two forked sticks into the ground on the top of the hill; (ii) *secondly*, he places a crossbeam in the two forks, and (iii) *thirdly*, he ties a piece of cord around the mouse's neck, ready to string it up. On each occasion he is interrupted by a member of the clergy, each time rising in importance in the Church's hierarchy: (i) *firstly* by a poor cleric, who offers him *one* pound to release the mouse, which Manawydan, of course, refuses; (ii) *secondly*, Manawydan is confronted by a priest sitting on horseback, obviously in not so poor a guise as the cleric, as he offers Manawydan *three* pounds for the release of the mouse—this offer is once again refused; (iii) *thirdly*, a bishop appears together with his retinue and riches, and he makes three far more generous offers for the mouse: (a) firstly, *seven* pounds; (b) secondly, *twenty four* pounds; (c) thirdly the *seven* horses together with their packs—obviously a princely sum of money and wealth—all of which are turned down by Manawydan.[17]

The mouse is only released when Llwyd fab Cilcoed—Manawydan's adversary in the text, in the guise of the bishop, finally reveals himself and agrees to conditions set out by Manawydan. As Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan has pointed out, there emerges a tripartite pattern in the bargaining sequence as well, and that twice over. Each time, apart from the very last that is, Manawydan swears an oath to God—*y rof a Duw*,[18] on seven occasions and *dygaf y Duw uyghyffes*[19] on one occasion—that he will not release the mouse (Lloyd-Morgan 1988: 6):

> "*In the first sequence Manawydan demands:*
>
> *1. freedom for Pryderi and Rhiannon,*
> *2. lifting the enchantment on Dyfed,*
> *3. information as to the identity of the mouse.*
>
> *Once Llwyd has revealed the third and promised the other two, Manawydan still stands his ground until three conditions are met:*
>
> *1. that the enchantment on Dyfed be lifted,*

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[16] Manawydan is indeed the hero of the text, though not as the warrior-hero of epic tales. He is, rather, a new kind of hero, one relying on wit, intellect and the rule of law (cf. Welsh 1992: 380–1.).

[17] Indeed, there does seem to be some comment implied here as to the riches of those higher up in the Church's hierarchy. [One can only speculate what might have been, had the author been more preoccupied with a number other than three – we might have then heard of the wealth of a medieval Monseigneur, a Canon, an Archbishop, a Cardinal, even the Pope!]

[18] Williams (1964: 63: 18, 24, 27; 64: 2, 21, 25; and 65:3). 'Between me and God'.

[19] Williams (1964: 63: 20–1). 'I confess to God'.

> 2. *that there will be no reprisals or revenge on Pryderi, Rhiannon or Manawydan,*
> 3. *that Pryderi and Rhiannon be restored there and then.*
>
> *Only then is the mouse set free and regains her true form as Llwyd's wife.'*

Note that no mention is made of Cigfa in all of this; she only comes to the foreground in the text when Pryderi and Rhiannon have disappeared and now that they are on the verge of reappearing, Cigfa again loses her importance.

These then are the major examples of tripartite structure and triadic groupings which are to be found in the text of *Manawydan Uab Llyr*. The two direct references to 'The Triads of the Island of Britain' also found in the text have been purposefully excluded from this discussion as these only contain a reference to one of the members of the triad and not to all three.[20]

In conclusion, I would now briefly like to draw attention to the various types of tripartite structures and threefold repetition in the Third Branch of the Mabinogi and to the various levels in the narrative on which this structure functions.

Firstly there seems to be a basic tripartite structure to the text as a whole as already outlined. All three sections—Introduction, Disappearances, and Restoration—are integral to the whole and omitting any one of them or even any part of them would detract from an understanding and appreciation of the text and its overall structure.[21] This is very different from what we have in the texts of *Pwyll* and *Math*, where the three sections of narrative can be read and even understood quite independently of each other. However, it might also be argued that the various sections of *Branwen*, too, require to be taken together.

Also on this deeper level of the whole text, are to be included those events which are related in the narrative that do not follow each other in close sequence with the result that their very existence and significance is often overlooked: the three disappearances, each of which is preceded by a defining and unifying *twryf*; the three journeys undertaken by Manawydan from England to Dyfed, one with Pryderi, one with Pryderi, Rhiannon and Cigfa, and one with Cigfa alone; the three visits to Gorsedd Arberth, the first connected with the disappearance of *cyfannedd*, the second connected with the disappearance of Pryderi and Rhiannon, and the third connected with the restoration of *cyfannedd* and the return of Pryderi and Rhiannon.

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[20] Bromwich (1978: 14; Triad 8): *Tri Lledyf Vnben Enys Prydein* 'Three Prostrate Chieftains of the Island of Britain'; (1978: 176; Triad 67): *Tri Eur Gryd Ynys Brydein* 'Three Golden Shoemakers of the Island of Britain'.

[21] This is basically how the text is read and understood by Andrew Welsh (Welsh 1992). This is quite different from the approach taken by W. J. Gruffydd who argues on several occasions that certain parts of the text can stand alone (Gruffydd 1953: 71) and that others are either duplications or accretions to the nucleus of the tale (Gruffydd 1953: 74 and 77ff.).

Secondly, there are numerous examples of tripartite structure with obvious incremental repetition within certain sections of the text, particularly in the second and third sections. The majority of readers and critics are much better acquainted with these since they very often follow each other in the narrative in quick succession and there is usually a kind of climax with the third time of telling. Here are included the following: the three steps taken to search for life in Dyfed after the descent of the mist; the three crafts undertaken by Manawydan and Pryderi in England and their accompanying threats; the destruction of the three wheat fields; the three steps in hanging the mouse; the three representatives of the hierarchy of the Church.

Thirdly and finally, there are further examples of tripartite structure and threefold repetition which appear in the details of single sentences or of single incidents. These are also usually overlooked, very often due to the lack of any obvious incremental repetition therein. Here are included: the threefold reaction of the four friends sitting on Gorsedd Arberth when the fog lifts; the threefold search for life in the *llys*; the three country pursuits undertaken by Manawydan and Pryderi; the three ways in which Pryderi is restrained in the *caer*; Manawydan's threefold promise to Cigfa, each of which is preceded by an oath to God; the threefold activity in growing wheat; the threefold offer of money and wealth by the bishop; the three parts to Manawydan's conditions given to Llwyd before releasing the mouse, and that twice over.

Taken together, all these examples of tripartite structure lend to the whole text a careful and purposeful construction. In fact, there does seem to be a great deal of cohesion in the text, suggesting perhaps that it was indeed an intended and conscious composition by an author who adapted traditional elements and themes, who gave a new dimension to certain well established characters, and who carefully utilized tripartite structures and triadic groupings in an effective and even subtle way while relating his story and conveying his 'message'.[22]

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[22] This cohesive nature of the text has been remarked upon by several critics: R. M Jones remarks that "… the modern reader tends to express his admiration for the cohesion of structure in this tale" (R. M. Jones 1986: 182). Sioned Davies also recognizes the underlying tripartite structure for the whole text and the importance of such the triadic groupings in the details therein: "Ymddengys, felly, fod patrymau triawdol yn bwysig o fewn y naratif [yn y Pedair Cainc], ac yn arbennig yn *Manawydan*." 'It appears, therefore, that tripartite patterns are important within the narrative [in the Four Branches], and in particular in *Manawydan*.' (Davies 1995: 61).

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Jan Erik Rekdal

Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's role as poet and its dialogical implications[1]

In this paper I will try to argue for the dialogical relationship of texts being an instrument for the chiefs of sixteenth-century Ireland in their efforts to create alliances. To succeed in building up such alliances it is essential to have a space that is common to the two partners. I will maintain that the dialogical relationships between literary works also served such a purpose.

When Maghnus in 1537 was inaugurated as the Ó Domhnaill at Kilmacrenan in Donegal, he had built up an extensive reputation—to which also the inauguration added. He had had his castle erected at Lifford and had 'authored' a vast Life on Colum Cille—the most extensive text of Early Modern prose, still grossly overlooked.[2] The Life was finished in 1532 five years before he was made the Ó Domhnaill. He also has poems ascribed to him of which at least five are extant.[3]

The ethos of saints' Lives and that of courtly panegyrics are closely related. Both genres exploit conventional language and conventional feelings. Borrowings of paragraphs and metaphors en bloc occur frequently, apparently without raising problems. On the contrary, similarity is desired in hagiography and praise-poems. Thus both genres establish a semiotic sphere of *inter pares* not only between those portrayed and praised but also, implicitly, between the portrayer and the portrayed. Imitation appears to be the *raison d'être* for both genres.

The hagiographer is frequently the successor of the holy man and/or related to him. In Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's case, he can claim Colum Cille to be an ancestor of his (which he does ostentatiously). Further, the Life serves as the hagiographer's invocation to God for protection. By being a member of a family of professional poets the court poet, like his patron, is also part of the nobility. His profession does not normally comprise the obligations of a

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[2] O'Kelleher & Shoepperle (1916).
[3] Bergin (1970) seems to agree with O'Curry that nr. 44 'A Lovers' Quarrel' may be by Maghnus as it follows the love-poems ascribed to him in the MS. – R.I.A. 23 I 40.

chieftain or the acts of a warrior, but the recording of these very same obligations and acts in the specialized genre of court poetry. The court poet *repeats* and *imitates* in words what the chief has performed in action.

I should like to suggest that in addition to recording the life and accomplishments of the heroes, both Life and court poetry through the conventionality of the genres also establish a dialogical relationship with former Lives and poems. These relationships, too, played a part in the continuous process of contracting political alliances, by showing the likeness of the portrayed with earlier portraits. This likeness could serve as warrant for those who contracted an alliance with the portrayed. What they could not achieve by intermarriage and battle, might be achieved by means of texts.

Maghnus – the hagiographer

Maghnus became the Ó Domhnaill in 1537 when his father, Aodh Dubh, died. But already in 1532 a Life of Colum Cille was completed in Maghnus' own, newly built castle at Lifford. It is a vast text bringing together an extensive collection of all the traditions extant, both popular and intellectual, concerning the patron saint of the Ó Domhnaills. Maghnus Ó Domhnaill is mentioned explicitly in the preface as the hagiographer. In spite of this, however, we still do not know what part Maghnus actually played in the composition of the Life and to what extent he involved himself in the process. But we know that he wanted it to be read as if he had composed it. Fact or fiction, his name is inscribed into the corpus of texts, bringing them and by implication himself into a dialogical relationship with earlier similar texts. Such a similar text had been produced only a few years earlier: the prose Life of Caillín—the founder of the monastery of Fidnacha—called The Book of Fenagh (R.I.A. 23 P 26), written in 1516. [4]

In that Life Colum Cille is reduced to submission in his relation to St. Caillín. This had to be adjusted, an operation completed in Maghnus' Life. Here, St. Caillín acts as an advocate for Colum Cille on several occasions. This is best illustrated in the tale about the retrieval of the lost epic Táin Bó Cuailnge. This tale is incorporated in Maghnus' Life. In earlier versions of this tale (in the Book of Lismore and in Egerton 1782) Caillín acts in the central role of mediator or advisor in the efforts to retrieve the lost narrative. In those versions, Colum Cille is just one of several saints present and does not play any important part. In the version of Maghnus' Life, however, Caillín's role is reduced to recommending Colum Cille as the superior sage or saint, who would know how to retrieve the epic. As pointed out by Pádraig Ó Fiannachta (1985: 22, 23) it is through Colum Cille's intercession that the epic is rescued from oblivion.

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[4]   Hennessy and Kelly (1939), Macalister (1939).

Moreover, in the preface of his Life, Maghnus claims that due to him the lost Life of Colum Cille has been retrieved. This claim echoes Colum Cille's achievement in the tale. Here, we have a clear example of what I have suggested above, namely that hagiography may be used in order to establish a likeness between the hagiographer and the saint.

Maghnus – the poet

As a chief, Maghnus employed court-poets who would produce and equip him with the panegyrics required for a chief of his standing. But he also appears to have written poems himself.[5] In form, both categories of poems, those of the court poets as well as those of himself, belong to the highly formal style of the professional poets of Classical Irish.

Half a dozen poems exist ascribed to Maghnus which he *may* have composed himself. But it could just as well have been created for him by some of the poets he patronised. The poems have been collected under the general category of *dánta grá*—'love poems'. They express strong feelings of love, parting and longing for the beloved. These poems by non-professionals have almost exclusively been singled out under the term 'dánta grá', as if they were clearly different from love poems by the court poet expressing love for his patron. This is a problem that would deserve further investigation. So when Maghnus committed these poems, he did so as a chieftain and not as a professional poet. In the poems he expresses his own feelings unlike the court poet when he is recording the feelings of his patron. What Maghnus does do, however, is imitate other chiefs who wrote similar poems—of whom the most famous is Gerald or Gearóid, the third earl of Desmond. Intertextually he establishes a relationship with the great Anglo-Norman earl.

The poems ascribed to Maghnus are difficult to date. Two of them have traditionally been held to be love elegies for his first wife, Siobhán, Conn Bacach Ó Néill's sister, who died in 1535. This has been questioned recently by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (2002: 370), considering all the ensuing marriage alliances he contracted.

In accordance with my argument here I see them as a product of Maghnus' efforts to build himself up as the chieftain-to-be and thus as belonging to the years prior to his father's death—a period to which also the Life belongs.

Maghnus was his father's rival as his own son would be in due course. He claimed that the reason for this was The Franciscan Observants' rebuke of his father's lifestyle: he had taken a concubine. The simple language of the Life of Colum Cille is a mark of Franciscan style and discourse and is most likely a result of a joint venture between the friars and the chief. Written

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[5] O'Rahilly (1926: 70–74).

with Maghnus' support and patronage, the Life nevertheless appears first and foremost to be a Franciscan production—providing Magnus with an alibi of moral pre-eminence above his father arguing in favour of his candidature for the chieftaincy and the deposition of his father.

From what has been said above I should like to maintain that the Life was a means to win the friars over on Maghnus' side. He needed the clergy and almost succeeded in deposing his father when the latter was rebuked by the friars for taking a concubine. But for some reason or other nothing came out of it. It was only after Aodh Dubh's death that he was able to succeed him.

Books – manuscripts

Costly manuscripts were a sign of wealth. The lords of Tír Conaill—the Ó Domhnaills—had collected manuscripts over a long period of time. They had acquired Lebor na hUidre in the fourteenth century, but lost it together with another manuscript called Lebor Gerr (now lost), to Conchobhair of Sligo, in 1340 as a ransom for two important hostages (O'Neill 1984: 26). It was not retrieved until 1470 by Maghnus' grandfather Aodh Ruadh (chieftain from 1461–1505), though lost again the year after. It was probably regained by the Ó Domhnaills as it appears to be back in Donegal in 1631 according to references to it by the O'Clerys and their associates who were at work there in the Franciscan Convent (Best & Bergin 1929: xi). After the change of owner, this manuscript was furnished with an entry of prayer for Aodh Ruadh—the new owner—an entry that also informs us that it had been lost in ransom for the son of Ó Domhnaill's ollamh of history (ibid.).

When we consider that Lebor na hUidre is a collection of old Irish tales and many of them Ulster Tales, to be in possession of this book could be seen as a symbol of a desire to be related to the Ulstermen. This tallies with the fact that the Ó Domhnaills began to make use of Rudhraighe as a personal name in the fifteenth century—the name of the ancestor of the Ulaid.[6] In the *Annála Connacht*[7] there are in the first half of the sixteenth century recorded four of that family by this name; one being Maghnus' own brother. In *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (The Annals of the Four Masters) there are eight persons of the fifth and sixteenth century by that name recorded (O'Donovan 1851: 308).

Aodh Dubh, Maghnus' father, bought The Book of Ballymote—a MS written at the end of the fourteenth century in north Connacht—for 140 milch cows in 1522 (Ó Concheannain 1981). In this book we find a brief encomium or praise relating how the book was handed over to Aodh Dubh

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[6] I have kindly been made aware of this fact through personal correspondence with Prof. Ruairí Ó hUiginn.

[7] Freeman (1944).

who is praised in the most flattering words. The most valuable book in the Ó Domhnaill library or possession was undoubtedly the Cathach—an enshrined Psalter—held to be written by Colum Cille.

The extensive collection of poems relating to Colum Cille in Laud Misc. 615, from the same period as the Life (Herbert & O'Sullivan 1973: 175) must be seen also as part of the literary build-up undertaken by Maghnus Ó Domhnaill. As pointed out by Máire Herbert and Anne O'Sullivan (1973: 174) the quality of the vellum and lack of arrangement may point towards a collection made for scholarly purposes to be used to compile the Life. It appears however that remarkably few of all these poems occur in the Life. This could indicate that it was a draft intended for a *duanaire*—an album of poems so popular at the time.

Thus we see that a chief would need valuable books in case of ransom. Aodh Ruadh had Lebor na hUidre in which he got his name inscribed. Aodh Dubh had his Book of Ballymote where he got himself mentioned. By having a text written for him, however, his son Maghnus did something new. His father and grandfather were included in the MSS by colophons, while Maghnus in his is explicitly referred to in the preface as the author. His book was contemporary to himself, whereas those of his father and grandfather were not.

Being the restorer, as he says of himself, of the lost Life of Colum Cille, Maghnus not only underlines the lineage between the saint and himself, but also has some of the light from the saint reflected on him as he brings him back from oblivion.

It is the same chieftain-to-be who portrays himself as hagiographer who presents himself as the composer of verse.[8] A high esteem for poetry may explain why the Life is permeated by verse, the whole text being interspersed with quatrains (248 is the number of quoted quatrains). Among poets closely related to Maghnus, we find poets of the Mac an Bháird and the Ó Cléirigh families. To judge from a praise-poem to Maghnus while he was married to Margaret, daughter of Angus Mac Donnell of Islay, the poet Tadhg Ó Cobhthaigh appears to have been his tutor as he calls him 'my pupil/scion' (*mo sgeallán* 'pip'; cf. Breatnach 1984: 64). What kind of pupil is implied here is difficult to say, but the poet was well rewarded for his claim: a brood mare was given for each of the 22 stanzas and a silver gallon in addition to the horses. Like every chieftain Maghnus was utterly aware of the danger of satire and the importance of praise-poems for the renown of himself and his chieftaincy.[9]

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[8]   The professional bard Tadhg Mór Ó Cobhthaigh seems to have been his tutor in poetry (Breatnach 1984: 64).
[9]   A treaty made in 1539 between Maghnus and Ó Conchobhair of Sligo shows clearly the power of satire where Ó Conchobhair is threatened with excommunication by representatives of the church and by being satirised by representatives of the poets. (Carney 1943)

Marrying into the tradition

As mentioned earlier Maghnus Ó Domhnaill built up his political status through several marriage alliances. Through these alliances the chief tries to emulate the father of his bride. We shall see that Maghnus was eager to come close to the Fitzgeralds. He first married Siobhán, a daughter of the Ó Néill and sister of Conn Bacach Ó Néill and a niece of Gearóid Mór Fitzgerald.[10] But this marriage seems to have been short as he already in 1538 had made a contract with a cousin of his first wife, Eleanor Fitzgerald — protectress of Gearóid Óg Fitzgerald and widow of Mac Carthy Reagh (Lennon 1994: 61ff. & 150). Eleanor was the daughter of the eighth earl of Kildare.[11]

Aodh Dubh, Maghnus' father who had pursued an ancient feud between the Cenél Conaill and the Cenél Eoghain or between the Ó Domhnaills and the Ó Néills, assisted the English against the Ó Néill. By Maghnus' taking over as the Ó Domhnaill, however, a change was brought about in the Tír Conaill policy. He made peace with traditional rivals such as Ó Néill of Tír Eoghain and Ó Conchobhair of Sligo.[12]

Not wanting to imitate his father, but rather to surpass him, Maghnus acts differently and would have to establish other examples to imitate. The political situation also calls for a different policy than that of Aodh Dubh, Maghnus' father. The son acts more in accordance with his grandfather, who, in fostering Gearóid Mór's son Henry, expressed a view of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare as of equal aristocratic standing as his own Tír Conaill clan (Lennon 1994: 73–6).

This well established alliance then between the Fitzgeralds and the Ó Domhnaills was strengthened further by Maghnus' marriage. The ninth earl of Kildare (1513–34), Eleanor's brother is said to have a library consisting of 34 Latin books, 36 French, 22 English and 20 Irish. The Anglo-Norman earl's interest in books, languages and writing Maghnus Ó Domhnaill tries to match.

Contracting marriage alliances with women of the Fitzgeralds, Maghnus clearly regarded himself on an equal footing with the Geraldines, the earls of Kildare and Desmond. Through his marriages he came close to the great Anglo-Norman earls, but however much he tried to emulate them he never became their like. (Metonymically he was one of them, but metaphorically he was not.) Is this what he tries to achieve by emulating the poetry of Gearóid Fitzgerald, the third earl of Desmond, produced more than hundred years

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[10] According to the Annals of the Four Masters he then married Margaret daughter of Angus Mac Donnell of Islay.

[11] This union with Eleanor which did not last longer than the Geraldine league, is not mentioned in the Annals by the Four Masters.

[12] This was part of a greater confederacy which also included the earl of Desmond, James. So also was his marriage to Eleanor. Eleanor Fitzgerald on her side agreed to marry Maghnus to secure his support for her nephew Gearóid Óg—the son of the ninth earl of Kildare whom the confederacy wanted to restore to his father's possessions (Lennon 1994: 53, 150ff.).

earlier? This Anglo-Norman earl of the latter half of the fourteenth century —an example of cultural assimilation—was described in the Annals of Clonmacnoise as a 'witty and ingenious composer of Irish poetry'. Gearóid, the earl, is also the first registered among the nobility to compose poetry in Classical Irish. This was part of the hibernicization of the Desmond earls. And in the unstable times of Maghnus when the English king tried to subdue the Irish earls and chieftains, one may regard his poems as an effort in the same direction: a strengthening of the Gaelic voice. In that he does resemble Gearóid the earl of Desmond.

By composing verse or having poems attributed to him, he did not only imitate Gearóid, but he simultaneously paid homage to the craft of poetry.

The word versus battle

There exists a written agreement from 23 June 1539 between Maghnus and his traditional rival Tadhg Ó Conchobhair concerning Sligo castle.[13] It was part of the confederacy with Ó Néill and Desmond to ensure their alliance in supporting young Gearóid against the English king. In this agreement between the former mortal enemies, Ó Conchobhair is obliged to render a number of military services to Maghnus and to act as his ally. If not according with the agreement he will be excommunicated by the clergy and satirised by the poets. The agreement is signed by prominent representatives of both groups. The poets present were one from the Ó Cléirigh family who is not mentioned and Conchubhar Ruadh and Fearghal from the Mac an Bhaird family.

This document shows how the chieftain Tadhg Ó Conchobhair is threatened through satire—negative praise—to become unlike other chiefs if he does not act on the agreement.

The agreement illustrates further how the alternative to alliance by marriage was the word—written and spoken. Maghnus alone, however, could not secure Tadhg's submission to him in a peaceful way, but had to resort to threats of excommunication and satire—instruments of power of clergy and poets. This reflects why he had this agreement written. By this he demonstrates clearly his understanding of the power of the word held by the two classes.

This agreement based on the power of clergy and poets reveals that the opposite of imitation of and loyalty to the Life is excommunication, and the opposite of the praise-poem, satire. If you do not follow or adapt yourself to the example of the mightier, it will turn against you and undo you. Imitation of the saint and the chieftain gives you a profile, whereas satire and excommunication deface you. The stronger of the two for a chieftain seems after all

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[13] See footnote 9 above.

to be praise. Prose is anonymous—poetry is signed. Life is prosaic, but lightens up when interspersed with panegyrics.[14]

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[14] I am indebted to Prof. Jostein Børtnes, Bergen University, for valuable comments and suggestions.

WILLIAM MAHON

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin's Aisling Parody: *An Phis*

It is frequently remarked that Brian Merriman's *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche* (1780) is a parody of the aisling, the traditional genre of dream-vision poetry that became the premiere poetic expression of native Irish political aspirations in eighteenth-century Ireland.[1] This may be true in so far as the poet uses the conceit of a dream-vision as a foundation for his narrative, and borrows several topoi from the aisling genre (the bucolic setting of the opening, the hallucinatory abduction or *seachrán*, and the character of a fairy queen). The problem for this characterisation of *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche*, however, is that there is no psychological engagement on the part of the poet-protagonist with a "sky-woman" (*spéirbhean*) in the manner definitive of the aisling.[2] For that reason it is rather difficult to see how the poem as a whole actually makes the aisling genre its primary parodic target.[3] On the other hand, this is precisely what we find in the song edited here—*An Phis* (*The Vulva*)—and a brief paraphrase of its argument will serve to make this clear:

> 1. The poet is wandering along a river-bank, thinking about the oppression of his country and his hope that Charles Stuart will be restored to the throne. He beholds a beautiful woman and is love-smitten. She addresses him with the words: 'If it's *pis* you want, here it is.'
> 2. The beauty of the woman is described in traditional, formulaic language: her eyes, her hair, her eyebrows, her throat, her cheeks, and the sweetness of her voice as she sings and assures the poet, 'If it's *pis* you want, here it is.'

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[1] Recent examples in Deane (1986: 25); Harrison (1991: 276).
[2] In *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche* the role of the *spéirbhean*—insofar as it may be said to obtain at all—is diluted within the trio of the ugly female bailiff, the fairy queen Aoibheall, and the young malmariée.
[3] In Merriman's poem it is the thematic structure of the warrant-poem (*barántas*) that governs the narrative, not that of the aisling. The structural elements of the *barántas* (the search and arrest of a miscreant by a bailiff from the poetic court, the arraignment and list of charges, the verdict, and the corporal punishment of the wrongdoer) are all played out from the point-of-view of the protagonist (Merriman himself). Its success as a parody lies in Merriman's inversion of the mode of the *barántas*, turning it into a first-person narrative rather than a prescriptive piece.

3. The poet proceeds to ask her if she is Helen, Eithne (Uchtsholas), or Deirdre; but the woman rejects these identities and repeats: 'If it's *pis* you want, here it is.'

4. The woman tells him not to regale her with talk about the Greeks or the Fianna. She has come from across the sea in search of virile men. She taunts him with the suggestion that he has been castrated and adds: 'If it's *pis* you want, here it is.'

5. In the last verse the poet embraces the woman and the two fall to the ground. The sexual act is graphically and boastfully described, and the poem ends once again with the refrain: 'If it's *pis* you want, here it is.'

The Manuscript

The edition below is based on the unique copy of the text contained in the first section of a mid-nineteenth-century manuscript, RIA 24 B 9, p. 34.[4] The scribe, Patrick Fitzgibbon Foley (d. 1866), was a farm labourer in Milford (Áth an Mhuilinn), parish of Kilbolane (Co. Cork), about six miles west of Charleville (Ó Conaire 1982: 79). *An Phis* is one of twenty items attributed to Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin in Foley's portion of the manuscript, and it may be supposed that he was attempting to produce a small anthology of the poet's work. Foley produced at least nine other manuscripts in the period 1824–1850 and was employed for this purpose in turn by Edward O'Reilly (c. 1770–1829) and William Smith O'Brien (1803–1864). In a letter of testimony written in 1857 for the scribe by Fr Robert O'Riordan, parish priest of Kilbolane, the latter wrote: 'I am acquainted with Patrick Foley these last thirty years and consider him to be a sober, honest and well-conducted person' (MacCarthy 1990: 41).

In spite of the fact that only one known copy of *An Phis* survives, it must have enjoyed some popularity, as the title and the music (probably from a source in Co. Clare) were collected by George Petrie in the 1850s (Petrie and Stanford 1905: no. 1312).

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[4] The manuscript (p. 26) contains another unique item attributed to Eoghan Rua: an aisling beginning *Lá dá rabhas am aonar ar taobh leasa a' smaoineamh.*

Authorship

This text is the tenth of twenty items attributed to Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin in the manuscript. On principle—the ascription of a composition to a particular author made on the basis of a single copy deserves serious consideration when (a) there are no linguistic, thematic, or stylistic anachronisms to preclude the ascription, and (b) there are no alternative ascriptions made in the manuscript or in other sources (for example, in references where title and author are cited without text). For corroborating evidence we must look for linguistic, thematic, and stylistic correspondences between the work in question and the corpus of a proposed author.

On the whole the poem is well structured metrically, and most of its imperfections—which appear to have risen from oral transmission—might easily be emended. Its choice of vocabulary, use of compounds and general diction are not inconsistent with the ascription, but the most striking evidence is found in two features of diction and one allusion which are highly characteristic of Eoghan Rua's verse.

The first of these features is the use of the phrase *cois abhann* within the conventional introductory motif placing the poet in a bucolic setting beside a river and a wood. One might think that this *particular* phrase is common in the work of eighteenth-century Irish poets; but such is not the case.[5] When poets locate themselves by rivers, they usually cite the river by name, as in the following examples:

> *Ag taisteal dam trí na críocha ar cuaird*
> *Ó Chaiseal na ríogh go Laoi na scuab,*
> *Is i mBarrachaibh aoibhne taoibh le cuan* (Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill)

> *Do dearbhadh linn i gCorcaigh cois Laoi* (Seán Ó Murchadha)

> *Ag Sionainn na slimbharc cois Inse go déanach* (Séamas Ó Dálaigh)

> *Cois na Bríde seal do bhíos-sa go súgach sámh* (Uilliam English)

> *Ag taisteal seal im aonar le sleasaibh réidhe na Laoi* (Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin)

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[5] In an exceptional instance Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin makes unspecific use of the riverside topos (*Cois gléghlais' im' aonar, a'siúl tráth*). The lack of specificity is not uncommon when a poet situates himself in maritime as opposed to riverside locations: e.g. *Cois caladhphoirt ar maidin dom i dtráth 's mé im néall* (Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill); *Cois imeallaibh sleasa na mara im shuí bhíos-sa* (Seán Ó Dálaigh) RIA 23 C 8; *Maidean im aonar i gcéin cois na taoide* (Seán Ó Braonáin); *Cois tuinne, is mé ag siubhal go lúthmhar pras* (Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach).

On the other hand, in the case of Eoghan Rua's corpus we find *cois abhann* in no less than four compositions in addition to the text here edited. These instances are:[6]

> *I gcaol-doire chraobh-chluthmhar néamh-dhuilleach bhíos*
> *Im aonar gan suim i n-aiteas 'ná i gceol,*
> *Go féith-singil tréith-thuirseach faon-mhisnigh tinn*
> *Gan chaomhnas ó aon **cois abhann** ar neoin.* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 2 [lines 101–104])

> ***Cois abhann** i ndé is mé ag taisteal i gcéin* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 6 [line 475])

> ***Cois abhann** i gcaol-doire stadas-sa tréimhse* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 13 [1022])

> ***Cois taoibhe abhann** sínte is mé tráth i ndé*
> *Ag smaoineamh ar chlaoin-bheartaibh gnáis an tsaoghail* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 14 [1078–1079])

Secondly, the particular use of the word *machtnamh* 'meditating' in line 3, coupled with a reference to the demise of the Gaels or the vicissitudes of life, is noticeably more prevalent in Eoghan Rua's poetry than in that of his contemporaries. Other examples from his corpus are numerous:

> *go fann aréir 's me **ag machtnamh** ar*
> *gach planda 'on Ghaedheal-fhuil chalma* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 4 [347–348])

> *Is mé **ag machnamh** ar éag na bhflatha is na laoch*
> *I bhfearannaibh Chéin do túrnadh* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 8 [605–607])

> *Ar maidin i ndé cois céidh na slim-bharc*
> ***Ag machtnamh** go faon 's ag déanamh smuainte* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 9 [723–724])

> *Ag taisteal na Blárnan lá 's mé **ag machtnamh***
> *Ar ár na bhfearachon fáilteach fairsing* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 12 [937–938])

> *Ag taisteal na sléibhte dam sealad im aonar*
> *Go hatuirseach céasta, gan áird im aonar,*

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[6] To which we may also compare: ***I sleasaibh na habhann** is mé ag machtnamh 's ag éigeamhach / Ar shíomanna is claonfhala an tsaoghail go dubhach.* (Muldowney 2002: no. 19).

> *Is mé **ag machtnamh** ar chlé-bheartaibh gangaide an tsaoghail,*
> *Do dhearg mo ghné is do chráidh sinn* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 13 [1014–1017])

> *Tráth is mé cois leasa,*
> *Go tláth **ag déanamh machtnamh***
> *Ar ár na dtréan do b'fhearra*
> *Ar Chlár Luirc fuair réim* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 15 [1134–1137])

> ***Ag machtnamh** dom féin ar thréithe an tsaoghail* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 44 [3112])

> *I sleasaibh na habhann is mé **ag machtnamh** 's ag éigeamhach*
> *Ar shíomanna is claonfhala an tsaoghail go dubhach.* (Muldowney 2002: no. 19 [1–2])

The third feature characteristic of Eoghan Rua's verse is the allusion in line 21 to the protagonists of *Eachtra Chonall Gulban:* Eithne Uchtsholas, the daughter of the king of Leinster, and Conall Gulban himself. It occurs in four other compositions by the poet:[7]

> *Nó an sibh do dhlíghigh le cumann díoghrais páirt is géill,*
> *Ar Chonall ríoghdha cumas ríoghachta a ghabháil id dhéidh* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 5 [449–450])

> *Nó an ríoghan do dhlíghigh ar an mór-fhlaith*
> *Ón mbeinn dul dá teoruigheacht i gcéin?* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 11 [903–904])

> *Éide Chonaill dob ursa le treon* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 18 [1354])

> *Nó an bhean do bhí aig Connall do sgiubag 'na suan uaig* (RIA MS 24 B 9, p. 27.11)

The *combined* presence of these features in *An Phis*, I would argue, fairly substantiates the ascription to Eoghan Rua. Given the graphic ribaldry of the piece, it is no wonder that there was a reluctance to commit it to writing. In addition to the evidence adduced above, the aggressive sexual and rakish elements in *An Phis* are consistent with other compositions by Eoghan Rua (e.g. *A bhile gan chealg,'a sheabhaic don fhíor-fhuil*), his view of himself (cf. *Sin agaibh mo theastas ar beathaidh gach réice*), and with his reputation in oral tradition. These elements, furthermore, are more characteristic of Eoghan Rua's eighteenth-century floruit than of a later period.

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[7] The only other allusion to this tale I have found in eighteenth-century Irish verse is in Seón Lloyd's *Cois leasa is mé go huaigneach.*

The Background of *An Phis*

The fulcrum for parody in *An Phis* lies in its blending of the stylized language of the political aisling with the crude ribaldry of the eighteenth-century literary pastourelle in such a way that the expectations raised by the former genre are subverted by the emergence of the latter.[8] This blending had a precursor in variety of pastourelle in which the woman encountered by the poet appears to be otherworldly and in some cases acts as the enticer (Ó Tuama 1960: 27);[9] With the development of the "rake" persona in the early eighteenth century, there emerged a new potential for integrating it with pastourelles of this kind for comic effect. Indeed, this comic potential had already been exploited by some of Eoghan Rua's contemporaries.

Two examples, both by Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin and composed in limerick metre, are pertinent for our discussion. The first of these, *A spéirchoinneal bhéilmhilis, bhúch, bhán,* was composed sometime before 1756 (the year of its transcription in RIA MS 23 A 16, pp. 9–12). As with *An Phis,* the humour of the piece arises from incongruity, by juxtaposing the diction of the aisling with the sexual vaunting of the pastourelle (Nic Éinrí 2001: 136–7).[10] In stanza 9 the woman rejects the poet's extravagant praise and dismisses him as 'mad Gaelic rake' (*réicbhuile Gaelach*).

> *A spéirchoinneal bhéilmhilis, bhúch, bhán,*
> *a chaeimhchriostail shéimh, shultmhair, shubhaigh, sháimh,*
> *do dhréimire scléipe, nuair 'bhréagfainn go binn é,*
> *do léimfeadh do chroí 'stigh le lúcháir.* (st. 1)

> (O fair, gentle, sweet-mouthed sky-candle, / O placid, cheerful, pleasant, gentle, fair crystal, / were I to appease sweetly your 'ladder of sport' / your heart within would leap with joy.)

> *A réalta na gcraobhfholt 's fonn scáil,*
> *a Phoenix na gclaonrosc 's clúmhail cáil,*
> *nuair 'phléasfainn a' pléireacht lem' phéarla beidh foinn bhinn',*
> *do léimfeadh do chroí 'stigh le lúcháir.* (st. 2)

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[8] The older, traditional form of the pastourelle is represented in the folk-tradition by such wide-spread standards as *An Sceilpín Draighneach, An Binsín Luachra,* and *Seoladh na nGamhna sa bhFásach.* The ribald variety, with its leering tone and idealisation of the rake may be found in the compositions of Uilliam English (c. 1695–1778; see Nic Éinrí 2003: nos. 8, 11), 'An Mangaire Súgach' (Aindrias Mac Craith, c. 1708–95; see Bruen and Ó hÓgáin 1996: nos. 10–17), and Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin (c.1715–95; see Nic Éinrí 2001: nos. 8, 11, 50–52).

[9] We may take this variety to be heavily influenced by the *reverdie.* As examples Ó Tuama cites *Ar mo ghabháil trí Bhleá Cliath dhom, Sí-bhean Locha Léin,* and *Ré-chnoc Mná Duibhe.* Elsewhere Ó Tuama (1995c: 164) draws attention to the mythological females of medieval Irish saga who act as 'the aggressor, the risk-taker, the initiator of the love contest'.

[10] Headings over the dialogue in the manuscript indicate that the woman in the poem was elderly (*an tseanbhean*)—a reading it thus obviously makes for some humour—but there is nothing in the verse itself that requires us to take that reading as original.

(O star of the branching tresses who is a hero's desire, / O ogling-eyed Phoenix of renowned reputation, / were I to break out disporting with my "pearl" / your heart within would leap with joy.)

Taoscaimid daorphuins, a chiúinbháb,
's téigfeam ár ngéaga le giúrnáil.
Léigfeam ár séada go héigneach, íogair,
in éineacht i gcoimeascar, 's is cúis gháir. (st. 5)

(Let us drain expensive punch, O gentle maid, / and we will warm our limbs with jobbing. / We will allow our "jewels" to join furiously and enthusiastically / in a melée, and it is a reason for laughter.)

Hélen na nGréigeach do thurnáil,
Médea 's Vénus an iúil aird,
's Deirdre d'éalaigh go déanach le Naoise,
do thréigfinn ar t'aíolchorp, a rúnghrá. (st. 8)

(It [your beauty] has humbled the Grecian Helen, / Medea and Venus of great prominence, / and Deirdre, who later eloped with Naoise, / I would abandon for the sake of your lime-white body, O darling.)

The woman spurns his advances as follows:

Cé d'éisteas go héifeachtach, 'umhalfháidh,
led' laochas, led' scéalta, 's led' chúmp'ráid,
ní réfinn le Réicbhuile Gaelach sa tslí san,
in aon chor, mar mhillfinnse m'úrcháil. (st. 9)

(Although I have listened intently, O humble sage / to your boasting, your stories, and comparisons, / I would not get on with a mad Gaelic rake in that manner / at all, for I would spoil my good name.)

Our second example is Tadhg Gaelach's *Ar maidin a'caí dom go fann táir* (Nic Éinrí 2001: no. 52). In the opening stanza the dejected poet encounters a beautiful woman as he passes a fairy-mound.

Ar maidin a' caí dom go fann táir,
go dealbh ar thaobh cnoic ar meabhrán,
do thaisteal dom' choimhdeacht ó shleasa na bruíne
ealabhean 'n aoilchnis go leabhair bláith. (st. 1)

(One morning as I was weeping feebly, wretchedly, /miserably perplexed on a hillside, /from the slopes of the fairy palace there came to accompany me /the swan(-like) woman of the fair skin, beautifully and gracefully.)

His despondency is replaced by love and he asks her who she is. She replies that she is the 'loyal messenger of the White Hawk' (*teachtaire dílis an*

tSeabhaic Bháin). The poet asks her when [Charles] Stuart will return. She says that the troops of the Gael along with those of France and Spain will return to defeat the English. In the last two stanzas, the two make their way to a tavern and drink riotously to the honour of the Pretender.

> *Don tabhairne tigid le greannghár,*
> *a' ragairne, a' rince, 's a' rancás.*
> *An bairille díogaid gan deasca san intinn,*
> *an cnagaire líonta 's an tancard.* (st. 10)

> (To the tavern they go laughingly, / carousing, dancing, and frolicking. / They drain the barrel with no after-effects in the head, / the full noggin and the tankard.)

> *Casaigí binnphoirt ar thiompáin,*
> *is caithig' i nglintibh le móráil*
> *bhur hataí go díreach ar mhullach gach aírde,*
> *ag gairm an Rí le lúcháir'.* (st. 11)

> (Play melodious tunes on the harp, / and throw into the air with pride / your hats onto the top of very height, / acclaiming the King with joy.)

In this example, although the sexual dimension is muted, we find a clear shift in the portrayal of the woman: after communicating her political tidings to the poet she is changed from an otherworldly *ealabhean* into a Jacobite tavern wench. This dichotomy of unreal vs. real is likewise dynamic in *An Phis,* sex being the main indicator of the latter.

Of particular significance in the first example above is the image of the 'mad Gaelic rake' and his association with symbolic acts of social independence such as singing and drinking in taverns, card-playing, and licentiousness. This anti-puritan image has its roots in the colonial discourse of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but by the eighteenth century it is particularly taken up and adopted—largely through the medium of popular song—as an expression of Jacobite political ideology (Pittock 1994: 57, 70–74). Through it an association is made between the politically disenfranchised and the 'natural' man of unbridled appetites. In Ireland the sexually-precocious bandit/poet Ned Ryan ('Éamonn an Chnoic') becomes a classic icon of this type and his legend is coupled *via* song to both James III and Charles Stuart (Nic Éinrí 2003: no. 17; Ó Buachalla 1992: 47). By Eoghan Rua's time the image of poet as rake was well-established and appears to have been promoted by the poets themselves.[11] It is featured not only in the verse of poets like Eoghan Rua and An Mangaire Súgach, but also in the an-

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[11] As Joseph Leerssen (1986: 275) observes: 'Poets would tend to indulge in a rather irregular lifestyle (though picaresque rather than Byronic!) as if it were the privilege of their literary talent.'

ecdotes about them within oral tradition. This self-image, furthermore, over-laps with an older, traditional view of the poet as a problematic figure: the poetic gift might be associated with various forms of mental derangement, drunkenness, and contact with beings (usually female) from the otherworld; the poet's ability to compose efficacious curses and satires made him a rival of the priest and a potential menace to the community; and his predatory sexual appetite similarly posed a danger (Ó hÓgáin 1982: 93–98, 169–183, 307–338).[12] The poet's flouting of social convention is not merely an expression of his personal status; it is a mode of claiming independence and authority. In a discussion of Joseph F. Nagy's analysis (Nagy 1985) of the figure of Fionn Mac Cumhaill as the archetypal poet/outsider, Seán Ó Tuama has posed the pertinent question as follows:

> One is tempted to ask whether it was such community expectation of a hero's attributes that threw up the rake-poet type such as Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabh-áin who, in the late eighteenth century, was intent on making straight the way for the rightful king, or, on a quite different plane, the majestic rogue/sage type of public hero such as Daniel O'Connell in the nineteenth century, and many others since. (Ó Tuama 1995b: 131)

It is strange, perhaps, to find the most prolific composer of aislings here parodying the very form with which he is most associated. But then, of course, he probably appreciated this irony as well. As a rake-poet he enjoys the privilege calling frozen forms and modes of thought into question. Eoghan Rua's target, to be sure, is not merely the code (i.e. the genre), but the ideology that lies behind it: that Ireland's sovereignty is an abiding spiritual principle, female in character; that depends for her realisation on her union with an active male principle, represented by heroes and kings who are devoted to her and serve her on the plane of history. To the extent that the poet's audience—his fellow poets and the listening community—share this mythological ideology, so their positions with regard to those are put up for re-examination. As a composer of aislings, Eoghan Rua does not circumvent the critique he presents in *An Phis*. This is clear in the obliviousness of his persona to the woman's sexual advances and in her accusation that he has been unmanned (an element of self-denigration that might be compared to Merriman's portrait of himself in *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche*.). The suggested impotence of the poet may stand for political impotence: a crippling inability to abandon Stuart hopes. In this regard it is worth noting that the seductress in *An Phis* has come 'from over the sea looking for those who are manly.' Unlike the female messenger in Tadhg Gaelach's *Ar maidin a'caí dom go fann táir*, who promises succour from foreign armies, Eoghan Rua's *spéir-*

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[12] Within recent oral tradition most of the anecdotes concerning Eoghan Rua deal with his uneasy relationship with the clergy (Ó Cróinín and Ó Cróinín 1980: 203; 1982: 91–93 1985: 350–352; Ó Duilearga 1964: 333–337).

bhean looks to Ireland for men of action. *An Phis,* no doubt, is critical of a poetic disconnection from reality; but this is not to say that Eoghan Rua is rejecting the aisling outright or maliciously attacking the genre and its practitioners. On the contrary, parody makes possible an 'ambivalent renewal of its target or targets' (Rose 1995: 25). Its critique is vivifying and rejuvenative.

Text

AN PHIS

le Eoghan Ó Súilleabháin cct.

1

Cois abhann dom im aonar a' déanamh marana
  in imeall coille géag-ghlaise taobh leis an ród,
is mé a' machtnamh ar an saol is ar thréin-neart na Sacsanach
  agus 'fhaid liom go dtigeann Séarlas fá réim cheart i gcoróin.
5 Lem' ais do dhearcas réilteann do léirchuir mé ar mearbhall,
  is d'fhúig mé seal in éagruth le géarshearc dá cló,
Is do labhair liom de bhréithre ba mhéinmhear le n-aithris,
  'Más í an phis a deir tú, tá sí anso.'

2

Ba ramharghlas a claonrosc 's a slaodfholt go muirearach,
10 's a braoithe suite séimhe ar a héadan cidh hóg,
A píp ar dhath na géise ar thréantonn mara 'muigh,
  's a leaca leabhar aolmhar a' géilleadh don rós.
Ba bhinne guth a béil mhiochair chraoraic a' canadh suilt
  ná milischruit *Orpheus* a' caoimhspreagadh ceoil,
15 Is friotalaibh na béithe dá léirchur i dtuiscint dom,
  'Is más í an phis a deir tú, tá sí anso.'

3

An tráth chuala guth na béithe a' caomhspreagadh ranna suilt,
  d'fhiafraíos cá taobh as ar théarnaigh im chomhair,
Nó an fíor gur tusa *Helen* chuir Gréagaigh go lannmhar
20 ag tagairt cath na Trae mar ar traochadh na treoin?
Aitchim an tú Éithne i gcéin chuaidh ó Chonall glic
  nó an ainnir gheal dhubh Déirdre d'fhúig tréinfhir gan treoir?
Is freagra ar an méid sin an bhé bheag ní thabharfadh
  ach 'Más í an phis a deir tú, tá sí anso.'

4

25 Do labhair liom an bhé mhiochair mhaorga go soineanta,
  'Ní gairmthear dom éinne don mhéid sin do rádhais.

Is ná tagairse liom éachta na nGréagach cidh thiteadar
    ná calmacht na Féinne cé tréanmhar a gcáil.
Is bean tar lear i gcéin mé atá ag éileamh na bhfireannach,
30   cér mhuireannach an scéal liom téarnamh id dháil,
Is gurb é do mheasaim ar do bhréithre, a mhéirligh, gur coilleadh tú,
    ach más í an phis a deir tú, tá sí anso.'

5

Do rugas ar an réilteann le méinmhearacht shúgartha
    is do thiteamar in éineacht go sléachtmhar ar lár,
35   Ar inse chonnaill aerach is gan aon neach 'nár gcuideachtain
    is ea d'fhosclas a géaga ó na chéile gan spás.
Ansin do chuireas-sa mo chléireach i réim cheart chum imeartha
    's a' tseoid do thug Mac Dé dom chum bréagadh na mbáb,
An tráth d'admhuigh a béal dom gur chlaochlaigh a huireasba,
    'Ach más í an phis a deir tú, tá sí anso.'

Translation

1. Beside a river as I was pondering alone / at the edge of a green-branched wood adjoining the road, / meditating on (the state of) the world and the power of the English, and how I longed for Charles to be rightfully crowned. / Beside me I beheld a maiden who thoroughly bedazzled me / and left me hopelessly in love with her form, / and she spoke to me with words which are pleasing to repeat, / 'If it's *pis* you say, here it is.'

2. Her enticing eyes were lustrous and her thick hair was luxuriant / and her fine, neat eyebrows on her countenance, yet fresh, / her throat the colour of the swan out on the might sea-waves / and her soft, fair cheeks intinged by the rose. / The voice from her mild, ruby lips as she happily sang / was more melodious than the sweet harp of Orpheus playing music, / and the words of the maiden giving me to understand, 'If its *pis* you say, here it is.'

3. When I heard the voice of the maiden gaily singing / I asked her from where she had come, / 'Or is it true that you are Helen who sent the Greeks ferociously / to fight the battle of Troy where the heroes were slain? / I ask, are you Eithne who went away from clever Conall / or the bright dark-haired maiden, Deirdre, who left champions undone? / And the little maid had no answer to all of that except, / 'If it's *pis* you say, here it is.'

4. The affable and stately maid spoke to me pleasantly, / 'I am not called by any (of the names) you have mentioned, / and don't mention the deeds of the Greeks to me, although they fell, / or the bravery of the Fianna, though

great was their fame. / I am a woman from far across the sea looking for those who are manly, / although I find meeting you a burdensome affair, / and I gather from your words, you coward, that you have been castrated, / but if it's *pis* you say, here it is.'

5. With playful desire I grabbed the maiden / and we fell together to the ground / on a suitable secluded bank with no one in our company, / and I opened her legs without any delay. / And then I put my 'cudgel' in correct position for play, / the jewel that God's Son gave me for pleasing the girls, / when her mouth disclosed to me that her need had been satisfied, / 'But if it's *pis* you say, here it is.'

Manuscript readings

(Stroke and dot in manuscript indicated only when considered pertinent to reading.)

Title. An Phis re Eógan Ó Súilleabháin cct.

1. am aonar a déanamh marbhna **2**. an iomall coille geag ghluise **3**. is me machtnamh ar an saoghal is ar thréanneart na sagsannach **4**. agus fhaid lióm go ttigean Seárlas fá réim cheart a ccorróinn **5**. leam ais do dhearcas raeltion do léir chuir me ar mearbhall **6**. is dfúig me seal an éagchruith re géag shearc dá clódh **7**. is do leabhair lióm do (d+ *stroke and dot*) bhréithre ba (b+ *stroke and dot*) mhéinnmhar re naithris **8**. más sí an phís adéir tú tá sí an so

9. Bo ramhar ghlas a claonrosg sa slaodfholt go muirarach **10**. sa braoighthe shuighthe séimhe **11**. ar dhaith na géise ar thréan tonna marra muith **12**. a géile **13**. ba (b+ *stroke and dot*) bhinne guith a béal mhiochar craoraic a canna suilt **14**. ná millis chruit Orpheus a caoimh spreága ceóil **15**. is friotalaibh na béithe dá léir chuir a ttuigsint dom **16**. is más sí an phís a déir tú tá sí an so

17. An tráith chúala (l+ *stroke and dot*) guith na béithe a caomhspreágadh **18**. dfiafríos ca taobh as ar theárnamh am chóir **19**. chuir gréagaig go lannamhar **20**. aig tagairt cáith na trae mar ar traochadh na treóin **21**. aithcim an tú Eithne accéin chúaidh Chonnall glic **22**. nó an aingir gealdubh déirdre dfúig tréanfhir gan treóir **23**. is freágaran ar an méid sin an bheith bheag ní thabharach **24**. acht más sí an phís a déir tú tá sí an so

25. Do lábhair lióm an bheith mhíochar mhaordha go sionanta **26**. ní gairimthear dom aoine don méid sin do rádhais **27**. ná taguirse liom **28**. a ccáil **29**. as bean tar lear a ccéin me atá ag iliomh na bhfirionnach **30**. ce ar mhuireanach an sgéal lióm téarnamh ad dháil **31**. is gurab é do mheasaim ar do bhréithre a mhéirlaig gur cailleadh tú **32**. acht más si an phís a déir tú tá sí an so

33. Do rugas ar an raeltan re méinnmhuracht súgurtha **34**. an aonfheacht **35**. ar innse chonnaill aedhrach gan aon neach nár ccuideachtain **36**. a seadh dfosgullas **37**.

do chuireasa mo chléireach a réim cheart chum imiorrtha **38**. bréaga **39**. an tráith do adamhuig a béal dom gur claochlaig a huiréasba **40**. acht más si an phís a déir tú tá sí ans so. – / críoch – críoch – críoch –

Metre

Stanzaic structure: {AB} + AC

A = [- / x^1 - - - / é - - / é - - / x^2 - -]
B = [- / x - - - / é - - / é - - / ó (*becoming* a *in stt. 4–5*)]
C (refrain) = [- / í - - / i - / e - / á - - / o]

The metre frequently deteriorates, especially on and around the x-syllables, but most of these lapses are easily emendable and attributable to the vagaries of oral transmission. The phonological fluctuations on these syllables, which are much more promiscuous in the B-lines, may be noted as follows:

Stanza 1, A: x^1 and x^2 = [a]; B: x = [i], [a], [u:?]
Stanza 2, A: x1 = [a], [i:], [i], [i]; B: x = [i:], [a], [i]
Stanza 3, A: x1 = [uM], [i:], [a], [a]; B: x = [i:M], [a], [a]
Stanza 4, A: x1 = [a]; B: x = [a], [a], [u]
Stanza 5, A: x1 = [u], [i], [u], [a]; B: x = [i], [o], [o:]

Textual notes

1. *marana* [*ms* marbhna]. The unemended reading *a' déanamh marbhna* 'composing an elegy' is not entirely out of the question here.

4. *agus 'fhaid liom go dtigeann Séarlas fá réim cheart i gcoróin.* Emendable, perhaps, to something like the following: *Is a fhaide liomsa Séarlas fá réim cheart i gcoróin.*

7. *ba mhéinmhear* [*ms* mhéinnmhar] = *mianmhar.*

8. *más í an phis a deir tú.* Here as in the last line of every stanza the scribe has placed marks of length over *pis* and *deir*. These could hardly represent phonological realities and simply appear to indicate stress.

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19. *lannmhar* [*ms* lannamhar] (variant of *lonnmhar* 'fierce'). A word frequently found under this form in Eoghan Rua's poetry.

21. *Aitchim an tú Éithne i gcéin. Aitchim* 'I beg, ask, beseech' ('*pron.* aicim', Dinneen) from OIr. *ad-teich*. 'Beseech' is the only meaning given in Ó Dónaill (s.v. *aitim*), but note other instances in Eoghan Rua's corpus where it introduces a question: (a) *fionnaim is aitchim a hionad 's a hainm* (Ua Duinnín 1901: no. 6, line 503), (b) *fáth a haistir don bhán-chneis aitchim* (no. 12, line 979); (c) *aitchim is guidhim is fionnaim fá thrí ... an tusa ...?* (Muldowney 2002: 104 (line 1)); (d) *Aicim ort a spéirbhean an léir ce is a díobh tú* (RIA MS 24 B 9, p. 26.10) in an aisling beginning *Lá dá rabhas im aonar ar thaobh leasa a' smaoineamh*. This usage might constitute additional evidence for the ascription to Eoghan Rua.

23. *freagra* [*ms* freagaran]. The final -*n* in the manuscript appears to be a scribal error.

37. *mo chléireach.* Either a corrupt form of original *cleithire* 'a strong, stout stick' (Dinneen), which has a variant form *cleithiúnach* (Ó Dónaill), or else an intentional pun on the same word; cf. *cleith* 'penis', pl. *cleath*(*r*)*acha* (Ó Luineacháin 1997: s.v. *cleith*); also *cleithireacht* 'act of tricking' (Ó Dónaill).

38. *a' tseoid* 'jewel'. Compare the use of plural *séada* for both male and female genitalia in *A spéirchoinneal bhéilmhilis, bhúch, bhán* (1756), st. 5, cited above.

39. *gur chlaochlaigh a huireasba* 'that her need had been satisfied'; cf. Dinneen (s.v. *claochluighim*): *do chlaochlaigh an uain*, the weather changed (*genly.* for the better).

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Natalia O' Shea (Nikolaeva)

Reduplicated presents in Celtic

To begin with, the definition of the reduplicated present as a historical category of present formations of the Celtic verb is to a certain extent questionable. The fact is that, unlike the Indo-Iranian or Greek systems, the Celtic verbal system shows a remarkably small number of forms which go back to Indo-European reduplicated presents. Even those which are found in Old Irish should rather be considered as relics than integral parts of the system. It is obvious that the reduplication in the present stem, unlike similar perfect and desiderative formations, proved to be unproductive and not viable in Celtic. The Celtic reflexes of the verbs which have different more or less productive ways of forming a present stem on the Indo-European level, including reduplication, tend to choose a present other than the reduplicated one: cf. IE Pres. *$\hat{g}i$-$\hat{g}énh_1$/$\hat{g}\mathring{n}h_1$-: Av. *zīzanənti* 'they produce', Gk. *γίγνομαι* 'I become', Lat. *gignō, -ere* 'I produce' vs. Pres. *$\hat{g}\mathring{n}h_1$-$i\acute{e}$/$\acute{o}$-: Ved. *jā́yate* 'is born', Av. *zaiieiti* 'i.d.', OIr. 3 Sg. Rel. *-gainethar* 'who is born'. Rare cases of reduplication as the main and original way of present stem formation usually undergo substantial modifications during the incorporation into the Celtic paradigm.

We shall start with the only Old Irish verb which preserves its Indo-European conjugational type more or less unchanged: OIr. *ibid* 'drinks', class **B I** (Thurneysen 1946), **S1a** (McCone 1987), from IE root *peh_3i-. B. Schirmer derives the Old Irish verb, as well as its cognates in other languages from the Indo-European *i*-reduplicating thematic present < *pi-$ph_3(i)$-$\acute{e}$/$\acute{o}$- (LIV) with the only comment that the second consonant -*p*- between a vowel and the voiced laryngeal -h_3- became voiced at an early Indo-European stage, which resulted in a new stem *$pib(h_3)e$- (Mayrhofer 1986), which underlies Ved. *píbati* 'drinks', Lat. *bibō, -ere* 'I drink' and another Celtic reflex seen in Gaul. *ibeti-s* 'may he drink!'. K. McCone follows the same reconstruction (SnaG). J. E. Rasmussen, nevertheless, points out that according to the rules of evolution of so-called Indo-European "long diphthongs" the semivowel after the laryngeal in a combination of the type $CH\underset{\circ}{i}$-V is not lost, cf. Gk. 3 Pl. Aor. *ἔπιον* 'they drank' < *$(\acute{e})$-ph_3i-$\acute{e}nt$ (Rasmussen 1989); therefore one should posit an athematic prototype *$pip\acute{e}h_3\underset{\circ}{i}$-$ti$ vs. *$p\acute{i}ph_3\underset{\circ}{i}$-$nti$ > *$pip\acute{o}h_3$-ti vs. *$p\acute{i}ph_3$-nti with the regular loss of the semivowel

before a voiceless stop; this prototype was subsequently thematised, apparently after the fashion of thematic subjunctives (ibid.): *pi-b(h₃)-é-ti > *ibeti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *ibid*. It is worth noting that the verbal noun of *ibid,* OIr. *ól,* has by all appearance that of a suppletive formation on the synchronic Old Irish level, but in fact goes back straightforwardly to a nominal formation of the same root: OIr. *oi̯alo- < *poi̯h₃-lo-,* cf. Russ. *póĭlo* (ibid.).

Another verb preserving a vestige of reduplication in the present stem is Old Irish *fo-sissedar* 'protects', *air-sissedar* 'remains', class **A II** (Thurneysen 1946), **W2a** (McCone 1987), from the IE root *steh₂-,* cf. the substantive verb *at-tá* and the verb *in-cota* 'obtains', both formed from essive *stāi̯e- < *sth₂ah₁i̯e-* (LIV). The verb in question is based on the Indo-European *i*-re-duplicating athematic present *sti-stéh₂-ti* vs. *sti-sth₂-énti* (LIV), preserved in Gk. ἵστημι 'I place, I put' (Giannakis 1997), and, if the reading is correct, in Celtib. *sistat* 'he placed, put' from the inscription in Peñalba de Villastar (Schrijver 1995). Other derivatives of this formation go back to the thematised variant *sti-sth₂-a-* where the preceding laryngeal changes the quality of the thematic vowel: Skt. *tíṣṭhati* 'rises', Lat. *sistō, -ere* 'I stand', Arm. *ertʿam < *per-stistə-* 'I go' (Klingenschmitt 1982). The Old Irish verb attaches weak deponent desinences to the weak stem *sista-*.

Let us discuss now one of the most important and widely used verbal stems, which forms the basis of many compound verbs: OIr. *-ic(c)*, cf. *con-icc* 'can', *ro-icc* 'comes, reaches', class **B II** (Thurneysen 1946), **S1a** (McCone 1987) from the Indo-European root *h₂nek̂-*. There exist several versions of the evolution of this present formation, which we shall analyse.

R. Thurneysen posited for our verb an Indo-European preform with a zero grade root and a thematic suffix: *h₂n̥k̂-i̯é/ó-* (Thurneysen 1946); he only needed the putative semivowel in the suffix to provide a plausible explanation of the vocalism of Old Irish forms; cf. nevertheless the 'normal' development of the syllabic nasal in a similar position before a voiceless stop: OIr. *dét* 'tooth' *< *dænt < *h₁dn̥t-* (McCone 1996). Further, when the Hittite verb *hinkzi* 'apportions' was explained as an acrostatic "Narten-present": *h₂ḗnk̂-ti* vs. *h₂énk̂-n̥ti* on the basis of a state I root *h₂enk̂-* (Oettinger 1979),[1] M. Mayrhofer proposed the same reconstruction as a prototype of the OIr. *-icc* (Mayrhofer 1982), which immediately entailed a series of critical remarks from F. O. Lindeman who, following Thurneysen, tried to insist upon the reconstruction of a thematic zero grade preform: *h₂n̥k̂-(i̯)é/ó-* for the Old Irish stem (Lindeman 1987; 1992). In support of his hypothesis, Lindeman adduces such obvious examples of zero grade of this root in Celtic, as Middle Welsh verbal nouns *rank* 'meet', *kyfrank* 'i.d.', but fails to

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explain in what way the vocalism of these forms corresponds to the specific vocalism of the verbal stem in question and how, in general, the nominal formations can shed any light on the original morphology of a verbal present formation. Later, though, Lindeman modified his arguments to a certain extent and proposed to regard the present stem *-icc* as a Celtic innovation created on the basis of the future/desiderative stem *$h_2í$-$h_2n\hat{k}$-se/o-* > *$\bar{\imath}nk$se/o-* > *$in\chi s$-* > OIr. 3 Sg. Subj. *-íss* (the old desiderative, apparently, is preserved in this paradigm as a subjunctive instead of the original †-*áss* < *$a\eta\chi ss(i)$* < *$ankseti$* < *$h_2en\hat{k}se$-ti*). Lindeman believes that a very early Proto-Celtic stem *$\bar{\imath}nk$se/o-* could have served as a source for extraction of a new verbal stem *$\bar{\imath}nk$-*, which would, in turn, have been subject to the Osthoff-style shortening of the long root vowel and would have acquired a range of thematic flexions, which, in the end, would have resulted in the Old Irish stem *-icc* (Lindeman 1997).

P. Schrijver's idea is to compare OIr. *-icc* with Lat. *nancītor* 'attains' and to derive both of them from the hysterokinetic nasal present *h_2n-né-$\hat{k}$-ti* vs. *$h_2\mathring{n}$-n-$\hat{k}$-énti*, or, more precisely, from its weak stem (Schrijver 1993). The form *$h_2\mathring{n}$-n$\hat{k}$-* > *ank-* is remodelled into *h_2n_e-n$\hat{k}$-* > *$nanc$-* in Italic in accordance with the state II root *$h_2ne\hat{k}$* underlying this stem (Klingenschmitt 1982); in Celtic, on the other hand, there was no process of this kind, and Schrijver claims that, unlike the regular *a/ent/k* > *$\mathring{æ}$nt/k* > *$\bar{e}d$/g*, cf. OIr. *dét* 'tooth', our verb shows a specific development *h_2n-n-$\hat{k}$-* > *$annk$-* > *$ennk$-e/o-* > *enk-e/o* > *ink-e/o-* > *ig-e/o-* > -*icc*. But, from the point of phonetics, this theory contradicts such examples of the regular development of syllabic nasals before voiceless stops as the verbal present *-tréic(i)* < *$tr\bar{e}g'$-* < *$tr\mathring{æ}nk$-e/o-* < *$tr\mathring{n}k$-*, and therefore looks rather tentative.

K. McCone at first supported Mayrhofer's "Narten-present" version, the view which he expressed in a number of publications (McCone 1991; SnaG): the Indo-European opposition *$h_2\acute{\bar{e}}n\hat{k}$-ti* vs. *$h_2\acute{e}n\hat{k}$-$\mathring{n}$ti* in Celtic evolves into *$\bar{\imath}n\chi$-ti* vs. *ank-anti*; the next step is the regular quality ablaut levelling: *$\bar{\imath}n\chi$-ti* vs. *ink-anti* and the thematisation with the generalisation of the weak stem: *ink-e-ti* vs. *ink-o-nti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *-icc*, 3 Pl. *-ecat*. In one of his later articles he proposed to reconstruct a phonotactically strange Indo-European root *$h_2nen\hat{k}$-* (McCone 1998); apparently, the main reason for this line of thought was McCone's wish to link the present *-icc* with the preterite *-ánaic*, which, in turn, has a straightforward parallel in Skt. *ānaṁśa* 'reached'; both these forms go back to the IE perfect *h_2e-$h_2non\hat{k}$-e* vs. *h_2e-$h_2n\mathring{n}\hat{k}$-$\acute{e}r$*, and the Celtic form is, quite expectedly, based on the weak stem *$\bar{a}nank$-e* > *$\bar{a}n\mathring{æ}g'e$* > -*ánaic* (Lindeman 1982; McCone 1991). The 'additional' nasal in the reconstructed Indo-European perfect is traditionally considered as an influence of the present stem, cf. Ved. *ānāśa* < *h_2e-$h_2n\acute{o}\hat{k}$-e*; K. McCone, though, is not satisfied with the proposed agreement of a present from the state I root and a perfect from the state II. This very contradiction made H. Rix and M. Kümmel reconstruct an *i*-reduplicating athematic present from

the state II root specially for the Celtic form: $*h_2i\text{-}h_2né\hat{k}\text{-}$ vs. $*h_2i\text{-}h_2\mathring{n}\hat{k}\text{-}$ (LIV) alongside the aforementioned nasal and "Narten-present" from the state I. We find the latter theory the most economical way to explain the evolution of OIr. *-icc*, as it implies neither specific phonetic changes, as Schrijver's version, nor innovations in the present system under the influence of the desiderative stem, as Lindeman's, nor an unusual opposition of archaic states of the root in the present and perfect stems, as Mayrhofer's and McCone's version. Indeed, the evolution of the Indo-European reduplicated present into the Celtic thematic present looks impeccable from the point of view of phonetics: $*h_2i\text{-}h_2né\hat{k}\text{-}ti$ vs. $*h_2i\text{-}h_2\mathring{n}\hat{k}\text{-}énti$ > $*\bar{\imath}ne\chi\text{-}ti$ vs. $*\bar{\imath}nk\text{-}enti$ > $*ink\text{-}e\text{-}ti$ vs. $*ink\text{-}o\text{-}nti$ > OIr. 3 Sg. *-icc*, 3 Pl. *-ecat*. The weak stem is generalised in the course of thematisation, which does not even imply the ablaut levelling, because the "root" vocalism of both stems on the Celtic level is identical.

The present stem of the next verb can be regarded as a member of the Indo-European group of reduplicated presents only on the basis of the evidence of its cognates outside Celtic: OIr. *baïd* 'dies', class **A III** (Thurneysen 1946), **H1** (McCone 1987), from the Indo-European root $*g^ueh_2\text{-}$. At first sight, this verb looks similar to Indo-European thematic formations with the suffix $\text{-}i\acute{e}/\acute{o}\text{-}$: $*g^uh_2\text{-}i\acute{e}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ (McCone 1991; LIV) of the type $*steh_2\text{-}h_1i\acute{e}/\acute{o}\text{-}$, underlying the substantive verb *at-tá*; or at least our verb could be derived from a Proto-Celtic formation after the same pattern: $*bai\acute{e}/\acute{o}\text{-}$. But nothing really points to the existence of a semivowel in the suffix. On the contrary, we can trace the Old Irish verb back quite straightforwardly to the Indo-European *e*-reduplicating athematic present $*g^u\acute{e}\text{-}g^uoh_2\text{-}ti$ vs. $* g^u\acute{e}\text{-}g^uh_2\text{-}\mathring{n}ti$, clearly seen in Skt. *jígāti* 'goes away' and, in its thematised form, in Gk. $\beta\iota\beta\tilde{\omega}$ 'I go away' (LIV; Nikolaeva 2001). It is necessary to note that *i*-reduplication in these verbs is considered a secondarily introduced feature; this type of reduplication, in particular, is a common feature of all Greek reduplicated presents. The *i*-reduplication in the Sanskrit verb is also the result of innovation, which is opposed to an older form *jágat-* 'the inhabited world, everything alive', which J. Narten and M. Kümmel, following her, treat as a participle 'gone through' from a putative verb *jágāti* (LIV; cf. Klingenschmitt 1982).

Positing the loss of the reduplicating syllable in Celtic and the regular thematisation with the generalisation of the weak stem, the development of the present in question can be outlined as follows: IE $*g^u\acute{e}\text{-}g^uoh_2\text{-}ti$ vs. $* g^u\acute{e}\text{-}g^uh_2\text{-}\mathring{n}ti$ > $*b\bar{a}\text{-}ti$ vs. $*ba\text{-}nti$ > $*ba\text{-}e\text{-}ti$ vs. $*ba\text{-}o\text{-}nti$ > OIr. 3 Sg. *baïd*/*-bá* vs. 3 Pl. *baït*/*-baat*; "tugtar faoi deara go mbeadh guta in easnamh ar an bhfréamh féin dá measfaí *ā*/*a* mar iarmhír i gcás mar seo agus gurb é sin an fáth ar thóg **-onti* áit **-nti*" ("it is worth noting that if *ā*/*a* had been considered as a suffix, this would have led to a vowel shortage in the root; this was the exact reason for the change **-nti* to **-o-nti*"), that is, thematisation (SnaG 137). Besides tha fact that our verb belongs to the class of the strong hiatus verbs, cf. 3 Sg. Fut. *-beba*, 3 Sg. Pret. *bebais*/*-bebae*, it is also a member of the

same etymological group as the isolated preterite *at-bath* 'died', which, having an original set of passive flexions, cf. 3 Pl. *at-batha*, undoubtedly goes back to the participle *$g^u h_2$-tó-*. On the Old Irish level the etymological link between the two verbal stems is evidently lost, and the form *at-bath* is included as a suppletive preterite into the paradigm of the verb *at-baill* 'dies' (nasal present). The latter verb, in turn, introduces a semantically unjustified infixed pronoun in the verbal complex *at-bath*, which leads to a complete confusion, the result of which is clearly seen in the Dictionary of the Irish Language, where one entry describes *at-baill* and *at-bath* (sic!), and the other tells about a "defective" reduplicated preterite and future stem *at-beb-* (DIL: 442.43)! This stem, of course, is none other than a regular derivation from *baïd*, and its present was bound to look like *at-bá* (cf. *do-bá* with the same meaning 'dies'). It must be taken into account that the verb *at-baill* has an *é*-future 3 Sg. *at-béla*, which, with its phonetic similarity to *at-beba* (cf. the aforementioned future of *baïd*), brings even more confusion into the general picture: *dobeaba .i. itbela* (DIL: 443.79).

Finally, the fifth verb which we can, again rather tentatively, include in the group of verbs Thurneysen traces back to the Indo-European reduplicated presents, is Old Irish *foïd* 'sleeps, spends the night', class **A III** (Thurneysen 1946), **H3** (McCone 1987). The reconstruction of the very Indo-European prototype of this verbal present is complicated by the variety of morphological structures involving the IE root *$h_2 ues$-* from which our verb is derived. For example, Hitt. *huiszi* 'lives' and, presumably, Goth. *wisan* 'to live' go back to the athematic present *$h_2 ués$-* vs. *$h_2 us$-*; in the meantime, Skt. *vásati* 'spends the night' shows thematisation. M. Kümmel is prone to explain the *o*-vocalism of our verb through the derivation of it from a remodelled iterative *$h_2 uoséi̯e$- ~ *uos-e/o-* (LIV), but this does not quite agree with the obvious fact that *foïd* is a strong verb in Old Irish: cf. 3 Sg. Subj. *-fia*, 3 Sg. Pret. *-fíu*. We find G. Klingenschmitt's point of view more satisfactory: he prefers to regard this present stem as a member of the group of *e*-reduplicated athematic presents with *o*-grade of the root, of the type of *$g^u é$-$g^u oh_2$-ti* vs. *$g^u é$-$g^u h_2$-n̥ti*, see above. Such presents are subject to the loss of reduplication and subsequent thematisation in Western Indo-European languages (Klingenschmitt 1982); S. Schumacher stands by the same version (Schumacher 2000). This theory is further vindicated by an obviously archaic vocalism of the subjunctive of *foïd*: 3 Sg. *-fia* < *$uehāt(i)$< *ues-ase-t(i) ~ *$h_2 ues$-se-t*.[2] All this means that we can reconstruct the evolution of our present thus: *$h_2 ué$-$h_2 uos$-ti* vs. *$h_2 ué$-$h_2 us$-n̥ti* > *$h_2 uós$-ti* vs. *$h_2 us$-énti* > *$(h_2)uos$-e-ti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *foïd*. We should point out that the generalisation of

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[2]   Our verb preserves the regular vocalism of the aorist subjunctive, but replaces the original suffix *-se-* wih the productive *-ase-* > *-ā-*, which results in the form *-fia*; a non-modified development of the inherited Indo-European prototype would have given us a fairly viable form †*feiss*, †*-fé*.

the strong stem, quite unusual for the Celtic verb, indicates that the thematisation of the original paradigm took place at an earlier stage of the evolution of the Indo-European proto-language. Thus, the verbs *foïd* and *baïd* go back to the same Indo-European morphological prototype but show completely different scenarios of evolution; formally identical changes which they undergo, that is, the loss of reduplication and thematisation, belong to the different strata of relative chronology and therefore give different results.

As a conclusion to this article, we find fit to mention two rare Old Irish formations with the identical meaning 'perishes, extinquishes': *ro-tetha* and *ro-deda*; the contexts, in which these forms are found, do not allow to define the exact time of their creation. Despite the presence of the perfect prefix *ro*-C. Watkins suggested in one of his earlier works that these two verbs should be regarded as so-called "primary weak verbs", class **A I (W1)** (Watkins 1956), and proposed to reconstruct them as reduplicating presents, correspondingly $*ti\text{-}teh_2\text{-}ti$ and $*d^he\text{-}d^h\underline{u}H\text{-}ti$. Watkins notes in passing that the reduplication in the first case goes back to the Indo-European level, because, according to him, in no Indo-European language a simple root without any extensions is used as a stem (ibid.). In addition to the fact that Watkins' reconstructions imply such obscure forms as Proto-Celtic †*dedūti*, we find it difficult to follow the very line of his argument, in the first place because the relation of the form *ro-tetha* with the root $*teh_2(\underline{i})\text{-}$, from which he derives it, cannot be proved. It may, indeed, be cognate with Russ. *táyatь* 'to thaw' < $*téh_2\text{-}\underline{i}e\text{-}$, Arm. $t^{c}anam < *t\text{-}n\acute{e}/\underset{\circ}{n}\text{-}h_2\text{-}$ 'I moist' and Welsh *tawdd* 'thaws' (Klingenschmitt 1982; Rasmussen 1989; LIV), but it can just as well be linked to the root $*te\underline{i}h_1\text{-}$ and its Old Irish descendant, *tinaid* 'extinguishes' (nasal present). Be that as it may, it seems to make more sense to explain the reduplication in the Celtic form by its derivation from the Indo-European perfect 3 Sg. $*te\text{-}t\acute{o}\underline{i}h_1\text{-}e$, which would nicely agree with the present *tinaid*. The same refers to the form *ro-deda*, which can be easily reconstructed as an original Indo-European perfect 3 Sg. $*d^he\text{-}d^h\acute{o}\underline{u}\text{-}e$, which, in turn, exists in Old Irish in the shape of the perfect-present verb and creates on its basis its new weak preterite *ro-ded* (LEIA D-34–35). Thus, none of these forms can be included into the group of vestiges of originally reduplicated presents in Old Irish.

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PATRICIA RONAN

Do-Periphasis in Early Irish?

Introduction

The British Celtic languages make frequent use of periphrastic verbal constructions with a form of the verb 'DO' and a verbal noun. In the Gaelic language group this feature is less prominent. A restricted number of examples can be found in Old Irish, and a somewhat larger amount in Middle Irish. Rosén (1989) examined *do:gní* periphrasis for early Irish in the context of the *figura etymologica*, in which a verbal noun is the object of an etymologically related verb. She argues that such constructions serve to manipulate the information structure of the clause and may be used as 'syntactic crutches' to accommodate adjectival modification. In the following, a corpus collected from Old and Middle Irish texts will be examined for attestations of early examples of periphrastic *do:gní*.[1] This study will be introduced by a look at 'DO'-periphrasis in Middle Welsh and at the *figura etymologica* in Old Irish.[2]

'DO'- periphrasis in other languages

In the British Celtic languages, 'DO'-periphrasis is a well grammaticalised feature (c.f. e.g. Lewis & Pedersen 1989: 316). For Middle Welsh, two dif-

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[1] This is a corpus of attestations of verbal nouns in Old and Middle Irish texts collected for a PhD thesis. It was collected from texts with a total of about 123,000 Old Irish and 134,000 Middle Irish words, and additionally a small Middle Welsh sample corpus. The texts in question were the prose texts from the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, the wisdom and law-texts *Audacht Morainn, Bechbretha, Críth Gablach, Bretha Crólige, Apgitir Chrábaid*, the saga texts *Compert Mongáin, Aided Chonchobuir, Táin Bó Fraích, Imram Brain, Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* and the Saints' Lives *Bethu Brigte* and *Bethu Phátraic* for Old Irish. For Middle Irish *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, the LU and LL *Táin, Togail Troí* I and II, *Scéla Alaxandair* and *Pasio Domini Iesu Christi* from *Lebor Brecc*.

[2] I am grateful to Prof. K. R. McCone who has read and commented on various drafts of the paper, and to Profs. H. L. C. Tristram and St. Zimmer for their kind comments and suggestions, as well as for comments from the audience in Uppsala, particularly from Prof. B. Wehr. Needless to say, remaining faults and inadequacies, particularly where I might have failed to take suggestions on board, are entirely my own.

ferent types can be distinguished. On the one hand an emphatic structure exists:

> 1) B.De. 1.17: *Sef <u>a oruc</u> Padric, llidiaw a dy[w]edut*: 'This is what Patrick <u>did</u>, becoming angry and saying….'

The verbal noun still is the logical object of the verb *gwneuthur*, but is cataphorically referred to by the demonstrative *sef*. This type of syntax is described by Poppe (1991: 277) as a marked construction which serves to direct the recipient's attention to the following statement. The other type of 'do'-periphrasis is constructed without cataphoric *sef*:

> 2) B.De.10.8 *A <u>syrthyaw a oruc</u> Dewi ar y corf, a dodi y eneu vrth eneu y mab.* 'And David fell on the body and placed his mouth on the mouth of the boy.'

> 3) B.De 11.6: *Ac yna yn gytun y rycgtunt ehunein <u>moli Dewi sant a orugant</u>, ac ader yn duhun y vot ef yn tywyssawc ar seint Ynys Prydein,:…* 'And then, united between themselves <u>they praised St. David</u> and acknowledged in agreement his being the leader of the saints of the island of Britain.'

Here the verbal noun is preposed to the finite form of *gwneuthur*, dividing the verbal information into a lexical part, the verbal noun, and a grammatical part, the auxiliary which carries marking for the grammatical categories. In these examples no special communicative force is conveyed by the periphrasis, rather it may serve for word order modification, such as to put another constituent in front of the inflected verb to achieve verb second order as argued by Poppe (1991).

'DO'-periphrasis is not unique to Celtic languages, but can be observed in different language groups. Delbrück (1893: 369) especially mentions Germanic and points to the frequency of juxtaposition of what he calls 'Verben allgemeiner Bedeutung wie *thun*, *wirken*' and nouns denoting deeds, as Old High German *reda tuon*, equalling *redinōn* 'speaking', Modern German 'reden'. He considers examples like these further developments of *figura etymologica* constructions, where semantically empty verbs replaced more specialised verbs (ibid.).

Verbs with lexically similar objects in Medieval Irish

In Old Irish a grammaticalised structure called *figura etymologica* (FE) can be found. This construction complements a verb with its own verbal noun:

> 4) SM 65a14: *in <u>fobdod fombaiter</u> in da lled figor fobdotha cuirp crist* 'the <u>submersion</u> with which the two halves <u>are submerged</u> is a figure of the submersion of Christ's body.

This construction is not isolated in Irish, but also exists in other languages, amongst which are Ancient Greek and Latin.[3] Describing examples from other Indo-European languages, Delbrück (1893: 365ff.) points out that the structure can consist of verb and noun deriving from the same stem or from different stems, or one describing a part of the other. In earlier treatments of the Old Irish construction, both form and function have been examined. Thurneysen called it 'a common idiom' and stated that a nasalising relative construction was a prerequisite, citing examples like Ml 52: *íarsint soírad sin rond:sóer* 'after the deliverance wherewith he delivered him.' (1946: §499). It has since been shown (McCone 1980: 23) that nasalisation is not obligatory, but that other syntactic markers are also found. Ó hUiginn (1983: 123–33) distinguished three different types syntactically: 1) the noun being the subject of a passive verb as in Sg. 140a2: *in gním gnither foraib* 'the deed that is done upon them.' 2) the noun being the object of a transitive verb as in Fél. Epil 421: *in guide ro-ngádsa* 'the prayer that I have prayed.' and 3), where the antecedent is repeated by an infixed or independent pronoun: Wb. 3b23: *a forcital forndob-canar* 'the teaching by which ye are taught'. Later Rosén (1989: 53–83) examined the functions of the construction and concluded that it has three main uses. This first functional interpretation offered suggests that the use of an identical object fills an obligatory object slot of a transitive verb with an entity that does not contain new information:

> 5) Ml 52: *is du atlugud buide do Dia iarsint <u>soirad sin rond sóer</u> rogab David in salmso sís.* 'It is to give thanks to God after <u>this freeing which he freed</u> that David gave this psalm.'

The number of participants is reduced by using the lexical element in the verb twice, so no further object is needed. Rosén refers to this process as 'detransitivisation' of the verb. A further effect of this structure is that what would otherwise be the verb of the utterance, carrying out the grammatical functions of tense and mood marking, can be turned into theme or rheme of the clause, that is, topic or information given about it.

   The second functionally motivated group discerned by Rosén are cases of the verbal noun modified by a further element, such as an adjective or a genitive noun:

> 6) Wb 8c3: *ni <u>forcital</u> óisa foirbthi <u>forchanim</u> dúib ar ni fulngidsi ón* 'not the <u>teaching</u> of perfect folk do <u>I teach</u> unto you, for ye endure that not.'

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[3] Cf. Rosén (1991) for Latin and Clark (1999) for Greek. However, these languages do not use verbal nouns but different nominalisations.

In these cases the *figura etymologica* offers the possibility of accommodating the modifying element, which can be considered the most salient information in the sentence. The verbal noun itself serves as a "syntactic crutch" (Rosén 1989: 71), again without adding any additional information to the utterance.

In addition to these, Rosén argues for a further motivation, namely emphatic usage. Some of these examples display emphatic focus of the verbal noun by putting it into the focus position of a cleft sentence. This is particularly observable in a contrastive example from Würzburg:

> 7) Wb 19a6: *ni legend rollegusa la petor act is cúrsagad rondcúrsagusa di chomitecht* et *condarcilli fri iudeu* 'It is not a reading which I have read with Peter, but a reprimand which I have reprimanded him for indulgence and connivance towards the Jews.'

In this example the two verbal actions are put into opposition. The actions are given extra emphasis by the focus of the verbal noun in the cleft clause. It is possible to interpret the FE in Old Irish as influencing the information structure of the sentence by clefting or addition of modifying elements to the noun or verb. Rosén argued (1989: 82) that adjunct-emphasising patterns of the *figura etymologica* are the most frequent in earlier Middle Irish texts, but that in later MidIr these are ousted by the topicalising varieties which contain the verbal noun in cleft position followed by the relative lexical verb.

'Do'- periphrasis in the Old Irish corpus

A special case of FE employs the verbs *gniid* or *do:gní* 'do' with the object *gním* 'deed'. In these cases, the noun is typically preposed in the Glosses and followed by a relative form of *gniid*:

> 8) Ml 29b8: *tororansom trisin doit in gním gnís in doit* 'he signified by the arm the deed that the arm does.'

> 9) Sg 140a2: *fosisetar in gním gnither foraib* 'they confess the deed that is done upon them.'

For the FE in Middle Irish, Hannah Rosén (1989: 72) assumed this device to be used with detransitivising function. The explanation of detransitivisation seems to be applicable also to cases which employ *do:gní* and the noun *gním*. Gagnepain (1963: 85ff.) likewise mentions numerous examples containing both the verb *do:gní* and the related noun. It seems possible that, particularly with this verb, the number of participants in the sentence can be minimised by using *gním* as an object which does not add any further infor-

mation to the sentence and yet fills the obligatory object slot. In other cases with this verb, however, the order changes to verb followed by its object. This is the case where the noun is further modified by adjectives or relative clauses:

> 10) Wb 4a9: *congnemmis gnímu colno* 'that we should <u>do the deeds</u> of flesh'

> 11) Wb 25c10: *condernam gnímu immafolnget hícc duún* 'so that we may <u>do works</u> that effect salvation to us'

In rare cases in the present corpus, *gním* is part of a clefted noun phrase and in contrast with the second element:

> 12) Wb 6a8: *hóre is <u>mórad daggnímo</u> dogní et <u>troethath droggnímo</u>* 'because it is a <u>magnifying of well-doing</u> which he does, <u>and abating of ill-doing</u>.'

> 13) Sg 188a28: *ní slond na <u>aimsire</u> acht is slond in <u>gnimo gnither</u> indi* 'it is not the expression <u>of the time</u>, but it is the expression of the <u>action that is done</u> in it.'

Here contrastive focus is achieved by putting *daggnímo* and *droggnímo*, and *aimsire* and *gnimo* respectively, into opposition. But apart from the cleft-examples, no further emphasis seems visible in the construction. Yet these isolated cases could be forerunners of emphatic types of inverted 'do'-periphrasis identified for ModIr by Tristram (2002: 372).

We generally find that when the action is split into two components the verbal noun is a carrier of lexical meaning and a semantically empty transitive verb can be used to carry the tense, mood and aspect categories.

A second group of examples uses *do:gní* or *gniid* not with the related noun *gním* but with a different abstract noun or verbal noun:

> 14) Wb 17c20: *is burbe dom cia <u>dognéo móidim</u>* 'it is foolishness for me that I <u>make boast</u>.'

> 15) Wb 5a24: *rocechladartar et <u>dorigéensat adrad</u> hídal and* 'they have dug, and they have <u>carried out worshiping</u> idols there.'

The cases collected here could conceivably also have been expressed by using the inflected verbal forms rather than a verbal noun with an inflected form of *do:gní*. In these examples, we typically do not find modification of the noun and the order is (non-relative) verb—abstract noun. Alternative structures with an inflected verb rather than *gníd* are possible in all cases

here, yet the possibility cannot be excluded that this structure may also have been employed to create verbal periphrasis for abstract nouns.

In the remaining cases in the corpus material a clause containing a verbal noun is referred to by the form of *do:gní* either cataphorically or anaphorically:

> 16) Wb 13a29: *cid <u>precept</u> cid <u>labrad ilbélre</u> bed amal asinbiursa <u>dogneither</u>* 'Whether it be <u>preaching</u>, whether it be <u>speaking many languages</u>, let it be done as I say it.'

> 17) Ml 88a17: *nach <u>molad</u> rundammoladsa a dæ is triutsu <u>doronad</u>* 'every praise wherewith I have been praised, O God, has been wrought through Thee'

In these cases the inflected form of *do:gní* serves as a cataphoric or anaphoric pro-form for an action expressed by a verbal noun or abstract noun. In general these cases follow cross-linguistic patterns in referring to one action with a generalised verb of doing as also observable in English *what are you doing?* or German *Was tust Du?* More noteworthy is the following example:

> 18) Wb 14b26: *ceist cid dorigénsam nianse sed responsum mortis .i. <u>guide et tomoltód</u> ar mbáis is <u>hed dorigénsam</u>* [...] 'Question, what have we done? Easy, *sed responsum mortis*, that is, praying and urging for our death, that is what we have done.'

This example refers to the verbal nouns *guide* and *tomoltód* by the means of *do:gní*, but anaphorically and left-dislocation results where the topic is repeated by the general neuter pronoun. Clear examples corresponding to the Welsh type *Sef a oruc* + verbal noun, Old Irish *is ed do:gní…* 'this is what he does' have not been found in the corpus.

Generally in the Old Irish corpus some examples of *gniid* or *do:gní* are observable, but with rather low frequency. In the Glosses with a total of approximately 66,000 words 33 relevant examples were found and there is no indication of any grammaticalisation of the structure. The Old Irish collocation appears to be primarily non-emphatic. In this it is clearly different from the corresponding British, particularly Middle Welsh structure.

'DO'- periphrasis in the Middle Irish corpus

As far as the Middle Irish corpus is concerned here, examples have only been collected from the texts if they fulfilled the criterion that they could easily have been expressed in another manner without *do:gní*. In the majority

of those examples, a noun is singled out and rhematised, as in the following cases taken from a *Táin*-episode:

> 19) LU 4985: *In tan ba háin phuill dognitis no linadsom in poll dia liathrotib ₇ ni chumcaitis in meic a ersclaige.* 'When it was driving of the ball into the hole they were engaged in, he would fill the hole with his balls and the boys would not be able to ward him off.'

> 20) LU 4988: *In tan bá n-imtrascrad dognítis dorascradsom na tri .l. mac a óenur ₇ ni comraiced imbiseom lín a trascartha.* 'When it was wrestling they were doing, he alone would throw the thrice fifty boys, yet not all of them together could surround him to throw him.'

> 21) LU 4990: *In tan dano bá n-imdírech dognítis dosnergedsom uli co mbítis tornochta.* 'When it was stripping one another they were engaged in, he would strip them all till they were naked.'

These examples clearly illustrate that by using the verbal nouns with *do:gní* syntactic parallelism can be created and the actions can be put into contrast. In a simple verbal construction this would not have been possible. Yet a further important merit of the construction appears to be that the syntax may be made easier and the modification to the verbal system reduced to highly frequent verbs. Compare the following example, which would involve the past subjunctive of *ad:cosnai*:

> 22) SA 497b37: *... ₇ madon ascnam indhecdai ₇ in hecnaib ₇ i fellsumlacht dognedis comad indtsamlaighti a m-bescna mad anso do etir.* 'And concerning the striving for wisdom and learning and philosophy which they did, he would be a copier of their customs, if that was well with them at all.'

The lexical information is in the verbal noun, but verbal inflection is provided by *do:gní*, which acts as a transitive auxiliary to the verbal noun. It is conceivable that an inflected verb in the subjunctive might have been used but that a periphrastic subjunctive of a highly frequent verb was preferable as it was easier to produce and process. A comparable case is the following:

> 23) LL 1231: *Do:gén a n-imtheclamad dáig is assu* 'I will undertake their gathering, for it is easier.'

This example is particularly interesting in that it involves a possessive object pronoun. The use of a verbal noun and possessive also has the effect of avoiding the use of infixed pronouns for inflected verbs, the system of which was in a fairly advanced stage of breakdown. This can also be observed in the following examples:

24) LL 1234: *Forrópart Cú Chulaind for a n-imscothad, ⁊ nos tairnged tria ladraib a choss ⁊ a lám i n-agid a fíar ⁊ a fadb co n<u>dénad</u> <u>a féth ⁊ a snass ⁊ a slemnugud ⁊ a cermad</u>.* 'Cu Chulainn began to strip the poles, and he would draw them between his toes and between his fingers against their bends and knots until he carried out their levelling and polishing and smoothing and trimming.'

25) Stowe 1271: *…co nderna a fethugadh ⁊ a snasadh ⁊ a slemhnugadh ⁊ a mblathugadh.* 'Till he carried out their levelling and polishing, smoothing and softening.'

The younger manuscript has an even more unitary approach in that it has unified the verbal nominal *-adh* inflection. It may have been a reason for using *dénam* + poss. pron. + verbal noun that by this the use of infixed pronouns could be avoided. A further sign of the breakdown of the infixation system is the scarcity of infixes for object and relative marking. Only one example was found with an infixed relative marked on *do:gní*:

26) PD 3342 *conid he in dara latrand nama <u>do-s-gni a écnach</u>-sum* 'that is was only the second thief <u>who undertook his mocking</u>.'

This example displays a relative infix, but with what was formerly the infixed pronoun 3rd feminine and 3rd plural class A, rather than the relative. This system had clearly broken down and the use of verbal nouns with possessive pronouns could have further simplified the syntax in such cases.

In another parallel example in the Stowe manuscript, the exchange of a *figura etymologica* in LL for a *do:gní* construction can be observed:

27) LL 471: *Tánacatar maithi Hérend connici in corthi ⁊ gabsat oc fégad [na] <u>ingleta ro geltsat</u> na eich immon corthi* 'The nobles of Ireland came to the pillar stone and began to survey the <u>grazing</u> which the horses <u>had grazed</u> around the stone.'

28) Stowe 487–488: *gabsat oc fégad <u>na hingealta doronsat</u> na eich* 'they began to survey <u>the grazings</u> the horses <u>had done</u> (around the pillar stone).'

Discussing examples where FE is replaced by *do:gní* periphrasis in Stowe, Rosén (1989: 81) argues that cases with the former typically have a further modifier, whereas the latter typically do not. Rosén does not draw further conclusions from the observation, yet it looks as if in this case Stowe simplified by replacing the FE with a less marked *do:gní* construction and furthermore by leaving out adjectival or adverbial modification. Concerning the use of *dénam* + nouns in ModIr, Tristram (2002: 368) raised the question of whether 'do'-periphrasis could be a sign of language death as more complex verbal forms are avoided. Yet rising usage in MidIr seems not so much a

phenomenon of language death as of restructuring of the language system from synthetic to more analytic.

Finally, *do:gní* structures seem to have been a frequent MidIr way of expression in phrases denoting *dénam cathugud* 'to do battle' as in the following:

> 29) LL 3142: *Gabthar ar n-eich dún ⁊ indliter ar carpait co ndernam cathugud dar n-echaib ⁊ dar carptib indiu.* 'Our horses shall be brought to us and our chariot harnessed so that we may do battle from our horses and chariots today.'

> 30) LL 3954 *Acus gid ed tarcid Cu Chulaind dó-som comrac ⁊ comlund do dénam ris-seom* 'Nevertheless Cu Chulainn offered to engage in battle and to do contention with him.'

This seems to have turned into an idiomatic expression, possibly making up for a lack of suitable verbs attached to *cath* 'battle'. On the one hand it was possible to use a deponent structure, derived from the noun, like *cathaigithir*. On the other hand the language may have resorted to periphrasis with verbal noun and a suitable content-less verb like *do:gní* in order to simplify the structure of the language.

Conclusions

Do:gní periphrasis may have started up as a special case of the *figura etymologica*. Overall, one may endorse Rosén's assessment that *do:gní* plus verbal noun is used instead of an inflected verbal form in order to alter the information structure of the sentence: by using a verbal noun as an object rather than employing its verb, the information contained in it can be the object of the sentence, its rheme. That this is a consideration is particularly visible in sentences which contrast parallel actions. It also seems possible that an obligatory object slot was filled in the case of a verbal noun or *gním* used with a form of *do:gní*. In this case the further possibility of nominal modification is offered.

Yet it may be significant that in our corpus various examples also suggest that, certainly in part due to the changing language structure of Irish, the use of *do:gní* was extended functionally, for example into contexts where we find the *figura etymologica* in Old Irish. As the system of infixed pronouns had clearly broken down by the Middle Irish period verbal nouns and possessive pronouns were an alternative way of denoting pronominal objects. The periphrastic use of verbal nouns in this context is a further sign of increasing analytic structure and rearrangement of the verbal system.

However, the number of examples is small. In no way can a grammatical-ised feature be assumed for Irish as it is in Middle Welsh using deictic *sef a oruc* etc. or VN + relative + *gwneuthur*. Rather Irish examples with a form of *do:gní* seem to have been a convenient option sometimes used by story-tellers or scribes to allow greater variety of expression. They may thus have been a feature more of the informal rather than the literary language.

Abbreviations

B.De: *The Welsh Life of St David*. Ed. Evans, D.S. 1988.
LL: *Táin Bó Cúailgne (from the Book of Leinster)*. Ed. O'Rahilly, C. 1967.
LU: *Táin Bó Cuailgne*. Ed. O'Rahilly, C. 1976.
MidIr: Middle Irish
ModIr: Modern Irish
Ml: The Milan Glosses, from: *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. Ed. Stokes, W. & J. Strachan 1901: repr. 1975.
PD: 'Pasio Domini' from: *The Passions and the Homilies from Lebor Breac*. Ed. Atkinson, R.1887.
SA: 'Die irische Alexandersage'. Ed. Peters, E. 1967.
Sg.: The Saint Gall Glosses, from: *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. Ed. Stokes, W. & J. Strachan 1901: repr. 1975.
Stowe: *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Ed. O'Rahilly, C. 1961.
TTr1: 'Ein Text von Togail Troí'. Ed. Mac Eoin, G. 1967.
TTr2: *Togail Troi. The Destruction of Troy*. Ed. Stokes, W. 1881.
Wb.: The Würzburg Glosses, from: *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. Ed. Stokes, W. & J. Strachan 1901: repr. 1975.

Examples

do:gní in Old Irish

a) relative uses of *do:gní*: Ml 29b8, 44a 23, 56d5, 97a3, 129d5.Wb 22b21.
Ml 29b8: *brachio .i. tororansom trisindoit in gním gnís indoit quoniam dixit contere brachium* 'By the arm, i.e. he signified by the arm the action that the arm does.'
Ml 44a23: [excelsus, inquit, apparebis hominibus rei factae* potentiam … mirantibus] *in gnima dongnisiu* 'of the deed that thou doest.'
Ml 56d5: [illam, inquit, uechimentem iram eius inritam Dominus faciet ef-fectumque* distituet] *in gnima dungena in pecthach* 'of the deed that the sinner will do.'
Ml 97a3: [gesta scilicet ab initio* replicabo] *inna ṅgnimae rongnitha fri arnathra ni* 'of the deeds that were done to our fathers.'

Ml 129d5: [quando contra facta* narraverat, fidem robustam rebus simulatio responsionis admonuit] *is cotarsnae fri aicned inna ngnimae dorigeni som hi tosuch andurigeni indib iterum* 'It is contrary to the nature of the deeds which He had done at first, what He has done in them again.'

Wb 22b21: [quod est idolorum seruitus* non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei] *ar méit in pectho et ar chosmili in fognama dogníther doib* 'Because of the greatness of the sin and the similarity of the service which is done to them (idols).'

Sg 140a2: [in quibus et fateri possunt* eaedem personae quod in se sit] *fosisetar in gním gnither foraib* '(they are able) to confess the deed that is done upon them.'

b) modification *dénam gním*: Wb 4a9, 12b15, 12c9, 17a13, 25c10 Ml 30a4, 97a3, 115b4. Sg 153a3.

Wb 4a9: *congnemmis gnímu colno* ut ante fecimus 'that we should do the deeds of flesh.'

Wb 12b15: [deinde uirtutes*, exinde gratias curationum] *indíi gnite gnímu sainemli* in praesenti tantum docentes 'That they do excellent deeds, or working miracles.'

Wb 12c9: *ó domanicc foirbthetu ní denim gnímu macthi act rísam nem bimmi æcni et bimmi foirbthi uili* 'Since perfection has come to me, I do no childish deeds; if only we get to heaven we shall be wise, and we shall all be perfect.'

Wb 17a13: *asbeir itossug as mug imrádi* iterum *conderna gnímu moga* […] 'He says at first that he is a servant: he considers *iterum* that he should do a servant's work.'

Ml 30a4: [quasi noctem patientur* in lunem] *sechis amal nongnetis ón gním innaitchi dorchi* 'As though they did a deed on a dark night.'

Ml 97a3: [gesta scilicet ab initio* replicabo] *inna ṅgnimae rongnitha fri arnathra ni* 'of the deeds that were done to our fathers.'

Ml 115b4: *huaræ atan gnímai nui nadrognatha riam rognítha and moltai nui ingainti nadrocheta riam dogabail doib dano* 'Because new deeds had been done then, that had not been done before, that they should, then, sing new unmade praises that had not been sung before.'

Sg 153a3: [iue sententiam siue essentiam rei significant*] *slond gnimo hirec dogni indidit* 'It is the signification of the act simply which the indicative does.'

Sg 188a28: *ní slond na aimsire acht is slond in gnimo gnither indi* 'It is not the expression of the time, but it is the expression of the action that is per formed in it.'

c) Rhematising structures: Wb 5a24, 5d38, 7d10, 17c20, 26a8, 27a7, 28d19. Ml 24d9, 30d13, 93a1, 96a8. Sg 153a3.

Wb 5a24: *rumúgsat no rocechladatar et dorigénsat adrad hídal and* 'They

have smothered, or they have dug, and they have worshipped idols there.'

Wb 5d38: [noli uinci á malo* sed uince in bono malum] *ní dene comrud friss in ulcc arnabad huilcc dib línaib* 'You should not make contest (?) with him in evil lest both of you become evil.'

Wb 7d10: [...] *mógisidi uili do dia act dorigénsat indescipuil dechor etarru et deu diib is hed on consecha som hic* 'They are all servants of God; but the disciples had made a distinction between them and (made) gods of them: that is what he (Paul) corrects *híc*.'

Wb 17c20: [in quo quis audet (in insipientia dico)* audio et ego] *is burbe dom cia dognéo móidim* 'It is foolishness for me that I make boast.'

Wb 26a8: *seiss i tempul amal donessid crist no dogéntar aidchumtach tempuil less et pridchibid smactu rechto fetarlicce* 'He will sit in the Temple as Christ sat. Or rebuilding of the Temple will be wrought by him, and he will preach the institutes of the law of the Old Testament.'

Wb 27a7: [habundantes in gratiarum actione*] *denid attlugud buide do dia di cach maith dogní frib* 'Give thanks to God for every good that He does to you.'

Wb 28d19: [et motuam uicem reddere parentibus*] *amal dorígensat sidi a altram si dénadsi goiri doibsem* 'As they have nurtured her (so) let her maintain them.'

Ml 24d9: *huare is si aimser sin in dentae estosc inna fine in damdabchaib* 'because that was the time in which men used to squeeze the grapes in tubs.'

Ml 30d13: *arandentar anindarbae maní eroimet a forcital ⁊ arnarogabthar midesmrecht díb* 'That their expulsion may be wrought if they receive not his teaching and that a bad example may not be taken from them.'

Ml 93a1: [uenite, comprimamus dies festos Dei de terra] *arna derntar anadrad* 'that their worship may not be performed.'

Ml 96a8: *huanchomacnabud nephindlachtu .i. ní indail a trocairi ⁊ ní dignea aerscailiud du danaigiud neich dúnni di* 'From unparted custom, i.e. He will not part His mercy, and He will not break it up to give us somewhat of it.'

Sg 153a3: [quia substantiam sive sentientiam siue essentiam rei significant*] *slond gnimo hi rec dogni indidit* 'it is the signification of the act simply which the indicative does'

d) do:gní as verbal proform: Wb 13a24, 14b26, Ml 88a17.

Wb 13a29: [omnia autem uestra honeste et secundum ordinem fiant*] *bad féal et bad fedte dogneid cach réit cid precept cid labrad ilbélre bed amal asinbiursa dogneither* et *is béim foris inso forsnadlígetha remeperthi no is titul indligid ar chiunn* 'let it be faithfully and let it be honourably that ye do everything. Whether it be preaching, whether it be speaking many languages, let it be done as I say it. And this is a recapitulation of the aforesaid *dicta*. Or it is the title of the *dictum* ahead.'

Wb 14b26: Aliter *roposcíth linn uiuere ceist cid dorigénsam nianse* sed responsum mortis .i. *guide et tomoltód ar mbáis is hed dorigénsam* sed non inuenimus '*Aliter*, we were weary of life. Question, what have we done? Easy (to answer), *sed* etc., that is, praying and urging for our death, that is what we have done, sed etc.'

Ml 88a17: *nach molad rundammoladsa a dæ · is triutsu doronad* 'Every praise wherewith I have been praised, O God, has been wrought through Thee.'

Ml 128c3: [in locum dificientes per admirationem narrationis* gratiarum subiecit actionem] *huare nach derni a adamrugud ara meit is ed dugní iarum atluchedar buidi do dia nammá* 'Because he cannot express admiration of Him for the greatness of it, it is this that he does afterwards, he gives thanks to God only.'

do:gní in Middle Irish

a) Rhematising: LU 4985, 4988, 4990. LL 1015, 1231, 2145, 2612, 3142, 3954. TTr1 907. SA 491b23–5, 491b37. PD 2710, 2720, 3024, 3126, 3276, 3342. Stowe 579.

LU 4985: *In tan ba háin phuill dognitis no linadsom in poll dia liathrotib ₇ ni chumcaitis in meic a ersclaige.* 'When they were engaged in driving the ball into the hole, he would fill the hole with his balls and the boys would not be able to ward him off.'

LU 4988: *In tan bá n-imtrascrad dognítis dorascradsom na tri .l. mac a óenur.₇ ni comraiced imbiseom lín a trascartha.* 'When they were wrestling, he alone would throw the thrice fifty boys, yet not all of them together could surround him to throw him.'

LU 4990: *In tan dano bá n-imdírech dognítis dosnergedsom uli co mbítis tornochta.* 'When they were engaged in the game of stripping one another, he would strip them all stark-naked but they could not even take his brooch from his mantle.'

LL1015: *eirgg-siu dot tig ifechtsa, a phopa Conaill, ar in mac bec, ₇ no léicfe dam-sa foiair ₇ forcomét in chócid do dénam sund.* 'Go home now, master Conall, said the little boy, and let me keep watch for the province here.'

LL 1231: '*Dogén a n-imtheclamad dáig is assu.' Forrópart Cu Chulaind for a n-imscothad, ₇ nos tairnged tria ladraib a choss ₇ a lám i n-agid a fíar…* ''I shall gather them for it is easier.' Cu Chulainn began to strip the poles, and he would draw them between his toes and between his fingers against their bends.'

LL 2145: *Foga fogablaigi ina farad. Ingnad em reb ₇ ábairt ₇ adabair dogní.* 'Beside him a forked javelin. Wonderful is the play and sport and diversion he makes with these weapons.'

LL 2612: *Ac óenmummib darónsat gnímrada gaile ₇ gaiscid do foghlaim, ac*

Scathaig ₇ ac Uathaig ₇ ac Aife. 'With the same fostermothers had they learnt the arts of valour and arms, Scáthach, Uathach, and Aífe.'

LL 3142: *Gabthar ar n-eich dún ₇ indliter ar carpait co ndernam cathugud dar n-echaib ₇ dar carptib indiu.* 'Our horses shall be brought to us and our chariot harnessed so that we may do battle from our horses and chariots today.'

LL 3954: *Acus gid ed tarcid Cu Chulaind dó-som comrac ₇ comlund do dénam ris-seom* 'Nevertheless Cu Chulainn offered to engage in battle and contention with him.'

TTr1, 907: *Bid tnuthach inn imthuargain dodenat na hailigtir, in Persicda a haerthiur in betha ₇ in Macedonda asa iarthur.* 'Furious was the mutual smiting which the foreigners did, the Persian from the east of the world and the Macedonean from its west.'

SA 491b23–5: *Mor do derfadaíg ₇ tuirrsib ₇ guba dogniset badrocht na Pers aga degsain .*'Many sighs and shouts and cries did the captives of the Persians when seeing these spoils.'

SA 497b37: *... ₇ madon ascnam Indhecdai ₇ in hecnaib ₇ i fellsumlacht dognedis comad indtsamlaighti a m-bescna mad anso do etir.* 'And concerning striving for wisdom and knowledge and philosophy which they did so that he should be a follower of their virtues if he liked it at all.'

PD 2710: *No-co n-anns-a doman-sa ata mo flaithemnus bunaid-si; ₇ da mad ead, dogéntais mo muinnter cathugud dar mo chend ₇ noco tinléctis na hIúdaide me.* 'My real kingdom is not this world, and if it were, my people would do battle on my behalf and the Jews would not have delivered me up.'

PD 2720: *ar atbert co ndingned tempul Dé do díscailed ₇ a athcúmtach fri trí láib.* 'for he said that he would tear down the temple of God and rebuilt it in three days.'

PD 3024: *Airissid sund co fóill, co ndechsaind for leith, co ndernaind ernaigthi.* 'He remained there for a while, till he went to the side to pray.'

PD 3037: *O'tchuaid Isu sel bec uadib for leith, do-rat a gnuis fri lár, ₇ dogní ernaigthi.* 'Jesus went for a while from them to the side, put his face on the floor and prayed.'

PD 3126: *Tancabar-si do m'ergabail-si co lodmib ₇ sonnaib; nach airisind-si ocaib-si cech dia is-in tempul oc forcetul, no-co ndernsabair m'ergabail?* 'You have come to seize me with swords and stakes. Did I not stay with you every day in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me?'

PD 3168: *Is ann-sin ro-laiset a saile for a gnúis foirend ele dib, ₇ is ed do-rónsad, a mbasa do thabairt for a gnúis, ₇ is ed atbertis:* 'Then another group of them spat on his face and this is what they did: the struck their palms on his face and said this…'

PD 3276: *'Cret dogén-sa fri Isu, d'a n-ainm Crist?' Is ed ro-ráidset uli. 'a*

crochad do dénum.' Atbert in t-errig friu-som:- 'Cid on, cia olc do-rigne Isu frib?' 'Ni thardsat di-a n-úid aithesc Piláit ind-sin, acht is ed do-rónsat, nuall mor ₇ séselbi i n-a agaid. ''What shall we do to Jesus, named the Christ?' This is what they all said: 'Crucify him.' The viceroy said to them 'Why so, what harm has Jesus done to you?' But they gave no heed to Pilate's words, but this is what they did, a great clamour and uproar against him.'

PD 3342: *Indissid Lucas co n-id he in dara latrand nama do-s-gni a écnach-sum.* 'Lucas tells that it was only the second thief who derided him.'

b) Detransitivising: LL 2547, SA 488b35, 492b50. PD 2980.

LL 2547: *Is trúag lind in gním doníther imbárach and,' bar Fergus.* 'We deem sorrowful the deed that will be done here tomorrow, said Fergus'

SA 488b35: *Ro gab rigi Tiabanda iar tain. Dorigne ilgnimu fuilechda i n-a ferunn .i. i Maccedoine.* 'Afterwards to took up kingship of the Thebes. He did many bloody deeds in his country, i.e. Macedonia.'

SA 492b50: *Doridned dano gnim colach ele, .i. Casstines fesssam feigh roglic comalta ₇ fer coimfrichnuma dosum i farrad Arastotil, bai forsin sluagh ina comaitecht som.* 'He did another detestable deed then, namely the intelligent, very sharp philosopher Casstines, his foster-brother and fellow student of Aristotle's was together with him on the hosting.'

PD 2980: *is e adfét in gním ra-mor do-rónsat Iúdaide amairsecha is-in lathi indíu .i. Ísu Crist mac Dé bíí, slaníccid nime ₇ talman ₇ shíl Adaim uli, do crochad ₇ do césad cen cinaid tria thnuth ₇ format.* 'it is he who told the incredible deed the unbelieving Jews did, on this day, to crucify and torture the faultless Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, the Saviour of heaven and earth and all the race of Adam for envy and jealousy.'

c) Syntactic movability: LU 5410, LL 1234.

LL 1234: *Forrópart Cú Chulaind for a n-imscothad, ₇ nos tairnged tria ladraib a choss ₇ a lám i n-agid a fíar ₇ a fadb co ndénad a féth ₇ a snass ₇ a slemnugud ₇ a cermad.* 'Cu Chulainn began to strip the poles, and he would draw them between his toes and between his fingers against their bends and knots until he made them smooth and polished and slippery and trimmed.'

LU 5410: *Tibid cechtar de fria chéle amal dondruiminso or Cuillius is am laid fosfairnecsa hi comlepaid. Is dethbir disi or Ailill is ar chobair ocon Táin dorigni.* 'As you thought,' said Cuillius, 'I found them both lying together.' 'she is right (to behave thus),' said Ailill. 'she did it to help in the cattle-driving.''

d) *Do:gní* as pro-form: LL 1250. PD 2784.

LL 1250: *Is aire condeochatar sin i comdail Con Culaind dáig ba immarcraid gním leó doringni in lathe reme forro .i. dá mac Nera meic*

Nuatair meic Thacáin do marbad ic Ath Gabla. 'They came to encounter Cu Chulainn because they deemed excessive what he had done against them the previous day, namely killing the two sons of Nera mac Nuatair meic Thacáin at Ath Gabla.'

PD 2784: '*Nách ead suit atrubrumar frit, a thigerna a Piláit, ol na hIúdaide, co n-id is-in sapoit shlánaiges cech slánugud d'a ndenand?* 'Was it not this that we said to you, Lord Pilate, that it is on the Sabbath that he heals all the healings which he does?'

e) Modification: TTr2 1258.

TTr2 1258: *Dagniat ansain Achil ⁊ Teofras tres trén tulgubach trom-nemnech.* 'Then Achilles and Teuthras fight a fight, valiant, shield-clashing, heavy venomous.'

f) Syntactic Analyticity: Stowe 1271

[LL 1234]: *Forrópart Cú Chulaind for a n-imscothad, ⁊ nos tairnged tria ladraib a choss ⁊ a lám i n-agid a fíar ⁊ a fadb co ndénad a féth ⁊ a snass ⁊ a slemnugud ⁊ a cermad.* 'Cu Chulainn began to strip the poles, and he would draw them between his toes and between his fingers against their bends and knots until he made them smooth and polished and slippery and trimmed.'

Stowe 1271: *co nderna a fethugadh ⁊ a snasadh ⁊ a slemhnugadh ⁊ a mblathugadh* 'until he smoothed them and polished them and made them slippery and trimmed them.'

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KARIN HANSSON

The Autonomous and the Passive Progressive in 20th Century Irish

Abstract

This paper presents a comparative study of the use of the autonomous and the passive progressive constructions in a 600,000 word corpus of 20th century Irish narrative texts. The study focuses on the information packaging of autonomous and passive progressive clauses. For this purpose, the study includes, among other variables, features concerning the topicality of the patients and agents (overt as well as implicit), that is, the degree of importance given to participants chosen by the author to act as patients and agents. The results of the classification of 2,956 instances of the autonomous and 467 instances of the passive progressive in the corpus point to important differences between the two constructions with regard to information packaging. In the autonomous, patients refer to participants that are more topical in the text than the participant(s) responsible for the action. The agented passive progressive, on the other hand, is used with agents that refer to participants that are considerably more topical than the referents of the patients. In the agent-less passive progressive, however, patients as well as agents refer to participants of comparatively low topicality.

Introduction

In this paper I present my thesis project *The Autonomous and the Passive Progressive in 20th-Century Irish* (Hansson 2004). The aim of the project was to study the two verb constructions usually called the autonomous and the passive progressive in 20th-century Irish. The material used is a 600,000 word corpus consisting of eleven literary texts, as shown in Table 1. The material is evenly distributed across the three main dialects of Modern Irish, since a secondary aim of the thesis project was to study dialect variation in the use of the autonomous and the passive progressive.

Table 1. Presentation of the texts included in the corpus.
(Unless otherwise stated, the whole text is included in the corpus.)

title	source	author	dialect	no. of words
An Mothall sin ort (1967)	Gaeldict	Seán Ó Ruadháin	Connacht	40,742
Feamainn Bhealtaine (1961)	Gaeldict	Máirtín Ó Direáin	Connacht	58,959
Dúil (1953)	scanned	Liam Ó Flaithearta	Connacht	55,198
An tSraith ar lár (1967) (p. 9–184)	scanned	Máirtín Ó Cadhain	Connacht	49,733
		Total	Connacht	204,632
Na hAird Ó Thuaidh (1960)	Gaeldict	Pádraig Ua Maoileoin	Munster	57,965
Fiche bliain ag Fás (1933)	scanned	Muiris Ó Súilleabháin	Munster	117,359
Mo Scéal Féin (1917) (p. 7–101)	scanned	Peadar Ó Laoghaire	Munster	28,068
		Total	Munster	203,392
Dochartach Duibhlionna (1926)	Gaeldict	Seosamh Mac Grianna	Ulster	15,084
Saoghal Corrach (1945)	Gaeldict	Séamus Ó Grianna	Ulster	95,707
Crathadh an Phocáin (1955)	Gaeldict	Seaghán Mac Meanman	Ulster	66,637
Rácáil agus Scuabadh (1955)	Gaeldict	Seaghán Mac Meanman	Ulster	25,606
		Total	Ulster	203,034
		Total		**611,058**

For my study I used an electronic corpus. Seven of the texts included in the corpus were taken from the Gaelic Text Database ('Gaeldict'), compiled by Ciarán Devine.[1] The remaining four texts were scanned, as indicated in Table 1.

The method of analysis was to search for all instances of the autonomous and the passive progressive in the material, using the concordance program WordSmith Tools.[2] The instances found were then gathered in a database and classified according to three sets of variables. The first set concerns verb and clause type, the second patients and agents, and the third set deals with clause type as a well as patients and agents focussing on a contextual perspective. The variables are dealt with in greater detail in section 2 below.

The autonomous and the passive progressive both conform to the general definitions of the passive as a means to demote the agent and promote the

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[1] Downloadable at <http://www.ceantar.org/comp/gaeldi98.html>
[2] In addition to the automated searches, the scanned texts were checked manually due to the varying quality of the electronic versions.

non-agent i.e. patient.[3] Formally, these functions may be realised in at least two ways: the agent may be unspecified, as in the autonomous, or the patient may appear in subject position, as in the passive progressive.

In the autonomous, the unspecified agent is indicated by an inflectional suffix, e.g. *-eadh* in (1).[4]

(1) **Cuireadh**   *litreacha*   *chun*   *bealaigh.*

     send-PST-AUT   letters   to   way-GEN

     <u>agent=subject</u>   <u>patient=direct object</u>

     'Letters **were dispatched**.' (Connacht, *Feamainn Bhealtaine*: 289)

Since this implicit agent is part of the verb, it is regarded as the grammatical subject of the clause. In (1), the patient *litreacha*, 'letters', is the patient and direct object. Thus, the autonomous is used to demote the agent (and, consequently, to promote the patient) since the agent is not overtly expressed. It is usually considered impossible to include an overt agent phrase in the autonomous clause.

The passive progressive is formally different from the autonomous since it is a personal passive construction. In the passive progressive, the patient is the grammatical subject of the clause. Optionally, the agent may be overtly expressed as a prepositional phrase outside the verb phrase. Thus, in (2), the patient *m'athair*, 'my father', is the patient and direct object and *acu*, 'by them', is the overt agent.

(2) *Bhí*   *m'athair*   **á**   **leigheas**   …   *acu*

     be-PST   my+father   to+his   cure-VBN   by-3PL

     <u>patient=subject</u>   <u>agent=prep. phrase</u>

     'My father was **being cured** by them … .' (Munster, *Na hAird Ó Thuaidh*: 129)

In addition to the above mentioned differences between the autonomous and the passive progressive, there are further inherent characteristics that the constructions do not have in common. First, the passive progressive is a progressive construction, whereas the autonomous is not. Second, the use of the passive progressive is restricted to verbs that take direct objects, while there

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[3] See, for example, Givón (1979).
[4] In some idiosyncratic uses no agent is implied, as in *cailleadh é*, 'he died', see further Stenson (1981).

are no such limitations regarding the autonomous. Third, the autonomous can only be used in finite clauses, while the passive progressive may be used in infinite clauses. The differences between the autonomous and the passive progressive are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of the differences between the autonomous and the passive progressive

autonomous:	passive progressive:
– non-progressive/progressive	– progressive
– agent-less	– agented/agent-less
– finite clauses	– finite/non-finite clauses
– transitive/intransitive verbs	– transitive verbs

Previous studies have shown that passive constructions are closely related to different means of presenting the same situation or action, e.g., as regards topicality, i.e., the degree of attention given to a participant in the text (see Givón 1979, 1983; Pinkster 1985, and Risselada 1991). In active clauses, the agent, i.e., the participant responsible for the action is the most topical participant. This is the usual way of presenting information and thus regarded as unmarked. In passive constructions, the marked way of presenting a situation or an action, the most topical participant is a non-agent/the patient, i.e., the participant who is affected by the action.

Studies of the passive in Irish have pointed to differences between the autonomous and the passive progressive as regards information packaging, particularly in connection with topicality (Noonan 1994; see also Ó Siadhail 1989, Greene 1979). It has been shown that the patient is the most topical participant in autonomous clauses but not in passive progressive clauses. The conclusion drawn from such results is that the autonomous but not the passive progressive is used to promote a non-agent, and demote the agent. Thus, the autonomous fulfils a passive function whereas the passive progressive does not.

The main aim of the thesis project was to investigate the two constructions from an information packaging perspective. Based on previous research, the comparison of the use of the autonomous and the passive progressive with respect to information packaging focused on the topicality of patients and implicit, as well as overt, agents.

Method and principles of classification

As mentioned above, the instances of the autonomous and the passive progressive in the database were classified according to three sets of variables. The first set of variables deals mainly with the verb types that are used in the autonomous and the passive progressive and the clause types where the

autonomous and the passive progressive occur. The focus of the study of verbs and clauses was on the distribution across transitive and intransitive verbs, on the one hand, and the distribution across main and subclauses, on the other. In addition, passive progressive clauses were classified with regard to finite vs. non-finite subclause structure and the presence or absence of an overt agent phrase.

The second set of variables deals with the classification of the patients and agents, overt as well as implicit, of the autonomous and passive progressive clauses in the database. The aim was to compare the information packaging of the two constructions. The features studied were selected since they are factors that have been used in previous studies to measure the topicality of the participants in passive clauses in Irish and other languages. The variables studied are: type of overt element, given vs. new, continuity, recoverability and co-reference with active subject.

The third set of variables concerns the autonomous and the passive progressive from a contextual perspective. The variables investigated are: text function in relation to the eventline, function of the supporting clauses, personal perspective, co-reference with active subject, and level of participation. The variables text function, supporting function, and personal perspective concern verb and clause type, while co-reference with active subject, and level of participation concern patients and agents.

Finally, the study of dialectal variation covers the frequency of the autonomous and the passive progressive, as well as the features concerning verbs and clauses, and patients and agents. Previous research has suggested that the passive progressive is used differently in Munster compared to Connacht and Ulster (see, for example, Greene 1979 and Ó Siadhail 1989). Therefore, one of the main aims of the comparison was to investigate whether there are any dialectal differences with respect to the function of the autonomous and, in particular, the passive progressive.

The searches yielded 2,956 instances of the autonomous and 467 instances of the passive progressive in the corpus. These instances were gathered in a database and classified according to the variables described above. The first two sets of variables, including dialectal variation, were studied in the complete database, whereas the third group of variables was investigated in a subset of the database containing around 300 instances each of the autonomous and the passive progressive, systematically selected from the main database. For reasons of simplicity, the results concerning the subset analysis will be presented together with the results of the main database analysis in the present study.

Results

The results of the classification dealing with verbs and clauses showed that there are great differences between the autonomous and the passive progressive in the corpus in this regard, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Summary of results concerning the autonomous and the passive progressive clauses, percentages.

	autonomous	passive progressive
VERB TYPE		
monotransitive direct	59%	81%
ditransitive	30%	19%
monotransitive indirect	3%	—
intransitive	2%	—
auxiliary	6%	—
CLAUSE TYPE		
main clause	47%	13%
subclause	53%	87%
SUBCLAUSE STRUCTURE	*not applicable*	
finite	-	36%
non-finite	-	64%
TEXT FUNCTION		
eventline clause	24%	4%
supporting clause	76%	96%
SUPPORTING FUNCTION		
to explain an event	30%	20%
to modify an element	22%	12%
to refer to the result of an event	17%	14%
to summarise an event	14%	16%
to describe a setting	<1%	18%
other	16%	21%
PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE		
yes	31%	33%
no	69%	67%
MARKER OF PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE		
direct speech	54%	25%
verb of perception	1%	50%
verb of cognition	20%	16%
verb of utterance	17%	8%
disjunct	8%	1%

The most salient difference between the two constructions concerns their distribution of transitive verbs taking direct objects across the categories mono- vs. ditransitive verbs. First, the proportion of monotransitive verbs is considerably larger in the passive progressive than in the autonomous. It was also shown that the autonomous is predominantly used with verbs that take direct objects; only 11% of them occur with intransitive verbs, auxiliaries and monotransitive verbs that take indirect objects. While the instances of

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the autonomous in the database are evenly distributed across main and sub-clause, the vast majority (87%) of the passive progressives occur in sub-clauses. Finally, the results showed that the majority (64%) of the subclauses containing the passive progressive are non-finite.

Turning to the subset analysis, one of the most salient differences concerns the variable text function in relation to the eventline. This variable distinguishes between clauses that contain material that is part of a sequentially ordered chain of events, an eventline, and clauses containing supporting material that is not part of an eventline. The autonomous is used to denote actions as part of an eventline considerably more frequently than the passive progressive, 24% compared to 4%. The majority of clauses in both constructions are thus used to express supporting material, that is, material that is not part of a sequentially ordered chain of events. However, great differences are found between the autonomous and the passive progressive with respect to supporting functions, in particular the categories to explain, to modify, and to describe a setting. While 30% of the autonomous clauses are explanatory, the corresponding figure for the passive progressive is 20%. Further, 22% of the autonomous supporting clauses modify an element, compared to 12% of the passive progressive ones. Finally, the passive progressive occurs considerably more frequently than the autonomous in clauses that describe a setting, 18% compared to less than 1% (one instance).

In the results regarding patients and agents, considerable variation was found between the two constructions, as presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Summary of the results concerning patients, overt agents and implicit agents of the autonomous and the passive progressive, percentages.

	patients		overt agents	implicit agents	
	autonomous patients	passive progressive patients	passive progressive overt agents	autonomous implicit agents	passive progressive implicit agents
TYPE OF OVERT ELEMENT					
definite NP	44%	41%	95%	*not applicable*	*not applicable*
indefinite NP	27%	44%	4%		
relative particle	17%	15%	<1%		
clause	12%	—	—		
GIVEN VS. NEW OVERT ELEMENT					
given	49%	33%	85%	*not applicable*	*not applicable*
new	51%	67%	15%		
RECOVERABILITY OF IMPLICIT AGENTS					
generic	*not applicable*	*not applicable*	*not applicable*	12%	7%
non-recoverable				21%	23%
textually inferable				62%	63%
pragmatically inferable				6%	7%
CONTINUITY					
continuity	52%	30%	82%	31%	29%
no continuity	48%	70%	18%	69%	71%
CO-REFERENCE WITH ACTIVE SUB-JECT					
yes	18%	8%	55%	7%	6%
no	82%	92%	45%	93%	94%
LEVEL OF PAR-TICIPATION					
sentence-level, single occurrence	34%	71%	9%	62%	61%
sentence-level, multiple occurrences	19%	5%	14%	9%	17%
passage-level	38%	21%	38%	22%	18%
story-level	9%	3%	39%	8%	5%
AVERAGE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	1.2	0.6	2.1	0.8	0.7

The most salient differences indicate that the degree of topicality varies considerably between the elements under investigation: patients, implicit agents and overt agents. All findings point to the same pattern: patients of the autonomous and overt agents of the passive progressive are the most topical elements, while patients of the passive progressive and implicit agents of both constructions are the least topical ones. The conclusion drawn from these results is that the autonomous is used to promote a non-agent and to demote the agent. The passive progressive, in contrast, is not used primarily in this way.[5] This difference between the autonomous and the passive progressive is indicated by the following findings. First, patients of the autonomous and overt agents are more often expressed as definite NPs than indefinite NPs, and more often refer to given participants than to new participants. Patients of passive progressive clauses, on the other hand, are more frequently expressed as indefinite NPs than definite NPs, and often refer to new participants than to given participants. Thus, autonomous patients are topical to a certain degree, a fact that, together with the implicitness of the agents, indicates that the autonomous is used to promote the patient (non-agent) of a clause. As regards the passive progressive, on the other hand, the results show that overt agents are considerably more topical than patients, which is inconsistent with the promotion of patients. Further, autonomous patients and passive progressive overt agents are more often continuous than passive progressive patients and implicit agents of both constructions. In other words, the most topical participant categories are patients of autonomous clauses and, in particular, overt agents of passive progressive clauses since they refer to an element that occurs elsewhere in the same sentence or in the preceding or following sentence to a greater extent than passive progressive patients and implicit agents of both constructions. Finally, it was shown that the highest proportion of elements that are co-referential with active subjects is found among passive progressive overt agents (55%) and autonomous patients (18%), compared to implicit agents of both constructions and passive progressive patients (6–8%). This is further indication of the high topicality of autonomous patients and passive progressive overt agents compared to passive progressive patients and the implicit agents of autonomous as well as passive progressive clauses.

The final variable relating to patients and agents in the main analysis, recoverability, concerns implicit agents only. The results indicate that the two constructions are very similar with regard to the distribution of implicit agents across the different types of recoverability. The vast majority of passive progressive as well as autonomous implicit agents are textually recover-

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[5] Similar conclusions are drawn by Noonan (1994). It should be noted, however, that there are several important differences between his study and the present one. The two studies are in many ways incompatible, which renders a comparison of the findings in Noonan (1994) and the present study difficult.

able, that is, inferable from the surrounding (usually preceding) context. The second largest category comprises the non-recoverable implicit agents, that is, where no participant responsible for the action is implied. Considerably smaller proportions of the implicit agents of the autonomous and the passive progressive clauses belong to the remaining two categories of recoverability, that is, those that are generic or pragmatically inferable.

As for the subset analysis of features concerning patients and agents, the first variable investigated is personal perspective. A personal perspective indicates that the propositional content of the clause in question is attributed to a subject of consciousness, that is, a specific person. Two types of subject of consciousness are recognised: the author or a character in the text. The results show that the proportion of sentences containing the autonomous and the passive progressive where there is a personal perspective is about the same: 31% and 33%. There is considerable variation, however, between the two constructions as regards the kind of subject of consciousness to which the perspective is linked. In the autonomous 74% of the personal perspective clauses are linked to a character in the text, compared to 53% of the passive progressive clauses. Thus, in the passive progressive clauses the author's perspective is present to a much larger extent than in the autonomous (47% vs. 26%). A personal perspective is established by the use of various linguistic markers. The comparison of the two constructions revealed that direct speech is the most common marker in the autonomous (54%), while it occurs in 25% of the passive progressive clauses. In the passive progressive clauses, on the other hand, the most favoured marker is a verb of perception (50%); this occurs in 1% (one instance) of the autonomous clauses. As for the distribution of the remaining markers of personal perspective (verbs of cognition, verbs of utterance, and disjuncts), there is some variation between the two constructions. Concerning the final variable, level of participation, the results for the distribution across the various levels of participation as well as the average level of participation showed that passive progressive overt agents appear on the highest level in the text, story-level, more frequently than the other elements and their average level of participation is the highest. Conversely, the highest proportion of instances on the lowest level of participation, single-occurrence sentence-level, as well as the lowest average level of participation, is found among implicit agents of both constructions as well as among patients of the passive progressive. As for the patients of the autonomous clauses, they have the highest relative frequency on the intermediate levels of participation, multiple-occurrence sentence-level and passage-level, as well as the second highest average level participation. These results indicate that the two most topical element categories are overt agents of the passive progressive and patients of the autonomous, while implicit agents of both constructions and patients of the passive progressive are the least topical element categories. Thus, the findings regarding level of participation

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tally with the other results relating to topicality (given vs. new, continuity, and co-reference with active subject).

When it comes to dialectal variation, the results do not point to any major differences between the dialects as regards the function of the autonomous and the passive progressive. However, the frequency of the passive progressive is significantly higher in the Munster texts (73% of all instances of the passive progressive occur in the Munster material) than in the Connacht and, in particular, Ulster texts. The number of instances of the passive progressive found in Connacht and Ulster is so low that it is difficult to draw any valid conclusions regarding the use of the passive progressive in those dialects, as well as regarding variation between the three dialects. Thus, the results regarding the passive progressive discussed above concern its use in Munster for the most part. It seems to be a well-known fact that the passive progressive does not have passive function in Munster Irish. This has been mentioned by, for example, Greene (1979), Ó Siadhail (1989) and Sjoestedt-Jonval (1938). However, my study does not indicate any major differences between the dialects in this regard.

In conclusion, my study has shown that there are considerable differences between the textual functions of the autonomous and the passive progressive. Accepting that the autonomous and passive progressive are passive constructions, it would be expected that the analysis of the topicality of patients and agents would show that patients of both constructions are more topical than agents. As shown above, this is the pattern found in the autonomous. However, the pattern found in the passive progressive is the opposite: patients constitute the least topical participant category. The greatest contrast is found between, on the hand, the overt agents, and on the other hand, the patients and implicit agents. There are thus two features of the passive progressive that do not match the definition of a passive construction. First, there is no significant contrast between the topicality of patients and implicit agents, which implies that neither the agent-less nor the agented passive progressive is used to promote the patient. Second, the overt agent is by far the most topical participant in the passive progressive and is thus not demoted.

It is hoped that the study presented in this paper may serve as a point of departure for further research on the textual functions of the autonomous, the passive progressive, as well as other constructions within the field of voice in Modern Irish.

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GEARÓID MAC EOIN

Irish *súgán*, English *suggan*

Irish people of my generation and younger will remember the hay ropes which once formed a simple but important item of equipment on every farm. Coarse grasses as well as wheaten and oaten straw could also be used in making these ropes, but I shall use the English term, 'hay rope', for short and because the hay rope is the one with which I was familiar in my younger days. Hay ropes were usually made by attaching some hay to a short stick and then turning the stick while a second person fed more hay into the lengthening rope until it was judged long enough for the purpose for which it was required These ropes were often made in advance and stored in large rolls, typical work for a rainy day. The purposes for which they were used were many and varied. The stacks of hay which were formed in the fields as soon as the hay was dry were held in place by means of a hay rope tied across the top and weighed down with stones or attached to a forked stick stuck in the ground or the hay rope might be tied in to the hay at the bottom of the stack. In some places the hay rope was wound around the haystack and finished in the way just mentioned. The simple chair which was common in all farmhouses had a seat and back made of hay rope woven across the wooden frame. The horse's or donkey's collar could be made of hay rope as also the straddle, which thus was less hurtful to the animal's back. It was also used to provide straw fetters for sheep. In cases of necessity the hay rope could even be seen holding up the farmer's trousers. This latter was regarded as a sign of poverty. The hay rope was such a common feature of Irish country life a generation or two ago that no one gave it much thought. Today it appears to be a thing of the past, having been ousted by the commercial ropes and twine that are easily available.

Such ropes were used in former times all over Britain, from Suffolk in the south to Orkney in the north, and I suspect that they may also have been used in continental Europe, although I have at present no evidence for this. I am much obliged to Dr Ian Roberts of Rochester, Northumberland, who supplied me with much information on the use of hay ropes in Britain.

In medieval times the Irish climate appears to have been even milder than it is today. As far back as the early eighth century Bede tells us in the first chapter of his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*:

> Hibernia autem et latitudine sui status, et salubritate aerum multum Britan-
> niae praestat, ita ut raro ibi nix plusquam triduana remaneat; nemo propter
> hiemem aut foena secet aestate, aut stabula fabricet iumentis (Bede 1930: 19
> ff.).

> Now Ireland, both in its extent and position and in the wholesomeness of its
> climate, far surpasses Britain, so that snow seldom lies there for more than
> three days; no one cuts hay in summer with a view to winter or builds stalls
> for the cattle.

This judgment of Bede on the Irish climate and farming conditions is re-
peated with boring regularity by writers of the Norman or English colony
right through the medieval period (Lucas 1989: 33–39). The saving of hay
for winter fodder was introduced by the Normans and from the early years of
the thirteenth century there are many references in English documents to hay
in Ireland, but always referring to the Norman or English colonists. The
practice seems to have spread only slowly to the native Irish population. It
may be that the 'little ice-age' of the eighteenth century forced the general
population to feed their cattle indoors, since the harsher winters made it im-
possible for cattle to graze on the land frozen hard and covered with snow.
Up to that time the Irish had continued their age-old custom of transhu-
mance, bringing their cattle to mountain grazing-places in early summer and
allowing the lowland grass to grow through summer and autumn so that it
could be grazed in winter. Alternatively, in winter, cattle could be grazed in
the extensive woods which then covered the country.

The ordinary word for the hay rope is, in Irish, *súgán* (in Scots Gaelic
sùgan/suaicean) which was adopted into English and appears in many writ-
ten forms, *suggin, s(o)ugan, suggawn, suggaun, soogan, sugan*. The OED
chose *suggan* as its headword for the relevant entry and shows examples as
early as 1722. In this paper I will discuss the etymology of *súgán*.

The earliest record of the word is found in a *crosántacht* text which was
apparently composed by Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha at Samhain
1581 and recited for the first time in the presence of the nobles of the Clan-
rickard Burkes (Mac Cionnaith, No. 111, st. 3c. See Mac Eoin 2002: 118). In
one section of this tongue-in-cheek composition the poet compares the arms
of the Burkes' followers to the pitiful weapons of the people with whom he
associates. One such item was 'their rusty billhooks tied to their belts of hard
súgán'. Here we see the *súgán* already forming part of the men's garb. In the
context of this composition the word is clearly being used to emphasise the
poverty of the people referred to.

In the thirties of the seventeenth century the word appears in Geoffrey
Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* ii, 328, line 5108 in the form *suagán*. The
context is a description of the cooking-methods of the *Fian* or hunter-
warriors of Irish story-telling. A large hole was dug in the ground and lined
with wooden planks. This was filled with water. The water was brought to

the boil by throwing into it stones which had been heated in an adjacent fire. Once the water was boiling the meat was bound 'with *suagán*s in dry bundles'—presumably to keep the joints from falling apart in the water—and placed in the water. These *fulachta* or 'burnt mounds' are well-known monuments in the modern Irish landscape and are frequently investigated by archaeologists (Buckley 2003: 143, *s.v.* 'burnt mounds'. Mitchell & Ryan 1997: 220–1; Kelly 1997: 337).

The older Irish glossaries, Cormac, O'Davoren, or O'Mulconry, have no mention of the *súgán*. According to Cuthbert Mhág Craith, (1980: II, 411), it does occur in Plunket's unpublished seventeenth-century *Vocabularium latinum et hibernicum* translating *fasciola, restis, torulus, capistrum, funis,* and *helicum.*

O'Reilly's dictionary in the early nineteenth century has *suagán* 'a rope of straw or hay' and a suffixless form, *suag* 'a rope, a cable'. O'Reilly possibly derived these words from Keating and is presumably the source for Dinneen's (1927, *s.v.*) entries: *suag* 'a rope, a cord' and *suagán.* There the reader is referred to *súgán* where there is a long entry: 'a hay or straw rope, such as is used for binding haycocks, as a belt, etc., a straw collar for a draught horse, untidy neckwear, a hay-rope chair' etc.

Súgán is formed with a root syllable *súg-* followed by the common suffix *-án,* which was originally a diminutive ending but which with the passage of time acquired a wider, instrumental, meaning. In the case of *súgán* there is no attested word or root-syllable *súg* to which the suffix might have been attached. This prompts us to look at the alternative form of the word as found in Keating, *suagán,* and at the unsuffixed form *suag* given in O'Reilly's and Dinneen's dictionaries. The question arises, of course, whether *suag* is a genuine word or merely an apocopated form of *suagán* produced by O'Reilly or a predecessor and uncritically taken over by Dinneen who, in the preface to his own dictionary (p. xiii), expressly mentions as a source O'Growney's annotated copy of O'Reilly's work.

There is one possible earlier attestation of the form *suag*. This is in a list of the names of different kinds of Ogham contained in the Book of Ballymote (*c.* 1400) and published by George Calder (1917: 313, §87): *Suag Ogam* 'Rope Ogam'. There is no context and Calder quotes Dinneen's dictionary for his translation; and we have seen that Dinneen depended on O'Reilly. So this occurrence is extremely doubtful and more likely represents *Suad-Ogam* 'Scholar's Ogham', since the spelling *-g(-)* for lenited *-d(-)* occurs elsewhere in the tract, e.g. *Tuireg (=Tuired)* 5945, *negledae (=ndedlaide)* 6063, *fega (=feda)* 6080.

To the best of my knowledge two etymologies for *súgán* have hitherto been offered. I will deal first with the later of these: This is in Mhág Craith (1980: 411), where it is suggested that *súgán* derives from *soud+án, soud* being the verbal noun of the verb *soid* 'turns' referring to the action of twisting the hay in the making of the rope. There is, however, a semantic mis-

match between the suggested 'turning' (*soud*) and 'twisting' (*casad*), the normal word used of the making of the *súgán* in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic (Holmer 1962: §135). Further, the Early Modern Irish form of the verbal noun of the verb 'to turn' was *sód*, historically /so:ð/, which neither in its vowel or final consonant could have developed into *súg-* /su:g/ or *suag* /suəg/.

The earlier suggested etymology was that of MacBain (1911, s.v.), where he suggests a derivation from a root *soug-* 'twist' and refers to Romance *soga* 'rope', Ital. *soga* 'rope, leather band', Sp. *soga.* In citing these Italian and Spanish words (he could also have included Provençal), MacBain fails to mention Late Latin *sōca > sōga* 'restis' = 'rope' which is the assumed origin of the Romance words (Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis,* s.v.). *Sōca* is isolated in Latin and poorly attested. In one dictionary (Zingarelli 1970: s.v. *soga*) it is doubtfully labelled 'celtic' with a question mark. This word is now obsolete in Italian but is still current in Spanish and it does not seem to be attested in any period of French. The *OED* lists *soga* as an American word meaning 'rope', but this has to be a borrowing from Spanish.

Can this Late Latin *sōga* be the source from which Irish *súgán/suag(án)* was borrowed? There is no doubt but it could. Accepting that in Late Latin or British Latin the internal consonant would have been voiced, the only element to be discussed is the vowel. Latin /o:/ was borrowed into Irish as *ó*, as in L. *hōra > hór.* By the eighth century both the native *ó* and that in borrowed words were being diphthongised to *ua* (e.g. native: *uathad* 'few'; borrowed: *scuap* < L. *scōpa, uar < hór* < L. *hora*) except before gutturals. By the ninth century the diphthong appeared before gutturals also (in native words *truag < tróg, sluag < slóg*) and consequently the word would have appeared as *suag < *sóg <* L. *sōga.* This *suag* would then have undergone the change *ua > ú* which is common in all the dialects, as can be seen from the modern dialect descriptions: Wagner (1944: 77*, §213–4), de Bhaldraithe (1945: 87, §408–12), de Búrca (1958: §421), Mac an Fhailigh (1968: §296), Stockman (1974: 22, §1408), Ó Cuív (1944: §291) ('isolated and exceptional'), Breatnach (1947: 119*, §437 (id.)). The change is as old as the 17th century at least, since we find *tútach < tuatae* in Ó Bruadair (1910: 76.12) and O'Rahilly (1932: 193 ff.) records it in the 18th century. In this way the first syllable of the word *súgán* is accounted for and all that remained was to add the ending *-án.*

The difficulties I see with this explanation are (1) that L. *sōga* was a rare word of unknown origin which, in medieval times, is attested only in Italy and seems to have survived only in the southern Romance dialects, (2) that the alleged borrowing into Irish ought to have taken place sufficiently early for the word to participate in the diphthongisation of the ninth century, but *súgán* is not attested until the late sixteenth century. This silence over a period of 700 years and the lack of evidence for L. *sōga* in documents or

speech in any proximity to Ireland is sufficient reason to doubt the validity of the direct derivation of *súgán/suag(án)* from this word.

However, the noun *syg* in Welsh (*sug* in Breton) meaning 'chain, trace', attested from the 16th to the 19th centuries, needs to be addressed. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* justifiably queries its derivation from L. *sōca* for L. *ō* gave W. *u* = /y/. L. *sōga* would have given W. **sug,* as L. *Rōma* and *lōrīca* gave W. *Rhufain* and *llurig* (Lewis 1947: 8)*. Therefore W. *syg* cannot derive from L. *sōga*. Confusion between W. *u* and *y* (Morris Jones 1913: §15.2) has to be ruled out as the GPC shows no example of **sug* and provides a seventeenth-century example of *syg* rhyming with *dyg* and *pyg*. Furthermore, even if one can envisage the word as having been introduced to Britain during the period of Roman occupation the lapse of almost a millennium from the time of its borrowing to the time of its first attestation presents a problem which is difficult to explain.

Searching for another explanation and considering its late attestation it seems necessary to deal with *súg(án)* as a late borrowing. When one looks for a word in a neighbouring language which might have been the origin of *suag(án)/súgán* one finds the English noun *swag.* This has a variety of meanings, all of which seem to derive from a basic signification 'bundle' or the like. It has a secondary meaning 'wreath or festoon of flowers, foliage, or fruit fastened up at both ends and hanging down in the middle, used as an ornament; also of a natural festoon.' (OED, s.v. *swag*, 6.a., dated 1794). The word *swag* is still in use for a pelmet of a similar shape over curtains (I thank my neighbour, Mrs B. Thunder, for this information). The common feature is that both the Irish and English words relate to vegetal items bound or fastened to fulfil a particular purpose.

A derivation of *suag* from Eng. *swag* is phonologically possible. Since the earliest historical period Irish had lacked a sound s^w, for the prehistoric sound s^w had lost its labial element in initial position. In borrowed words in the early language initial *sv-/sw-* became *su-,* e.g. L. *suavis* > Ir. *suabais* (Vendryes 1974: S-194–5), ON *svartleggja* > Ir. *suaitrech / suartlech* (DIL, s.v.). At the present day English *sw-* gives Irish *sv-/su-/sbh-* as in Eng. *sway* > Ir. *svae* (Ó Dónaill), *suae, sbháidh* (Dinneen), /sve:/ (de Búrca 1958: §258, 279), /swapa:l′/ *swop-áil* 'swap' (ibid. §367), Eng. *suede* > Ir. *svaeid* (Ó Dónaill), Eng. *swanskin* > Ir. *svaiscín* (Ó Dónaill). Assuming that the loanword *swag* followed the earlier custom of substituting the falling for the rising diphthong it would have produced Irish *suag* to which the ending *-án* was added. If, on the basis of Keating's spelling, *suagán* was the original form of the word, the change *ua* > *ú* occurred as it did in the majority of surviving dialects (see above).

The semantic relationship of Ir. *súgán* to Eng. *swag* is less easy to determine. Both are names for bundles of grass or plants. The meaning denoted by Ir. *súgán* belongs to the rural economy of Ireland, while that denoted by Eng. *swag* is typical of the urban society of eighteenth-century England and

had probably acquired its meaning during the peaceful years of that century. The Irish word probably developed its meaning at some time before 1581 in response to the use being made of hay to make ropes, whatever may have been the origin of this custom. It is equally difficult to determine the age of the borrowing, for the word contains no linguistic evidence which would enable us to date it. But, being a borrowing from English, it must have been borrowed after the thirteenth century. In any event the conclusion seems un-avoidable that it was borrowed from Eng. *swag*.

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EUGENE MCKENDRY

Documents from the Carl Wilhelm Von Sydow archive in Lund University

During my two periods as Celtic lecturer in Uppsala University (1976–78, 1994–95), I became interested in a certain Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt, a 17–18th century scholar, diplomat and high official in the Swedish court. His portrait dominates the reading room in Carolina Rediviva, the Uppsala University library. The background to this interest was that on his travels throughout Europe, in a vain attempt to prove the Swedish origins of the early Goths, Sparwenfeldt had brought back to Sweden a large collection of books and manuscripts, including the original manuscript of Philip O Sullivan Beare's early 17th century Zoilomastix (O'Donnell 1960). Accounts of this material and evidence of other early Swedish and continental interest in Celtic languages have been published (McKendry 1997, 1999).

In the course of a lecture visit to Lund University in 1995, I took the opportunity to look at Sparwenfeldt materials in the Lund library archives, and while waiting for items to be retrieved became aware of the Carl Wilhem Von Sydow collection. Von Sydow's contribution to Irish studies is well known and the opportunity was taken to make a quick inspection of the material contained in boxes, which had not then been catalogued.

Among the interesting materials are a memorandum to De Valera in 1932 urging the establishment of a folklore survey within the National University of Ireland and letters between Von Sydow and, among others, Seamus Ó Duilearga concerning the Folklore Commission established in 1935. Von Sydow and Ó Duilearga were particularly close, and the archive contains the official published copy of Ó Duilearga's 1936 letter of support for the appointment of Von Sydow to the Chair of Swedish and Comparative Folklore in Uppsala University. Von Sydow was unsuccessful in this, although he was later appointed Professor in Lund in 1938, where he had set up the Folklivsarkivet in the Etnologiska Institutionen in 1913.

An extract from Ó Duilearga's letter summarises Von Sydow's contribution to Ireland, which would continue until his death in 1952:

> Irish scholarship owes a debt of gratitude to Von Sydow for his unselfish labours in the cause of research in the field of Irish oral tradition. His unfailing interest in the culture of our country and his dynamic energy succeeded in having the work of collection and study of Irish tradition put on a firm scientific basis. The establishment of the Irish Folklore Commission appointed by Government in 1935 is very largely the result of this interest. Indeed it is true to say that whatever success this systematic scheme for collection may have, may be put to his credit. His name will for all time be associated by Irish scholars with the subject of Irish Folklore.

Von Sydow took an early interest in the Celtic element in Viking and Anglo-Saxon literature, but it was the popular traditions of the Irish people that were to provide a lifelong focus. The reasons for this can be found in the aforementioned memorandum to De Valera.

> The position which Ireland has in the field of folklore and oral tradition is unique in Europe. Tradition here is still alive, elsewhere moribund or dead.

> I am one of the principal officers of the Gustaf Adolf Academy for Folklife-research... We are aiming at international collaboration, as although our aim is the intensive study of Swedish country life, traditions, etc., we know that it is vital to stand in close contact with Ireland and other countries. … We regard Ireland as the key country, the only country where it is possible to study certain problems of international importance in the field of folklore and comparative literature.

The importance and achievements of previous generations of Scandinavian scholars to Celtic studies is reflected in the present generation and meetings such as these organised by Societas Celtologica Nordica. Their contributions have been documented by Jan Erik Rekdal (1991) in his article *Norwegian linguists in the field of Celtic Studies* and by Séamus Ó Catháin in his article *Nordiska forskare inom keltisk folklore och filologi*, both published in the proceedings of the inaugural meeting and first symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica. Professor Ó Catháin's article naturally includes a section on Von Sydow.

   Of more immediate interest today, however, is the lengthy article by Professor Bo Almqvist in Béaloideas 70 (2002) *C.W. Von Sydow agus Éire: Scoláire Sualannach agus an Léann Ceilteach,* which draws upon correspondence contained in the Lund archive that had been copied and sent to University College Dublin in 1999. This article, which has a full summary in English, covers Von Sydow's life and achievements in detail.

Today's paper will examine two documents in the Lund archive:
- an account in Swedish of a journey in War of Independence Ireland and

- a discussion in Irish of the potential of sugar-beet as a crop.

A War of Independence Journey through Ireland

The account from Von Sydow's first visit to Ireland in 1920 gives a fascinating insight into the Ireland of language revival and political revolution in that momentous summer during the War of Independence. Almqvist mentions the narrative in a footnote to his article (Almqvist 2002: 11), but I feel it deserves fuller notice today. The manuscript in the archive is in fact the unpublished third of a series of articles, the first two of which were published in Stockholms Tidningen early in 1921, copies of which are found in the archive.

The first article is entitled *På Studiefärd i Irland i Upprorstider* ('A study journey in Ireland in time of insurrection'), the second *Genom urgammal gaelisk bygd* ('Through an ancient Gaelic district').

In the first article, Von Sydow introduces Ireland, its history and language and the possible links with Scandinavia, illustrating his text with photographs taken by himself. Arriving in Kingstown/Dún Laoghaire in the summer of 1920 he is immediately confronted by the intense military presence and the popular opposition. On a more travellers' tales mode he comments on the general untidiness of the city and its inhabitants "Renhållningen lämnar emellertid åtskilligt övrigt att önska" ('their cleanliness leaves something to be desired').

The second published article sees Von Sydow travelling to Ballyferriter in Kerry to learn Irish in William Long's shop and guesthouse. Here he encounters the language and the religious culture of rural Ireland, which is totally new to him. He had a copy of Peadar Ó Laoghaire's *Aithris ar Chríost*, a translation of Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*, a text which appears to have been a personal and spiritual favourite throughout his life. He realises, however, that there is a gap between his reading knowledge of Irish and the spoken language, which he has had until then little opportunity to practise.

This brings us to the third, unpublished part of the narrative which is reproduced below. It begins with the Irish course in Ballingeary, Co. Cork, where he was taught by, among others, Gerald O'Nolan (Gearóid Ó Nualláin) and sat in class beside Father Albert, the confessor of the 1916 leaders. On his return journey to Ballyferriter, County Kerry, he stopped over in Cork city, which was in revolt. Even the children's games were structured around attacks on the security forces. Although there was a 10pm curfew, the night was interrupted by gunfire. All this was normal to the inhabitants of Cork. His journey continued to Tralee, Dingle, Ballyferriter, Dún Chaoin, and the Blasket Islands, which at that time had around 180 inhabitants. The naomhóg or currach which brought him to the island attracts his particular

interest. On the island he met the king, Pádrig Ó Caháin (sic) and stayed in his brother's house, where he had to share his bed with a school teacher from Cork.

Reseberättelse

Den kurs i gaeliska språket som jag bevistade i Ballingeary räckte en månad, men jag stannade ytterligare fjorton dagar dels för mera övnings skull, dels för att höra fader O Nolans syntaktiska föreläsningar, hållna på gaeliska språket. Fritiderna använde jag dels till besök i bondgårderna för att öva mig i att tala, dels till långa promenader tillsamman med en lärare på platsen, varunder endast gaeliska fick talas.

En intressant bekantskap fick jag göra under den nya kursen i det jag hade till sidokamrat i skolrummet en franciskanermunk, fader Albert, vilken varit biktfader för samtliga de efter påskupproret 1916 fusiljerade upprorsledarna. Det var en intelligent, varmhjärtad man, som det alltid var angenämt att tala med, och jag kunde godt förstå att det just var honom och ingen anna som de dödsdömde upprordledarna ville anförtro sig åt före avrättningen.

Jag kunde emellertid inte stanna kvar längre än inemot mitten av augusti. En stor del av mitt bagage had jag lämnat kvar i Ballyferriter och det var min avsikt att få tillbringa någon tid på ön Blasket, där uteslutande gaeliska talas, innan jag återvände till Dublin.

Resan gick över Cork, där jag stannade ett dygn för att träffa professorna i gaeliska vid universitet där. Cork är en vacker stad vid den i gaelisk poesi besjungn floden Lee. Jag had varit där förut, men nu var det mera spänning med besöket. Förhållanderna hade nu högst väsentligt skärpts och staden hade fått en helt annan prägel än förut genom den myckna militären.

På vissa gator var det en nästan jämn ström av patrullerande pansarbilar och motorlorries med soldater. Gevären hållas färdiga till eld och man fixerades skarpt. Jag had den obehagliga känslan att det när som helst kunde smälla. Det gällde att inte göra någon hastig rörelse eller stoppa handen i fickan, ty det kunde strax ha kostat en kula.

Fängelset, som såg ut som ett ståtligt palats var omgivet av en mänskoskara, mest gråtande kvinnor. Det hörde kanske till men det kunde möjligen stå i sammanhang med den just då utbrutna hunger-strejken. Då man närmade sig en polisbarack, märkte man detta av den omständigheten att man litet varstans såg militärposter placerade.

I utkanten av staden såg jag ruinen av en uppbränd polisbarack. Dess mur fick nu tjänstgöra som agitationsmedel för Sinn Fein, ty den hade fått en hel

del agitatoriska inskriptioner: "Up Dublin" "Remember 1916!" (Påskup-
prorets år), "Irishmen, joyn (sic) the I.R.A.!" (I.R.A. =Irish Republican
Army). Jag kunde inte låta bli att fotographera den och meddelar här bilden.

Kom man in på mindre gator, mera avslägsna från de stora stråkvägarna och
de strategiska punkterna, var ju allt fredligt, men även där kunde man få på-
tatliga erinringar om det rådande tillståndet. Betraktade man barnens lekar på
gatan, så fick man se att det lektes krig mot polisen. Särskilt roade det mig att
se några pojkar leka överfall på motorlorries, en lek, som även mina båda föl-
jeslagare, professorer vid det nationella universitetet hade mycket roligt åt.

Tidigt på aftonen måste jag skiljas från mitt trevliga sällskap ty det rådde
sträng "curfew" i staden, vilket innebar att var och en som visade sig utom-
hus efter kl.10 riskerade att bli skjuten. Jag måste skynda mig till mitt hotell
och när jag efter slaget 10 tittade ut på gatan var det också absolut öde och
tyst. Men att det inte var alla som följt ordern så ordentligt som jag fick jag
snart veta. Det dröjde inte många minuter förr än jag hörde skottväxlingenar
såsom jag tyckte på olika håll i staden. Jag somnade från alltsamman, men ett
par gånger under nattens lopp vaknade jag vid skott.

När jag nästa dag körde ner till stationen, nämnde jag för kusken om skjut-
ningen under natten. Han log överlägset och tyckte att det inte var något att
fästa sig vid "Det är vi så vana vid, så märker det knappt. Här skjutes man
varenda natt". Och när vi körde förbi rådhuset syntes en mängd skottskador
på tornet: urtavlorna och en hel del fönsterrutor spräckta, åtskilliga hål på
murytorna o.s.v. Det var skönt att komma därifrån.

Resan tillbaka till Ballyferriter var inte fullt så utan stötestenar som min resa
till Ballangeary. När jag kom till Tralee, befanns järnvägen till Dingle vara
blockerad av militären. Ingen person-trafik tillåts där. Det var ingen annan
råd än att försöka få plats på en bil, men det var heller inte det lättaste. Efter
åtskillig väntan och många underhandlingar, fick jag höra att det väntades dit
en bil från Dingle, vars chauffeur är min värd i Ballyferriter vidtalats att be-
reda mig plats på återvägen, och då han verkligen anlände så blev saken på
bästa sätt ordnad. Mitt bagage sändes med godståg till Dingle och jag själv
följde ett par timmar senare med bilen samma väg.

När jag sent på kvällen kom fram till den lilla byn och kom in i William
Longs enkla vardagsrum, hälsades jag hjärtligt välkommen av alla där. Nu
kunde jag ge svar på tal och fick på gaeliska göra reda för mina upplevelser
och intryck.

Ett par dar senare kuskade min värd och jag bort till den en bit längre västerut
på udden liggande fiskarbyn Dunquin, varifrån jag skulle sättas över till ön
Blasket. Den båttyp som här på Irlands västkust är den enda brukliga, är gjörd
av tyg som är spändt på en lätt stomme av träribbor. Det är sålunda en slags
kanot och kallas där för nävåg, eller—lite längre mot norr—korrach. Det är
helt enkelt en modern utvecklingsform av de gamla skinnbåtarna som brukats
i Irland från urminnets tider och ändå ner mot vår egen tid. Fördelen med
tygbåtarna är deras stora lätthet, vilket gör att det är någon vidare tung börda

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för roddarna, då det gäller att skaffa båten utom räckhåll för floden eller för stormvägor. Likaså kan båten flyta även på grundt vatten.

Min värd talade vid några fiskare att sätta oss över till Blasket. Sundet som skiljer ön från land är blott tre engelska mil bredt, men där är stark ström och ofta rätt bra sjögång, så det är inte så enkelt som man kunde tycka. Dessutom kräves vanligen tre roddare med var sitt par åror. Efter omkr. en timmes rodd anlände vi till ön. Vi tågade upp för en brant slipprig stig till öns enda by, be-bodd av en hederlig och älskvärd fiskarbefolkning på omkr. 180 personer.

Ön har emellertid egen kung, en präktig gammal fiskare vid namn Pádrig Ó Caháin, som styr sin lilla ö förträffligt. Har någon tvist uppstått mellan några av hans undersåtar, så är det han som göra upp saken. ”O Konung, döm emel-lan oss!” heter det, kungen gör sig underrättad om vad saken avgör tvisten, som sen är ute ur världen med detsamma.

Det var till Kungen jag styrde mina steg och jag frågade om jag kunde få bo hos honom på ett par veckor. Nej han hade det tyvärr ej ställt så för tillfället utan hänvisade mig till sin bror som bodde en bit längre bort i ett så godt som nybyggt hus. Jag gick alltså dit och gjorde samma fråga. Där var det tydligen inte alls något hinder, utan jag bjöds at sitta ner i det stora ljusa vardagsrum-met, som man kom in i direkt från gårdsplanen om jag skall kalla det så. Mö-bleringen var så enkel som möjligt, men allt var snyggt och fint och på sten-golvet var strödd fin vit hafssand, som byttes om flera gånger om dagen.

På härden brann en ljungeld, d.v.s. en eld av ljungris. Som sommaren varit ovanligt våt hade torven inte hunnit torka och man måste därför elda med uteslutande ljungris, som man släpade hem stora bördor av. Hustrun lagade middag och när det var färdig fördes den in i rummet bredvid, det rum, som jag fick dela med en skollärare inifrån County Cork, som kommit dit för att öva sig i språket. Med honom fick jag nu stifta bekantskap vid vårt gemen-samma middagsmål. Han hadit kommit några dar tidigare och blivit lika vän-ligt mottagen som jag. Att han utan vidare skulla finna sig i att få en rumskamrat och t.o.m. en sängskamrat—ty rummet innehåll bara en enda säng—det ansågs självskrivet.

Sugar-beet in Skåneland and Ireland

The second document comprises notes for a talk or article in Irish on the sugar-beet industry in Skåneland in Southern Sweden, the province in which Lund is situated, and the crop's potential for Ireland. The idea to write it arose, writes Von Sydow, from a conversation with Professor Tadhg Ó Donnnchadha (Torna). A finished or published version has not been found and the manuscript, parts of which are obscure, is clearly a draft rather than the finished article. The use of Irish is quite fluent, often very technical, but with many learner mistakes.

The piece was written around 1926, a date which is mentioned. This date links in well with the establishment of the Irish Sugar company, Comhlucht Siúicre Éireann, in 1926, an important enterprise for the new Irish state, providing income for farmers and industry for small towns. It is a serious economic paper. Von Sydow observes the Irish situation and reckons it can be improved by sugar-beet after comparison with Skåneland. He then analyses the Swedish situation with a detailed breakdown of output, costs of production against yield, and issues of profit and management.

Plandú biadhtas siúicre i Scóna

Cúig blianta fichead is eadh a bhíos im chomhnuidhe i Scóna, an cúige is deisceartaighe ₇ is saibhre i Sorcha, tír réidh, ana thoraidheach leasuighthe go h-ana mhaith. Ma táir id' sheasamh ar ardán, tá radharc leathan agat trasna gort áluinn toraidheach agus trasna móráin baile séimh. Chíthea tiughas an phobuil leis an méid eaglais a airighthear i ndeicheanna.

Nuair a thánag go h-Éirinn an chéad uair sa bhlian 1920 ₇ mise ag feiscint trasna a magha áilne, níor bh'fhéidir liom gan an cosamhlacht le Scóna d'fheiscint. Do bhí an tír chomh réidh, do bhí an talamh chomh toraidheach agus do bhí an aer chomh maith nó níos buige. Ach do bhí an talamh go léir beagnach fé cosaibh na mbó i n-inead a bheith leasuighthe agus ní raibh tighthe nó bailte go tiugh ann. Do connac go soiléir nach foláir go raibh an tír aluinn aoibhinn sin fé riaghail olc thar barr a choisg úsáid chiallmhar de'n talamh i n-inead cabhair a thabhairt do'n tír chun dul i bhfeabhas—agus bhí a fhios agam go raibh sé mar sin. Do cuimhnigheas air gur úsáid níos fearr go mór desna páirceannaibh toraidheacha biadhtaisí siuicre a phlandú ortha ná iad a chuir fé cosaibh na mbó, agus an talamh Éireannach chomh maith leis an talamh Scónach agus an aer níos teo ná an aer Scónach. Do bhí an cuimhniú san níos giorra dhom mar bhí easba mór siúicre go díreach an uair sin i n-Éirinn ₇ i Sasana. Fuaras piléirí sacairin ins an tae ar an dtraen, ₇ i dtig ósta fuaras báisín ana bheag siúicre ag na lóna ach bhí an siúicre ann donn greamach agus chreideas go raibh saghas mustaird ann agus chuireas é ar an bhfeola. D'innseas an scéal san do'n ollamh Ó Donncadha agus d'iarr sé díom cupla line do scríobhadh mar gheall ar plandú biadhtas siúicre i Sorcha agus seo na líne sin.

I dtosnú na mblianta 1840 (in the 1840 years) cheana dob'eadh a deineadh an céad iaracht siúicre biadhtasach a dhéanamh i Sorcha ach ní bhfuaradh í [?]. Do luighadh dáiríribh ar cheist an tsiúcra i dtosnú na mblianta 1890, ₇ deintear anois an méid sin siúcra go líonann sé beagnach 3ádh go léir na tíre ₇ ar feadh an chogaidh mhóir tháinig linn siuicre do breith go tirthe eile, guidh ní fiú dhuinn é i gcoitceanta mar gheall ar saoirse an tsiúcra siarindiach.

Gearrtar an cuireadóireacht tráchtáilte de biadhtaisibh mar sin ag an comhlucht siúcra—ní ceannuighthear biadhtaisí eile—go líonfaidh an toradh 3ádh

na tíre go fogus (approximately). Ní ceaduighthear siúicre breith isteach a(s) tíorthaibh iasachta ach le cead oifigeach agus ta cáin air annuas.

Deintear siúicre i mórán de chúigibh na Sorcha ach tá an déanamh siucra is mó i Scóna. Do mhalairtigh an méid talamha a úsáidtear i Sorcha chun biad-taisí a phlanndú ó blian go blian. Do bhí an méid sin ar feadh na mblianta 1916–1923 i n-uimhreacha timpeall: 37.000, 31.000, 30.000, 44.000, 49.000, 17.000, 43.000 hectáracha. Stailc planndóir biadhtas fé ndear an uimhir bheag (17.000) sa blian 1922. Tá 60% de'n mhéid sin talamhan sa machaire de Coundae Malmohús (Malmöhus län) i Scóna.

Deintear an méid siúcra sin go léir ag aon chomhlucht amháin (joint stock company) agus is leis an cómhlucht san gach aon mhonarcha siúcra san tír go léir. Do bhí a thairbhe ana mhór ar dtúis, 7 thug an cómhlucht *share certifi-cates* i n-aisce dos na *shareholders* ar uairibh/roinnt uaire, ach tá an tairbhe anois gearrtha amach leis an cháin siúcra i dtreo go mbíonn an roinn de gnáth na 6% ar an *normal share capital.*

Toisc gur cosamhaile Scóna le hÉirinn ná aon chúige Sorcach eile maidir leis na cúrsaíbh cliamátacha 7 talmhanta, tabharfad annso roinnt tuairisg spisialta ar Scóna. Ta tímpal 50 nó 75 hectáracha talmhan ag feirm meadhonmhór i Scóna. Sa machaire de'n Chonndae Malmohús úsáidtear timpal 12% de'n talamh guirt chun cuireadóireachta biadhtas. Is eadh talamh criadh te is fearr chun an cuireadóireachta san. Ní an climát fé ndear adhbh éigin i Scóna beagnach, ach i mblianta áirithe b'fhéidir (nuair tá) dá bhfuil na míosa Beal-taine agus Meitheamh fuar, mar sa bhlian 1924 i gcaoi go bhfuil na biadhtaisí moillighthe i n-a bhfás, nó dá dtagann seaca róluath san fhoghmhar mar sa bhlian 1923 i gcaoi go bhfuil deacaireacht na biadhtaisí do thógáil as an dtalamh.

Ach ní foláir mórán oibre deanamh ar na biadhtaisibh. Do réir socarú sa blian 1924 ní foláir 250 cróinneacha Sorcacha an hectár a dhíol as freastal na mbiadtas (neamhthiugháil na mbiadtas, baint le grafóg, tógáil as an dtalamh), chun an talamh do reidhtiú agus mar sin éilightear timpal 225 uaireacha saothair fhir do réir luach de timpal 40 öre an uair (an luach is lugha), agus timpal 325 uaireacha saothair chapaill nó iomlán na gcostaisí 220kr. Luach na h-oibre go léir an hectar, timpal 470kr is eadh é.

An tairbhe a tugann na biadhtaisí, feictear é as na huimhreacha so: do réir an socarú curtha i bhfeidhm i gcóir na mblianta 1824–26 *(sic)* tá luach na mbiad-tas timpal 3.05kr ar gach 100 kilogr. má tá luach an siúcra 57 öre ar gach kilogr (gan cain, ionann sin nó a radh luach siúcra an tsaoghail go léir) agus má is 16% siúcra na mbiadhtas. Ar gach méadú nó luigheadú de 1 öre i luach siúcra an tsaoghail beidh méadú nó luigheadú luacha biadhtas le 7 öre ar gach 100 kilogr, 7 ar gach méadú nó luigheadú de 0.1% siúcra ins na biadhtaisí beidh méadú nó luigheadú luacha biadhtas le 1 öre ar gach 100 kilogr. Bárr gnáthach biadtas ar machaire Scóna, ní misde é a mheas chun 25 nó 30 míle kilogr. ar gach hectár. Bíonn an tairbhe mar sin 750–900 kr do réir luach siúcra de 57 öre an kg 7 do reir 16% siúcra na mbiadhtas. Tá na costaisí ar gach hectár mar seo: luach saothair timpal 470kr (mar a taisbeánas ceana), aoileach timpal 200kr (ta na costaisí ar an aoileach nadúrdha ann leis),

costaisí éagsamhla, costas iomchair, timpal 50kr, tairbhe fiú an talmhan (interest on the value of the ground) timpal 70kr. Is 800kr suím na gcostas mar sin.

Ó'n blian 1906 tá a instituisiún féin chun biadhtaisí d'fheabhsú ag an Comhlucht ar a feirm Hilleshög i n-aice Landskrona. Déintear ann ₇ ar feirmeacha eile an Chomhluchta an síol biadhtais go léir a usaidtear san tír go léir, ₇ tugtar an síol san i n-aisce dos na planndóiribh ag an Comhlucht. Ní cead acu aon síol biadhtais eile d'úsáid. Tháinigh leis an obair feabhsuighthe an méid siúicre ins na biadhtaisibh do meadú go dtí 16–20%.

Teastuigheann mórán oibre ó'n bplandú biadhtas ₇ níl a dhóithin saothruightheoir ag an cuige féin ach cuirtear isteach mórán saothruigtheoir ó cúigíbh eile (from other provinces), seadh, i mbliantaibh éigin cuireadh cuid mór saothruightheoir gailisacha (eine Menge polaische Arbeiter aus Galisien) isteach. Ach má theastuigheann mórchuid oibre ós na biadhtaisibh, tá an tír ana saibhir ₇ oibrighte go h-ana mhaith. Agus muinntear neartmhar, tuiscionach, macanta, deagh-mhúinte iseadh an mhuinntear Scónach, an mhuinntear is fearr i Sorcha go léir. Tá 8 Árd-scoilte na ndaoine (People high schools) ins an cúige.

Do bheireann an Comhlucht Siúicre thar n-ais dosna planndóiribh pulp biadhtais go dtí 50% de cothrom na mbiadhtas ₇ cunntaistear (it is considered/estimated) é mar 3 schwedische Futtereinheiten ar 100 kilogr. biadhtas. Cunntaistear go dtugann na duilleoga de'n méid sin biadhtas 1 Futtereinheit. Má's fiú d'aon Futtereinheit amháin 10 öre, is fiú 40 öre toradh mar thuilleadh do'n siúicre ar gach 100 kgr biadhtas. Má's 25.000 kgr an toradh ar gach hectár, is fiú timpal 100kr toradh mar thuilleadh ar gach hectár. Sochar eile ar an bplandú biadhtas is eadh go bhfuil oibriú an talamhan níos neartmhaire (intense), ₇ beidh toradh arbhair níos fearr go mór leis.

Do bhíodh go minic clampar idir an Comhlucht Siúicre ₇ comhalthaisí na bplanndóir biadhtas go mórmhór mar gheall ar luach na mbiadhtas. Sa bhlian 1922 tháinig stailc mór planndóir as an dtroid sin, ₇ luigheadaigh an méid talmhan chun biadhtaisí a phlandú an blian san ó 49.000 hectáracha go dtí 17.000 ha. Cuireann an stát isteach go coitceannta ins na clamparachaibh sin ag deanam eadargabhála, ₇ bíonn an lámh uachtar de ghnáth ag an Chomhlucht.

Unfortunately, the economics of the European Union have rendered the Irish sugar-beet industry uneconomical for the twenty-first century. But in this document Von Sydow displays the breadth of his interests and intelligence. We see a most interesting man as well as a remarkable scholar with a real attachment to Ireland, its land, language, and people, and further investigation of the archive in Lund University library could well reveal other unusual, but fascinating nuggets such as the two documents presented here.

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Siúcra/ Irish Sugar Limited
http://www.irish-sugar.ie/education/sugarstory/st_ireland.html(accessed 15-12-05).