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'Y geissaw chwedleu':
Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium
of *Societas Celto-Slavica*

Aled Llion Jones and Maxim Fomin
(editors)

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ABSTRACT

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This volume contains eleven articles, ten of which were presented as papers at the Seventh International Colloquium of *Societas Celto-Slavica* held at Bangor, 4-7 September 2014. Ranging from the Celtic toponymy to history of Celtic scholarship, and various aspects of Welsh studies, the contributions cover a variety of topics, including Continental Celtic data, Early and Modern Irish literary and linguistic interface, lexical typology in Irish and Welsh, and Welsh translations.

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Contents

INTRODUCTION

This volume presents the proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of the Learned Association *Societas Celto-Slavica* held on 4-6 September 2014 in Bangor. It was co-organised by the School of Welsh of Bangor University and the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies. Previous conferences have been held in Coleraine (19-21 June 2005), Moscow (14-16 September 2006), Dubrovnik (18-19 September 2008), Łódź (13-15 September 2009), Příbram, Czech Republic (26-29 July 2010) and Saint-Petersburg (28-30 June 2012), and their proceedings have all been published.[1] The most recent conference was held at Heidelberg University in Germany on 1-3 September 2016, and its proceedings will likewise be published soon.

The conference was opened by Prof. Peredur Lynch, Head of the School of Welsh at Bangor, followed by the President of the *Societas*, Prof. Séamus Mac Mathúna. Two full days of academic activity featured papers from scholars representing institutions in eight countries, including three plenary addresses.

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[1] Mac Mathúna, S., & Fomin, M., eds., *Parallels between Celtic and Slavic. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on Links and Parallels between Celtic and Slavic Traditions. Studia Celto-Slavica 1*, Coleraine: TSO Publishers, 2006; Mac Mathúna, S., Mikhailova, T., Fomin, M. & G. Bondarenko, eds., *Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica. Studia Celto-Slavica 2*, Moscow: Moscow State University Publishers, 2009; Brozović-Rončević, D., Fomin, M., & R. Matasović, eds., *Celts and Slavs in Central and Southeastern Europe. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica *held at IUC, Dubrovnik, 18-19 September 2008. Studia Celto-Slavica 3*, Zagreb: Institute for Croatian Language and Linguistics, 2010; Stalmaszczyk, P., & M. Fomin, eds., *Dimensions and Categories of Celticity: Studies in Language. Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica. *Part 1. Studia Celto-Slavica 4*, Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2010; Fomin, M., Jarniewicz, J., & P. Stalmaszczyk, eds., *Dimensions and Categories of Celticity: Studies in Literature and Culture. Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica. *Part 2. Studia Celto-Slavica 5*, Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2010; Fomin, M., Blažek, V., & P. Stalmaszczyk, eds., *Transforming Traditions: Studies in Archaeology, Comparative Linguistics and Narrative. Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica *held at Příbram, 26-29 July 2010. Studia Celto-Slavica 6*, Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2012; Johnston, D., Parina, E. & Fomin, M., eds., 'Yn llawen iawn, yn llawn iaith': *Proceedings of the Sixth International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica. *Studia Celto-Slavica 7*. Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2015.

This was the first Celto-Slavica conference to feature papers given in a Celtic language – in this case Welsh – and the proceedings are fittingly being published bilingually. Interestingly, of the three papers in Welsh, two of them are by scholars from beyond Wales: Angelika Rüdiger (Germany) and Dmitri Hrapov (Russia).

Celto-Slavica meetings are as a rule characterised by a wide range of themes, addressing both the Continental and the Insular, from the Classical period and the prehistoric to the present, and we see this in the papers collected here, which address a range of languages across a full chronological sweep. In keeping with chronology, the volume opens with a study of continental Celtic place names: Václav Blažek's 'The Northeastern Border of the Celtic World' analyses the etymology of northeastern European toponyms known to Ptolemy in the mid-2nd century CE. The territory in question roughly corresponds to contemporary Poland and part of the Czech Republic – both now of course mainly Slavic-speaking areas.

There is here, as ever, much work concerning Irish philology and linguistics. Liam Mac Mathúna's 'Polite Discourse on the Earls' Journey to Rome: Exploring the Lexical Field and Sensibility of "Conversation" in Irish' highlights the importance attached to polite conversation in the noble social milieu in which the Ulster Earls found themselves as they journeyed through Continental Europe in 1607-8. Mac Mathúna argues that Irish literature from early times provides many comparable instances of a similar sensibility, centred on discourse and speech acts, in the land the Earls had left behind. Two articles are dedicated to Modern Irish. In 'The Possessive Construction with *cuid* "part"', Victor Bayda analyses combinations of possessive pronouns with non-count and plural nouns in Irish that involve the use of the element *cuid* (general meaning – 'part'), e.g., *mo chuid eolais* 'my knowledge' (lit. 'my part of knowledge') or *mo chuid leabhar* 'my books' (lit. 'my part of books'). The article analyses the use of this element in this construction and argues that *cuid* here is morphosyntactically a pseudo-partitive marker whose function is to explicate the idea of amount. Marina Snesareva explores the speech of Irish L2 speakers, and her 'Drifting towards Ambiguity: A Closer Look at Palatalisation in L2 Irish' attends to the features of this variety of Modern Irish.

The next two articles are closely related. Oksana Dereza, in 'Physical Qualities in Goidelic: A Corpus Study of Polysemy and Collocability', analyses Goidelic adjectives denoting the physical qualities of heaviness and lightness: the adjectives under question are *trom* and *éadrom* in Irish, *trom* and *aotrom* (*eutrom*) in Scottish Gaelic, and their Old Irish equivalents. Elena Parina, 'The Semantics of *trwm* in Middle Welsh Prose', uses the same taxonomy of meanings to analyse data for a single adjective

denoting heaviness; the small corpus permits thorough analysis of the examples. Studied together, these adjectives present valuable data for future work on lexical typology, and the articles usefully address relevant theoretical issues.

Four articles focus on Welsh material. Nely van Seventer's 'Translating *Sybilla Tiburtina* into Welsh' considers the translation into Middle Welsh of a widely disseminated medieval text, discussing some of the most salient grammatical and stylistical features of the Red Book version of the *Tiburtine Sybil*. Angelika Rüdiger, 'Trawsffurfiadau Gwyn ap Nudd' (The Transformations of Gwyn ap Nudd) is a diachronic study of the figure of Gwyn ap Nudd over the centuries, from medieval Welsh texts to modern Neo-Paganism. In 'Маѳъ Маѳонъвичь: Cyfieithiad Newydd o'r Mabinogi i (Hen) Rwsieg' (Маѳъ Маѳонъвичь: A New Translation of the Mabinogi to (Old) Russian), Dmitri Hrapof advocates the need for a new Russian translation of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, and discusses the advantages of translation from Middle Welsh to Old Russian. This is an interesting example of domesticating translation with contemporary relevance, undertaken by the author himself. Aled Llion Jones' 'Cynghanedd, Amser a Pherson yng Nghywyddau Dafydd Gorlech' (Cynghanedd, Time/Tense and Person in the *Cywyddau* of Dafydd Gorlech) is a prolegomenon to a study of the tropology of temporality in medieval Welsh poetry. In this article, Jones analyses the seven surviving poems of the fifteenth-century prophetic poet, Dafydd Gorlech, and the way in which tropological strategies are supported by metrical patterning.

Finally, Maxim Fomin's paper that takes the place of the presentation given at the colloquium explores 'Multilingual Practices and Linguistic Contacts in Pre-Patrician Ireland and Late Roman Britain'. He deals with matters of linguistic contact and social, cultural and economic exchange between pre-Patrician Ireland and Roman Britain, proposing that trade nexus centres ('*emporia*') were necessarily focal points where interlinguistic exchange took place. He argues that the Irish scribes gained their fluency from the verbal exchanges of the *emporia* as much as from their training at the *scriptoria*. Having re-assessed the question of the Latin borrowings in such sources as the early Irish glossaries, the Leinster genealogies and the earliest sections of the annals, he provides evidence for their use of Latin as a responsive technical language.

Beyond the academic richness, it is quite possible that history was made at the Celto-Slavica conference, in that for the first time in over seven hundred years Llygad Gŵr's eulogy to Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (d. 1282) was declaimed on the site of the royal court of Llys Rhosyr, Ynys Môn. Peredur Lynch, the editor of Llygad Gŵr's work in the Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion

series, recited the *awdl* to the gathered audience in the remains of the very hall where it would have been performed in the presence of the *Llyw Olaf* (the Last Prince). The conference tour also visited the bronze-age burial site of Bryn Celli Ddu (also on Môn) before travelling through the densely-packed cultural landscape of Gwynedd, from Rhyd-ddu (the birth-place of T.H. Parry-Williams) and the Llanberis Slate Museum, down Dyffryn Nantlle to Dinas Dinlle (the fort of Lleu/Lug, immortalised in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi). We were able to repair for food and wine, ale or mead to the medieval town of Caernarfon, in the shadow of Edward I's imposing imperial fortress.

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Maxim Fomin (Ulster University)

Rhagair

Peredur Lynch

Yn ystod mis Medi 2014, a hynny mewn cydweithrediad â'r Ganolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd, estynnodd Ysgol y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Bangor, groeso i 7fed Colociwm Societas Celto-Slavica. Hwn oedd y tro cyntaf i Societas Celto-Slavica ymweld â Chymru, ac i'r rhai a oedd yn bresennol bydd y colociwm ym Mangor yn aros yn hir yn y cof. Dros gyfnod o dridiau traddodwyd dau ar hugain o bapurau academaidd gan ysgolheigion profiadol ynghyd â myfyrwyr ymchwil. Cawsom y fraint, yn ogystal, o wrando ar dair prif ddarlith gan yr Athrawon John Koch, Angharad Price a Huw Pryce. Yn ychwanegol at fwrlwm y trafodaethau academaidd, cafodd yr holl ymwelwyr â Bangor brofiad bendithiol o'r tywydd achlysurol heulog hwnnw ym Medi a elwir gennym yn Gymraeg yn 'ha bach Mihangel'. Roedd yr 'ha bach' hwnnw ar ei odidocaf ar Sul olaf y colociwm pan aethom i ymweld â llecynnau o bwys hanesyddol a diwylliannol ym Môn ac Arfon.

Yn ystod y bore, ar safle hen lys Rhosyr, gwenai'r haul arnom wrth inni ddatgan rhai o awdlau Beirdd y Tywysogion o fewn olion ei furiau, a hynny ar ôl bwlch o bron i saith canrif a hanner. Wrth i'n taith ddod i ben yn Ninas Dinlle roedd llwybrau'r môr yn pefrio o'n blaenau a rhyw hud Mabinogaidd ar Wynedd.

Wrth fynd ati i drefnu'r Colociwm ym Mangor ar ran Ysgol y Gymraeg a'r Ganolfan Uwchefrydiau, cefais gefnogaeth barod gan Gyfarwyddwr y Ganolfan, Yr Athro Dafydd Johnston. Bu dau o swyddogion sefydlog Societas Celto-Slavica, Dr Maxim Fomin a Dr Elena Parina, yn dra pharod â'u cydweithrediad. Yma ym Mangor, gyda'i haelfrydigrwydd arferol, ysgwyddodd Dr Aled Llion Jones lawer baich. Ef hefyd, gyda Dr Fomin, a ymgymerodd â'r dasg lafurddwys o baratoi'r gyfrol bresennol ar gyfer ei chyhoeddi.

Bangor, 1 Medi 2017

1

FOREWORD

PEREDUR LYNCH

In September 2014, in cooperation with the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, the School of Welsh at Bangor University welcomed the 7th Societas Celto-Slavica Colloquium. This was Societas Celto-Slavica's first visit to Wales, and the Bangor colloquium will long be remembered by those present. The three days saw experienced scholars and graduate students deliver twenty-two academic papers, and we were privileged to hear keynote lectures by Professors John Koch, Angharad Price and Huw Pryce. In addition to the energy of the academic discussion, the visitors to Bangor were blessed with that occasional September sun we call 'ha bach Mihangel' – this glorious 'small summer' was at its best on the final Sunday of the conference, when we toured places of special historical and cultural resonance in Môn and Arfon.

In the morning, on the site of the medieval court of Rhosyr, the sun shone generously as we stood within the ruined walls of the hall and proclaimed awdlau not heard there since the Poets of the Princes themselves, seven hundred years earlier. Our tour led us ultimately to the top of Dinas Dinlle: the sea glistened below us, and Gwynedd basked in a magic straight out of the Mabinogi.

In organising the Colloquium in Bangor on behalf of the School of Welsh and the Centre for Advanced Studies I was readily supported by the Director of the Centre, Professor Dafydd Johnston. Two of Societas Celto-Slavica's permanent officers, Dr Maxim Fomin and Dr Elena Parina, were easily moved to assist, and here in Bangor, with his usual magnanimity, Dr Aled Llion Jones shouldered many responsibilities. He also, together with Dr Fomin, prepared this volume for publication.

Bangor, 1 September 2017

PRESIDENTIAL WELCOME AND ADDRESS

SÉAMUS MAC MATHÚNA

Seventh International Colloquium of *Societas Celto-Slavica*
Bangor, North Wales, 4-7 September 2014

Bore da ichi, a chroeso i Gymru ar gyfer Seithfed Gynhadledd Ryngwladol Cymdeithas Celto-Slavica. Rydym yn hapus iawn i fod yma yng Ngwynedd ac rwy'n mawr obeithio y byddwch yn mwynhau eich amser ym Mangor. Hoffwn ddiolch yn fawr iawn i Drefnydd a Chadeirydd y Gynhadledd, yr Athro Peredur Lynch, ac i'r Pwyllgor Trefnu am eu holl waith caled.

This year, in July, Societas Celto-Slavica celebrated its tenth anniversary. It has been a good ten years, busy and full of many highlights. We have held academic conferences in a number of different Slavic countries (Moscow and St Petersburg in the Russian Federation; Łódź in Poland; Dubrovnik in Croatia; Příbram in the Czech Republic); one in Northern Ireland (the first conference in Coleraine); and now, the Seventh Colloquium here in Bangor, Gwynedd. All the conferences have been a joy: very pleasant occasions in some wonderful, even exotic locations, with much good humour, comraderie and impressive scholarship, all of which contributed greatly to their success. It is pleasing for Celto-Slavica to be in Wales on the occasion of our tenth anniversary, the country with probably the strongest Celtic language today. It is particularly pleasing to be here in Bangor, which has a long and illustrious tradition of Welsh and Celtic scholarship. We thank Professor Peredur Lynch, the Conference Organiser, and the members of the Organising Committee, for their hard work and dedication in preparing such a fine and varied programme of lectures and events which, I am sure, will be most enjoyable and informative. We are very grateful to you.

Perhaps it is worth saying a few words at this time about the state of the Societas and the work which may lie ahead in the years to come. I should say at the outset that we are blessed in having many young scholars of great ability who come both from the Slavic and Celtic countries and from many other countries; trained by excellent dedicated teachers, they present papers regularly at our conferences. This bodes well

for the future and I would encourage these young scholars to take an active part in promoting and developing the Society so that it will continue to grow and develop as an academic body capable of making an important contribution to Celtic Studies and the relationship between Slavic and Celtic languages and cultures.

At the inaugural conference in Coleraine in 2005, Professor Hildegard Tristram, who unfortunately cannot be with us here in Bangor, pointed out that, despite the fact that some work had been carried out on various aspects of relations between Celtic and Slavic, no coherent account of connections and exchanges between these cultures, both ancient and modern, had yet been written. She hoped that Societas Celto-Slavica would "lay the foundation for a future general conspectus of the linguistic, literary and cultural topics of shared interest between these two important European cultural domains" (Tristram 2006: 254-5). Over the past ten years our conferences and seminars have addressed a range of comparanda and parallels between the two traditions covering elements relating to these various topics. Many of the relevant papers have been published in the Societas's series *Studia Celto-Slavica* and we should hopefully be in a position before too long to embark on the general conspectus referred to by Professor Tristram in her paper.

One recent development which will, I believe, contribute to meeting this objective is the international research network involving a number of scholars and institutions under the direction of Professor Jadranka Gvozdanović of the University of Heidelberg on the question of language, cultural heritage and integrating identities in Europe from the perspective of Slavic and Celtic cultures. This will, we hope, lead to a deeper understanding of European culture in general. It is also our hope that Professor Gvozdanović will chair the Organising Committee of the next conference of the Society at the University of Heidelberg.

Similarly, the longstanding international research network spearheaded by Professors Jacqueline Borsje and Tatyana Mikhailova on the *Power of Words in Traditional European Societies*, with a major focus on European peripheries, has already deepened our understanding and knowledge of the literary and religious history of European culture. These words of power include curses, blessings, spells, charms, incantations and prayers. Yet another project on the subject of *Maritime Memorates***,** under the directorship of Dr Maxim Fomin and myself and funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, has hitherto concentrated primarily on materials in Irish, Scottish Gaelic and English, but will also seek in the future to encompass the other Celtic languages and also the Slavic and Scandinavian traditions (Fomin and Mac Mathúna 2016). This

should contribute to a greater knowledge of an important subject area in the European folk tradition.

Other projects which will contribute to the general conspectus of the two cultures are the *History of Celtic Scholarship in the Slavic Countries*, which was begun many years ago and is still ongoing (Mac Mathúna 2006); and monographs and histories dealing with contacts over the centuries between Celts and Slavs as reflected in language, archaeology, literature, folklore and mythology, including, for example, comparative studies covering such matters as linguistic aspect.

Finally, thanks again to Professor Lynch and the Organising Committee. I wish conference well and look forward to a productive and enjoyable time here in Bangor.

Ulster University

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Tristram, H. L. C., 2006, 'Concluding Remarks: What's in Celto-Slavica?', in: Mac Mathúna, S., & Fomin, M., eds., *Parallels between Celtic and Slavic. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on Links and Parallels between Celtic and Slavic Traditions. Studia Celto-Slavica 1*, Coleraine: TSO Publishers, 253-65.

THE NORTH-EASTERN BORDER OF THE CELTIC WORLD

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

0. Introduction

The present study provides an etymological analysis of toponyms collected by Ptolemy from Northeast Europe, as known to him in the mid-second century CE. The territory studied roughly corresponds to contemporary Poland and part of the Czech Republic. The toponyms are taken from editions of Ptolemy by Šimek 1930 and Nobbe 1966.

1. Etymological glossary

1G: Ἄλεισός [λη΄, νε΄] = Alisus [38*00, 55º00]; ms. variants: Ἄλισός X, Ἄλεισσός A, Ἄλειστὸς ΣΦΨ.

Germanic **alizō* ~ **alisō* f. > Gothic **alisa* 'alder' > Spanish *aliso* id., Old Saxon *elira* id., *elis-* (in compounds), Old High German *elira*, *erila* id. Cf. also Old Norse *elri* n. < **alizja-*, *alri* n. < **aliza-* (Orel 2003: 15).

2C: Ἀρεγελία [λς΄, νβ΄γ″] = Aregelia [36*30, 52º20]; ms. variants: Ἀρεγεουία ΣΦ, Ἀργέλια RWUr, Ἀργελία ב, Ἀρελετία X,

Celtic **arei-geliā* 'by white (river)', cf. Gaul. *are Sequania rijos* 'by the river Sequania' (inscription from St-Germain-Sources-Seine, Lambert 2003: 99), it is also found in numerous proper names as *Arē-morici* gl. *antemarini* (glossary of Vienne - see Lambert 2003: 206), Ἀρη-γενούα, etc., cf. Old Irish *áir-*, Welsh *er-* (US 35; D 45; similarly Isaac 2004), and Irish *gel* 'white, fair, bright, shining' (DIL G 58-59; US 112). The toponym has been identified with the Czech city Teplice on the river *Bílina*, the left tributary of the Elbe/Labe, etymologizable from Czech *bílý* 'white'.

3E: Ἀρσικούα [μα΄γό″, μθ΄] = Arsicua [41*40, 49º00]; ms. variants: Ἀρσικοῦα UrtADΔMΩΣΣΦΨ.

Perhaps an Old European compound **H₁r̥si-H₂k̂ʷ-eH₂-* 'flowing water(s)', where the first component is derivable from the verb **H₁ers-* 'to flow', Cf. Old Indic *árṣati*, Hittite *āraszi* 'flows' (LIV 241; Pokorny 1959: 336-7; Krahe 1964: 47), and the latter one from the zero-grade of IE **H₂ek̂ʷ-* (Pokorny 1959: 23) > Latin *aqua* 'water, Wasserleitung', ?Venetic NL *Aquileia*; Celtiberian **akua* attested in the Third bronze from Botorrita in the syntagm **Ta.r.a.Ku.a.i**, which is interpreted by de

Bernardo Stempel (2007: 58) as *tar akuai* 'through the water' or 'along the water', where *akuai* is the dat. sg. of the *ā*-stem; Germanic **ahwō* > Gothic *aƕa* f. 'river, body of water', etc. (Kroonen 2013: 7).

4E: Ἀρσόνιον [μγ΄, νβ΄] = Arsonium [43*30, 52º20]; ms. variants: Ἀρσήνιον ΓΣΦΨ.

   Old European **H₁r̥s-on-* from the verb **H₁ers-* 'to flow'. Cf. Old Indic *árṣati*, Hittite *āraszi* 'flows' (LIV 241; Pokorny 1959: 336-7; Krahe 1964: 47).

5C: Ἀσάνκα [μγ΄, ν΄γ″] = Asanca [43*00, 50º20]; ms. variants: Ἄσανκα FΣΣΦΨ, Ἀσάνδα Χ.

   Celtic **asnakā*, cf. Old Irish *asnach* 'flank walls', lit. 'ribbed', coll. from *asna* 'rib', Welsh *asen* 'rib; beam' (DIL A-434; LEIA A 94-5; US 24).

6G: Ἀσκαυκαλίς [μδ΄, νδ΄δ″] = Ascaucalis [44*00, 54º15]; ms. variants: Ἀσκακαυλίς L, Ἀσκαυλίς Χ, Αἰκαυκαδὶς ΓΣΦΨ.

   With respect to the variant L the emendation **aska-kaulº → *aska-kaβlº* seems possible. It is perhaps thinkable to propose a compound of Germanic **aska-* m. 'ash' (Kroonen 2013: 38) & **kabla/ōn-* 'piece of wood' (Kroonen 2013: 276-7).

   Note: The vacillation -αυ- ~ -αβ- appears e.g. in the toponym Ἄναυον ~ Ἄναβον [Ptol. II, 11.30].

7G: Ἀστουία (or Κιστουία?) [λζ΄γ″, νδ΄] = Astvia (or Cistvia?) [37*20, 54º30]; ms. variants: Αἰτουία Χ, Αἰστούια/Αἰστουία Ζ(ΒΕ?), Κιστούια/Κιστουία Σ(ΦΨ?).

   Germanic **astaz* m. > Goth *asts* 'branch, bough', Old Saxon *ast* id., OHG *ast* id. or **astaz* m. > Old English *ast* 'kiln', Middle Dutch *ast* id. In the case of the variant with the initial diphthong a good candidate is Germanic **aista/ō-* > Old English *āst* m. 'oven', Middle Low German *eiste* f. 'oast house', Middle Dutch *eest* 'drying kiln' (Kroonen 2013: 14).

8C: Βουδοργίς [μ΄, ν΄] = Budorgis [40*00, 50º30]; ms. variants: Βουδουργίς UrtAMO.

   Celtic **budo-* 'victory' & **rīgo-* 'power, government'. Cf. Old Irish *búaid* 'victory', Old Breton *bud* gl. *bradium*, Old Welsh *budicaul* gl. *victo*, Welsh *budd* 'profit' and Old Irish *ríge* 'ruling, kingship, sovereignty' (DIL B-221; R-67 for **rīgiā*; LEIA B-107; R-25; Falileyev 2000: 20; see Sims-Williams 2006: 189).

9C: **Βουδόριγον** [μα΄, νβ΄γό″] = Budorigum [41*00, 52°40]; ms. variants: Βουδόριτον W.

Celtic *budo- 'victory' & *rīgo- 'power, government'. Cf. Old Irish *búaid* 'victory', Old Breton *bud* gl. *bradium*, Welsh *budd* 'profit' and Old Irish *ríge* 'ruling, kingship, sovereignty' (DIL B-221; R-67 for *rīgiā*; LEIA B-107; R-25).

10G: **Βουνίτιον** [λθ΄, νε΄] = Bunitium [39*30, 55°30]; ms. variants: Μουνίτιον Χ, Βουρίτιον Φ.

Germanic, cf. Old English *bune* 'Ried, Rohr', English dial. *bun* 'hohler Stengel', Norwegian, Icelandic *buna* 'Beinröhre' (Holthausen 1963: 38). The suffixal extension probably corresponds to West Germanic *bil-eþja- 'image, likeness' > Old Saxon *bilithi*, Old Dutch *bilithe*, Old High German *biladi*, *biledi*, German *Bild*; or *īw-eþja- n. > Swedish *ide* 'yew grove' vs. Germanic *īwa- m. 'yew' (Kroonen 2013: 64, 271).

11C: **Γαλαιγία** [λζ΄, νβ΄γ″] = Galaegia [37*30, 52°20]; ms. variants: Γαλαίγια G, Καλαιγία ost., Καλαίγια UrtFZE.

?Celtic: *cf.* Nomen Loci *Calaico* in pago Wapencense (AD 739) (Holder I: 688: Diplomata, ed. Pardessus).

12C: **Ἐβουρόδουνον** [λθ΄, μη΄] = Eburodunum [39*00, 48°00]; ms. variants: Ἐβουρόδανον ΣΦΨ, Ῥεβουρόδουνον Χ, Ῥοβόδουνον ost., Ῥοδόβουνον RWC.

Celtic *eburo- 'yew-tree'. Cf. Gaulish *eburos, Old Irish *ibar*, later *iubar*, *iobar* 'yew' (DIL I-41), Breton *evor* 'bourdaine', Gaulish e.g. NL *Eburodunon*, today *Yverdon* in Switzerland, etc. (Holder II: 1395-404; D 134). The second component corresponds to Gaulish *dūnon in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

13C: **Ἔβουρον** [μα΄, μθ΄] = Eburum [41*00, 49°30]; ms. variants: Ἔβουνον Rt.

Celtic *eburo- 'yew-tree'. Cf. Gaulish *eburos, Old Irish *ibar*, later *iubar*, *iobar* 'yew' (DIL I-41), Breton *evor* 'bourdaine', Gaulish e.g. NL *Eburodunon*, today *Yverdon* in Switzerland, etc. (Holder II: 1395-1404; D 134).

14C: **Ἡγητματία** [λθ΄ψό″, να΄] = Hegetmatia [39*40, 51°00]; ms. variants: Ἡγηγματία Σ, Ἡγιτματία NFADΔMOEBɔ, Ἰλιγματία Χ.

Celtic *Segetā-matịā gl. *dea Segeta et bona*, cf. *deae Segetae*, *Aquae Segetae* by Montbrison (Holder II: 1440), also Old Irish *maith* 'good' (DIL M-43-45; LEIA M-12-13); to explain the loss of the initial *s* one can refer to a special breed of hunting dogs Ἐγούσιαι recorded by

Arrianus who connected the dogs with the tribe *Segusiavi* (Holder II: 1453-5).

15C: **Καλισία** [μγ´δ″, νβ´γ″] = Calisia [43*45, 52º50]; ms. variants: Καλίσια UrtΩ.

Perhaps Celtic (Holder III: 1048), maybe related to Old Irish *caile* m. 'spot' < *kaljo-* (Matasović 2009: 186); cf. the suffix -*isia*: *Alisia*, *Be(i)lisia*, *Dunisia*, in appelatives *cervisia* or τριμαρκισία 'team of three horses' (Holder II: 79).

16C: **Καρρόδουνον** [μβ´ψό″, να´] = Carrodunum [42*40, 51º30]; ms. variants: Κρόδουνον VPF.

Celtic *karro-dūnon* 'stone fort' or ?'wagon-fort': cf. Gaulish *carrus* – epithet of Mars, preserved in the name of the mountain, today called *Pic-du-Gar* (Holder I: 815-6), Middle Welsh *carrec* 'stone', Old Irish *carrac* 'rock, large stone', less probably the first component corresponds to Gallo-Latin *carrus* 'wagon', Middle Welsh *carr* 'vehicle', Old Irish *carr* 'cart, wagon' (DIL C-78 & 77; LEIA C-41-42; US 72). The second component see Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

17C: **Κασουργίς** [λθ´δ″, ν´ς″] = Casurgis [39*15, 50º10]; ms. variant Κασουγίς W.

Celtic **kasso-uorg*º 'built from the twisted [walls]', cf. Old Irish *casaid* 'twists, bends' (DIL C-82-83; LEIA C-44) and *do(f)airci* 'towers over, surpasses, excels' (DIL D-263), Old Breton *guerg* gl. 'efficax'.

18Γ: **Κοινόηνον** [λλ´γ″, νε´] = Coenoënum [36*20, 55º30]; ms. variants: Κοινώηνον S, Κοινόοινον A, Κοινόκνον ΓΣΦΨ, Κενεννον X.

Perhaps a Greek compound of κοινός 'common' and ἡνίον 'bit, rein' [Pollyx1.148], the diminutive implying the noun ἦνον (LS 652).

19C: **Κολάγκορον** [λθ´, νγ´] = Colancorum [39*00, 53º30]; ms. variants: Κολάγκωρον XZEB, Κολαγκόρον ΓΣΦ, Κολάγκερον Rt.

Celtic **kolani-*: Old Irish *colainn* 'body, flesh; corpse, carcass, trunk', in laws 'principal, capital; substance of which an article is made' etc. (DIL C-322), Middle Welsh *kelein*, *keleyn*, pl. *calanedd* 'cadavres, carnage', Welsh *celain*, *celan* 'cadavre' (LEIA C-156); cf. also Κολάνικα 'a city of *Damnonii* by the spring of the Clyde' [Ptolemy II, 3. 7] = *Colanica* [Ravennatis V 31. 7] (Holder I: 1064), plus Celtic **koro-*, attested in Old Irish *cor* m. 'act of putting, casting; a throw', *do-cuirethar* 'to put, place', with derivatives as *cora* 'palissade, mur de pierres, gord à

poisson, pêcherie', dat. *coraid*, Welsh *cored* f. 'gord, barrage, vivier', Old Breton *coret* < **koret-s*. Without the dental extension see Old Irish *Sescend in da Cor* 'moor of the two hillocks', Breton *aval-gor* 'champ de pommiers', Welsh *Ban-gor* 'paroi de branches tressées, clôture' = Irish *Benchuir* etc. (LEIA C-204-206).

20C: **Κοριδοργίς** [λζ´δ″, μη´] = Coridorgis [37*15, 48º30]; ms. variants: Κορυδοργίς Urt, Κονδοργίς X.

Celtic **kori-dorgᵒ* 'kept by army', cf. Old Irish *cuire* 'troop, company', Welsh *cordd* 'tribe, clan, troop', Gaulish *Corio-solites, Tri-corii, Petru-corii* etc. (DIL C-597; LEIA C-275; Schmidt 1957: 183) and Breton *derchell* 'to keep' (US 149).

21G: **Λακιβούργιον** [λθ´, νς´] = Laciburgium [39*00, 56º00]

Probably formed from Germanic **lēkjōn-* f. > Faeroese *lækja* 'well, waterhole, waterspout', Norwegian *lækje* 'rivulet, wooden water-pipe' (Kroonen 2013: 331) with the typical Northwest Germanic change **ē* > **ā* or from some derivative of the Germanic verb **lakjan-* 'to cause to leak, moisten' > Old English *leccan*, Old High German *lecken* id. (Kroonen 2013: 325).

22C: **Λευκάριστος** [μα´δ″, νβ´γό″] = Leucaristus [41*45, 52º40]

Celtic: cf. Brittonic NL *Leucaro* (Itin. Ant.) = Welsh *Cas Llychwr*; Gaulish NL *Leuceris* (Geog. of Ravenna) between Bergamo and Brescia, today *Lecco* (Holder II: 192-3; D 169). The extension in **-isto-* can be interpreted as the superlative.

23C: **Λίμιος ἄλσος** [μα´, νγ´] = the grove of Limis [41*00, 53º30]; ms. variants: Λιμοσάλειον D, Λιμοσάλαιον A, Λιμοσάλιον L, Λιμιοσάλεον W, Μιλιοσάλεον ZEB.

Connected with the Celtic designation of 'elm': Gaulish ethnonym *Lemo-uices* > *Limoges*, place-names as *Limours* < **lemausum*, *Limeuil* < **lemo-ialum*, personal names *Lemisunia, Lemiso* etc.; Brittonic **lēmā-* > Middle Welsh, Welsh sglt. *llwyfen* 'elm', pl. *llwyf*; Goidelic **limo-* > Middle Irish *lem* m. (Holder II: 175-82, 226-7; Billy 1993: 93; Delamarre 2001: 168; Matasović 2009: 237: nom. **H₁lei̯ōm* : gen. **H₁limos*).

24C: **Λουγίδουνον** [λθ´, νβ´] = Lugidunum [39*30, 52º30]; ms. variants: Λουτίδουνον RVPWCΓUrNF etc.

Celtic **lugi-dūnon* 'fort of the (tribe) *Lugii*' (Holder II: 306) or 'fort of the treaty', cf. Old Irish *lugae*, later *luige* 'oath, swear' (DIL L-239), Welsh *llw* 'iuramentum' (US 257) and Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον,

Novio-dunum etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207, 150; Sims-Williams 2006, 191).

25G: **Λούπφουρδον** [λη΄ς΄΄, να΄γό΄΄] = Lupfurdum [38*10, 51º40]; ms. variants: Λουπφοῦρδον ΖΣΨ, Πολουπφοῦρδον Φ.

Old European hydronym **Lup(iā)* (*Lupia* by Mela III, 30; Tacitus, *Annales* I, 60; see Krahe 1964: 99-100) and Germanic *furđu-* 'ford', cf. Norwegian *ford* 'path through a swamp', Old English *ford*, Old High German *furt* 'ford', i.e. 'ford across the river Lupia' (WGS 230).

26G: **Μαριωνίς** ἑτέρα [λλ΄, νε΄γ΄΄] = another Marionis [36*00, 55º50]

Probably derived from Germanic **mari-* m./n. 'lake, sea' > Gothic *mari-saiws*, Old Norse *marr*, Old English *mere*, Old High German *meri* or **marīn-* id. > Gothic *marei*, Old Saxon *meri*, Old High German *merī* id. (Kroonen 2013: 354-5). In this case perhaps 'near the sea'.

27C: **Μελιόδουνον** [λθ΄, μθ΄] = Meliodunum [39*00, 49º00]; ms. variant: Μελγόδουνον WC.

Celtic **medi̯o-dūnon*? 'middle fort' (Schwarz 1931: 17): Gaulish Μεδιο-ματρικες, *Mediolanum*, Old Irish *mide* 'medium' and Gaulish *dūnon in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

28C: **Νομιστήριον** [λθ΄, να΄] = Nomisterium [39*00, 51º00]; ms. variants: Νομηστίριον Rt.

Celtic **nomi-stērio-* 'temple of a (goddess) star' (= ?*Stēronā, corresponding to Gaulish *Sirona/Dirona*, see D 239): Old Welsh *nom* gl. *templa* (US 192; Falileyev 2000: 121).

29B?: **Οὐίρουνον** [μ΄, νε΄] = Virunum [40*30, 55º00]; ms. variant: Ἰούρουνον Rt.

Undoubtedly connected with the ethnonym Οὐίρουνοί (S), Οὐιροῦνοι (R), mentioned by Ptolemy in § II, 11.17. With regard to the homonymous name of the town from Noricum, attested as *Virunum* [Pliny III, 146], Οὐίρουνον [Ptol. II, 11.17], but by other authors as *Varunum* [It. Ant. 276; Tab. Peut.], Βέρουνος [Steph. Byz.], Βηρούνιον [Suid.] (Holder III: 399), it is legitimate to admit a different primary vocalism in the topo- & ethnonym from North Germania too. There are several hypothetical alternative solutions:

(a) If it was *Οὐέρουνον & *Οὐερουνοί, a relation to the 'Old European' hydronym *Veruna* (1379; Dép. Var, France - see Krahe 1964: 39) would be possible.

(b) In the case of *Οὐάρουνον & *Οὐαρουνοί a connection with the ethnonym *Varini* [Tacitus, *Germania* 40], *Varinnae* [Pliny IV, 99], Αὐαρινοί [Ptol. III, 5.8], besides Αὔαρποι [Ptol. II, 11.9], Οὔαρνοι [Proc. *b. G.* II, 15.2; III, 35.15; IV, 20.1], *Varni* [Jord. *Getica* 117.13] (Schönfeld 1911: 257-8) seems the most natural solution (Bremer 1899: 91; Šimek 1935: 153-7).

(c) With respect to the variant Ἰούρουνον (Rt) it is tempting to think about its Baltic origin. There is a common Baltic term 'sea' attested in numerous variants in all Baltic languages: Prussian *iūrin* [K III, 67, 11] = /jūrian/, *luriay* [EV 66: 'Mer'] = /jūriai/; Lithuanian *jū́ra*, *jū́r(i)os*, *jū́rė(s)*, dial. *juriai* 'sea', besides *jurēžeris* 'a very big lake', Latvian *jũŗa(s) & jũra(s)*, *jũre(s)*, *jùre*, *jūris* 'sea; a big lake' (Toporov 1980: 93-4). The suffix *-ūn- appears e.g. in the Prussian river-name *Raudune* (1316), without the suffix the Lithuanian river-name *Raudà*, both from *raũdas* 'reddish'; similarly the Prussian lake-name *Sirgun* : *sirgis* 'stallion'; Lithuanian *Dumbliūnai* : *dum̃blas* 'marsh' (Gerullis 1922: 139, 254).

30G: **Οὐιρίτιον** [μα΄, νδ΄] = Viritium [41*00, 54o30]; ms. variants: Οὐιρούτιον ΓΣΦΨ, Οὐερίτιον S, Οὐεριτίον A.

There are at least three hypothetical Germanic etymologies:

(a) Germanic *wir-eþja- > Old High German *wiridi-bora* f. 'freeborn' (the latter component is derived from the verb *beran* 'to bear'), hence 'place of free men'? or so.

(b) Germanic *werila/ō f. > Gothic *wairila* 'lip', Old English pl. *weleras* id., a diminutive of *werō- > Old Frisian *were* f. 'lip' (Kroonen 2013: 580; Orel 2003: 456). This solution is applicable in the case of emendation τι → λ.

(c) Germanic *wariþa-/*waruþa- > Old English *waroþ*, *wearoþ*, *wearþ* n. 'shore, bank', Middle Low German *werde* 'dammed up land', Old High German *warid*, *werid*, Middle High German *wert*, gen. *werdes* m. 'elevated waterless land between swamps; island, shore' (WGS 395). This solution implies the umlaut *a ... i > e ... i*, perhaps comparable with the river-name Ἐλίσων by Dio Cassius 54, 33.4, corresponding to the military camp *Aliso* by Velleius Paterculus II, 120.4 and the fortress *Aliso* by Tacitus, *Annales* II, 7.

31C: **Παρίεννα** [μβ΄, μθ΄γ″] = Parienna [42*00, 49o20]

It is derivable from the Celtic word for 'cauldron' on the basis of metaphor 'cauldron' → 'basin, hollow, bowl', cf. Gaulish *pario- reconstructed after Provençal *par*, Lyonnaise *per*, Italian dial. of Ferrara, Pavia *per* 'kettle' (Meyer-Lübke 1935, #6246; Billy 1993: 118), Middle Welsh *pair*, Welsh *peir*, Cornish *per* gl. 'lebes', Old Irish *coire* m. <

Celtic *kʷari̯o- <*kʷr̥i̯o- (Delamarre 2001: 208-9; LEIA III: C-153; Matasović 2009: 175), extended by the suffix *-enna, attested in many Gaulish place-names, e.g. *Anduenna*, *Ardu(i)enna*, *Arguenna*, *Bagenna*, *Boudenna*, *Tarvenna*, etc. (Holder I: 1439).

32C/G: Ῥεδιντούινον [λη´, ν´] = Redintuinum [38*30, 50°30]; ms. variants: Ῥεδινγούινον X, Ῥιδιντούινον L.

Celtic *rēdi(o?)-dūnon* 'fort of riders' (Schwarz 1931: 17) > Germanic *rēđi-tūna-*; the Celtic stem *rēdi-* is preserved e.g. in the Gaulish compound *eporediae* interpreted as *boni equorum domitores* in Pliny (III, 123 = Holder II: 1451; D 137). The voiceless stop *t* in -τούινον indicates that original Celtic *dūnon* was already replaced by Germanic *tūna-* > Old Nordic *tún*, Old English and Old Saxon *tūn*, Old High German *zūn* 'fence, hedge' etc. (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 904).

33G: Ῥούγιον [μβ, νε´γό″] = Rugium [42*30, 55°40]

Probably connected with the ethnonym *Rugii* belonging to the East Germanic tribe preceding Goths in the area around the mouth the Vistula river [Tacitus, *Germania* 44; Jordanes, *Getica* 26].

34G: Σετίδαυα [μδ´, νγ´] = Setidava [44*00, 53°30]; ms. variants: Σετίδαβα R, Σετιδαύα Z, Σετίδανα ΑΣΦΨ, Γετιδαύα X.

A compound of East Germanic *sēti-* 'pasture; possible to sit down' > Old Norse *sǽtr* 'summer pasture; suitable for sitting on', plus compounds as Gothic *anda-sets*, Old English *and-sǽte* 'odious, hateful', Middle Dutch *ant-set* id., Middle High German *ant-seze* 'brave' (de Vries 1962: 576; Kroonen 2013: 433; Orel 2003: 326) & *dawwa/ō-* 'dew' > Old Norse *dǫgg*, Old English *dēaw*, Old Frisian *daw*, Old Dutch *dou*, Old High German *tou* (Kroonen 2013: 91). Originally perhaps 'pasture/sitting on dew' → 'damp pasture/place'. The difference *sēti-* vs. *sāti-* (see **Φουργισατίς**) indicates the opposition between East and Northwest Germanic respectively already in the mid of the 2nd cent. CE.

35C: Σετουία [μβ´, ν´] = Setovia [42*30, 50°00]; ms. variants: Ἀντεκουία Urt.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to derive it from Celtic *sego-* 'firm, power(ful)' > Middle Irish *seg* m. 'force, strength, heed, interest', Middle Welsh *hy* 'bold, brave' (LEIA S-68; US 297; Matasović 2009: 327); cf. Hispano-Celtic NL in Hispania Tarraconensis: *Segovia* [Liv. 91; Plin. III, 27; Flor. II, 10], Σεγουία [Ptol. II, 6.55] etc.; in Hispania Baetica: *Segovia* [Hirt. *b. Alex.* 57.6]; Balkano-Celtic in Dalmatia: Σεγουία [Appian, *Illyr.* 27] (Holder II: 1452-3). Concerning the

suffix -*via*, cf. *Gergovia*, *Iuvavia*, *Nemavia*, *Vinovia*, *Vosavia* etc. (Holder III: 273).

36C: **Σινγονή** [μαʹ, μηʹδʺ] = Singone [41*30, 48º15]; ms. variants: Σινγόνη Χ, Σιγγόνη ⊐, Σινγονῆ UrΔM.

In continental Celtic onomastics there are numerous forms derivable from the stem **sing(i)*-: NL *Singiacus* → castle *Cingé* in Touraine, dep. Indre-et-Loire, *Singilia* in Baetica, *Singidunum* - today Beograd - the capital of Serbia; NM *Singenia* in Aouste by Crest, dep. Drôme, *Singeria* in Carantania, etc. (Holder II: 1570-3; Billy 1993: 137). In Insular Celtic there are two hypothetical alternative cognates: (a) Old Irish *seng* 'thin'; (b) Old Irish *séig*, gen. *séga* 'bird of prey, falcon' (LEIA S-85-86; S-71; Delamarre 2001: 233). The place-name inspired by 'falcon' is apparently more attractive and so more probable, but the first possibility cannot be excluded at all.

37G: **Σκοῦργον** [μγʹ, νεʹ] = Scurgum [43*00, 55º00]; ms. variant: Σκούργον Urt.

Accepting the frequent replacement γ → τ, it is possible to identify here Germanic *skurta- 'short' (Orel 2003: 346).

38L: **Σουσουδάτα** [ληʹ, νγʹγʺ] = Susudata [38*30, 53º50]; ms. variants: Σουσουδάνα.

Latin *sub Sudēta 'under the Sudeta [mountains]' (Much 1897: 99; Schwarz 1931: 24; Šimek 1935: 34). The final -*ēta* may be interpreted as the plural to the sg. forms in -*ētum*, serving to designate places with certain characteristic features, e.g. *asprētum* 'rough place' : *asper* 'rough, uneven', *glabrēta* 'bare places' : *glaber* 'bald, smooth', *saxētum* : *saxum* 'rock'; frequently to designation of occurrence of concrete trees or other plants, e.g. *arundinētum* 'thicket of reeds': *arundō* 'reed, cane', *fīcētum* 'fig-plantation' : *fīcus* 'fig-tree', *nucētum* 'a wood where nut-trees grow' : *nux* 'nut', *querquētum* & *quercētum* 'oak-forest' : *quercus* 'oak', *vīminētum* 'willow-copse': *vīmen* 'pliant twig, withe' etc. (*cf.* Brugmann 1906: 414, §307β; 624, §493). The root proper may be identified in Latin *sudes* (pl. to *sudis* 'stake, pile'), glossed also as 'saxae' [Appuleius, *Metamorphoses* VII: p. 195, 26], or 'fraxineasque aptare sudes' [Vergilius, *Georgica* II: 359], see LD 778, 1790. The latter context implies that Σούδητα ὄρη might be a Latin equivalent of the Germanic Ἀσκιβούργιον, i.e. 'place fortified by the ashen palisade', and Σουσουδάτα = Latin *sub Sudēta was an area under this fortification.

39C: **Στράγονα** [λθʹγόʺ, νβʹγʺ] = Stragona [39*40, 52º20]; ms. variants: Στραγόνα ost.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to reconstruct Celtic *stratonā, cf. Middle Breton *strat* 'bottom, hole', Welsh *ystrad* 'valley' (US 313; Henry 1900: 255).

40C: **Στρεούιντα** [λθ΄δ″, μθ΄] = Strevinta [39*15, 49º30]; ms. variants: Στρεουούιντα Σ, Στρεουιντία Χ.

Celtic: Middle Breton *strehet* 'pavement of a road', Breton *stréoued* 'foundation of a road', Old Breton *strouis* 'I covered, bestrewed' (US 313; Henry 1900: 255).

41L: **Φηλικία** [λθ΄, μη΄] = Felicia [39*00, 48º30]; ms. variants: Φηληκία G, Φιληκία RPWCΣΦΨ, Φιλικία Urt.

Originally 'happy things' in Latin, derived from the adj. *felix* 'happy'; cf. also *tempora felicia* 'happy times'.

42G: **Φουργισατίς** [λς΄, μη΄] = Furgisatis [36*00, 48º00]; ms. variants: Φουργισάτης ΦΨ, Φρουργισατίς Χ.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to propose West Germanic *furþ/δi-sātiz 'settlement; pasture by ford' (Schwarz 1931: 28), cf. Germanic *furđu-* 'ford' > Norwegian *ford* 'path through a swamp', Old English *ford*, Old High German *furt* 'ford' and Old Nordic *sætr* 'summer meadow for cattle' (WGS 230, 427). The vowel *ā in *sātiz < Germanic *sētiz indicates a source of West (or even Northwest) Germanic provenance, in contrast to East Germanic *ē > Biblic Gothic *e*.

2. Conclusion

1. In the area enclosed by the 36th longitude, the 48th latitude, the south coast of the Baltic sea and the Vistula river, 42 place-names (not including *hydro-*, *oro-* and ethnonyms) are mentioned in Ptolemy's work.

2. Two of these are of Latin origin, one is probably of Greek origin, in one case the Baltic etymology seems most promising and two-three toponyms may be ascribed to the so-called 'Old European' substratum. Of the remaining 36 terms the share of the Celtic and Germanic toponyms is 23 : 13 (a witness of *Lautverschiebung* in the case of one of the Celtic terms indicates the Celtic terms continued even after a replacement of populations).

3. The northernmost border of probable Celtic toponyms in the area of contemporary Poland may be determined between the 54th and 53rd latitudes (*c*. 53º30').

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Appendix

Place-names of *Germania Magna* in the East from 36th longitude and in the North from 48th latitude according to Ptolemy

	36*	37*	38*	39*	40*	41*	42*	43*	44*	45*
56°	26G	18Γ		21G				33G		
				10G						
			1G		29B?			37G		
55°						30G				
		7G							6G	
54°			38L			23C			34G	
				19C						
53°									15C	
				24C			9C	22C		
	2C	11C							4E	
52°			25G	39C				16C		
			28C		14C					
51°			32C/G		8C			35C		
				17C						
50°				40C		13C	31C			
				27C		3E				
49°		20C		41L			36C			
	42G			12C						
48°										

Abbreviations from this scheme: B = Baltic, C = Celtic, E = Old European, G = Germanic, Γ = Greek, L = Latin.
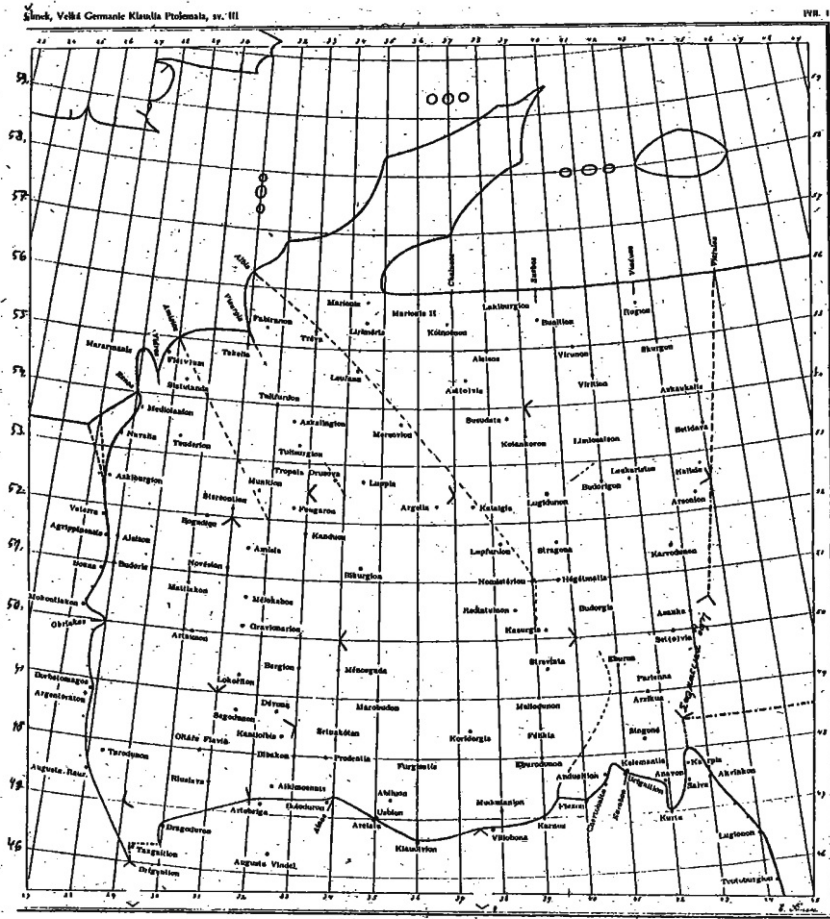
Reconstruction of the *Germania Magna* Ptolemy's map by Emanuel Šimek (1949)

Abbreviations

D – Delamarre, X., 2001.
DIL – *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Compact Edition), Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983.
GMS – *Geografický místopisný slovník*, Praha: Academia, 1993.
LD – *A Latin Dictionary*, Lewis, Ch. T., & Short, Ch., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (A, B, C, D, M, N, O, P, S, T, U), Vendryes, J. *et al.*, eds., Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies & Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959f.
LIV – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben.* Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen, Rix, H. et al. Wiesbaden : Reichert, 2001.
LS – Liddell, H.G. & Scott, R., 1901. *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
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POLITE DISCOURSE ON THE EARLS' JOURNEY TO ROME: EXPLORING THE LEXICAL FIELD AND SENSIBILITY OF 'CONVERSATION' IN IRISH

LIAM MAC MATHÚNA

0. Introduction and background

Structured personal accounts of contemporary events and happenings composed in the Irish language are exceedingly rare in the pre-Revival period; that is to say, in the period prior to the founding of the Gaelic League or Conradh na Gaeilge in Dublin in 1893. The first such composition and the main focus of this paper is the account of the Ulster Earls' journey from Rathmullan in Co. Donegal to Rome in 1607-8. It was written by Tadhg Ó Cianáin, a member of the native learned class, who accompanied the Earls on their journey. The work is thought to have been penned in Rome in 1609-10, based on notes written along the way by Tadhg. It survives in a single manuscript copy, Tadhg Ó Cianáin's own autograph. The manuscript passed from Rome to the Irish College in Louvain in the mid-seventeenth century, was returned to Rome at the end of the eighteenth century, and was brought to Dublin in 1872. It is now in University College Dublin. The work was first printed in the twentieth century, the initial comprehensive edition being that of Fr Paul Walsh (1916).[1] One of the many arresting features of Tadhg Ó Cianáin's participant account of the journey by the Earls is the significance accorded polite conversation in the Irish group's interaction with their aristocratic hosts along the way. Summary phrases such as *Bátor sealat ag bríathar-chomrādh re aroile* 'They spent some time in conversation with one another' and *Bátor sealat ag imagallamh ⁊ ag āiness briathor re aroile* 'They remained speaking and conversing with one another for some time' recur, as will be explored in this close textual analysis of meta-references to discourse.

Yielding to the pressures of the post-1603 peace agreement which had ended nine years of war against English forces in Ulster, the Earls felt that their position at home had become untenable, and they set sail for La Coruña in northern Spain on 14 September 1607 in the hope of gaining

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[1] A more recent edition is that of Ó Muraíle (2007), which normalises the inconsistent orthography of the original text according to the standard of Classical Modern Irish. Much research on this text has been published in recent years: see, for example, Ó Muraíle (2013), Mac Craith (2011) and other essays in the two collections in which these appear.

military support from the Spanish monarchy. However, their ship was blown off course in violent storms and they eventually landed in Normandy on 4 October, when they were down to their last five gallons of beer and final barrel of water. While the plight of the Earls generated much expression of sympathy on the Continent, they were essentially a political embarrassment and indeed a potential threat to the peace then prevailing between the great powers of western Europe. Accordingly, the Earls and their party were hurried on from France to the Low Countries. Refused passage to Spain by the Archduke, they eventually made their way to Rome, arriving there in May 1608.

Ninety-nine people had boarded the ship originally at Rathmullan, Co. Donegal, while approximately thirty travelled together in the Earls' party on their journey from Louvain to Rome in the spring of 1608. In Ó Cianáin's account of the vicissitudes of the Irish leaders and their followers, he is at constant pains to show how highly regarded the Earls and their entourage were by the governing Catholic classes of mainland Europe. The following are, *inter alia*, indications of the high esteem in which they were held for having fought against Elizabeth I on behalf of Catholicism in the nine years war, 1594-1603:

- they were met at the door of their palace by the Archduke and his wife;
- they were granted permission to enter churches and view relics;
- alongside the Spanish nation, the Irish nation alone were granted special permission to view town walls and defensive fortifications;
- they were invited to walk in procession behind the Pope in Rome, carrying the Eucharist;
- in particular, they were invited to meals, and accorded places of honour at dinners hosted by the Archduke, duke of Lorraine, governors etc.

But the particular concern of this paper is with conversation. I would like to begin by citing an example from Ó Cianáin of what might be described as every-day conversation, an occasion when information needed to be exchanged.[2] Due to their straitened circumstances, as they countered adversity as best they could on the high seas, the Irish company felt it was prudent to make contact with those on board a number of large passing ships:

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[2] In this article, meta-textual references relating to speech and conversation are highlighted in bold font.

Timchiol mheadhōin laei dia māirt adchīd trī longa adhbalmōra ag ascnamh ōn aird uo dhess mar do thicfaitis ōn Spāinn. Ge gur imeglaigset in loinges sin gur mesatar gur d'armāil rīg Saxan ar ttoigheacht 'n-a n-íermhoirecht iad, brethnaigit aca fēin gur uo ferr dōip dēnomh orra do chor a gconāich a gconntabairt, mad nāimde iad, nō madh catoilce, **d'ierroidh scēl agus eōluis orra,** *inās bheith san guasacht dermhair a mbātor a ttaep se[ac]hrāin agus aineōluis agus teirce dighe. Riccit fēin agus in loinges ar comhghar a chēile deōigh laoi.* **Eirgis ainfine adpol in tan sin as nach rāngator fēin 7 in loinges go cenn aimsire toigeacht a gcōir chomhráidh re aroile. As a haithle tra laprait re lucht na loingsi. Ierroit scēla orra. Innissit gur do chríchoibh Lochlann a mbunadhus, go rapsat ag tērnōdh tar aiss ōn Spāinn go a n-atharrdha badēin. Adbertsat gur sa ffairrge ffFleminnaig bātar-san d'āirigthe.**

About midday on Tuesday they saw three very large ships approaching from the south as if coming from Spain. Although they feared that squadron, and though they thought they belonged to the King of England's armament and were in pursuit of them, they considered that it was better for themselves to make for them and imperil their success if they were enemies, or, if they were Catholics, **make inquiries and seek direction,** than to be in the great danger in which they were in regard to going astray and mistaking the direction and scarcity of drink. They and the squadron came near one another at the end of day. **A terrible storm arose at that time so that they and the squadron could not for a time come within speaking distance of one another. Afterwards, however, they spoke with the crews of the ships. They made enquiries of them. They told them that they were natives of Lochlainn, and that they were returning from Spain to their own country. They said that it was in the Flemish sea in particular they were.**

(Walsh 1916: 10-3)

However, what is particularly striking in this work is the relatively high number of non-utilitarian, stylised references to the practice of conversation, most frequently at meals and banquets, but in other contexts as well. On closer examination, it seems that Tadhg Ó Cianáin's text testifies to the art of polite conversation being cultivated by Continental leaders at the time, in a *milieu* which otherwise might well have been a rough-and-tumble man's world of semi-demobilised officer-class soldiery. As visitors, the Earls were transient participants in this practice.

At any rate, the Earls' circumstances changed very much for the better as soon as they crossed the border from France into Flanders at the start of their Continental travels on 18 October 1607. It is clear from Tadhg's account that they were greeted warmly on their arrival in the first town, Arras. While no explicit reference to conversation is made at this point, the Irish were invited to a fine banquet, where wine flowed:

An guibernōir buī ó rīgh na Spāinne sa mbaili, glacuiss fēin 7 maithe na cathrach na tigernaidhe si chuca go subhailceach onōrach. **Ticit ar cuairt dia saigidh go mbangcēd maith agus go ffīntoibh.** *Cuirit athair onōrach maille re cōistigip taitnemhacha dia ttreōrugadh gusna prīmh-eguilsib oirrderca bātar sa gcathraigh. Taispentar ilimat do religiassoibh ro-naomhtha mōr-lōigigheachta dōibh ar a mbuī rann-chuid mhōr don chroich chēsta, cenn S. San Sem, cuid d'folt Muire Madalēn, cupa as ar ibh in Slānaigtheōir fēin deoch in tan buī a gcolainn daonna ar in saogal, go n-imat dī-āirmhe oile.*

The governor himself, whom the King of Spain had appointed in the town, and the chief men of the city received these lords with kindliness and respect. **They came to visit them, and held a splendid banquet with wines.** They sent a reverend father with beautiful coaches to direct them to the famous churches which were in the city. Many holy precious relics were shown to them, including a large portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion, the head of St. James, a portion of the hair of Mary Magdalen, a cup out of which the Saviour Himself took a drink when He was in human flesh in the world, and numerous other things.

(Walsh 1916, 32-3)

If there were a term such as 'relic-vulture', to characterise a subset of the modern-day 'culture-vulture' tourists, we would have to apply it to our author, Tadhg Ó Cianáin, who displays an insatiable interest in saints' relics. The counter-Reformation Catholic ideology which was then in the ascendant among adherents of the old religion on the Continent was vigorously championing indulgences, relics and the cult of saints in the early seventeenth century, and as this quotation and many others testify, Tadhg Ó Cianáin was an enthusiastic devotee of these practices.

With respect to conversation, there were of course public occasions at which the emphasis was on formal speeches rather than the private exchanges which complemented them, as for instance when the party visited Douai:

Toirlingit ag colāiste Eirennach buī ar costus rīgh na Spāinne sa mbaile. Doghnít fēn oirissemh sa gcolāiste. ... Beiriss orra as Flonndrus an t-athair onōrach Flaithrī O Maelconaire, pruincial uird minūir S. Proinsēiss a nEirinn 7 in doctūir Roibert Mac Artuir. Rissin rē aimsire so gabsat ag siobal ar cholāistibh na cathrach. **Glacait coimhthionóil na gcolāistidhe chuca go ro-onōrach subhailcech íad mailli re uersaidhip 7 orāidip laitne grēgissi 7 bērla do dēnam dōip.** *Ro chomhairimh aon don chuideachta a gcolāiste na iesuuit begān d'uiresbaidh ar dā chētt dég a n-ēncholāiste amhāin.*

> They alighted at the Irish College which was supported by the King of Spain in the town. They themselves stayed in the College, and they sent the better part of those with them through the city. They remained there until the following Friday. The reverend father, Father Ó Maolconaire, Irish Provincial of the Friars Minor, and Doctor Robert Mac Arthur met them here, having come from Flanders. During this time they went walking through the colleges of the city. **Assemblies of the colleges received them kindly and with respect, delivering in their honour verses and speeches in Latin, Greek, and English.** One of the company counted in the Jesuit College a little less than twelve hundred belonging to a single college.
>
> (Walsh 1916: 36-7)

Interestingly, although Latin, Greek and English are mentioned explicitly here, there is no reference to Irish. One wonders whether Irish was already on the defensive, yielding public space to other, longer established tongues, in the case of Latin and Greek, and to English as a brash up-and-coming *lingua franca* for those hailing from Britain and Ireland. When the Earls went to visit the Infanta, the daughter of the king of Spain, and her husband Albert, the Archduke, who jointly ruled the Spanish Netherlands, both of them came to the door of the palace of their country residence near Binche to welcome the Irish travellers. From this visit on, we repeatedly encounter indications of the high social importance attached to conversation, as in the description of how the Infanta and the Archduke received the Earls:

> *Glacuit chuca go ro-onōrach airmitnech forffāilteach degh-aightheach maille re cūirtissighip mōra íad. Beirit leō dia gcodal-tigh íad. **Bátar sealat ag comrādh 7 ag coimhfhierfaighe sgéul dieroile.** Gabhait a gced. Eirgit fēin 7 diūc de Sana 7 diúc de Oumal 7 mōrān do dhaoinibh uaissle oirrderca oile do dēnomh a medhōin laoi.*

> They received them with honour and respect, with welcome and kindliness, and showed them great courtesy. They brought them to their own private apartments. **They spent a while in conversation and questioning one another.** Afterwards they took their leave. They [the Irish] and the Duke of Ossuna, the Duke of Aumale, and many other illustrious noblemen went to dinner.
>
> (Walsh 1916: 46-7)

Of course, the Irish were already renowned for their interest in news. One of the commonest of all Irish greetings continues to be *Aon scéal agat?* 'Any news?', paralleled by the phrase **d'ierroidh scēl agus eōluis orra,** already met with in the first passage quoted. Soon, the Earls and their entourage were in Brussels, visiting the Marquis and head of the army,

General Spinola. Interestingly, two distinct occasions of conversation, or what one might term conversation/discourse acts, are recorded:

Ticc corenēl Francisco go līnmhairecht do chaiptīnip Spāinneacha agus Eadāilleacha, Eirennacha 7 Flonndrusacha, i n-a gcomdháil amach assin gcathraigh. Gluaissit uile tria shrāidip oireghdha in baile go rāgatar dorass pālāiss in marcēiss. Tāinic in marcēiss fēin 7 nunsiuss in pāpa agus ambasadōir rīgh na Spāinni agus diūc de Suna dia nglacadh as a gcōistighip. **Ier fforffāiltiugadh re aroile go līnmhar dōip tiaghait assa haithle ar halla in marcēiss. Bātor sealat ag bríathar-chomrādh re aroile.** *Eirghit 'n-a dheaghaidh gusin tteghduis i n-a ngnāthaigedh in marcēiss a chuid do chaitheamh. An marcēiss badēin ba hé ro shuidigh cāch. Cuiriss O Nēill i n-a shuidhe i n-a ionadh fēin a gcert-édan in būird, nunsius in pāpa dia lāimh dheiss, íerla Tíre Conaill dia lāimh chlī, clann Uī Nēill agus Maguidir sīoss ōn ierla, ambasadōir rīgh na Spāinne 7 diūc de Umaar ar in taop oile sīoss ón nunsius. Coimhlín in būird do dhaoinip uaissle oirmhitnecha onōracha cenmothā sin, an marcēiss badēin 7 diūc de Suna ag fīr-chionn in buird as comhair Uī Nēill. Ba lōr a onōraighi 7 a rō-chostusaighi ar bith, dia madh rī no-biadh ann, lāin-fheabhus in medhōin laoi dorōnsat. Nīr uo messa-sa-chāch in bangcéd. Do taispenadh plāta ōir agus airgit astigh nār uo himnāir do rīgh nō prinnsa sa crīstaighecht do bheith aige.* **Bātor sealat ag conuersáit 7 ag áines bhríathar.** *Gabhait a gcet maille re buidhechus do thabairt dia chēile. Léigit tar aiss an oidhche sin go Noutre Dam iad.*

Colonel Francisco, with many Spanish, Italian, Irish, and Flemish captains, came out of the city to meet them. They advanced through the principal streets of the town to the door of the Marquis's palace. The Marquis himself, the Papal Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Duke of Ossuna came to take them from their coaches. **When greetings had been exchanged in abundance, they entered the hall of the Marquis and spent some time in conversation**. Afterwards they entered the apartment where the Marquis was accustomed to take food. He himself arranged each one in his place, seating Ó Neill in his own place at the head of the table, the Papal Nuncio to his right, the Earl of Tyrconnell to his left, Ó Néill's children and Maguidhir next the Earl, and the Spanish ambassador and the Duke of Aumale on the other side, below the Nuncio. The rest of the illustrious, respected nobles at table, the Marquis himself, and the Duke of Ossuna, were at the end of the table opposite Ó Néill. The excellent dinner which they partook of was grand and costly enough for a king, and nothing inferior was the banquet. Gold and silver plate was displayed inside that no king or prince in Christendom might be ashamed to have. **They spent some time in conversation and chatting,** and then took leave and returned thanks to one another. They retired that night to Notre Dame de Hal.

<div align="right">(Walsh 1916: 46-9)</div>

More polite discourse followed when the Irish arrived in Nancy, and were welcomed to the Duke of Lorraine's quarters:

Cuiriss tra in diūc cōistide ⁊ daoine uaisle i n-a gcomhdhāil sealat ōn chūirt. Ier ttoirling dōip tic stībhard in diūc dia ttochuiredh gusin pálāss mōr. Gapait a leith-scēl do bīthin a n-aisstir an oidhche sin. Ier n-ēistecht aiffrinn ar n-a mhārach tic in fer cētna go gcōistigib maithi i n-a gcomhairrchis. Eirgit ier sin don pālāss. Bātor ag sibal ⁊ ag spaisteōracht a ngalari ba lōr mētt ⁊ feabhus ⁊ deissi sa doman in comhfhat buī in diūc issin eagluiss ag ēistecht aiffrinn. Ticis in diūc ōn egluiss as a haithle. E fēin a n-ēdach imchubhaidh. **Drong dia dhaoinip uaisle ag comhrādh friss.** *A dhīss mac i n-a deghoidh. Gārda roi-dhess. Pāitside līnmara ar gach taop de. Ar ndol dā halla cuiriss tigernaidhi mōra i n-a gcoinne sen. Tēighit dia lāthoir. Glacuis chuicce go honōrach forffāilidh iat, a chlann mar an gcētna.* **Bātor sealat ag imagallamh ⁊ ag āines bhriathar re aroile.** *As a haithle suidit ar a medhōn laoi. Seiser dōib, an diūc co n-a dīss mac, O Nēill, in t-iarla agus in barún. Imat do daoinib uaisle ro-onōracha ag feithemh orra. Beiris leis dia sheomra codalta i n-a deghaidh iad. Bātar ann sealat. Gabuit a gced. Eirgit dia lōistīnibh. Ierla ba hard-stīuartt don diūc i n-a gcoimhitecht. Fōgrais a pēin mōir gan ōr nō airget do glacadh uaidip in airett no-beittiss issin chathraigh, acht a n-uile chosstus frisin rē sin do beith ar in diūc.*

The Duke sent coaches and noblemen a distance from the Court to meet them. When they alighted the Duke's steward called to invite them to the great palace, but they excused themselves for that night because of their journey. After they had heard Mass on the next day the same man came to meet them with good coaches. They then went to the palace. They remained walking and passing the time in an extensive, excellent, beautiful gallery while the Duke was in the church hearing Mass. He came from the church afterwards. He himself was in becoming dress, **with some of his noblemen discoursing with him,** and his two sons after him. He had a very beautiful guard, and many pages on either side of him. When he came to his hall he sent great lords for them [the Irish]. They went into his presence. He received them with joy and honour, and his children did likewise. **They remained for a time discoursing and conversing with one another**. Afterwards they sat down to dinner. They were six in number, the Duke and his two sons, Ó Néill, the Earl, and the Baron [of Dungannon]. There were many honourable noblemen waiting on them. He brought them afterwards to his private apartment. There they remained for a time. They then took their leave and retired to their lodgings. There was an Earl, who was head-steward of the Duke, accompanying them. He proclaimed under severe penalty, that no one should accept gold or silver of them while they should be in the city, but that all their expenses during that time should be borne by the Duke.

(Walsh 1916: 78-9)

If there is an optimal number of participants which fosters conversation, there are strong indications that it may be six, as the following account from another journey, undertaken some three hundred years later demonstrates. This quotation comes from Dr Douglas Hyde's description of his fund-raising tour of the United States in 1905/06 as first President of the Gaelic League. In Irish, Hyde was known as Dúbhglas de h-Íde, or by his pen-name An Craoibhín Aoibhinn, often abbreviated to An Craoibhín. Hyde seems to have been extremely gregarious and sociable. His diary reports of his tour of the United States in 1905/06, *Mo Thurus go hAmerice*, when he criss-crossed the continent in order to raise funds for the Gaelic League, include frequent accounts of dinner parties which continued into the early hours, and conclude with statements such as *shuidheamar os cionn ár bhfíona go dtí leath-uair tar éis a haon*, 'we sat over our wine until half past one' (An Craoibhín Aoibhinn 1937: 165) which occur again and again. However, there was one particular day-time occasion in New York, from which he derived exceptional satisfaction:

> *An Sémhadh Lá Fichead de Bhealtaine. Chuaigh mé chum lóin ag Tigh Delmonico le Mac Uí Chuinn, Mac Uí Chatháláin, Brisbane, an Breitheamh Mac Eóchaidh agus Peadar Fionnlaigh Ó Duinn .... Do shuidheamar chum lóin ar a haon a chlog agus níor fhágamar an áit go dtí a sé. **A leithéid de chaint ní chuala mé ariamh, 'chuile dhuine againn ag caint agus ag sgéalaigheacht.** D'éirigheadh Mac Uí Dhuinn gach ceathramhadh uaire le labhairt ar an ngothán le duine éigin 'á rádh go mbeadh sé ar ais i gceann ceathramhadh uaire eile, acht d'imthigh ceathramhadh uaire i ndiaidh ceathramhadh uaire, agus níor chorruigh sé! Bhí mise 'mo shuidhe le n' ais agus bhí mórán cainte agam leis.* Tá baint aige, saoilim, le Clann na nGaedheal… Níor bhfhorus é, saoilim, seisear fear eile do thabhairt le chéile cosamhail leis an seisear do bhí againn indiu, ag an lón so.*
>
> (An Craoibhín Aoibhinn 1937: 163-4)

> 26 May. I went to lunch in Delmonico's with Quinn, Cohalan, Brisbane, Judge Keogh, and Peter Finlay Dunne …. We sat down to lunch at one o'clock and we didn't leave the place until six. **I never heard the like of the talk before, everyone of us speaking and telling stories.** Dunne would get up every quarter of an hour to speak on the phone to someone saying he would be back in another quarter of an hour, but quarter of an hour after quarter of an hour passed, and he didn't move! **I was sitting beside him and I spoke to him at length.** He is connected, I think to Clan na Gael… It wouldn't be easy, I think, to bring six men together like the six of us today, at this lunch.[3]

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[3] Translation by the author. A wide-ranging comparison of the accounts of Ó Cianáin and Hyde is to be found in Mac Mathúna (2015).

When the Ulster chiefs journeyed as far as Parma in Northern Italy, the Duke of Parma himself came to meet the Irish party; he too is said to have engaged them in polite conversation and discourse for a while, *sealat*, before they parted:

> *Ier ttoirling dōip ag cathraigh Parma tig íerla onōrach don tīr d'forffāiltiughadh friū agus dia nglacadh go honōrach a n-ainm diūc de Parma. Tāinic ar n-a mhārach immorro go gcōistighip ro-mhaithe i n-a gcomhdhāil dia ttreōrugadh gusin airm a mbuī in diūc. Gabuis tra in diūc chuicce go honōrach airmhitneach iatt. **Bátor sealat ag imagallamh ⁊ ag āiness briathor re aroile.** Gapait a gcead as a haithle. A n-imfhoixe gāirdīn in diūic taisselbthor dōip lipartt ⁊ dā leōman.*

> When they dismounted at the city of Parma a noble earl of the country came to welcome them and receive them in the name of the Duke of Parma. The next day he came with good coaches to them to conduct them to where the Duke was. He received them with honour and respect. **They remained speaking and conversing with one another for some time.** Then they took their leave. Near the Duke's garden they were shown a leopard and two lions.
>
> (Walsh 1916: 102-4)

We may note with regard to *áines(s)*, which we have now encountered several times in relation to discourse and conversation, that its primary meaning is 'splendour; pleasure; play, sport; bliss (of heaven)', and that it occurs in this sense in Tadhg's text, as, for instance, in the following account of ice breaking up when crowds were cavorting on the frozen river in Louvain:

> *An lucht ro buī ag fastaeim, ag āiness ⁊ ag aoipness roimhe sin, ní mōr nār uo toltanaighe leō beith astigh go comhnaigtheach a gcert-mhedhōn na cathrach ināss beith ar in seōltōracht sin, bīdh nach beittiss a n-aighthe ar in sen-fhairrgi ar a gcomhghar.*

> The crowd which had been sporting and playing and merrymaking before would almost have preferred to be at rest inside in the centre of the city than to be drifting thus, even though their eyes would not be on the sea, which was near to them.
>
> (Walsh 1916: 58, 59)

Another example refers to the Duke of Parma's pleasure boats:

> *Dā beg-loing dessa go tteghduisip lonnradhacha ag diūc de Parma ar in ruibēr i n-a mbī fēin ag āines agus ag caithem aimsire sechnōin in ruibēir an tan ba toil leis.*

> The Duke of Parma has two small pretty boats with white houses, in which he himself delights and amuses himself up and down the river whenever he wishes.
>
> (Walsh 1916: 102, 103)

In this latter citation *ag áines* is linked with *ag caithem aimsire* and we may recall that when *áines* combines with *bríathar* 'word' to form *bríathar-áines* that *sealat* 'a while' is often used alongside it.

Tadhg recounts how, when they met the Pope himself on May 4th 1608, they had a one-hour audience with the Pontiff, but in this case the lexicon used is that of asking the Earls for an account of their experiences, sharing news – *ag comfhierfaighi a scēl ꝛ a n-echtra frisin rē sin*, 'asking them of what occurred to them and how they had fared', literally 'asking them [to recount] their news and their adventure up until that time': [4]

> *An cethramadh lā do mhī maíí domhnach araoi laithi sechtm[ain]e aoiss in Tigerna in tan sin mīle ar sē chēt ar ocht mbliadhnaibh ro thoiligh naomhthacht in pāpa dōip as go ragdaois i n-a persanoibh badhdēin dá lāthair in tres uair ier medhōn láoi. Cuirit na cardenáil buidhen do chōistidhip ro-mhaithi go n-eachraidh ba lōr feabus ꝛ deissi issin doman i n-a gcomhairrchis dia gcoimht[h]reōrughadh gusin dū i n-a mbaoi in pāpa. Eirgit gussan pālāss ro-onōrach dar comhainm Monte Caualle. In t-athair naomtha Paulus Quintus ar a gcinn annsin. Ar ndol dia lāthair dōip gabuis chuice go ro-onōrach grāssamail mōrānta forfāilidh iad. Ier sin doratsat badhdēin co n-a lucht coimhitecht[a] diaig a ndiaig pōic dia chois bennaight[h]e maille fri humhla ꝛ reuerens. Bātar tra timchell uaire do lō i n-a lāthoir, é onōrach supāilcech degh-aigthech ag comfhierfaighi a scēl ꝛ a n-echtra frisin rē sin. Gabhait a gcet ier mbenedixion mbennaigthi d'fogbāil. Dobeirit altugadh do Dia ꝛ don athair naomtha fo bhīthin a onōraighi airmitnighi ro thaisspēin a s[h]upāilce mōr-thrōcairecha dhóip. As sin dōip go cardenāl Burgeis mac derpsethar in pāpa. Ba fāilidh rompa. Ier sin gussin pālāss i n-a mbātar dīss derbrāthar in pāpa. Fāiltigit friū. Ro gapsat as a haithle go hambasadōir rīgh Frannc ro buī ag fāgbāil na cathrach ar n-a mārach do shonnradh. Comnaigit cusin díardaoin buī ar a gcinn. Bātar tra cardenáil na cathrach frissin rē sin ag cor mēitte āirigthi do dhaoinibh uaisle adhamra ꝛ d'oifficechaibh ro-onōracha d' forfāiltiughadh friú aguss dia nglacadh go hairmitneach as a n-ucht badhdéin.*

On the fourth of May, the day of the week being Sunday, and the year of the Lord being then one thousand six hundred and eight, his Holiness the Pope consented to their coming in person into his presence at three o'clock in the afternoon. The cardinals sent a number of good coaches, and some

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[4] For explication of the lexical field 'story' see Mac Mathúna (2004).

of the most excellent and most beautiful horses in the world, to them, to conduct them to the place where the Pope was. They went to the splendid palace which is called Monte Cavallo. The holy Father, Paul V, was awaiting them there. When they appeared before him, he received them with respect, with kindness, with honour, and with welcome. Then they themselves and their followers, one after another, kissed with humility and reverence his holy foot. They were about one hour of the day in his presence, **and he was courteous, glad, and kind to them during that time, asking them of what occurred to them and how they had fared.** They took their leave after having received holy benediction. They gave thanks to God and the holy Father for the respect and the reverence wherewith he had exhibited his great, merciful kindness to them. From there they went to Cardinal Borghese, the son of the Pope's sister. He showed them welcome. After that they went to the palace where there were the Pope's two brothers. They also made them welcome. Then they went to the ambassador of the King of France, who was about to leave the city on the following day. They rested until the next Thursday. During that time the cardinals of the city continued to send a number of great noblemen and of very high officers to welcome them and to receive them with respect in their own behalf.

(Walsh 1916: 170-3)

Tadhg Ó Cianáin includes two lengthy, if somewhat digressive, accounts, in his diary travelogue, namely the history of the house of Loreto and the life of St Honophrius, who dwelt in the desert. When the infant Jesus met St Honophrius as a mere three-year-old, he addressed the Lord, using the formal, polite second person plural pronoun *sipsi*: *a T[h]igerna, lenamh sipsi; meisi lenamh oile*; 'O Lord, Thou art a child; I, too, am a child,' (Walsh 1916: 226, 229). We are told that the two played together, engaging in holy conversation: *Bātor sealat ag lenbacht ⁊ ag diamair-naomthacht chomhrāidh re aroile*. 'They remained for a while playing **and in holy converse with each other**' (Walsh 1916: 226, 229).

1. *Táin Bó Froích*

Whether one moves backwards or forward in time from the period when the Earls were on the Continent, one will come across fine instances of sensibility centring on conversation and speech acts in the broad sweep of Irish literature Two such examples are to be met with in the late Old Irish tale, *Táin Bó Froích*, edited by Wolfgang Meid. Ailill and Medb are afraid that their daughter Findabair will elope with Froech and are discussing the matter in private when who should come by but Froech himself:

'Ad·águr-sa,' ol Ailill, 'élud inna hingine ucut la Fróech.'
'Ce do·berthae dó nibu madae,' ol Medb, 'ocus do·téised ar ndochum

> *cona chethrai do chobair dúinn ocin táin.'*
> **Do·tét Fróech cuccu issa tech n-immacaldmae.**
> **'In cocur fil lib?' ol Fróech.**
> **'Dot·allfa-su and,' ol Ailill.**
> *'In·tibéraid dam-sa for n-ingin?' ol Fróech.*
> *Imma·n-aiccet int slúaig.*
> *'Do·bérthar', ol Ailill, 'día·tucae tindscrae amail as·bérthar.'*
> *'Rot·bia', ol Fróech.*

<div align="right">(Meid 2015: 44, lines 136-45)</div>

That is to say:

> 'I fear', said Ailill, 'the eloping of the girl there with Froech.'
> 'If she were given to him, it would not be in vain', said Medb, 'since he might come to join us with his cows to help us at the foray.'
> **Froech goes to them into the house of counsel.**
> **'Is it a private conversation you are having?' asked Froech.**
> **'There will be room for you in it', said Ailill.**
> 'Will you give me your daughter?' asked Froech.
> The hosts look at one another.
> 'She will be given', said Ailill, 'if you bring the bride-price as it will be named.'
> 'You shall have it', said Froech.

<div align="right">(Meid 2015: 68)</div>

In fact, Ailill and Medb try to trick Froech by getting him to undertake the dangerous task of picking berries from the bank of the lake called Dublinn. However, this ploy had the unexpected outcome of allowing Findabair to behold Froech's body as he swam, and led her to utter this poetic reaction as a stock account she is said to have repeated throughout her life:

> **Ba hed íarum aithesc Findabrach,** *nach álaind ad·chíd, ba háildiu lee Fróech do acsin tar dublind, in corp do rogili ocus in folt do roáilli, ind agad do chumtachtai, int súil do roglassi, os é móethóclach cen locht cen anim, co n-agaid fochaíl forlethain, os é díriuch dianim, in chráeb cosna cáeraib derggaib eter in mbrágit ocus in n-agid ngil. Is ed as·bered Findabair: 'Nicon·acca ní ro·sáised leth nó trian dia chruth'*

<div align="right">(Meid 2015: 45, lines 181-6)</div>

> **This was Findabair's response thereafter** whenever she would see anything beautiful, that it was more beautiful to her to see Froech (swimming) across the blackpool – the body of extreme whiteness, the hair of extreme beauty, the face for shapeliness, the eyes of shining blue, and he a gentle youth without fault, without blemish, with face narrow below, broad above, and he straight and flawless, the branch with the red berries

between the throat and the white face. This is what Findabair used to say: 'Never have I seen anything which would have reached half or one third of his beauty.'

(Meid 2015: 69-70)

2. *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*

Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh, a remarkable fourteenth-century *tour de force* saga of near-contemporary strife in Thomond, or what is now County Clare, includes quasi-mythological identification with the cosmic order. Recalling the asseverations of the sagas,[5] Thomond warriors vow that they will not abandon their chief, Maccon, until the cosmic order itself is rent. Appeal is made first of all to land, water, sun and moon, and avoidance of earthquake, rather as in the pre-Christian tripartite reference system of land, sea and sky, with a slightly muddled Christian contrasting of Paradise (taking the place of Heaven) and Hell, in place of the more regular binary opposition of heaven and earth:

> *Is and sin atbert Maccon do guth glansholus gégdígaind: nomfágbaid ar fírdeiredh a óga bar eisiun, agus nachamaincedh énfer agaibsi, agus coimédaidhsi dá taob agus tosach na tromcreiche co triathShinaind. agus dob é seo fregra na fedhnach sin ar a bflaithmílid: fad mairfid cairrgi ós caladhaib, agus srotha ar sírimtecht, agus grian a nglanrothaib, agus ésca ag imláidib, agus talam gan taobimpód, ní theichfemne; agus nó go tuca uasalparrthus imláid áirde d'uaim ifern ní fúigfemne thusa gan tuitim d'ár trénairechtaib ad timcheall.*

(O'Grady 1929a: 74-5)

> It was then that Maccon said with pure, bright, strong-sinewed voice: 'young men, leave me in the very rear, said he, and don't let any man of you come to aid me; but keep charge of both sides and the front of the great prey as far as the lordly Shannon.' And this was the answer of those troops for their princely soldier: 'so long as rocks shall stay above shores, and streams continually flow, the sun hold its radiant course, the moon wax and wane, and the earth not turn on its side, we will not flee; and until noble Paradise shall exchange height with Hell's cave we will not desert you, unless our strong companies fall around you.'[6]

On the other hand, in this linguistically highly charged text we also find a pragmatic and virtually modern-day appreciation of the need for a leader

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[5] See Mac Mathúna (2012b) for comprehensive analysis of the content and underlying values of this text, and Mac Mathúna (2014) for discussion of the conceptual and cultural nature of the cosmic world view of the Irish, as set out in the early literature.
[6] Translation by the author, taking cognisance of O'Grady's earlier translation (O'Grady 1929b: 67).

to appeal to a wide variety of interests and power brokers, and the characteristics seen as desirable in a king are set out in list-like form. If the chieftains, poets, hospitallers and warriors were the types of groups who benefited from a successful king (or who, in other words, had to be satisfied by him), it is no wonder that their support, and that of others, had to be attained in advance. This is clear from an insightful passage in *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, recording the qualities that various groups or constituencies valued in a leader: on the death of one leader, Donnchad, Clancullen hurriedly chose Lochlainn, whom no one opposed, as his successor. Lochlainn's talents were manifold and satisfied everybody:

> *do toghatar na tuatha ar a thoirbertaib in trénmílid, agus a chine ar a chonailbe; a laochrad ar a ghníméchtaibh, a bhrugada ar a bhognáraige, agus a fileda ar a fhialbuada; a amhais ar a innsaigtib, a chléirig ar a chertriaglaigtib, a óig ar a airbidnige **agus a mhná ar a mhilisghlóraige**; nár chinn táiseach ar testaib trénLochlainn i réim ná i rígteghdais.*
>
> (O'Grady 1929a: 45)

> The *tuatha* chose the strong soldier for his accomplishments; his own kin, for his brotherly affection; his warriors, for his exploits in war; his hospitallers, for his good-natured deference; his poets, for his qualifications of liberality; his mercenaries, for his martial enterprise; his clergy, for his strict rule of life; his young men, for his honouring; **and his women for the mellifluous nature of his speech.** No chief exceeded strong Lochlainn's fame in the matter of government or in the maintaining of a great chief's household.[7]

3. *Eólas ar an Domhan*

Moving beyond Tadhg Ó Cianáin on the time-line to the 1720s we encounter a lively geography textbook composed in Dublin by another Tadhg, Tadhg Ó Neachtain, viz. *Eólas ar an Domhan* 'Knowledge of the World'. Although largely based on two English-language texts, namely, *A Most Compleat Compendium of Geography* by Laurence Eachard (1691) and *Geography Anatomized* by Patrick Gordon (1699?), the whole is framed in the form of a dialogue between Tadhg and his father Seán, both school teachers. This device, whereby Tadhg enquires and Seán expounds, allows Tadhg to foreground, albeit in the rather unlikely context of a textbook, the expression of sensibility between father and son, and to give explicit expression to a level of affection which is otherwise largely wanting from Gaelic literature.

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[7] Author's translation, drawing on O'Grady 1929b: 43.

This geography textbook begins as follows, with a rather stiff question-and-answer sequence with reference to the continent of Europe (for which the Irish term *rann* is used by Ó Neachtain):

> *'Athair ionmhuin, a ndeir tū liom gurab mó don domhan talmhuídhe atā faoi ain-Chríostuighthibh nō fo Chrīostuighthibh? – Is mó, go deimhin, ōir fad na hEurōipe, .i. an rann Chrīostamhuil, 3420 míle Iotāileach (do réir mheasta), & leithead 2220; ₇ is ó Eurōp inghean Agenor, Rígh Phaenicia goirthear Eurōip dī.*

<div align="right">(Ní Chléirigh 1944: 1)</div>

> Dear father, do you say to me that there is more of the earth's land which is under non-Christians than under Christians? – It is greater, indeed, as the length of Europe, i.e. the Christian continent, is 3420 Italian miles (according to estimate), and the width is 2270; and it from Europe daughter of Agenor, king of Phoenicia that she is called Europe).[8]

The text continues in this vein, although for the most part, it reflects the formal question and answer format, which one associates with a religious catechism, rather than a relaxed conversation. There are, however, a few exceptions, the most striking of which is the following pleasing interlude, which comes more than halfway through the work, when Tadhg would like Seán to begin an exposition on Asia:

> *A Athair chátuidh, an codhladh dhuit?*
> *Ní trom é.*
> *Guidhim thú ₇ taistiol an Asia riom, ₇ nā fāg clúid oilén nó rīoghacht innte gan fhoillsiughadh.*
> *Breaghadh é, a Thaidhg! Nach ndearnas craoibhsgaole ar chrīochuibh na hEuróipe dhuit cheana?*
> *Do-rinnis go deimhin. Gidh éadh nī bhíad sásta (do réir t'eóluis) muna n-airisir ní éigin ar dháluibh an chuid so don chruinne.*
> *Tā tū roidh-dhían oram, a mhic mo chroidhe.*
> *Mun' ar cairid, ní ar namhuid.*
> *Is fíor soin, ōir admhuíghim nach bhfuil san domhan (d'éis bháis do mhāthar Úna Ní Bhruin) is ionnsa liom nā thú. Uime sin labhōrad beagān beag go hathchumair ar an rann soin.*

<div align="right">(Ní Chléirigh 1944: 106-7)</div>

> O esteemed father, are you asleep?
> Not deeply.
> I pray you, and travel Asia with me, and do not leave any corner, island or kingdom in it undisclosed.

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[8] Author's translation.

That's fine, Tadhg! Haven't I expounded on the territories of Europe to you already?

You did, indeed. However, I won't be happy (as you know) unless you tell me something about the circumstances of this continent of the world.

You're too hard on me, son of my heart.

If it's not to a friend, it's not to an enemy.

That's true, because I have to admit that there is nobody in the world (after the death of your mother Úna Ní Bhroin) who is dearer to me than you.

Therefore, I will speak a little bit in summary of this continent.[9]

4. Conclusion

As we have seen, Tadhg Ó Cianáin's account of the Earls' journey to Rome includes many instances where specific reference is made to conversation as an accomplishment and pleasurable social activity. There would seem to be no doubt but that this reflects Ó Cianáin's observation of a practice which was being cultivated on the Continent for societal and aesthetic purposes, and regarded as being conducive to family, kindred and community cohesion. Nonetheless, the examples of conversation-in-being culled from Irish literature more generally and cited in this article bear witness to the ongoing engagement with conversation, discourse and storytelling which has always permeated Irish culture.

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[9] Author's translation. For a discussion of the significance of this text and the overall corpus of the Ó Neachtains who cultivated Irish scholarship in Dublin in the early eighteenth century see Mac Mathúna (2012a).

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THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH *CUID* 'PART'

VICTOR BAYDA

Irish makes special use of *cuid* 'part' in the pronominal possessor construction with plural and non-count nouns: e.g. *mo chuid eolais* 'my knowledge', lit. 'my part of knowledge'. It is argued that *cuid* is a pseudo-partitive marker that explicates the idea of amount of the possessum.[1]

0. Introduction and data

Possessivity is understood in a wide sense in this article – as a relation between the referents of two nominals syntactically combined in a prototypically possessive construction. The variety of meanings possessive constructions can have can be demonstrated by the types of predicative possessive constructions identified in Heine (1997: 34ff.):

- Physical possession;
- Temporary possession;
- Permanent possession;
- Inalienable possession;
- Abstract possession;
- Inanimate inalienable possession;
- Inanimate alienable possession.

Possessive constructions can be either predicative (*John has a house*) or attributive (*John's house*). For a discussion of predicative and attributive possessive constructions see Seiler (2001). The possessive constructions in question in this paper are of the second kind. Such noun phrases, at least in European languages, usually have the form of a combination of a head-noun denoting the possessum and a dependent noun or a possessive pronoun (or adjective) referring to the possessor. Often a distinction is made between constructions where the possessor is marked by a case form, as in the English so-called 'Saxon genitive' *John's house*, and those where the possessor is expressed by a prepositional phrase, as in the English so-called 'Norman genitive' *the house of John*. In Irish the type

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with possessor noun in the genitive is the usual one for expressing attributive possession:

> *teach   Sheáin*
> house   Seán.GEN
> 'Seán's house'

Various constructions of the second – prepositional – type can be used if the possessum needs to be marked as indefinite, e.g.:

> *teach   de   chuid   Sheáin*
> house   of   part   Seán.GEN
> 'a house of John's'

> *cara   le   Seán*
> friend   with   Seán
> 'a friend of Seán's'

An important restriction on the first type of possessive construction in Irish (the genitive construction) is that here there may be only one definite noun, usually the possessor. The whole phrase is definite even though the possessum is not marked as such. This can be demonstrated by the same phrase, *teach Sheáin*, where the word for 'house' (*teach*) is not marked as definite, although it effectively means 'the house of John'.

Another feature of possessive constructions in Irish is that if the possessor is pronominal and the possessum is either a mass or a plural noun, then the word *cuid* 'part' is included between the pronoun and the noun (this feature is mentioned in section 13.8 in *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (GGBC), the grammar most often used for general reference):

> *mo   chuid   eolais*
> my   part   knowledge.GEN.SG
> 'my knowledge'

> *mo   chuid   leabhar*
> my   part   book.GEN.PL
> 'my books'

The present paper is focused on this type of construction. The data comes from two sources:

- for lexicographic data, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (FGB) was used, the most recent and comprehensive Irish-English dictionary currently available;

- for examples of use of particular linguistic items *Nua-Chorpas na hÉireann* (NCÉ) was used, an open-access corpus of contemporary Irish (mainly written) which contains 6,264,072 word-uses in the native-speaker part of the corpus, and in which texts are also marked for one of the three major dialects. Sentence-long examples are from NCÉ.

1. The construction

The basic meaning of *cuid* is 'part; share, portion'. In this basic meaning *cuid* is usually followed by the partitive preposition *de*, effectively forming a partitive phrase:

> *cuid de-n cháca*
> part of-DEF cake
> 'a piece of the cake'

> *cuid de na daoine*
> part of DEF.PL person.PL
> 'some of the people'

> *mo chuid den obair*
> my part of.DEF work
> 'my part of the work'

As in other cases of partitive phrases in Irish, a pronominal complement is introduced with *ag* 'at':

> *cuid againn*
> part at.1PL
> 'some of us'

At the same time *cuid* may be used in contexts which alter this basic meaning in two ways:

> (i) formally – the compliment of *cuid* is not introduced by *de* but takes the genitive case;

> (ii) semantically – it does not have a partitive meaning, but rather explicates the idea of amount within a possessive construction.

The construction is used when a non-count or plural noun is modified by a possessive pronoun. In this case *cuid* comes between the pronoun and the noun:

> *mo*   *chuid*   *eolais*
> my   part   knowledge.GEN.SG
> 'my knowledge'

> *mo*   *chuid*   *leabhar*
> my   part   book.GEN.PL
> 'my books'

The analysis of data from NCÉ suggests that *cuid* is preferred with most mass nouns, but on a par with a bare pronoun in particular cases (table 1):

Table 1. Mass nouns with bare pronouns *a* 'his', *a* 'her', *a* 'their' and the same pronouns with *cuid*

	- cuid	+ cuid
obair 'work'	5	226
caint 'talk'	87	126
gruaig 'hair'	105	110
airgead 'money'	4	84
talamh 'land'	5	60
fuil 'blood'	0	52
am 'time'	36	51
bia 'food'	7	48
scríbhneoireacht 'writing'	6	30
eolas 'knowledge'	11	21

Caint 'talk', *gruaig* 'hair' and *am* 'time' show quite a high percentage of preference of bare pronouns. In the first two cases this also has a dialectal dimension (table 2):

Table 2. The nouns *caint* 'talk', *gruaig* 'hair' with/without *cuid*

		- cuid	+ cuid	$p\ (\chi^2)$
caint 'talk'	*Total*	*86*	*125*	
	Ulster	**33**	19	0,0522
	Connacht	22	**61**	< 0,05
	Munster	31	45	> 0,05
gruaig 'hair'	*Total*	*105*	*110*	
	Ulster	**20**	9	< 0,05
	Connacht	29	**52**	< 0,05
	Munster	56	49	> 0,05

It can be seen from Table 2 that Ulster prefers bare pronouns in both cases, and Connacht consistently favours the construction with *cuid*; in Munster, both options are more or less equally common.

With *am* 'time' the difference in use with bare pronouns and with the construction with *cuid* is semantic: in the first case it has the meaning 'time in the past', 'particular period', 'times', whereas in the second it means 'time that one has'.

The same data on plural nouns, however, suggests that the use of *cuid* with plural nouns is less obligatory than with mass nouns: there are many examples of plural nouns modified by possessive pronouns without *cuid*.

It should be noted that plural nouns denoting objects coming in pairs (usually inalienable possessions like body parts) are hardly ever used with *cuid* (table 3):

Table 3. Pair nouns <u>with bare pronoun *mo* 'my'</u> and pronoun *mo* with *cuid*

	- cuid	+ cuid
súile 'eyes'	261	2
cosa 'feet'	155	0
cluasa 'ears'	94	0
lámha 'hands'	83	0
glúine 'knees'	54	0
tuismitheoirí 'parents'	48	0
bróga 'shoes'	39	1

It should be noted that the zeros in the "+ cuid" section should not be taken as indicating a complete absence of examples: the total number of examples should be taken into account. *Lámha*, for example, has different numbers if we consider not *mo*, but *a* 'his', *a* 'her', *a* 'their': 306 "- cuid" against 15 "+ *cuid*". Still, the difference is quite telling.

There are examples (albeit extremely rare), where the possessor is not pronominal but is expressed by a noun and follows the noun referring to the possessum, as in this example from FGB:

cuid   fíona   an   tsagairt
cuid   wine.GEN.SG   DEF.M.GEN.SG priest.GEN.SG
'the priest's wine'

NCÉ contains a fair amount of examples where it is used with nominal possessors:

*D' fhéadfainnse a bheith ag broslú **chuid fear na hÉireann** chun catha*
'I could urge the men of Ireland to battle.'

(Séamas Mac Grianna)

*Bí ag caint ar **chuid iolar na Róimhe** nuair a bhí sealán smaicht curtha ar an Eoraip acu.*
'Talk of the eagles of Rome when they had the noose of control on Europe.'   (Seosamh Ó Grianna)

*Ní raibh a fhios aige cad chuige, ach bhí a chroí ag inse dó gur as **cuid fola na bhfear seo** a d'fhásfadh ceart agus saoirse na hÉireann.*
'He didn't know why, but his heart was telling him that it was from the blood of these men that the right and freedom of Ireland would grow.'

(Seosamh Ó Grianna)

*Goidé atá níos lonraí ná **cuid réalta na hoíche**. Súile máthara.*
'What is more luminous than the night stars. A mother's eyes.'

(Dónall Ó Baoill, *Stair áitiúil*)

*Dá rachadh duine ó theach go teach ar maidin lá Bealtaine sul mar n-éireochadh toit ar an bhaile, bheadh **cuid ádh na dtoithe** sin leis agus bheadh sé iontach saibhir an bhliain (sin).*
'If someone went from house to house on a May Day morning before the smoke rose above the place, he would have the luck of those houses with him and he would be very rich that year.'

(Dónall Ó Baoill, *Stair áitiúil*)

*[N]í raibh **cuid fear na hÉireann** ina gcodladh ach oiread.*
'The men of Ireland were not asleep either.'

(Dónall Ó Baoill, *Stair áitiúil*)

All these examples come from Ulster which suggests that this is a dialect feature.

This use is perhaps stylistically marked and must be archaic to the contemporary native speaker's ear as informants consulted interpret *cuid* in such examples as a quantifier over a set of persons or items ('part of', 'some of'), whereas the contexts suggest that it is not 'some of the number or amount' that is denoted by *cuid*, but rather '(all of) the number or amount': e.g., *cuid fear na hÉireann* does not mean 'some of the men of Ireland', but 'the men of Ireland'. That these examples should be interpreted this way is clear from examples with an additional quantifier:

*[C]huaigh sé anonn le **cuid de chuid** fear an oileáin.*
'He went there with some of the island's men.'

(Lillis Ó Laoire)

Here the second *cuid* cannot refer to a part of *fear an oileáin* 'men (GEN.PL) of the island', as this meaning is expressed by the first *cuid* with the partitive preposition *de*.

Moreover, if such examples denoted partitivity of the NOUN+NOUN.GEN phrase, then the first noun would not be in the genitive, but in the common case with lenition of its initial consonant: e.g., in the example above it would be *cuid de chuid fhir an oileáin*, because according to the rules governing the forms of nouns in a multiple genitive noun phrase, only the last noun may be in the genitive. In such cases the middle nouns are in the common case and their genitive relation is expressed in a particular way, i.e., by leniting their initial consonants, thus:

> [*ainmneacha* (COM) [*fhir* (COM) *an oileáin* (GEN)]]
> 'the names of the men of the island'

This would entail the above example looking like this:

> [*cuid* (COM) [*fhir* (COM) *an oileáin* (GEN)]]]

The example, however, has the noun following *cuid* in the genitive, meaning that *an oileáin* 'the island (GEN)' is not a dependent of *fir* 'men' but of *cuid fear*:

> [[*cuid* (COM) *fear* (GEN)] *an oileáin* (GEN)] 'the men of the island'

2. Semantics

The semantics of *cuid* as a full lexical noun is that of a part, so it might be supposed that the function of *cuid* as a grammatical marker is that of partitivity. At the same time, as we have noted, *cuid* in the constructions in question does not make use of *de* with the following compliment, which instead takes the genitive. This means that *cuid* does not have the same formal function in the possessive constructions as it does in the case of its full lexical use meaning 'part'.

Indeed, there is a difference in Irish between what Koptjevskaja-Tamm calls partitives (*a cup of that good tea, a pile of Mary's books*) and pseudo-partitives (*a cup of tea, a pile of books*):

> – partitive nominal constructions involve a presupposed set of items referred to by one of the nominals ('that good tea', 'Mary's books'); and the quantifier indicates a subset which is selected from it;

– in a pseudo-partitive nominal construction the same word merely quantifies over the kind of entity ('tea', 'books') indicated by the other nominal.

(Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 527)

Put simply, the meaning of the partitive construction is that of denoting a PART of something, whereas in the second it is that of an AMOUNT of something. Koptjevskaja-Tamm calls the two components of both constructions Measure and Substance, and she singles out the main difference between the two constructions:

The two constructions differ thus primarily with respect to the referentiality and, in particular, the specificity of their Substance component: in PCs [partitive constructions. – *VB*] it receives a specific interpretation, while it is non-specific in PPCs [pseudo-partitive constructions. – *VB*].

(Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 527)

This can be presented schematically in the following Table 4:

Table 4. Difference between Measure- and Substance-type constructions

	Measure	Substance
PARTITIVE	quantifies over the set of items	set of items, specific
PSEUDO-PARTITIVE	quantifies over the kind of entity	kind of entity, non-specific

Irish formally distinguishes between these two kinds of constructions. The partitive construction involves the preposition *de* 'of':

píosa de cháca 'a piece of a cake'

The pseudo-partitive construction is simply constituted by a genitive construction:

píosa cáca 'a piece of cake'

The syntax of *cuid* in the possessive construction thus resembles that of pseudo-partitive constructions, not that of partitive constructions; this means that *cuid* functions as an expression of AMOUNT, not PART.

The use of *cuid* as a grammatical marker could be said to be bound, as it always appears in a particular context – with possessive pronouns. In non-bound use, *cuid* has partitive meaning and is used with *de*.

This brings us to the conclusion that *cuid* is an expression of AMOUNT that needs specification. Possessivity quantifies over an object by setting apart an AMOUNT of objects of the same type on the basis of their connection to a possessor. The role of *cuid* is to make explicit the idea of AMOUNT. Therefore, *mo chuid leabhar* could be rendered as something like 'my amount of books', 'an amount of books that is mine.'

3. The source of possessive *cuid*

We can try to find the source of *cuid* as a marker of AMOUNT in the pronominal possessive construction.

There are two cases outside the pseudo-partitive possessive construction where *cuid* is followed by a genitive and not a prepositional phrase with *de*. In one of them, *cuid* is qualified by an adjective, usually *maith* 'good' or *mór* 'big', yielding 'a good deal of' and 'a lot of' respectively:

cuid mhaith airgid 'a good deal of money'

cuid mhór páipéir, scríbhinní 'a lot of paper, of writings'

Interestingly, *cuid mhaith* can also be used with *de*:

cuid mhaith den airgead 'a good deal of the money'

Comparing *cuid mhaith* with the genitive and with *de*, one can notice a difference in semantics between PSEUDO-PARTITIVE and PARTITIVE respectively.

The other construction where *cuid* is followed by a noun in the genitive is the possessive construction with *de chuid*, as here:

teach   de   chuid   Sheáin
house   of   part   Seán.GEN
'a house of John's'

This construction is used when the possessum is non-inclusive. Following Hawkins 1978: 157-67 (see also Lyons 1999: 11), inclusiveness is taken to denote that reference is made to the full set of objects, the full amount of a mass object or the only object. Here *cuid* certainly does not refer to any sort of 'part' (the gloss only represents the basic lexical meaning of *cuid*), but more likely to Seán's possessions. Thus, it seems plausible to

accept that the meaning of *cuid* here is closer to that of AMOUNT than PART.

If *cuid* is not followed by a partitive prepositional phrase with *de* or a genitive, there are no formal ways to access the exact meaning of *cuid*. However, we can make guesses based on semantic context.

Cuid can function as a collective pronoun referring to a number of people or objects. Cf. examples from FGB:

> *cuid ag teacht agus cuid ag imeacht* 'some coming and others going'

> *an chuid ghlas* 'the green part; the green ones'

Cuid with this function can be used with possessive pronouns:

> *'Beidh na fataí le fáil amárach, 'deir Tom. 'Abair le Johnny **mo chuidse** a fhágáil sa stór go tráthnóna, mar beidh mé ag obair.' 'Tá go maith, 'deir Micil, 'agus tabharfaidh mise **mo chuid féin** duit freisin, mar ní bheidh mise ag bacadh le Earrach i mbliana.*
> 'The potatoes will be available tomorrow,' says Tom. 'Tell Johnny to leave **mine** (my ones) in the storage till the evening, because I'll be working.' 'All right,' say Micil, 'and I will give you **mine own** (my own ones) too, because I won't be bothering about spring this year.'
> (Micheál Ó Ráighne, *Bóithrín na hAille Báine*)

> *'Tá mé ag déanamh gur maith is fiú duit do chuid scaireanna a dhíol anois, a Fhiliméala, tá an-tóir orthu faoi láthair agus b'fhéidir go mbeidh a athrach de scéal ann ar ball. Tá fúm **mo chuidse a** dhíol go luath, agus dhéanfainnse cúram de**d chuidse** chomh maith dá mb'áil leat é.'*
> 'I understand that you should sell your shares now, Filiméala, they are in demand at the moment and maybe there will be a change to the story soon. I am going to sell **mine** (my ones) soon and I could take care of **yours** (your ones) too if you like.'
> (Iosold Ní Dheirg, *Eachtra Róise*)

This resembles the use of *cuid* in the pseudo-partitive possessive construction as it is combined with possessive pronouns and describes an amount not construed as a part of a whole: in the case of shares it could be argued that there is a limited amount of shares of which shareholders have parts, but in the mentioned context it is more reasonable to understand the number of shares independent of their forming a part of the full set of shares.

These examples, however, are different from pseudo-partitive possessives in that there is no specifier in these cases and *cuid* here is a

pronoun. Specification can be done by use of *de*, but this efficiently changes the meaning of *cuid*, making it a quantifier:

> *cuid de na fir* 'some of the men'

There are other uses of *cuid* that provide evidence of semantic development from 'part' to 'amount'.

Cuid mhaith 'a good deal' can be used as an adverb modifying a verb:

> *áit a gcloíonn sé* **cuid mhaith** *le bunleagan an tsoiscéil* 'where he adheres quite much to the basic version in the Gospel'

> *chuaigh siad suas* **cuid mhaith** *thar na mblianta* 'they [the numbers] went up quite a lot over the years'

It is obvious that the verb-modifying adverbial use of *cuid mhaith* stems from the noun-modifying adverbial use, and it makes sense to assume that this is based on an AMOUNT meaning and not a PART meaning as has been shown above.

There are also more lexicalized uses of *cuid*:

(a) one's own
do chuid a bhaint as rud 'to take one's share of sth.; to make sth. suffice for one's needs'

(b) means of subsistence
ár gcuid a shaothrú 'to earn our bread, our living'
do chuid a chaitheamh 'to spend one's substance'
bheith beo ar chuid na muintire eile 'to live at other people's expense'

(c) food, meals
do chuid a dhéanamh 'to take one's meal(s), to eat'
a chuid a thabhairt do dhuine 'to give s.o. his meal(s), to feed s.o.'

It seems reasonable to suggest that these meanings have evolved on the base of the meaning of AMOUNT rather than PART, not in the direction of more abstract grammatical units, but of lexical ones.

To sum up – there are cases of *cuid* modified by an adjective *maith* or *mór*, where *cuid* may be used in a partitive as well as pseudo-partitive construction. This is the only case where it can be used pseudo-partitively outside the pronominal possessive construction. The construction with *de chuid* is also more likely to be an instance of the use of *cuid* to express the

meaning of AMOUNT, rather than PART, since *cuid* here describes "what belongs to someone or something". In the case of lexicalised uses of *cuid*, where it has its own referent and there is no case for a pseudo-partitive construction, what is important is that *cuid* is a lexicalized version not of the meaning of PART, but that of AMOUNT.

It is difficult to make a definite claim as to whether one of these uses formed the base of the use of *cuid* in pronominal possessives. It is more likely that all these uses, including the use in pronominal possessives, are developments of a potential of *cuid* to denote AMOUNT, rather than PART.

4. Conclusion

The *cuid* possessive construction forms a pseudo-partitive construction with the noun denoting the possessum which is either a mass or a plural noun. The use of *cuid* with mass nouns is highly preferred, whereas with plurals less so. The construction is not used with singular nouns or those denoting possessions coming in pairs as in these cases there is no AMOUNT in question, the number of persons or items is given by definition. The construction is also used with nominal possessors, though this use is very uncommon and seems to be a feature of the northern dialects.

The pseudo-partitive nature of the construction means that *cuid* expresses the idea of the AMOUNT of the possessum which is non-specific, quantifying over a type of objects, unlike partitive constructions which quantify over a set.

It is difficult to find a source of the construction among other uses of *cuid*, as they are quite disparate; rather, at the basis of its use in the possessive construction lies the general potential of *cuid* to express AMOUNT, which is also manifested in several other uses of *cuid*.

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Abbreviations

FGB – Ó Dónaill, N., ed., 1977, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* [Irish-English Dictionary], Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.
GGBC – *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* [Christian Brothers' Irish Grammar], 1960, Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.
NCÉ – *Nua-Chorpas na hÉireann* [The New Corpus for Ireland], www.corpas.focloir.ie [accessed 20.06.2016].

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DRIFTING TOWARDS AMBIGUITY:
A CLOSER LOOK AT PALATALISATION IN L2 IRISH

MARINA SNESAREVA

Despite the fact that the modern Celtic languages have received a great deal of scholarly attention, a number of phonetic phenomena observed in Irish are yet to be fully explained. Most studies in this field concern speakers of traditional Irish dialects rather than new speakers of Irish, and are descriptive.[1] This article focuses on palatalisation in the Irish spoken by Dublin-based bilinguals for whom English is their first language. All informants had a good knowledge of both Irish and English; however, Irish was their second language, used less frequently in everyday communication. Most Dubliners start learning Irish at school; only a few informants had the opportunity to speak it at home, but even then the language was not used outside class on a regular basis.

0. The language situation in Ireland

Nowadays Irish is, on the one hand, the first official language of Ireland, while on the other, English is the first language of most Irish people, and for many of these it is their only language. Even those living in the Gaeltacht areas are fluent in English and can easily switch to it when the use of Irish is impossible or unwelcome. Knowledge of Irish is specified in national censuses but throughout the twentieth century censuses have not reflected actual language-use, being based on speakers' opinions alone.

The 2011 census was the first to include more detailed data, reporting that of the 1.7 million who claimed knowledge of Irish, only 55,500 used it in everyday communication outside the classroom. When pupils speaking Irish both at school and outside class are also taken into account, it emerges that 94,000 use Irish on a daily basis [Central Statistics Office]: this corresponds to 5.3% of all declared Irish speakers or 2.15% of the country's population (see Image 1):

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[1] In sociolinguistics the language of younger generations of Irish speakers is often called 'post-traditional' or 'non-traditional' Irish (Ó Béarra 2007), and the speakers themselves are referred to as 'semi-speakers' (Dorian 1981; Lenoach 2012; Ó Curnáin 2012). They differ from older generations of speakers due to insufficient language competence and noticeable deviations in grammar and pronunciation. The term 'new speakers' was introduced to move away from the negative connotations of the previous labels as well as to emphasise the importance of such speakers in language maintenance and revitalisation.
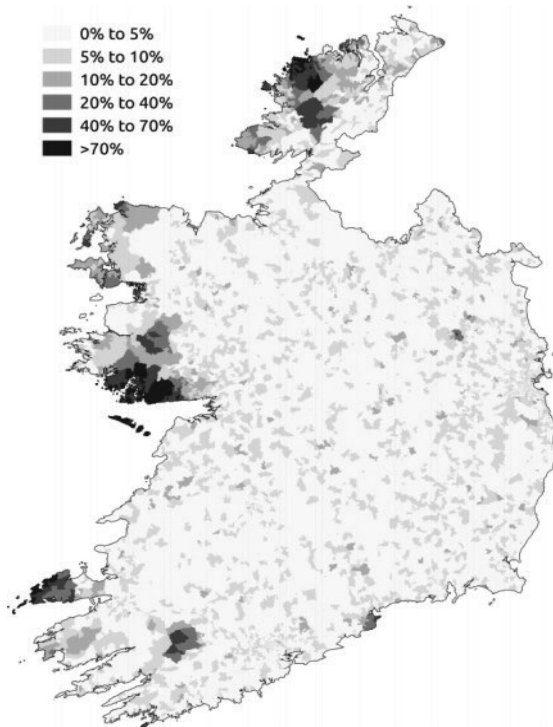
Image 1. Daily speakers of Irish according to the 2011 census [Central Statistics Office]

The attitudes towards Irish in contemporary Irish society are varied. Older speakers may have a negative attitude towards the language due to their school experience, as up until the 1970s it was necessary to pass a language test to obtain a higher-learning certificate (Carnie 1996: 109), while the attitudes of younger speakers are heavily influenced by their occupation and political views, by their family's attitude towards the language, and by whether (and how often) Irish is used with parents and siblings (O'Rourke 2005: 287-288).

Nowadays, Irish has a predominantly symbolic value which gives the population of Ireland a sense of cultural unity. The majority of young speakers have a positive attitude towards the language, and its symbolic value is not questioned (Moffatt 2011: 149-151), even though for most instances of communication Irish has long been replaced by English. However, the necessity of the Irish language for Irish identity is no longer obvious: after all, in everyday life, the Irish are more likely to choose English over Irish than the other way round (Ó Riagáin 2007; Moffatt 2011).

The attitude of the Irish towards English is also ambiguous: while the majority of the country's population have English as their first language, they are reluctant to admit this (Hickey 2009). As a result, even though there have been a number of studies of Irish English (e.g. Ó Muirithe 1977; Kallen 1997; Kirk & Ó Baoill 2001; Amador-Moreno 2010; Hickey 2011), there is a dearth of sociolinguistic data on the use of, and attitudes towards, the English language in Irish society. Most surveys conducted both on the official level (census) and for scientific purposes provide only data concerning Irish.

1. Study background

One distinctive feature of the Irish consonant system is the opposition of palatalised and non-palatalised consonants. In Irish, palatalisation is systemic and performs phonological functions (Hickey 2014). Thus, for Irish class 1 nouns such as *bád* 'boat', palatalisation of the final consonant is used to form the genitive singular and nominative plural. De-palatalisation can also be used to form the genitive singular (cf. *máthair* 'mother-NOM.SG', *máthar* 'mother-GEN.SG'), though this happens less frequently. In English, on the other hand, palatalisation is strictly allophonic and can only occur before the high front vowel [i:].

The data used in the study include speech samples recorded in Dublin in November 2014 when thirty-six Dublin bilinguals – 20 male and 16 female – with English as their first and Irish as their second language were interviewed. All informants were born and raised in Dublin, had no immediate Gaeltacht connection, and at the moment of interview lived either in the city or in neighbouring counties. They belonged to different age groups, yet most respondents (24 informants, or 67%) were no older than 35 (see Image 2):
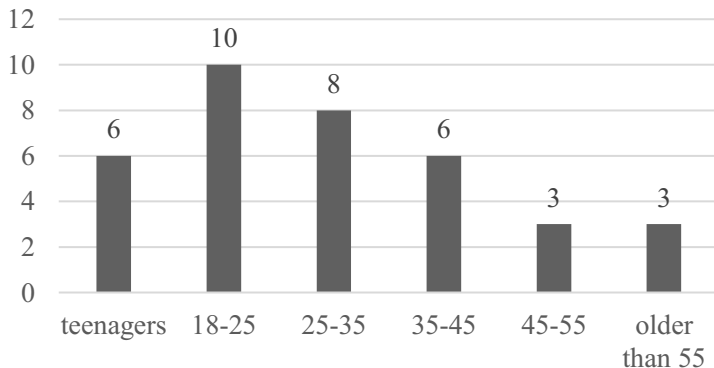

Image 2. Dublin informants: age groups and number of speakers

For the study to be valid, Irish consonants had to be pronounced in different positions. The main part of the interview consisted of words and word-combinations the informants were asked to read aloud; 53 word-combinations were recorded in Irish and 31 in English. This allowed me to record Irish and English consonants in various positions as well as to minimise the potential influence of other factors on the speakers' pronunciation, such as the incorrect use of noun cases. Word-final palatalisation presence or absence in the recorded data due to the use of a nominative form in the context that requires genitive etc., had thus to be excluded. At the same time, read speech is often hypercorrect, and in spontaneous conversation, deviations and mispronunciations are likely to be more frequent.

Computer speech analysis was performed in each context to ensure that palatalisation or its absence was defined with the highest degree of certainty. Acoustic analysis was conducted using freely available software (Boersma & Weenink 2015) and followed by calculation of the number of deviations and their frequency. When determining whether a consonant is palatalised or not, the surrounding vowels must also be considered, in order to take account of accommodation (Knyazev & Pozharitskaya 2012: 104-105): the formant frequencies of neighbouring vowels are measured both in the stationary phase (the middle segment where no noticeable changes of formants are observed) and in the transition phase (the segment immediately following or preceding the consonant), in order to record their changes.

Thus, when a low back or mid-back vowel is pronounced next to a palatalised consonant, the second formant F2 of the vowel rises in the transition phase (i.e. immediately after the consonant or before it), which can be observed on the spectrogram (see Image 3):
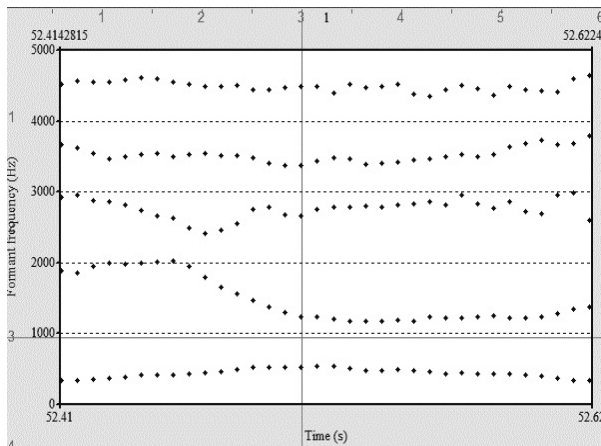

Image 3. Vowel formants change after a palatalised [b'] in *beag* 'small'

When a front vowel occurs next to a palatalised consonant, its F2 remains unchanged. Next to non-palatalised consonants the situation is different: here the second formant F2 of low back and mid-back vowels does not change and remains quite low (see Image 4), while F2 of front vowels appears to be somewhat lower in the transition phase:
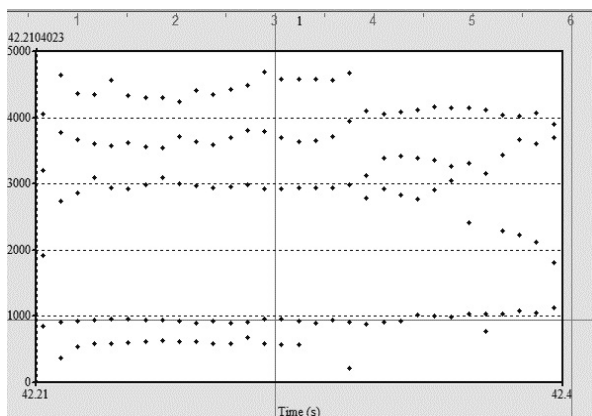
Image 4. Vowel formants change after a non-palatalised [b] in *bocht* 'poor'

2. Palatalisation in Dublin English

Despite the fact that the opposition of palatalised and non-palatalised consonants is absent in English, instances of allophonic palatalisation were observed in the informants' data. Their speech was characterised by a number of features, including specific articulation of velar stops [k] and [g]: in some cases, and especially word-finally, these consonants could acquire additional palatalisation.

In the recordings, word-final [k] occurred in the nouns *book* and *desk*, and [g] in *bag*. In these contexts, [k] was palatalised by seven informants, while over half of the respondents pronounced a palatalised [g'] in *bag*. For example, word-final [k] in *desk* was palatalised by informant 32. In this case the first formant F1 of the preceding vowel remained unchanged, the frequency of the second formant F2 was invariably high ([e] is a front vowel), and the frequency of the third formant F3 increased in the transition phase (see Image 5):
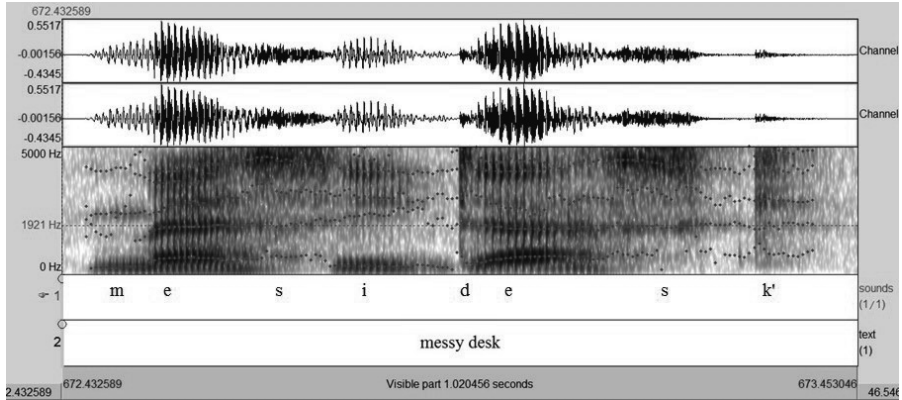
Image 5. *Messy desk*: a palatalised [k'] in desk (informant 32)

When a front vowel is pronounced next to a non-palatalised consonant, the frequency of its F2 usually becomes lower in the transition phase; in the above example, however, the lowering does not happen, which may indicate palatalisation.

In *messy desk* [k] becomes palatalised after a front vowel; i.e., palatalisation in this context may be position-bound. After all, allophonic palatalisation has already been observed in English before high front vowels (Guenther 1995; Bateman 2007; Pavlík 2009).[2] In my data, allophonic palatalisation could occur in the following words: *ticket*, *village*, *piece*, *feeble*, *beads*, *geese* and *needle*, and indeed, some speakers – albeit not all of them – palatalised initial consonants in these contexts. For instance, informant 36 pronounced a palatalised [p'] in *piece* (see Image 6):
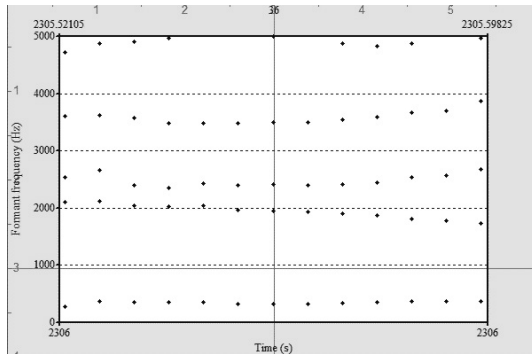
Image 6. Vowel formants change when [p] is palatalised (informant 36)

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[2] Not all researchers call this phenomenon palatalisation. N. Bateman (2007: 41-42), for example, defines secondary articulation of velar stops before [i] as velar fronting and believes that this phenomenon differs from palatalisation proper, while R. Pavlík (2009: 15) defines secondary articulation of stops next to high front vowels as palatal assimilation.

In this example, F1 and F3 of the vowel remain unchanged, while F2 appears to be somewhat higher in the transition phase after the consonant, reaching 2100 Hz. The fact that the frequency of F2 remains high in the transition phase may signify palatalisation of the preceding consonant. Indeed, when a non-palatalised [p] is pronounced in the same context, F2 and F3 of the following vowel are slightly lower immediately following the consonant, as opposed to their frequencies in the stationary phase (Image 7):
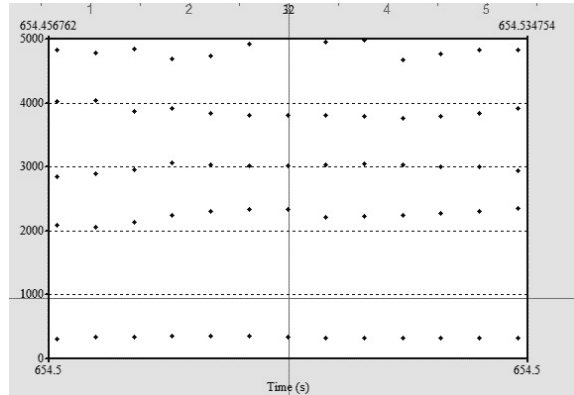
Image 7. Vowel formants change when [p] is not palatalised (informant 32)

In the transition phase after the consonant, formant frequencies of the vowel are as follows: F1 – 280-320 Hz, F2 – 2055-2090 Hz, F3 – 2840-2920 Hz, whereas in the stationary phase they are thus: F1 – 310-335 Hz, F2 – 2235-2345 Hz, F3 – 3010-3030 Hz. When comparing Images 6 and 7, it becomes evident that vowel formants behave differently in the transition phase: while in the first case F2 and F3 rise by 100-200 Hz, in the second example they fall by 200-300 Hz.

All in all, the pronunciation of the Dublin informants was rather uniform: several instances of palatalisation before the high front vowel [i:] were found in their speech, thus confirming that allophonic palatalisation could occur in Dublin English.

3. Palatalisation in Dublin Irish

Turning to Irish, only strong positions were analysed in the study, since deviations here are more significant. For Irish palatalised and non-palatalised consonants, such positions are the following: word-initially before a stressed vowel, intervocalically after a stressed vowel and word-finally after a long or stressed vowel; /r/ is the only exception, the first position for this sound being substituted by the second element of a word-initial consonant cluster.

The number of deviations in palatalisation varied, but the average percentage for fluent Irish bilinguals was quite low: 733 instances of mispronunciation were singled out in total, corresponding to 11.9% of analysed consonants. This means that a competent Dublin bilingual[3] with Irish as his/her second language pronounces 88% of consonants as expected. In spontaneous speech, however, deviations are likely to be more frequent.

Palatalisation absence accounted for the majority of deviations (646 instances out of 733, or 88.13% of all deviations) and was observed in all strong positions. Word-initially, palatalisation was absent in 182 examples out of 1044: i.e., in 17.43% cases. Most deviations in this position concerned liquids, nasals and the voiceless labial fricative [f']; these usually occurred before back vowels or, in a smaller number of cases, before [e:]. For example, 30 informants out of 36 pronounced [f] instead of [f'] in *fear* 'man', as is visible on the spectrogram (Image 8):
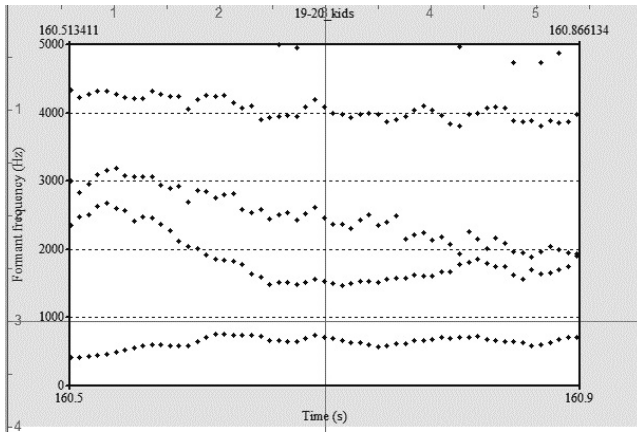
Image 8. Vowel formants change after a palatalised [f'] in *fear* 'man' (informant 19)

When analysing the formants of the following long vowel [a:], a lowering of F1 and a noticeable rise of F2 from 1400-1500 Hz to 2200-2600 Hz are observed in the transition phase; the rise of F2 in this case signifies that the preceding consonant is palatalised.

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[3] By a competent speaker I mean a bilingual who has a good knowledge of both English as his/her first language and Irish as his/her second language, and is capable of using the latter in oral and written communication without switching to English. If informants could not actively participate in conversation and give detailed answers in Irish, their data were deemed unsuitable for analysis. The questions used in the interview did not concern any specialised subjects and do not reflect the speakers' ability to use Irish in professional communication.

When the initial consonant in *fear* 'man' is not palatalised, the formants of the following vowel behave in a different way. In this case, the frequencies of F1 and F2 remain unchanged, and F2 does not exceed 1200 Hz (the analysed vowel is a back vowel), as can be seen Image 9:
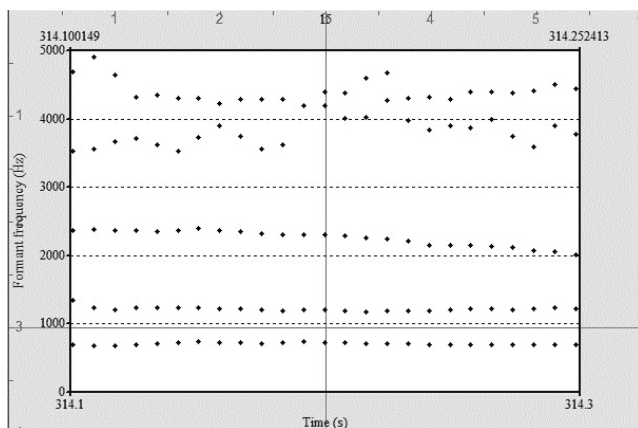
Image 9. Vowel formants change after a non-palatalised [f] in *fear* 'man' (informant 15)

Intervocalically, palatalisation was absent in 146 examples out of 720: i.e., in 20.28% of the cases. In this position, deviations concerned not only liquids and nasals but also labial stops and labial fricatives, especially [p'], [f'] and [v']. Most deviations occurred after the back and mid-back vowels [a], [a:], [o] and [o:]; however, in the case of sonorants, palatalisation was also absent after [i:] (for example, in *tíre* 'country-GEN.SG' and *dílis* 'dear').[4]

Although palatalization absence was observed in all positions, the majority of such deviations were encountered word-finally (318 instances out of 720, or 44.17% of cases). Here, palatalisation was often absent in the case of liquids, nasals and labial stops [p'] and [b'], while the velar stops [g'] and [k'] showed the fewest deviations.[5] In this position there seem to be a correlation between palatalisation absence and the neighbouring vowel length, as quite a number of deviations occurred after long vowels, irrespective of their frontness or backness. Besides, deviations were often found after back and mid-back vowels.

A palatalised consonant was produced instead of a non-palatalised one in 87 cases, accounting for 11.87% of all deviations. Even though

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[4] Some notes on the use of palatalised and non-palatalised sonorants in L2 Irish can also be found in Snesareva 2014a; 2015.
[5] It should be pointed out that the corresponding sounds were often palatalised in the informants' English data as well.

I expected the majority of them to be of the palatalisation absence type, deviations of the second type were also observed in the data. As opposed to palatalisation absence, such deviations mostly occurred word-initially.

A comparatively low number of such deviations can indicate instability of palatalisation in the speech of L2 Irish bilinguals as a result of English influence. Thus, <u>word-initially</u>, a palatalised consonant was pronounced instead of a non-palatalised one in 63 examples out of 1872: i.e., in only 3.37% of cases. Most deviations in this position concerned the alveolar stops [t] and [d] (18 and 35 examples respectively).

<u>Intervocalically</u>, deviations were observed in 16 instances out of 864: i.e., 1.85% of cases. This happened in only one context: in Ir. *bádóir* 'boatman' a palatalised consonant [d'] was produced by several informants. As was the case word-initially, most mispronunciations concerned alveolar [d] (13 instances).

As opposed to palatalisation absence, the number of deviations found <u>word-finally</u> was extremely low (8 instances, or 0.85% of all analysed consonants in this position). Most deviations in this position were observed for alveolar [d] and [r]. Thus, irrespective of consonant position in the word, the majority of second type deviations concerned the voiced and voiceless alveolar stops [t] and [d]. As a rule, palatalisation occurred before front vowels, but this does not exclude contexts like *tús* [tu:s] 'beginning' and *buachaill* [buəxəl'] 'boy', as the speakers who used [t'] and [b'] in these words pronounced a fronted vowel rather than a back one, also as the first element of the diphthong [uə] (Image 10):
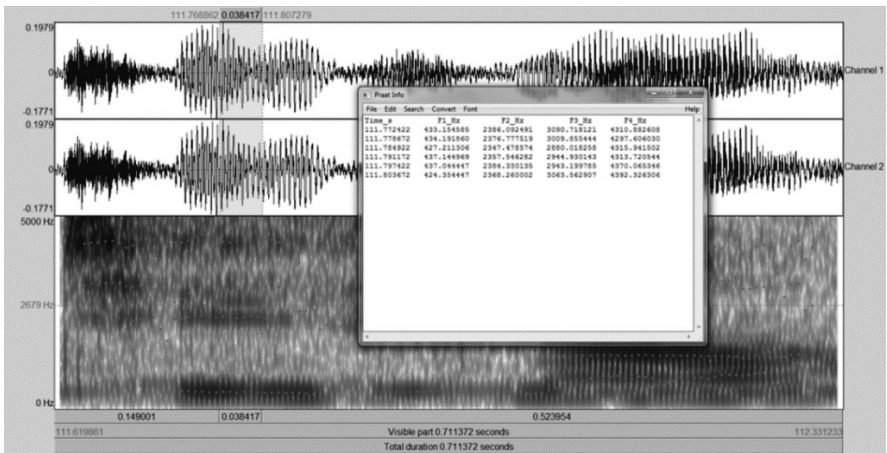
Image 10. [t'] and a fronted vowel in *tús* 'start', formants measured in the stationary phase

4. Grounds for ambiguity

In the speech of Dublin bilinguals, palatalisation was often absent word-finally, even when it resulted in noun number and case ambiguity. Thus, 13 informants pronounced a non-palatalised [t] instead of a palatalised [t'] in *cait* 'cat-GEN.SG', whereas in this case palatalisation is used to form the genitive singular and nominative plural of the noun, *cat* [kat] meaning 'cat-NOM.SG' and 'cat-GEN.PL', and *cait* [kat'] being 'cat-GEN.SG' and 'cat-NOM.PL'.

Ambiguity could also result from deviations of the second type: for example, three informants pronounced [d'] instead of [d] in *bád* 'boat' (see Image 11), where palatalisation or absence thereof is also used to differentiate between word forms, with *bád* [ba:d] meaning 'boat-NOM.SG' or 'boat-GEN.PL' and *báid* [ba:d'] signifying 'boat-GEN.SG' and 'boat-NOM.PL':
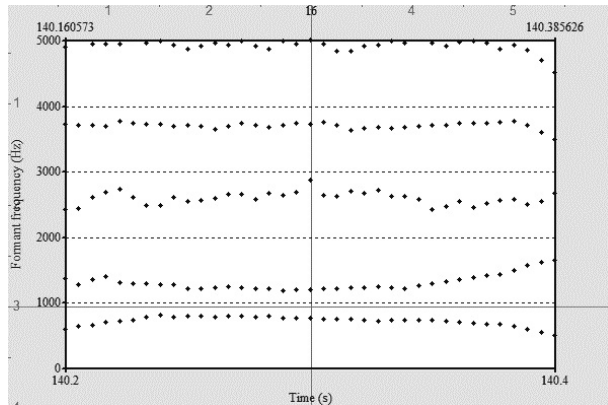
Image 11. Vowel formants change before a palatalised [d'] in *bád* 'boat'
(informant 16)

The same phenomenon is observed in case of word-final [n']: thus, out of three available contexts (*léinn* 'learning-GEN.SG', *cupáin* 'cup-GEN.SG', *ribín* 'ribbon'), deviations were only found in *cupáin* 'cup-GEN.SG', where more than half of the informants pronounced a non-palatalised [n]. As in the previous examples, palatalisation here is used to differentiate between word forms, with *cupán* [n] indicating 'cup-NOM.SG' and 'cup-GEN.PL', and *cupáin* [n'] meaning 'cup-GEN.SG' and 'cup-NOM.PL'. However, if in the case of *cupán* 'cup' the differentiation of word forms in speech is based solely on the palatalisation of the final consonant, in the case of *cat* 'cat', some speakers not only palatalised the final consonant to form the genitive singular but also pronounced a front vowel instead of a back one (cf. Image 12):
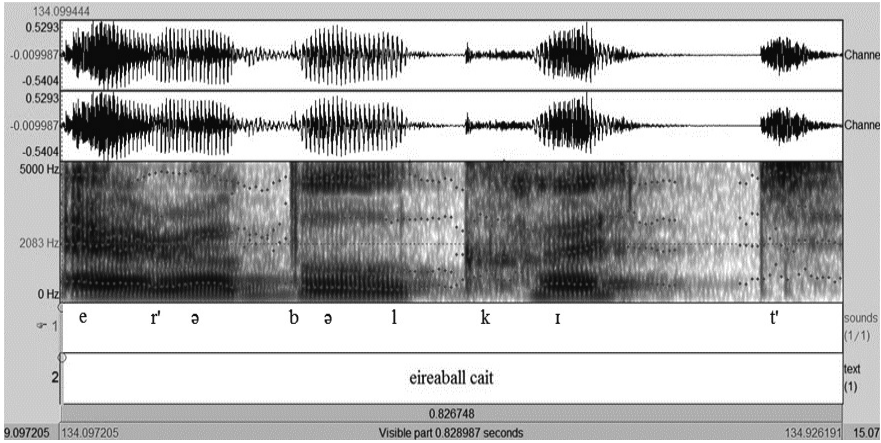
Image 12. A front vowel before [tʲ] in *cait* 'cat-GEN.SG' (informant 31)

When *cait* 'cat-GEN.SG' is pronounced this way, differentiation between the word forms *cat* [kat] and *cait* [kɪtʲ] is based not only on palatalisation of the final consonant but also on the quality of the preceding vowel. Consequently, in such cases, palatalisation is no longer necessary to distinguish between different forms, and deviations in its use do not result in ambiguity. This might explain why the potential convergence of word forms did not affect the speakers' verbal behaviour. However, such pronunciation is currently only a tendency: it was not characteristic of all informants and did not occur in other contexts.

5. Conclusion

The study showed that most deviations in the distribution of palatalised and non-palatalised consonants in the speech of Dublin bilinguals were of the palatalisation absence type. Such deviations were especially frequent next to back and mid-back vowels. On the other hand, a palatalised consonant was often pronounced instead of a non-palatalised one next to a front vowel. Previous research suggests that these tendencies also apply in weak positions (Snesareva 2014a; 2014b).

Consequently, even though in traditional Irish dialects palatalisation is not position-bound, in the speech of Dublin bilinguals there is correlation between the palatalisation of a consonant and the quality of its neighbouring vowel. However, such consonant distribution was not encountered in all contexts: even those informants whose speech had deviations used palatalisation properly in some contexts. This means that position-bound use of palatalisation is still a tendency rather than an entrenched feature of Dublin Irish.

The data confirm that palatalisation is becoming position-bound in the speech of informants due to phonetic interference from Dublin English, where palatalisation occurs only before front vowels and is strictly allophonic. Bilingual speakers find it difficult to observe phonological oppositions in Irish, which explains why palatalised consonants are regularly pronounced next to front vowels, while in a different vowel context palatalisation is often absent. A certain parallel between the informants' languages was also found in case of the velar stops [g] and [k]: these consonants were frequently palatalised in the English data, and in the Irish material palatalised [g'] and [k'] had the lowest number of deviations.

Palatalisation absence or presence in the Irish speech of informants was also affected by the consonant's place of articulation and the position of the organs of speech that either facilitated or impeded palatalisation. In particular, the speakers tended to palatalise the alveolar stops [d] and [t] in all contexts, which was manifested in a low number of first type deviations (palatalisation absence) and a high number of second type deviations (the use of a palatalised consonant instead of a non-palatalised) for these consonants. At the same time, instances of palatalisation absence were discovered for all analysed consonants, confirming the instability of palatalisation in the speech of bilinguals. Such deviations were especially frequent in the case of bilabial and labiodental consonants, as well as with sonorants.

Finally, although in the case of Irish class 1 nouns (*bád* 'boat', *cupán* 'cup' etc.) used without the definite article, inconsistent distribution of palatalised and non-palatalised word-final consonants can result in ambiguity, it does not seem to affect the speakers' verbal behaviour.

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Physical Qualities in Goidelic:
A Corpus Study of Polysemy and Collocability

Oksana Dereza

0. Preliminary remarks

This is a small case study of Goidelic adjectives denoting the physical qualities of heaviness and lightness, namely *trom* and *éadrom* in Irish and *trom* and *aotrom (eutrom)* in Scottish Gaelic. Both go back to Old Irish. I will refer to them by their Old Irish forms *tromm* and *étromm*[1] in generalisations. *Étromm* is derived from *tromm* with a negative prefix *é*, suggesting a high level of structural symmetry. However, this proves not to be the case, and *étromm* appears to be a lot more than just "not *tromm*" even at the earliest stage. Moreover, distribution of both *trom* and *étromm* differs substiantially in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic although these languages are closely related. What makes this kind of adjective especially interesting is A. Wierzbicka and C. Goddard's assumption that "physical quality concepts refer to embodied human experiences and embodied human sensations" (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007: 765). In other words, we call something 'heavy' not because it has some specific weight, but rather because we feel this weight. The analysed Goidelic data fully support this statement.

1. Related work

The polysemy of physical qualities has been thoroughly studied by the Moscow Lexical Typological Group in the 'Database of polysemous qualitative adjectives and adverbs in Russian' project. This research focused on such semantic fields as 'sharp – blunt' (Kiuseva 2012), 'soft – hard' (Pavlova 2012), 'heavy – light' (Kiuseva, Ryzhova & Kholkina 2012), 'full – empty' (Tagabileva 2011), 'smooth – rough' (Kashkin 2012), etc. Further, E. Rakhilina gives a detailed analysis of adjectives describing size ('high', 'deep'), shape ('round', 'oblique', 'wry'), temperature ('hot', 'warm', 'cold' etc.) and colour in 'The cognitive analysis of concrete nouns: semantics and collocability' (Rakhilina 2010: 106-238). A similar analysis of Celtic data is carried out in E. Parina's works on 'sharp – blunt', 'full – empty' and 'heavy – light' in Welsh (Parina 2016; Parina 2015; Parina, this volume).

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[1] I use the spelling of the corresponding headwords in the electronic edition of DIL, http://dil.ie.

One of the latest substantial studies in this field is a PhD thesis on the polysemy and distribution of the German adjectives *hart* 'hard, rigid', *weich* 'soft, pliant', *sanft* 'soft, tender' and *grob* 'rough' (Bons 2009). The main method used here is corpus analysis, and meaning is defined as a spectrum of occurrences (Bons 2009: 3). Another researcher belonging to this school and specializing in historical semantics, G. Fritz, proposes a comprehensive study of German *scharf* 'sharp' (Fritz 1995; Fritz 2005: 18-30). He mainly uses the analysis of collocability to describe the semantics of adjectives, which places him close to the Moscow Semantic School.

2. Data

The research was mainly corpus-driven: the use of large language corpora as a source of data ensures the representativeness of the sample and facilitates preparatory work. Modern Irish examples were drawn from the New Corpus of Ireland (*Nua-Chorpas na hÉireann*) containing more than 3000 instances of *trom* and a little fewer than 1000 instances of *éadrom* in a total of 30 million words. Scottish Gaelic data was derived from the Corpus of Scottish Gaelic (*Corpas na Gàidhlig*), where *trom* occurred about 2000 times, and *aotrom* occurred about 500 times in ten million words. For each of these adjectives, I took a random sample of 100 with the use of built-in corpus tools.

There is no tool to obtain a fixed number of randomly chosen Old Irish examples of a given word, so I had to select them manually from Medieval Irish literature and glosses, applying the method of continuous sampling. I used the standard print (Stokes 1887) edition of the Würzburg glosses, the electronic edition of the Milan glosses made by D. Stifter and A. Griffith[2] and the electronic edition of the St. Gall glosses made by R. Hofman and P. Moran.[3] Apart from glosses, my historical corpus includes two versions of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), *In Cath Catharda* ('The Civil War of the Romans'), *Betha Choluim Chille* ('Life of Columcille'), *Buile Shuibhne* ('Suibhne's Frenzy') and *Cath Finntrágha* ('The Battle of Ventry'); all of them are cited according to the electronic editions available on the UCC CELT website.[4] The texts I chose for the corpus belong to different genres and language periods (Old Irish, Middle Irish, and Early Modern Irish) and contain both prose and verse, which makes the corpus more or less representative. Thus, the resultant dataset consists of three major parts: Modern Irish data (200 examples), Scottish Gaelic data (200 examples), and historical data (127

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[2] http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses.htm
[3] http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/
[4] http://www.ucc.ie/celt/

examples, 88 for *tromm* and 39 for *étromm*). Unfortunately, I could not collect enough Manx data to analyse it alongside Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and therefore I do not consider it in generalizations.

A dynamic representation of the whole dataset built with Shiny, a web application framework for the R programming language, is available at https://ancatmara.shinyapps.io/heavylight/. It is fully searchable, and the data can be filtered by language (Modern Irish, Early Modern Irish, Middle Irish, Old Irish and Scottish Gaelic), quality (heavy or light), sense and collocation. The meta information includes genre (or rather form: prose, poetry, drama), period (8th, 9th, 12th, 15th, 17th and 19th centuries; 1900-9; 1950-99; and 2000-) and source.

A corpus of 500 sentences might be insufficient for strong statistical conclusions; however, it is enough to describe the semantic structure of *tromm* and *étromm* throughout history.

3. Collocability

The meaning of a word can only be described in context, and this is true for polysemous lexemes. In other words, "you shall know a word by the company it keeps" (Firth 1957: 11). To characterize adjectives, it is convenient to use the semantic classes of the nouns with which they form collocations. I divided all the collocates of *tromm* and *étromm* that occured in my working corpus into several classes of different levels. As some of the nouns would not form solid groups of a lower order, I had to use higher order classes like 'abstract notion' along with lower order classes like 'colour'. Despite the difference in hierarchy, each of them is clearly defined, and every noun belonging predominantly to a particular class triggers a particular sense. In labelling these classes, I draw upon the English WordNet developed by Princeton University (Fellbaum 2006). It is also worth mentioning that I excluded obvious calques ('heavy industry', 'heavy metal', 'light gas') from the list of collocations, which lessened the number of examples. It may seem that word combinations like '*tromm / éadromm* + colour' are also calques, but I presume they are not, because such examples are cited in DIL and therefore cannot have been copied from modern English.

Here is a brief explanation of the semantic classes used to describe the meaning of *tromm* and *éadromm*. The abbreviations for languages are as follows: Modern Irish – Ir, Early Modern Irish – EMIr, Middle Irish – MIr, Old Irish – OIr, and Scottish Gaelic – SG. The absolute frequency of different collocations is shown in Figure 1.

Abstract notion is the broadest class that includes various words with abstract meanings that did not fall into any other category, like Ir *peaca* 'sin', *cúis* 'reason', *coir* 'crime', *éagóir* 'injustice', *pionós*

'punishment', *deacracht* 'difficulty', *cath* 'battle', *atmaisféar* 'atmosphere'; SG *peacadh* 'sin', *peanas* 'punishment', *lagh* 'law', *smaointinn* 'thought', *ceangal* 'tie', etc.

Physical object is another broad class used for any object that does not belong to other categories: Ir *ualach* 'load', *meaisín cóipeála* 'copier', *sliogán* 'shell', *cloch* 'stone', *bróga* 'shoes'; SG *sac* 'bag', *bòrd* 'table'; OIr *claideb* 'sword', *gae* 'spear'; MIr *tonn* 'wave'.

Quality is the third broadest class for any quality that can be expressed to a different extent: Ir *beo* 'alive', *daite* 'dyed', *scagtha* 'sparse'.

Activity is another rather broad class that comprises various names of actions: Ir *obair* 'work', *ól* 'drinking', *buille* 'blow', *gnóthaí* 'business'; SG *atharrais* 'mimicking', *osnaich* 'sigh'.

Container is a type of object that can be filled with something, e.g. Ir *lámh* 'hand', *póca* 'pocket'; SG *suilean* 'eyes', *pòca* 'pocket'.

Layer is for fabrics, clothes and lines, in other words, for anything that has the property of linear thickness: Ir. *fabraic* 'fabric', *cuirtíní* 'curtains', *brat* 'cloak', *cóta* 'coat', *treabhsar* 'trousers', *bríste* 'trousers', *léine* 'shirt', *gúna* 'dress', *scim* 'thin coating', *ciseal* 'layer', *cló* 'type'; SG *cainb* 'canvas', *còta* 'coat', MIr *braici* 'trousers', *inar* 'tunic'.

Substance is used for objects that can be characterized by their density: Ir *ceo* 'fog', *talamh* 'ground', *lóis* 'lotion', *ithir* 'ether', *féar* 'grass'; SG *ceò* 'fog', *neòil* 'clouds', *falt* 'hair'.

Locomotion stands for any kind of active movement: Ir *coiscéim* 'footstep'; SG *ceum(an)*, *saltair* 'footstep(s)', *siubhal* 'walk'.

Physical phenomenon includes names of weather events: Ir *báisteach* 'rain', *sneachta* 'snow', *fearthainn* 'rain', *sioc* 'frost'; SG *uisge* 'rain', *sneachda* 'snow'.

Atmospheric condition is a class of physical phenomena that somehow influence one's physical state: e.g., Ir *teas* 'heat', *aer* 'air' and *boladh* 'smell'.

Living being stands for humans and animals: Ir *duine* 'person', *fear* 'man', *mise* 'me'; SG *sinn* 'we', *òganach* 'youth', *gille* 'boy'; OIr *Cú Chulaind* 'Cú Chulainn'.

Group of people is a small class including mainly names of different armed groups: Ir *marcshlua* 'cavalry'; MIr *slúagh* 'host, army'; EMIr *dámh* 'company'.

Psyche is used for nouns that metaphorically indicate one's emotional state: e.g., Ir *croí* 'heart'; SG *suilean* 'eyes', *cridhe* 'heart', *spiorad* 'spirit', *intinn* 'mind', *aigne* 'mind, disposition'.

Emotion includes such nouns as Ir *eagla* 'fear'; SG *gaol* 'love, affection', *graidh* 'love', *amharus* 'doubt', *bròn* 'grief'; OIr *erfúath* 'terror', *gráin* 'terror'.

Sound comprises various audibly perceived phenomena: Ir *canúint* 'talk', *guth* 'voice', *ceol* 'music', *tiúin* 'tune'; SG *dúrdail* 'buzz', *fead* 'whistle', *casad* 'cough', *sianta* 'scream', *tàirneanach* 'thunder', *canaltradh* 'talk', *gàire* 'laugh'.

Colour is simply colour: Ir *liathchorcra* 'greyish purple', *buíghlas* 'yellowish green', *donn* 'brown'.

Machine stands for any mechanism, including vehicles: Ir *gunna* 'gun', *feithicil* 'vehicle'; SG *carbad* 'chariot'; MIr *long* 'ship'.

Money is used for nouns that signify sums of money: Ir *airgead* 'money', *fíneáil* 'fine', *cáin* 'fine, tax', *infheistíocht* 'investment'; SG *òr* 'gold'.

Food is for words like Ir *lón* 'lunch', SG *biadh* 'food'.

Sleep combines different words for sleep: Ir *néal, codladh, suan* 'sleep'; SG *suan, cadal, neòil* 'sleep'.
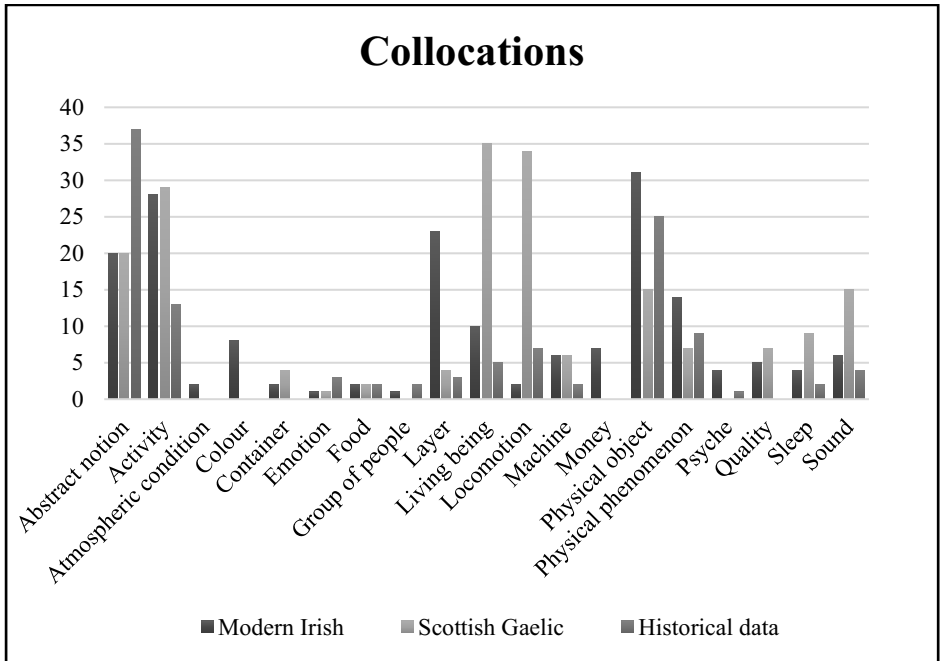
Fig. 1

4. Semantic classification

The problem of separating individual meanings cannot be solved in a univocal way, and the level of detail depends on the researcher's task (Fritz 1995: 83). As my goal was to give a comprehensive analysis of *tromm* and *étromm* in Goidelic languages throughout their history, it seems reasonable not to make very broad generalizations.

Apart from collocations, I will provide short, intuitively understandable descriptions of individual senses like those often seen in dictionaries. To organize these senses, I have used a semantic classification developed by cognitive scientists for English in the case of the concepts 'heavy' and 'light' (Shirshikova 2013). Thus, there are four semantic domains where 'heavy' and 'light' have different meanings depending on their communicative functions:

1 **Experiential domain**, where we evaluate the dynamic interaction with an object: "something that is heavy weighs a lot" (*Collins Cobuild*), "difficult to lift or move" (*Oxford Learners*).
2 **Parametrical domain**, where we evaluate some parametrical characteristics of an object not to be moved: "Someone or something that is heavy is solid in appearance or structure, or is made of a thick material. Heavy means great in amount, degree, or intensity" (*Collins Cobuild*).
3 **Psycho-physiological domain**, where we evaluate the effect on our physical state of interaction with an object. For example, "a heavy meal is large in amount and often difficult to digest; heavy work requires a lot of strength or energy" (*Collins Cobuild*).
4 **Emotional domain,** where we evaluate the emotional impact of interaction with an object as if we evaluated the physical effect of such an interaction. "A situation that is heavy is serious and difficult to cope with. If your heart is heavy, you are sad about something" (*Collins Cobuild*).

Here is a list of individual senses forming each of these domains, and some examples to illustrate them. Each entry consists of a quality expressed by *tromm* or *étromm*, a collocate, and a short dictionary-style description of a sense.

1. Experiential domain
1.1 Weight + physical object: 'hard / easy to lift or move'

Ir *Bhí <u>ualach</u> sách trom ar an gcairrín*
'There was a quite *heavy load* on the cart'

SG *Bha bròga aotrom samhraidh oirre*
'She wore *light* summer *shoes*'

OIr *Dochúatar bara <u>claidbib tromma</u> tortbullecha*
'They wielded their <u>heavy</u>, hard-smiting <u>swords</u>'

2. Parametrical domain
2.1 Amount + money: 'big / small in amount'

Ir *Cuirtear <u>fíneáil throm</u> ar a leithéid*
'The likes of it/him are subject to a <u>big fine</u>'

2.2 Appearance + living being, physical object: 'bulky / fine, delicate'

Ir *Thug Doiminic iarraidh éirí ón chathaoir ach ba <u>fear trom</u> toirteach é agus thit sé siar arís*
'Dominic tried to get up from the chair, but he was a <u>bulky man</u>, and he fell down again'

2.3 Depth + sleep: 'deep / not deep'

Ir *Aineoinn an drochbholadh thit <u>néal trom</u> codladta orm a bhí lán le brionglóidí*
'In spite of the bad smell I fell into a <u>deep sleep</u> full of dreams'

SG *Thàinig <u>cadal trom</u> air Murchadh* 'Murdach fell into a <u>deep sleep</u>'

OIr *inlaithertach .i. is gnath is <u>trom</u> a <u>chotlud</u> adi ₇ is cián ṁ bis ánd*
'the drunk one, i.e. it is usual that his <u>sleep</u> is <u>heavy</u>, and it is long that he usually is in it'

2.4 Density + layer, substance: 'dense, thick / thin'

Ir *Ní fheicfí rud ar bith trí na <u>cuirtíní troma</u> sin ar aon chaoi*
'Anyway, you wouldn't see anything through these <u>thick curtains</u>'

Ir *'Tá an <u>ceo</u> chomh <u>trom</u> is a bhí sé riamh,' ar seisean*
'The <u>fog</u> is as <u>thick</u> as it has ever been' – said he'

77

Ir *Is féidir úsáid a bhaint as ungadh antaiseipteach nó as <u>lóis éadrom</u> antaiseipteach*
'You can use antiseptic ointment or <u>*thin*</u> antiseptic <u>*lotion*</u>'

SG <u>*Falt trom*</u>*,* <u>*trom,*</u> *dualach* '<u>*Thick, thick hair*</u> in braids'

2.5 Emptiness + container: 'full / empty'

Ir *Bhagair sí a lámh air,* <u>*lámh*</u> *a bhí* <u>*trom le seoda*</u>
'She threatened him with her hand, a <u>hand full of jewels</u>'

Ir *Ar an taobh eile den scéal, bhí an t-am aige a d'fhág na* <u>*pócaí*</u> *sách* <u>*éadrom*</u> *aige féin*
'On the other side of the story, he had a time that left his <u>*pockets*</u> quite <u>*empty*</u>'

SG *Cha robh iad faisg gu leòr air gus fhaicinn gu robh* <u>*'shùilean trom le deòir*</u>
'They weren't close enough to him to see that his <u>*eyes*</u> were <u>*full of tears*</u>'

2.6 Significance + abstract notion: 'grave, serious / insignificant'

Ir *Más rud é go bhfuil an* <u>*choir*</u> *chomh* <u>*trom*</u> *sin nó má tá cuinsí faoi leith i gceist…*
'If the <u>*crime*</u> is that <u>*grave*</u> or if there are special circumstances in question…'

Ir *Cuireann múinteoirí tacaíochta seirbhís ar fáil do pháistí a bhfuil* <u>*deacrachtaí*</u> *foghlama* <u>*éadrom*</u> *nó measartha acu*
'The teachers provide help for children who have <u>*slight*</u> or moderate <u>*difficulties*</u> with studies'

2.7 Severeness + abstract notion: 'harsh, severe / mild'

Ir *Bhí sé ráite ar a chúl go mbeadh* <u>*pionós an-trom*</u> *ar aon fhostóir nach mbeadh na coinníollacha seo comhlíonta aige*
'It was said behind his back that there would be a <u>*very harsh punishment*</u> for every employer who wouldn't fulfill these conditions'

SG *Bha an* <u>*lagh trom*</u> *an aghaidh na h-oibreach*
'The <u>*law*</u> was <u>*severe*</u> to the workers'

2.8 Capacity + machine: 'high-capacity / low-capacity'

Ir *Ar an dtaobh eile, tá dún Iosraelach, é daingnithe ag meaisínghunnaí agus ag gunnaí troma*
'On the other side there is an Israeli fortification guarded by machine guns and *heavy artillery*'

2.9 intensity + activity, feeling, physical phenomenon, quality: 'intense / weak, not intense'

Ir *'Ní hé amháin sin' a deir Denise. 'Bhíodar ag ól trom ó bhí siad ceathair déag'*
'Not only him' – said Denise. 'They were *drinking heavily* since they were fourteen'
SG *'S cho trom mo ghaol 's cho buan*
'And my *love* is so *intense* and so beautiful'

MIr *...guro tuitseat 'na frasaibh agus 'na tolaibh tromfertana i ceannaibh, i corpaib na miledh.*
'…so that the missiles fell in rains and *heavy-pouring floods* on the heads and bodies, on the chests and forebreasts of the soldiers'

2.10 Quality of sound + sound: 'loud and unpleasant / quiet and pleasant'

Ir *Chuala sí guth éadrom ina cluais*
'She heard a *quiet voice* in her ears'

SG *Rinn Iain gàire aotrom*
'Iain *laughed softly*'

SG *Rinn e fead throm, thùrsach*
'He *whistled loud*, wearily'

2.11 Quality of movement + living being, locomotion, machine: 'moving slowly and with difficulty / moving fast and without difficulty'

SG *'S trom mo cheum, cha n-eil mi sunndach*
'And my *step* is *heavy*, I am not cheerful'

SG *Bha mise cho aotrom air mo bhonnan ri luaireag*
'*I* was as *fast* on my soles as a storm petrel'

MIr *Longa muinteri Cesair immorro bátar troma, úra, inmalla iat sén*
'But the *ships* of Caesar's people, they were *heavy*, new, and tardy'

2.12 Quality of colour + colour: 'dark / pale'

Ir *Dath donn éadrom a bhíonn ar na síolta agus bíonn fáinne crotal ar a mbarr*
'The seeds are *light brown* of colour and have a circle of rind on top'

3. Psycho-physiological domain
3.1 Physical impact + activity, atmospheric condition: 'tiresome / unfatiguing'

SG *Tha an obair seo fada ro throm air do shon, ars esan*
'This *work* is too *hard* for you, – said he'
Ir *Luigh an boladh i bhfad ní ba troime ar mo scamháin anseo ná ín áit ar bith eile*
'A much heavier smell laid on my lungs here than anywhere else'

3.2 Quality of food + food: 'hard to digest / digestible'

Ir *Bíonn Upstairs at Cooke's ar oscailt óna 10 am go 6 pm agus is fiú bualadh isteach chun lón éadrom a fháil, go háirithe má thaitníonn quesadillas leat*
'Upstairs at Cooke's is open from 10 am to 6 pm, and it's worth dropping in for a *light lunch*, especially if you like quesadillas'

4. Emotional domain
4.1 Emotional impact + abstract notion : 'oppressive, hard to bear/ pleasant, comfortable'

Ir *Eitseálacha atá le feiceáil ó Hasegawa agus atmaisféar aerach éadrom le brath iontu*
'You can see Hasegawa's etchings and feel a joyous *pleasant atmosphere* in them'

SG *Bha tosd trom, marbh mar sgàil*
'*Silence* was *heavy*, dead like a shadow'

MIr *Na trí coicait, tromm in t-aire isin oidche ba mor pian*
'The three fifties – *sore the watching* – in the night—great was the pain'

4.2 disposition + human being, psyche: 'sad, oppressed / cheerful, light-hearted'

Ir *Ansin rinne sé osna throm* 'He gave a *sad sigh*'

Ir *Ní raibh iontu ach gasúraí, agus bíonn an croí éadrom neamhbhuartha ag an óige*
'They were just children, but the young have a *light* careless *heart*'

SG *Ach cha chuireadh sin campar air ar spiorad aotrom an latha ud*
'But it didn't vex our *light spirit* those days'

SG *Tha m'inntinn trom, gun sunnd, gun fhonn*
'My *mind* is *heavy*, without joy, without pleasure'

5. Out of domains (only for *tromm*)
5.1 'Weighed down' + physical object, living being

MIr *Ba hiomdha ann ámh crann caomháloinn co ttoirthibh troma tóthachtacha isin all hisin*
'Numerous too on that cliff were the beautiful *trees*, *heavy* and rich with fruits'

5.2 'Pregnant' + living being

MIr *Co cingfitis ríghna rotroma, nó seisi sloigh romoir, no assain fo n-eiredaibh fortha on aircenn co araill don cath cechtarda*
'So that *gravid queens*, or bands of a mighty host, or asses under their burdens, would go from one end to the other of the battle on each side'

All the senses of the parametrical domain except 2.2., 2.5. and probably 2.11. can be described as instances of Magn and AntiMagn lexical functions introduced in (Melchuk 1974) within the Meaning-Text Theory. Given that Magn stands for 'very', 'to a (very) high degree', 'intense(ly)', and AntiMagn is the opposite, we can produce the following equations:

Magn['peaca'] = 'trom'
Magn['uisge'] = 'trom'
AntiMagn['ceo'] = 'éadrom'
AntiMagn['ceò'] = 'aotrom' etc.

Although the working corpus is quite small, it is possible to obtain a rough impression of the frequency and distribution of different senses. Figure 2 shows the overall picture. The top 5 qualities characterized by *tromm*

according to the example count are intensity (~ 25%), disposition (~ 12%), weight (~ 12%), density (~ 12%), significance (~ 5%) and the quality of movement (~ 5%). The distribution is different for *étromm*: the quality of movement (~ 26%) is the most frequent sense, followed by density (~ 19%), weight (~ 12%), intensity (~ 11%), disposition (~ 6%) and the quality of sound (~ 6%).
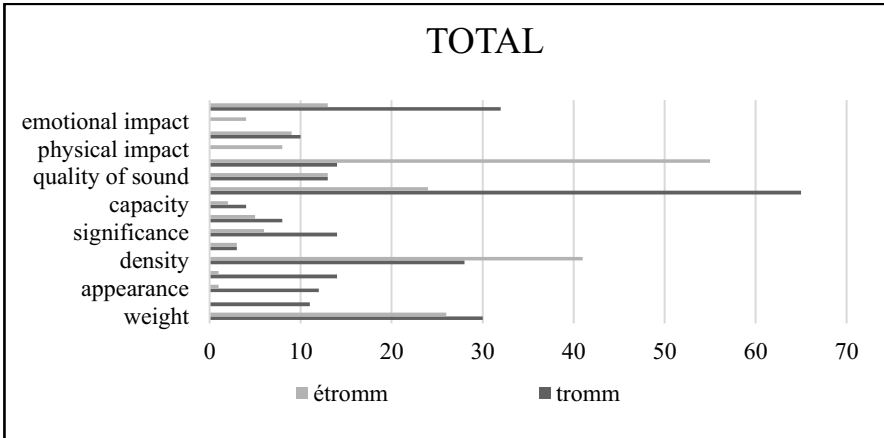
Fig. 2

In Modern Irish (fig. 3 below), the most frequent qualities are intensity (~ 21%), density (~ 16%), weight (~ 14%), amount (~ 8%), emotional impact (~ 6%) and significance (~ 6%) for *trom* and density (~ 32%), intensity (~ 22%), weight (~ 14%), the quality of movement (~ 9%) and disposition (~ 5%) for *éadrom*.

In Scottish Gaelic (fig. 4 below), the sense distribution is the following: intensity (~ 20%), emotional impact (~ 13%), the quality of movement (~ 11%), disposition (~ 10%) and depth (~ 9%) for *trom* and the quality of movement (~ 30%), disposition (~ 22%), the quality of sound (~ 10%), physical impact (~7%) and weight (~ 7%) for *aotrom*. As we can see, *trom* is mostly 'intense' both in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, while *éadrom* is 'thin' and 'not intense' in Irish, but *aotrom* is 'moving fast or without difficulty' and 'cheerful, light-hearted' in Scottish Gaelic.
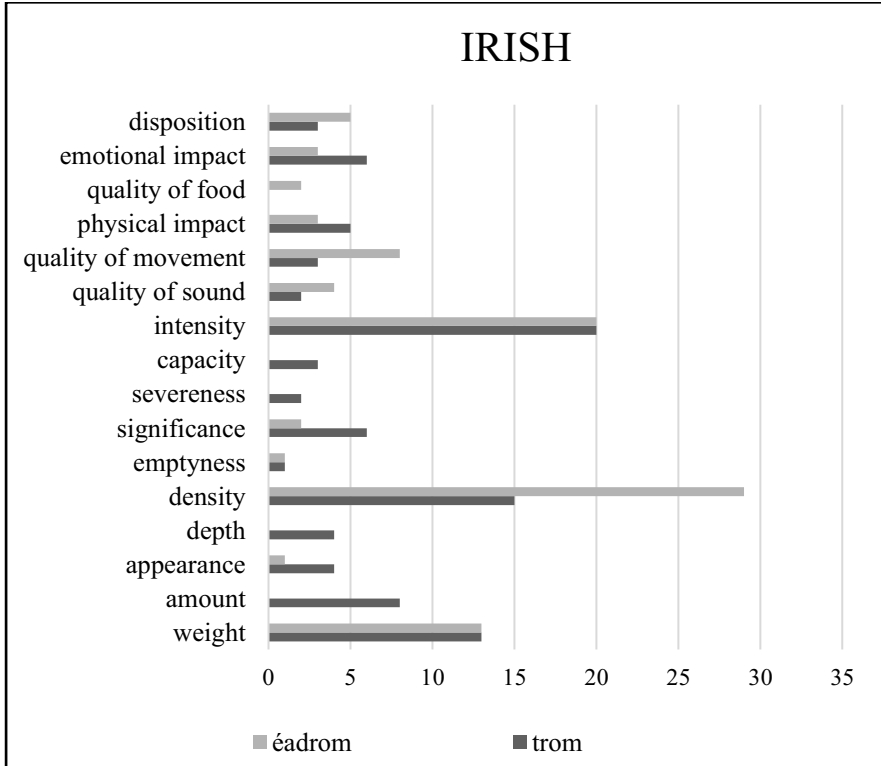
Fig. 3

There are many fewer examples and therefore fewer senses in the historical part of the corpus, but it is worth having a quick look at the statistics.

Again, *tromm* is mostly used to describe intensity (~ 31%), then comes emotional impact (~ 17%), then weight (~ 13%), density (~ 11%), significance (~ 7%) and the quality of sound (~ 5%).

Étromm, as in Scottish Gaelic, predominantly characterizes the quality of movement (~ 44%) and is also frequently used to describe density (~ 15%), emotional impact (~ 13%), weight (~ 13%) and severity (~ 8%).
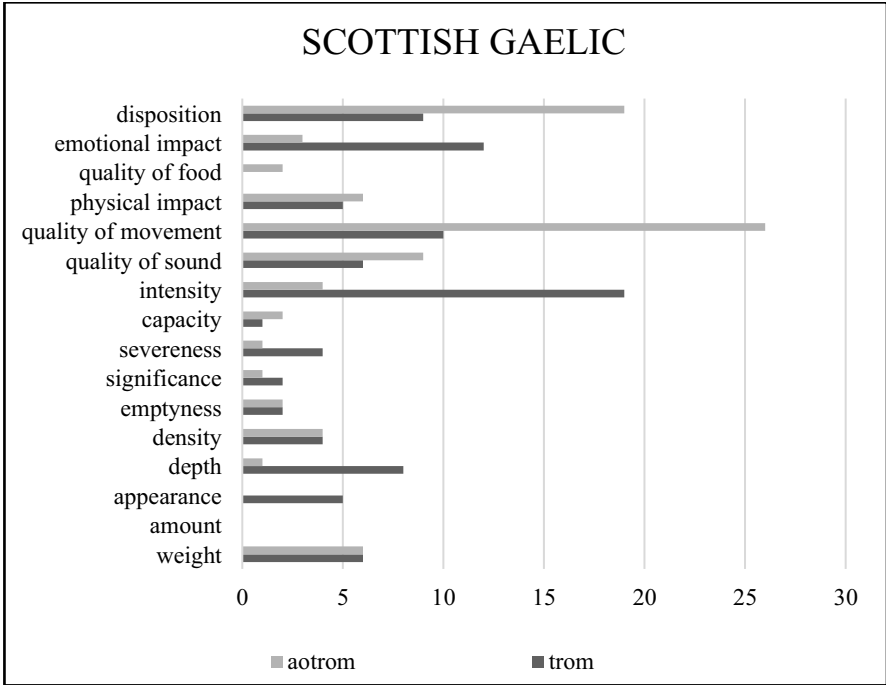
Fig. 4
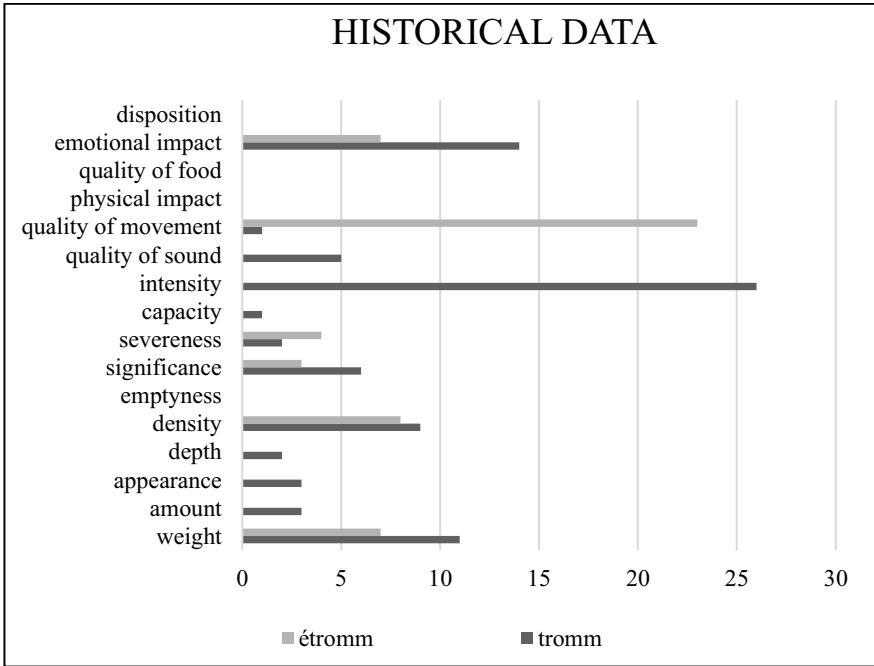
Fig. 5

5. Conclusions

First, both *tromm* and *étromm* occur much more infrequently in their direct physical meanings than in figurative ones that belong to parametrical and emotional domains; collocations with physical objects are outnumbered by collocations with abstract nouns of various classes in all the languages. Therefore, for some purposes is may be reasonable to range senses in a dictionary entry according to their frequency.

Second, the most frequent collocations are ones where *tromm* and *étromm* express the (Anti)Magn lexical function. In second place are the descriptions of movement, and *étromm* is a lot more frequent than *tromm* in this context in all Goidelic languages. Collocations where *tromm* and *étromm* have their direct meanings, 'hard / easy to lift or move', come third; they are followed by collocations with nouns of the {living being} and {psyche} classes, where *tromm* and *étromm* describe an emotional state. The latter are more frequent in Scottish Gaelic than in Irish, but this might be explained by the contents of the Scottish Gaelic corpus, which contains many folklore texts.

Third, *tromm* is widely used as an intensity marker in both modern and historical data, while *étromm* marking 'negative intensity' is typical only for Modern Irish. According to the general semantic structure of these adjectives, Scottish Gaelic appears to be closer to the historical data than Modern Irish, but it might also be explained by the nature of the texts in the corpus of Scottish Gaelic, and by the scarcity of historical data. The counts of each collocation and sense are given in Appendices I and II respectively.

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Appendix I

Collocation	Examples	Mod. Irish	Scot. Gaelic	Hist. data	Total
abstract notion	sin, crime, punishment, hardship, thought, atmosphere	20	20	37	77
activity	drinking, work, fight	28	29	13	70
atmospheric condition	heat, air	2	0	0	2
colour	purple, yellow	8	0	0	8
container	eyes, pocket, hand	2	4	0	6
emotion	love, hatred, fear, grief	1	1	3	5
food	lunch, food	2	2	0	4
group of people	host, army	1	0	2	3
layer	coat, cloak, dress, curtain, fabric, type, line	23	4	3	30
living being	<personal name>, he, she, me, you, man, woman, girl, youth, dog	10	35	5	50
locomotion	step, walk, tread	2	34	7	43
machine	gun, ship, engine	6	6	2	14
money	fine, debt, tax, investment	7	0	0	7
physical object	shoes, furniture, load, shell	31	15	25	71
physical phenomenon	snow, rain	14	7	9	30
psyche	heart, mind, head	5	7	0	12
quality	dyed, sparse	4	0	1	5
sleep	sleep, nap	4	9	2	15
sound	tune, voice, shout, music, whistle	6	15	4	25
substance	fog, liquid, hair	20	4	14	38
Total		**196**	**192**	**127**	**515**

Appendix II

Domain	Meaning			Mod. Irish		Scot. Gaelic		Hist. data		Total	
		tromm	**étromm**	**t**	**é**	**t**	**é**	**t**	**é**	**t**	**é**
Experiential	weight	hard to move	easy to move	13	13	6	6	11	7	30	26
Parametrical	amount	big in amount	small in amount	8	0	0	0	3	0	11	0
	appearance	bulky	fine, delicate	4	1	5	0	3	0	12	1
	depth	deep	not deep	4	0	8	1	2	0	14	1
	density	dense, thick	thin	15	29	4	5	9	8	28	41
	emptiness	full	empty	1	1	2	2	0	0	3	3
	significance	grave, serious	insignificant	6	2	2	1	6	3	14	6
	severeness	harsh, severe	mild	2	0	4	1	2	4	8	5
	capacity	high-capacity	low-capacity	3	0	1	2	1	0	4	2
	intensity	intense	weak, not intense	20	20	19	4	26	0	65	24
	quality of sound	loud and unpleasant	quiet and pleasant	2	4	6	9	5	0	13	13
	quality of movement	moving slowly and with difficulty	moving fast and without difficulty	3	8	10	26	1	23	14	55
	quality of colour	dark	pale	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Psycho-physiological	physical impact	tiresome	unfatiguing	5	3	5	6	0	0	10	9
	quality of food	hard to digest	digestible	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4
Emotional	emotional impact	oppressive, hard to bear	pleasant, comfortable	6	3	12	3	14	7	32	13
	disposition	sad, oppressed	cheerful, light-hearted	3	5	9	19	0	0	12	24
Other	–	weighed down	–	1	–	0	–	5	–	6	–
	–	pregnant	–	1	–		–	3	–	5	–
Total				**99**	**98**	**93**	**87**	**90**	**52**	**281**	**235**

THE SEMANTICS OF *TRWM* IN MIDDLE WELSH PROSE

ELENA PARINA

1. Introduction.

Like its Goidelic cognate *trom*, analysed in Dereza (this volume), Welsh *trwm* is highly polysemous.[1] In contrast to Dereza's more general approach, I discuss here in detail the usage of this adjective in one relatively short period, based on the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 corpus (Luft et al. 2013; henceforth WP). In order to make the Goidelic and Welsh data comparable, I analyse my data using the same classification of senses as Dereza. Despite some difficulties arising from the structure of the corpus used, I discuss the frequency of the usage within the four domains: experiential, parametrical, psycho-physiological and emotional. The last domain is the main focus of my attention due to the diversity of constructions in which *trwm* is thus used. I end by drawing some conclusions concerning the use of Celtic data in lexical typology.

2. Data

By taking all the morphological forms of *trwm* from the WP wordlist, 224 examples were gathered. I reduced the number by counting as a single example identical sentences from different manuscript witnesses of the same text (such as *Gereint*, *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn* or *Ystoria Lucidar*). Law texts and translations of *Historia Regum Britanniae* (different versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*) are methodologically difficult, since we have to define what a 'text' is. In the case of the redactions of the law

texts, labelled in the Corpus as different texts, I followed this practice and counted identical examples within one redaction as one, but if the same example was found in two different redactions, I counted it as two. For *Brut y Brenhinedd* I chose to use the classification of versions proposed in Sims-Williams (2011: 13; see also Sims-Williams 2016). Accordingly, we have six versions in WP, since I counted identical examples within a single version as one, but as two if they were from two different versions. This reduced the number of examples to 116. I am aware that this procedure is far from perfect, but it was important to reduce the number of identical examples from *Brut y Brenhinedd*: otherwise the instances from a body of texts which surpasses in its popularity all other Middle Welsh texts would confuse attempts to compare the frequency of certain senses.[2]

3. Semantic classification of usages.
In what follows I retain the numbering of semantic groups and rubrication used by Dereza (this volume) to enhance comparison with the Irish data. This leads to gaps in my numeration.

1. Experiential domain
1.1. Weight + physical object

In this domain *trwm* characterises the weight of a physical object and means 'hard to lift or move'. We find twenty-three examples of *trwm* with this sense. Here is an example from *Ystoriau Saint Greal*:

(1) *ac yn ymyl porth y dref ef a vlina6d galaath rac trymet oed y tabyl yn p6yssa6 arna6*

(NLW Peniarth 11: 108r)[3]

And near the gate of the town Galaath became tired, so heavily did the table press upon him.

(Williams 1987: 544)

A person can also be an object that is hard to move, as seen here in *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*:

(2) *Sef a wnaeth bo6n yna dachymygu kelwyd a dywedut ry dr6m 6yf i ac ny diga6n e hunan yn d6yn a dabre ditheu o'e gymorth ef.*

(NLW Peniarth 5: 127r)

[2] I am fully aware that there are alternatives to this methodology: cf., e.g., works on the thirteenth-century prose corpus (Isaac et al. 2013) ignoring multiple occurrence of the same texts, such as Höijer (2014) and Griffith (2017).
[3] Examples are quoted from WP unless otherwise specified. In examples from WP, word-division and punctuation are often modified. Translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

Then Bown plotted deceit and said: I am too heavy and he cannot carry [me] himself, but come to his help.

Cf. in French:

Boefs le oi si prent a degaber;/ Boefs li ad dist: "Beau duz sire eher,/ jeo sui si pesaunt que il ne me poet porter,/ mes, sire, si vits plest, car li venez eider."

(Stimming 1899: 42)

Boeve heard him and set out to fool him; Boeve said to him: "My dear, gentle lord, I am so heavy, he can't carry me; but, my lord, please come and help him."

(Weiss 2008: 45)

The majority of the objects in this group are weapons. These fall into two categories, one being different types of weapons (swords or sticks), and the other the set phrase *arfau trwm* (or *arfau trymyon*). I will start with the first one.

   Bown de Hamtwn provides an example where the difficulty for a person to carry and move this object is made clear (as in the previous example, we have *trwm* for the French *pesaunt* (Stimming 1899: 29)):

(3) *ry anesm6yth y6 dy varch di a ry dr6m y6 dy gledyf. ac 6rth hynny mi a baraf yt palfrei esm6yth a chledyf ysgafyn megys y gellych yn ddir6ystyr kerdet ragot.*

(NLW Peniarth 5: 125r)

your horse is too restless and your sword is too heavy, and therefore I will arrange for you a gentle palfrey and a light sword so that you will be able to proceed unhindered.

But *trwm* can also be one of the standard epithets for a sword or another kind of weapon, also met with in poetry, as discussed by Day (2010: 308, n. 667, 354). *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* provides a prose example:

(4) *A chledyf mawr **trwm** trichanawl yn y law*

(Richards 1948: 13)

And he had a large, heavy, triple-grooved sword in his hand

(Davies 2007: 221)

Most frequent in this category is the set phrase *arfau trwm* (or, with agreement, *arfau trymyon*).

(5) *Ac y'r lle yd oed y uarch y doeth gereint, ac yd oed y uarch yn gyweir o arueu **tr6m** ystrona6l gloy6.*

(Thomson 1997: 26)

Geraint came to where his horse was, and his horse was equipped with foreign, heavy, shining armour.

(Davies 2007: 159)

This formula is discussed by Day (2010: 486-7, n. 271) and earlier in detail in Reck (2010: 112-3), who suggests that the references to heavy armour as foreign and outlandish indicate that it was "considered (and perhaps deliberately so, if it was regarded as a luxury item) as a foreign element in Welsh culture" (Reck 2010: 113).

2. Parametrical domain

Most often in this domain, *trwm* functions as an intensifier, or, in the terminology of Igor Mel'čuk, has the value of the lexical function Magn (see Mel'čuk 1998: 32ff).

2.3. Sleep

Sleep is characterized by the adjective *trwm* five times in different texts, and is here cited from *Brut y Brenhinedd*:

(6) *ac ual yd oed yn r6yga6 moroed gyt ac aneiryf o logheu mal a6r hanner nos y dyg6yda6d hun trom ar arthur.*

(NLW Peniarth 46: 300)

and as he was splitting seas with a multitude of ships, at midnight deep sleep overcame Arthur.

Cf. in Latin:

Dum autem innumeris nauibus circumsaeptus prospero cursu et cum gaudio secaret, quasi media hora noctis instante grauissimus sompnus eum intercepit.

(HRB X 164: pp. 222-3)

While he was ploughing the waves with his huge fleet, enjoying safe passage, at about midnight he fell into a deep sleep.

It is worth noting that in Modern Welsh *trwm* is still the default intensifier for sleep: cf. Griffiths, Jones (1995), s.v. *sleep*.

2.4. Density + layer, substance: 'dense, thick'

The combination of *trwm* with substances having comparatively great physical weight or density, could be also included in the first experiential domain, even though no experience of movement is involved. However, in order to maintain coherence with Dereza (this volume) I will discuss such examples here. Four examples of such a kind are found in our corpus, all in *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh translation of *Imago mundi* by Honorius of Autun (see Lewis & Diverrès 1928; Falileyev 2010; Petrovskaia 2013). In three cases we see here the comparative weight of substances (earth against other elements or saltwater against freshwater), which determines the lower position of the heavier substance: Welsh *trwm* and *ysgafn* correspond in each case to Latin *gravis* and *levis* respectively.

> (7) *A chanys trymaf onadunt yw y dayar, y mae yn issaf, a'r tan, kanys yscawnaf yw, a achub y lle uchaf.*
>
> (Lewis & Diverrès 1928: 25)
>
> And since earth is the heaviest of them [*sc.* the elements] it is the lowest, and fire, since it is the lightest, occupies the highest place.

The last example in this category is a combination of *trwm* with blood in the text *Rhinweddau Bwydydd* (see Parina 2015; Parina, fc.). What is interesting about this example is the presence of two different adjectives in two manuscript witnesses of the text. While Rawlinson B 467 uses *trwm*, Hafod 16 uses *tew* 'thick, fat'. In the Latin text as we know it there is no equivalent for these adjectives. It is noteworthy that this 'heavy blood' is related to melancholia, the state of being weighed down with sadness or weariness, which we shall see in the fourth domain.

> (8) *kic pob g6ydl6dyn anhoff y6 meithrin g6aet* **tr6m** *a melancoli a 6na, goreu hagen onadunt y6'r ierchot a'r ysgyuarnogot.*
>
> (Oxford Rawlinson B 467: 15r)

Cf.:

> *Kic pob gwydludyn anoff yw, meithrin* **gwaet tew** *a malencoli a wna, dyeithyr ohonunt goreu kic jyrchot ac yskyuarnogot.*
>
> (Hafod 16; Jones 1955: 62)
>
> The meat of all wild animals is undesirable, fostering thick blood and causing melancholia, but of these the best is the meat of roebucks and hares.
>
> (Jones 1955: 63)

Omnis caro silvestris inlaudabilis est, melancolici sanguinis generativa;
quibus tamen melior est capreolina et leporina.

(Ostermuth 1919: 41)

2.6. Significance + abstract notion: 'grave, serious'

This Magn sense is quite frequent in our sample: the combination with
'disease' is found nine times; 'crime' twice; 'sin' twice; and 'insult' once. I
quote here from *Rhinweddau Bwydydd* and then *Brut y Brenhinedd*
(Dingestow version):

(9) *Berwr, gwressawc a sych ynt; todi y fleuma a wnant a'r vygodorth*
drom a wnant.

(Jones 1958: 90-1)

Cresses are hot and dry; they will break up phlegm and heavy
flatulence.

Nasturcium calidum est et siccum, flegma viscosum dissolvit et
ventositatem grossam.

(Ostermuth 1919: 28)

(10) *Ac eu herlit a vynassei vthyr megys y dechreussei ac y buassei*
darpar ganta6. Ac eissoes ny's gad6ys y wyrda ida6. kanys trymach uu
y heint arna6. A guannach no chynt uu guedy y uudugolyaeth honno.

(NLW 3036 (Mostyn 117), p. 188)

And Uther menaced to pursuit them as he began and as was his intent;
however, his noblemen did not permit him, because his disease was
more severe. And after this victory he was weaker than before.

In Latin we find the same phrase: *quia eum grauior infirmitas post*
uictoriam occupauerat (HRB IX 142: p. 597, Reeve & Wright 2007: 190-
3); here are examples from *Llyfr Blegywryd* and *Ystoria Lucidar*:

(11) *Teir kyflafan, os gwna dyn yn y wlat, y dyly y vab colli tref y tat o'e*
hachaws o gyfreith: llad y arglwyd, a llad y penkenedyl, a llad y
teispantyle, rac trymet y kyflafaneu hynny.

(Williams & Powell 1961: 108)

Three felonies which, if a person commit in his own country, his son is
on that account to lose by law his patrimony: the killing of his lord,
and the killing of his chief of kindred, and the killing of the defender of
his home, because of the gravity of those felonies.

(Richards 1954: 102)

(12) *Ae gorthr6m pecha6t? pecha6t dan wybot y vot yn becha6t. ystrymach no'r holl vyt*

<div align="right">(Oxford Jesus College 119: 26r)</div>

[Disciple] Is sin very heavy? [Teacher] Sin, with consciousness that it is sin, is heavier than the whole world

<div align="right">(Williams 1892: 696)</div>

D. Est grave peccare? – M. Minimum peccatum scienter commissum gravius est toto mundo.

<div align="right">(Lefèvre 1954: 406)</div>

2.7. Severeness + abstract notion: 'harsh, severe'

Similar is the combination of *trwm* with nouns meaning 'punishment' (four times) or 'vengeance'. We may consider an example from *Purdan Padrig*:

(13) *Kann gwneuthum i godyant y Duw kymeint a hynny, minneu a gymeraf benyt a vo trymach no'r holl benytyeu ereill.*
<div align="right">(Williams 1973/1974: 160)</div>

Since I did a wrong so great to God, I will take penance that will be heavier than all other penances.

Cf. the Latin text provided by Caerwyn Williams:

*Dum, ut asseris, factorem meum in tantum offensum habeam, penitentiam omnibus penitentiis **grauiorem** assumam.*
<div align="right">(Williams 1973/1974: 161)</div>

2.9. Intensity + activity, feeling, physical phenomenon, quality: 'intense / weak, not intense'

This is one of the most frequent senses in our sample, and there are two types of phrase.
    In the first, *trwm* refers to blows or strikes (eight times). Seven examples are found in *Ystoriau Saint Greal*, paired three times with the adjective *creulawn* 'cruel'.

(14) *Kei eissyoes a roi idaw ef dyrnodeu creulawn trymyon pan y godiwedei.*
<div align="right">(NLW Peniarth 11: 239v)</div>

Kei however gave him cruel, heavy blows, when he overtook him.

Cf. the French, *Perlesvaus*, line 7667:

> *e Kex li done de l'espee granz cox.*
>
> (Reck 2010: 187, n. 155)

> and Kei deals him great buffets of his sword.
>
> (Reck 2010: 187, n. 155)

Reck notes that in this text blows tend to be described in this way "irrespective of the vocabulary employed by the French original" (Reck 2010: 187): her thorough analysis of scenes of combat in other texts (and the results of searching WP) permit the claim that this phrase belongs to the characteristic style of the translator of *Ystoriau Saint Greal*.

In the same way, the phrase *aerfa drom* seems to occur particularly often in *Brut y Brenhinedd* in the Dingestow version. Of the total combinations of *trwm* with battle (nine instances), eight are found in BB, and five in the Dingestow version, where it is used as means of brief reference to a hard battle, normally described at much greater length in the Latin original. Here I cite the Dingestow *Brut*:

> (15) *Ac yna y dodet y lleuein ma6r a'r gorderi. Ac y bu **aerua drom** o pop parth.*
>
> (NLW 3036 (Mostyn 117): 21)

> And then there was a great cry and noise and a severe battle from each part.

> *Tunc oritur clamor inter diuersas gentes, tunc crebri ictus inferuntur, tunc in utraque parte fit caedes dirissima.*

> Then shouts arose from the contending armies, blows were redoubled and there was terrible slaughter on both sides.
>
> (HRB I 18: 382; Reeve & Wright 2007: 24-5)

Although the scope of this article encompasses only the WP corpus, it should be mentioned that in Welsh poetry of the Middle Ages we also find frequent instances of *trwm* denoting battle (seven of thirty-six examples in the Hengerdd (cf. Isaac 2001); three of thirty-seven examples in the works of Beirdd y Tywysogion).[4] We may consider 'Llym Awel':

> (16) *ry dieigc glev o lauer **trum***
>
> (EWSP 455, 502)

> A brave warrior can escape from many a battle

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[4] I am indebted to Dr Ann Parry Owen for providing the data from the concordance.

3. Psycho-physiological domain

Usages considered in this domain are related to physiology and unpleasant feelings.

3.2. Quality of food + food: 'hard to digest'

One such example is found in our sample, from the above-mentioned text *Rhinweddau Bwydydd*. Note here again the connection to the emotional domain.

> (17) *Kic eidyon, praff y mac a thrwm ac anawd y dodi, a melancoli a wna.*
> (Oxford Rawlinson B 467: 13v)

> Beef is strong nourishment and heavy and difficult to digest; it causes melancholia.
> (Jones 1955: 61)

> *Bovina caro multum est nutritiva et grossa et ad digerendum dura et melancoliam generat.*
> (Ostermuth 1919: 40)

4. Emotional domain
4.1. Emotional impact + abstract notion : 'oppressive, hard to bear'

One would expect that the metaphorical use of *trwm* with abstract notions in the emotional domain denoting something causing mental oppression would be quite frequent, the shift being so direct and transparent. The Irish data analysed by Dereza include such examples (see 4.1. in Dereza, this volume). In English we have *heavy news* or *heavy silence*, and in Russian this use is quite frequent: cf. *тяжелый разговор* 'difficult, distressing, sore conversation', *тяжелое известие* 'sad news' (Kustova 2004: 299). Surprisingly, our Middle Welsh prose sample provides no such examples. There are, however, plenty of examples in other parts of the emotional domain.

4.2. Disposition + human being, psyche: 'sad, oppressed'

In our sample *trwm* is used in this domain 33 times. Interestingly it is not just combinations with nouns that we are dealing here with, but rather more complex constructions which will be analysed in the following.

4.2.1 *bod* + *TRWM* + poss + 'mind' *gan* X

This construction is found eight times, and the range of words which I label 'mind' is diverse. *Meddwl, ansawdd, bryd* (twice), *modd* and *hynt* are found, and also the doublets *meddwl a chalon, meddwl a bryd*. Cf. *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*:

(18) *a thr6m oed genthi y challon a'e med6l a dechreu c6ynuan awnaeth hi*

(NLW Peniarth 5: 133r)

and heavy was her heart and thought and she started complaining

The adjective itself is also often part of a doublet: *trwm a gofidus*, *trwm a thost*, *trwm a thrist* (twice, once in combination with the third adjective *amharchus*). Here I cite *Ystoriau Saint Greal*:

(19) *phan gigleu y marcha6c hynny ef a uv dr6m a thrist ac amharchus gantha6 y hynt hyt na wydyat beth a wnaei. ac ymchoelut drachefyn ymeith a oruc ef.*

(NLW Peniarth 11: 101v)

And when the knight heard that, he was sad and sorrowful, and ashamed of his state, so that he did not know what he should do; and he returned back.

Doubling of the whole structure is also possible, as here from *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*:

(20) *G6edy gwelet o Josian ada6 garsi o'e gwarchad6 hi. tr6m oed genthi y bryt a dr6c oed y chyssyr.*

(NLW Peniarth 5: 131v)

After Josian saw that Garsi was left to guard her, her mind was heavy and her spirit was sad.

Josian, la pucele o le cors honuré,/ vist k'ele dust estre si agardé,/ mult en fu dolent e desheyté.

(Stimming 1899: 60)

Josiane, the maiden famous for her beauty, saw she was to be closely watched, and it made her very miserable and sad.

(Weiss 2008: 54)

An intermediate step between the construction discussed above and the construction in which *trwm* is used as noun is probably found in the next example, in combination with the noun *peth* 'thing'. Consider this, from *Ystoria Bown*:

(21) *y'm kyffes heb y bo6n. llyna **beth tr6m a ffeth tost gennyf** i bot yn gymeint dy newyn di a hynny.*

(NLW Peniarth 5: 133r)

By my confession, said Bown, it is a sad and bitter thing to me that your hunger is as great as that.

'Damisele,' dist Boves, "si damedeu me ament! / il me peyse mult, ceo sachez verement["]

(Stimming 1899: 63)

'Lady,' said Boeve, 'God help me, I am very sorry for it – be sure of that.'

(Weiss 2008: 56)

4.2.2. *bod trwm gan* X

The construction *bod trwm gan* X is used 14 times, as here from *Ystoriau Saint Greal*:

(22) *Pan deuthum i y 6rtha6 ef heb·y la6nslot yd oed yn iach. a phei g6ypei ef dy vot ti ual yd 6yt ef a vydei dr6m **gantha6 ef a chan y brenhin**.*

(NLW Peniarth 11: 257r)

When I came from him, says Lancelot, he was well, and if he knew that thou art, as thou art, he would be grieved, and the King also.

(Williams 1987: 698)

Here again, doubling on several levels is possible; for example, the whole phrase may be doubled:

(23) *A minheu pann gigleu y gouut a oed arnat, trwm uu gennyf, a doluryaw a wneuthum*

(Thomson 1957: 22)

And when I heard of your affliction, I was saddened, and distressed.

(Davies 2007: 2)

Alternatively, we may find doubling of the adjective: e.g., *trwm a thrist* (three times), *trwm a thruan*, *dolur a thrwm*. Compare from *Peredur*:

(24) *Yr pan y'th weleis gyntaf yd wyf y'th garv. **a dolur yw gennyf a thrwm** gwelet ar was kyn vonedigeidiet a thydy y dihenyd a wneir arnat ti avory.*

(NLW Peniarth 7: 10v)

Since I first saw you, I have loved you. And it pains and distresses me to see a lad as noble as you suffer the death that will be done to you tomorrow.

(Vitt 2010: 171)

In the *White Book of Rhydderch* version we see, "a thost yw gennyf" (Goetinck 1976: 37).

The synonyms used in doublets or variant readings from other manuscripts help us to pinpoint with more accuracy the emotion denoted. While in most cases it is sadness, a similar construction *trymach gennyf i* definitely does not mean 'it is sadder', but, as Davies translates, "more tiresome":

(25) *'Y rof i a Duw,' heb ef, 'ys trymach genyf i noc a dyweit y gwyr na thewy di vrthyf i ac na bydy vrth uyg kyghor.'*

(Thomson 1997: 29)

'Between me and God,' he said, 'more tiresome to me than the men's words is the fact that you will not keep quiet for me, nor do as I tell you.'

(Davies 2007: 160)

Geraint says this to Enid, who is warning him about knights on their way, though he has asked her not to say a single word. We understand that it is not sadness he expresses by "trymach" because in the same situation later his emotions are described thus: "Glaschwerthin digius engiriawlchwerw a oruc Gereint" (Thomson 1997: 30) – "Geraint gave an angry, sarcastic, horrible, hateful laugh" (Davies 2007: 161).

4.2.3. SUBJ + cymryd + yn drwm ar + 3Sg/Pl

The final construction is SUBJ + *cymryd* + *yn drwm ar* + 3Sg/Pl // *trwm y kymerth X ar* + 3Sg/Pl, found five times. It occurs three times in *Ystoria Dared*, once in *Brut y Brenhinedd* and once in *Buchedd Mair Fadlen.* Here I cite from *Ystoria Dared*:

(26) *A **thr6m** y kymerth Jason a'e gedymdeithon arnunt greulonder Lammedon vrenhin.*

(Red Book of Hergest: 1r)

And Jason and his companions became grieved because of the cruelty of King Lammedon.

It may be of significance that each time I was able to track the wording in the Latin original, it had the set phrase *graviter ferre* (cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *graviter*: 'with reluctance, pain or displeasure; (esp.) [grav]iter ferre (accipere, habere, tolerare)*, to take (something) ill, to be grieved or offended at'). Thus, the source for example above is:

*Iason er qui cum eo venerant **graviter tulerunt** crudelitatem Laomedontis*

(Meister 1873: 4)

Jason and those who came with him were offended by the cruelty of Laomedon

My suggestion is that this construction is based on the Welsh: this would be consistent with previous examples from the emotional domain, but here there is also interference from Latin in the use of the verb.

The last usage of *trwm* in the emotional domain is its application to a person or group of persons directly, where in our sample it refers to inactivity, probably both morally and physically. In *Wyth Rhan Pob Dyn*, a translation of a text labelled often *De homo octipartitus*,[5] the Latin *piger* is translated with a Welsh doublet *llesc a thrwm*:

(27) *Os o'r daear y bydd y rann vwyaf ohonaw, llesc vyd a thrwm*
(Hafod 16: 96)

If the greatest part of him is of the earth, he will be languid and heavy.
(Jones 1959: 383)

Si de limo terre supertraxerit, erit[que] piger in omni parte.
(Förster 1907: 408)

In some manuscripts of the Dingestow version of BB, *y trymyon uileinllu* stands for *miserrimus uulgum*:

(28) *Ac ny orffowyssynt y gelynyon o u6r6 agheuolyon ergytyeu yn eu plith. Ac o u6r[6] bacheu g6rthuinya6c 6rth linyneu. Ac yuelly y trymyon uileinllu o'r kestyll ac o'r kaeroed a tynnynt hyt y lla6r.*[6]
(NLW 3036 (Mostyn 117): 111)

And the enemies stopped not to deliver deathly blows in their midst and to throw barbed hooks on the ropes; and so they dragged the miserable peasants from [the walls of] the castles and fortresses down to the ground.
Interea non cessant uncinata hostium tela, quibus miserrimum uulgus de muris trahebatur et solo allidebatur.
(HRB VI, 66; Reeve & Wright 2007: 114-5)

At the same time the enemy ceaselessly used hooked weapons to drag the wretched herd off the walls and dash them to the ground.

The adjective under scrutiny was probably not the choice of the translator of the Dingestow version, since in the earlier manuscript we find *trueinnyon*, a more fitting equivalent to *miserrimus*:

Ac ny orffovyssei y gelynyon o wurv agheuolyon ergydyeu yn eu plith ac o wurv bacheu gvrthuynyavc vrth linynneu, ac yuelly tynnu y trueinnyon uileinllu hyt y llavr o'r kestyll ac o'r kaeroed.
(Lewis 1975: 83)

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[5] See Förster 1907-8; Tristram 1975.

[6] The syntax of this phrase is quite peculiar. [M]ileinllu is interesting as an example of a collective noun (cf. Poppe 2015); the adjective-noun sequence and congruence are characteristic of a translation style found in the Brutiau, as shown by Nurmio (2015: 169-71).

However, this discrepancy between the earlier and later manuscripts is no obstacle, but rather an indication that *trwm* was actively used in this domain.

It should be noted that in the early poetry these usages of *trwm* referring to the person directly and not his/her mind or state are much more frequent. Cf. the famous example from 'Cân yr Henwr':

(29) *wyf keuyngrwm. wyf **trwm** wyf truan*

(EWSP 416, 475)

      I am hunch-backed, depressed and wretched

5. Outside of the analysed domains

A specific usage for Welsh is the phrase *sillaf drom*, a syllable "containing a short vowel" (GPC online, s.v. *trwm*): there are three examples in the Red Book of Hergest and in Peniarth 20. For example, from *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*:

(30) *Sillaf drom a uyd pan uo dwy o'r kytseinanyeit vnry6 yn y diwed, ual y mae gwenn, llenn.*

(Williams & Jones 1934: 2)

      A heavy syllable is when there are two equal consonants in the end, as in *gwenn, llenn*.

Cf. also ***trwm ac ysgafn***: a fault in Welsh prosody consisting of an incorrect rhyme between a short and a long syllable (GPC online, s.v. *trwm*).

4. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to analyse the use of *trwm* on the basis of the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 project data. This data dictates that some of the senses analysed in GPC (s.v. *trwm*), like 'deaf, impaired (of hearing)' or '(heavily) pregnant (esp. of an animal)' and many others are unattested. Probably the relative scarcity of medieval data will not allow us to see the development of the polysemy of *trwm* in full detail. For the earlier period, I could only comment briefly on a few aspects of the usage of *trwm* in poetry, but before I leave this topic to be discussed elsewhere, I would like to draw attention to the following phenomenon.

Due to the importance of ambiguity and polysemy in Welsh poetry (cf. Johnston 2008), in at least five of the twenty-seven poems of Beirdd y Tywysogion where *trwm* is used, this adjective is used twice or more within a few lines, with the poets using a wide range of its senses. We may consider, for example Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, 'Canu i Ddewi':

(31) *O'r daw llyghes **drom**, **dr6m** y geiryeu*

<div align="right">(Owen 1991/1992: 77)</div>

If a heavy fleet comes [with] terrifying greetings

Here we see first *trwm* used with *llyghes*, that is a fleet that can transport a lot of weight (parametrical domain), and again in the same line used with *geiriau* 'words', which we could paraphrase as 'causing unpleasant feelings' (emotional domain).

Comparison with the article of Dereza (this volume) shows how much resemblance there is between Irish in different stages of its development and the language of Middle Welsh prose. The question is how to explain this similarity. In a discussion of another case of polysemy in Irish and Welsh in Parina (2015: 24), I found very useful the following remark of Anna Zalizniak and her colleagues: "It is widely accepted that two languages can be similar in a certain aspect due to (a) inheritance, (b) contact, (c) universal tendencies, and (d) coincidence. Consequently, the presence in two languages of realizations of the same semantic shift can also be triggered by one of these four factors" (Zalizniak et al. 2012: 636).

A study of Breton and Cornish data would be required before claiming that some of the shifts are inherited from the common Celtic ancestor. On the other hand, many of the shifts that are shared between Celtic languages could be explained by universal tendencies. This is true for the emotional domain in the first place. Goddard and Wierzbicka (2007: 786) included in their definition of 'heavy' that a person thinking of a heavy object "can't not feel something bad in their body because of it". The concept of heaviness thus includes bad sensations. We find examples of the usage of 'heavy' in the emotional domain not only in European languages, but also, e.g., in Chinese (cf. Kholkina 2014: 305).

Language contact is another source for identical shifts. Especially interesting in this context is translational literature, since "translation constitutes a particular type of language contact, where the source language (SL) can have an influence on the recipient language (RL) as norms or structures are taken over in the process of translation" (Kranich et al. 2011: 11). In this discussion I have tried to identify, whenever possible, the Latin or French source text for translations. In many of the cases the equivalent demonstrated the same polysemy (*gravis* is very often the equivalent for Welsh *trwm* in parametrical and emotional domains). But does that mean that Welsh collocations are products of language contact or more specifically calques? Given the existence of the same collocations in languages with no contact with Welsh, such as Russian, we could rather suggest that many of these similarities can be explained by universal tendencies. There are however examples of specific

constructions where the hypothesis of contact origin seems to be plausible. In the case of the construction *trwm a gymerth X_1 (Y) ar X_1* its usage in translational texts exclusively and the closeness to the Latin construction *graviter ferre* suggests the possibility of influence through contact.

Small corpora definitely have their disadvantages, but being able to look at all the examples individually and understanding the texts enables the identification of individual factors, such as the preferences of some translators for certain expressions (like *dyrnodeu trymyon* in *Ystoriau Saint Greal*). Identifying the importance of such individual style is a further significant outcome of the study and suggests a direction for future research.

The last methodological consideration concerns historical origin and development and the synchrony of the structure of the analysed polysemy. Neither Dereza nor I propose any explanations for how these different usages are connected. Kustova (2004: 279-308) gives an interesting analysis of the structure of the polysemy of Russian *тяжелый* 'heavy': the links she proposes between different senses seem plausible, but this analysis may not be transferred to our data since we lack many of the collocations that serve as connecting links between usages attested in Russian and in Welsh and Irish. Is this due simply to the scarcity of data, or do different languages use different sequences of shifts that produce similar polysemy? This is a question whose answer will require lexical typological studies on a much larger scale. What we hope to have produced is a fair analysis of data from languages that are seldom considered in studies in semantic typology, and this is necessary in any linguistics with a bottom-up approach.

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THE TRANSLATION OF THE *SIBYLLA TIBURTINA* INTO MIDDLE WELSH

NELY VAN SEVENTER

0. Introduction

The *Sibylla Tiburtina* is a medieval prophetic text with roots in Late Antiquity. It tells the story of the wise Sybil, who is summoned to the court of the Roman emperor when a hundred of his senators dream the same dream during the same night. Her explanation of this dream is a lengthy prophecy about future kings and their qualities and faults, as well as about the natural disasters and wars the future will bring. The whole culminates in a prophecy about the signs of the Day of Judgment.

The text has a long and complicated history of transmission. Originally written in Byzantine Greek, it has undergone considerable changes since being translated into Latin around the turn of the first millennium. Of this Latin text we have an edition with variants published by Ernst Sackur (1898). More recently, Anke Holdenried has worked extensively on the various versions of the Latin Sybil, and the differences between them, notably in her book *The Sybil and her Scribes* (Holdenried 2006). The first extant vernacular translation is in Norman French and dates from the twelfth century. There are two Middle Welsh versions of this text, one in Peniarth 14, the other in the *Red Book of Hergest* [RB] and the *White Book of Rhydderch* [WB]. In this paper, the latter will be discussed. There are only slight variations between these two versions, and I base my text on RB as edited recently on the *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* project (Luft et al. 2013), with a few variant readings from WB in the same corpus. For the sake of clarity, I have silently amended capitalisation and punctuation.

The Latin source of this translation is unknown, but must, as Marged Haycock has noted (Haycock 2005: 123), have been close to Sackur's text. All translations are my own. In my research I am interested in the translation process of the text from Latin into Middle Welsh, and in this paper I discuss some of the general tendencies of the Welsh translator of *Sibli Ddoet* 'the wise Sybil'.

That the text was translated from Latin, rather than through the intermediary of, for example, Old French, seems to be implied by the presence of Latinisms in the Welsh version. Many of these constructions, however, are just as likely to be renderings of Old French as direct

translations from Latin. For example, in the phrase *qui ergo ex ea nascitur* 'the one then, that will be born from her' (Sackur 1898: 179.26), the Welsh translation (RB 139v: 571, c. 9) is *yr hwnn a aner o honno*. This seems to be a straightforward Latinism,[1] until the Old French is considered, and specifically an Old French version that is very close to the Latin text.[2] This version renders *qui ergo ex ea nascitur* as *cil qui naistera de li* 'the one who will be born from her' (Baron and Haffen 1987: 89.89), which is not only a word-for-word translation of the Latin, but syntactically even closer to the Welsh than the Latin: *cil qui* matches *yr hwnn a* – the subject followed by relative particle or pronoun – while Latin grammar allows for a simple *qui* functioning both as subject and as relative pronoun.

Therefore, in order to establish that we are really dealing with a direct translation from Latin, we have to rule out the possibility of a Romance intermediary, and there is one translating glitch that may help us in this task. In the middle of the 'Kings' list' occupying the middle part of the text, Sybil says in Latin (lines 460, 463): *Et fiet terre motus per loca diversa et insularum civitates (et regiones) demersione dimergentur* (Sackur 1898: 184.5-6) 'and the earth shall tremble in various places and the cities and regions of the islands shall be flooded with floods'.[3] The Old French version translates this phrase correctly as *movemens de terre sera fais par divers lieus, et les cités des illes seront plongiés, par diversion* (Baron and Haffen 1987: 93.231-3) 'the earth will move in different places, and the cities of the islands will be sunk by flooding'. The Welsh text, however, has *ac y kryn y dayar yn amryuaelon leoed, ac ynyssoed a dinassoed a brenhinaethyeu a sodir o voduaeu* (RB 140v: 574.10-12) 'and the earth shall tremble in various places, and islands and cities and kingdoms will be submerged by floods'.[4] The Welsh translator however missed the genitive clause of *insularum civitates* 'the cities of the islands', and replaced this by islands *and* cities. It would be surprising to encounter such a mistake in a translation from French, as les *cités des illes* is not easily mistaken for *les cités et les illes*. *Insularum civitates,* on the other hand, might indeed cause problems, especially if we keep in mind

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[1] Relatives with *yr hwnn* are cited by various scholars to be a marker of translation, but, as Luft argues, they are also found in 'native' texts (Luft 2016: 176).

[2] MS 539, municipal library of Rennes, edition by Baron and Haffen 1987: 87-96.

[3] Although this translation may seem unfortunate, it reflects the Latin where *demersione* and *dimergentur* (sic) are both forms of the verb *demergo* 'to sink, to submerge'. I think the repetitiveness of the phrase is intended, as it mimics certain Hebraisms in the Bible, and thus gives the phrase something of an 'Old Testament' feel, fitting for a prophetess.

[4] These *brenhinaethyeu* 'kingdoms' are a translation of *regiones* 'regions', an addition only found in the Latin manuscripts called D, G and B by Sackur, and may therefore hint towards the source of the Welsh text.

that the ending *-rum* of the genitive was often abbreviated with a shorthand symbol. Our translator might have mistaken the symbol for another, representing *et*. Such a mistake is plausible when translating from Latin, for both the ending *-rum* and the word *et* had so many different abbreviations throughout the centuries and in different countries, that not recognizing one and guessing at another could happen. The same thing doesn't work at all if we consider the text to have been translated from French. Note, too, that the Welsh has kept the Latin word order by putting the 'islands' before the 'cities'.

While comparing the Welsh text with the Latin source text in Sackur's edition, taking into account the variants, certain particularities, or quirks, of the translator appeared and reappeared consistently. Thus we begin to get to know our translator.

1. Grasping grammar

The first thing we might say is that the translator's grasp of Latin grammar seems quite poor. In the translations of passages he did not understand properly, we see three things happening. On occasion, the translation is obviously faulty, where there was probably no awareness of the misunderstanding; in other cases, phrases are omitted, whether consciously or unconsciously; finally, phrases are sometimes altered, seemingly on purpose. The first phenomenon may be demonstrated in two important passages which have been changed due to faulty translation.

The first example forms part of the so-called "Sibylline Gospel", Sibyl's prophecy about the life of Jesus. She delivers this prophecy in front of the 'priests of the Hebrews' (*effeireit gwyr Effrei*), and the following is their answer:

> *Wynteu a dywedassant: "Na chredwn, kanys tystolyaeth a geir a rodes an tadeu ynn..."*
>
> (RB 139v: 571 c.24-26)

> They then said: "we will not believe, because of the testament and word our fathers gave to us […]."

This is a translation of the following Latin passage:

> *At illi dixerunt: "Nos non credemus, quia verbum et testamentum dedit Deus patribus nostris […]."*
>
> (Sackur 1898: 180.7-8)

> And they said: "we for our part will not believe, because of the word and Covenant that God has given to our fathers [...]."

A rodes an tadeu ynn 'that our fathers gave to us' is a significant mistranslation. Instead of God giving a Covenant to their fathers, the Welsh version has their fathers giving a 'testimony' to the Hebrews, due to the translator having skipped over the essential word *Deus* 'God', and changed the case of *patribus* 'to our fathers'. The Welsh version is only possible if *patribus* is taken to be an acting nominative instead of a receiving dative (!). And of course, for the Welsh translation to work, *nostris* 'our' in the genitive would need to be a dative *nobis* 'to us'.

The second example comes from the last section of the *Tiburtina*, the prophecy about the Last Emperor:

> *A'r brenhin hwnnw a vyd a llythyr geyr y vronn yn wastat. Ac yn y llythyr yn yscriuennedic brenhin, ar darestwng idaw pop teyrnas gristonogawl, holl dinassoed ac ynyssed y paganyeit a distriw, ac eu temloed a diwreireida, a'r holl paganyeit a dwc y gret. Ac yr holl temloed y werthuawr groc a dyrcheuir*
>
> <div align="right">(RB 140v 575.14-20)</div>

> And that king will constantly have a document in front of him. And in the document [it is] written [that the] king, in order to submit every Christian kingdom, will destroy all the cities and the islands of the Pagans. And he will demolish their temples and he will lead all the Pagans to the faith. And in all the temples the precious cross will be raised.

Ac yn y llythyr yn yscriuennedic brenhin, ar darestwng 'and in the letter, written, the king, in order to submit', is not idiomatic Welsh: it is in fact incomprehensible. The Latin has in this place *Et ipse rex scripturam habebit ante oculos dicentem*: "*Rex Romanorum omne sibi vindicet regnum christianorum*" (Sackur 1898: 185.8-10), 'And that king will have a writing in front of his eyes, saying: "The king of the Romans shall claim his reign over all the Christians"', which is followed by the account of the destruction of Pagan temples, etc. At first sight, *yscriuennedic* might seem to be a faulty translation of *scripturam*: this accusative singular of *scriptura* 'written text' might have been wrongly taken to be a participle, 'written'. But *scriptura* has already been correctly translated as *llythyr*. It seems, rather, to be translating *dicentem*: this literally means 'saying', but given that it refers to the *scripturam*, it would make sense to translate as 'written'. Therefore, the first part of the phrase, *et ipse rex scripturam habebit ante oculos* 'and this king will have a text before his eyes' has been translated correctly, if freely. The following part, *dicentem*: "*Rex Romanorum...*", 'saying [that] "the king of the Romans..."' is problematic, but we must bear in mind that the medieval text does not have modern

punctuation. The element *dicentem Rex Romanorum* is in the same sequence as Welsh *yscriuennedic brenhin*, where the translator has interpreted the text incorrectly. He has also added an explanatory *ac yn y llythyr* 'and in the text', an attempt to make something understandable out of a phrase which he did not understand himself.

The translator's second tactic for dealing with parts of the text he did not understand, by simply skipping over them, is harder to prove in a short article like this, because every omission on its own could be explained by a skip of the eye, a lack in the source manuscript, or other reasons. However, when one goes through the whole text, it becomes clear that passages of a higher grammatical complexity are by far the ones omitted most often.

The third tactic, consisting of making up a phrase from parts he did understand, is more interesting as it yields some surprising results that may also help us enter into the mindset of our medieval translator.

The following passage is from the description of the dream of the hundred senators:

> *Y nawuet heul oed ry dywyll yn y chylch ogylch, ac yn y pherued un paladyr yn goleuhav*
>
> (RB139r: 571 b.4-6).

> The ninth sun was extremely dark in its entirety, with one spear glowing in its centre.

Yn y chylch ogylch 'in its entirety', is an addition in the Welsh text, as is *yn y pherued* 'in its centre'. The Latin has *unum tantum habens radium fulgentem* (Sackur 1898: 178.26) 'having only one fiery ray'. The verb *habere* is particularly difficult to translate into Welsh, a language with no verb 'to have' (Welsh expresses possession by means of prepositions, e.g. *mae gan y dyn lyfr* 'the man has a book', literally 'there is a book with the man'). In this case, the translator has apparently judged that an adverbial phrase localising the 'fiery ray' and thus avoiding *habere* altogether was his best choice.

2. Writing (Welsh) literature

But in some cases, the translation seems to diverge from the original for literary effect rather than as a result of linguistic difficulties. This may be illustrated by a description of one of the kings in the lengthy middle part of the text, where the Sibyl foretells the coming and going of whole lineages:

> *A hwnnw gwr aflonyd vyd, kadarn yn ymlad, a llawer a gerda o vor a thir. Ac ny cheiff y elynyon le llaw (arnaw[5]). Ac ef a uegys yn dyn deholedic odieithyr y deyrnas, a'e eneit o'r diwed a a y teyrnas Nef ar Duw.*

(RB 140r: 572.17-22)

> And that one will be a restless man, strong in battle, and he will travel a lot on sea and on earth. And his enemies will not get hold of him. And like an exile, he will go out of his kingdom, and his soul will in the end go to heaven, and to God.

Where the Welsh has *aflonydd* 'restless', the Latin has *nimis bellicosus* (Sackur 1898: 182.9) 'extremely warlike'. The main meaning of *aflonydd* lies in the semantic field of 'restless, troubled' or even 'fearful'; 'merciless' is less common.[6] There are other, closer ways to translate 'extremely warlike', but 'restless' goes very well with *llawer a gerda* 'he will travel a lot, will traverse much/many (places)'. This is not altogether precise as a translation: the Latin has *et multum erit persecuturus* (Sackur 1898:182 l. 10) 'he will be pursued, persecuted, a lot'. Although a man fleeing from his persecutors will undoubtedly travel a lot, the Welsh loses a layer of meaning. *Ac ny cheiff y elynyon le llaw arnaw* 'and his enemies will not get hold of him': the Welsh expression is idiomatic, and translates the Latin *et non dabitur in manus inimicorum* (Sackur 1898: 182), 'and he will not be given into the hand of enemies'. Our translator tries his hand at writing literature here, making real Welsh out of the Latin, and the way in which he "recycles" the word *manus* 'hand' in the Welsh idiom *cael lle llaw* 'to get hold', shows a certain wittiness only appreciated when one has access to both the Latin and Welsh texts.

The last part of this little passage is *ac ef a uegys yn dyn deholedic odieithyr y deyrnas a'e eneit o'r diwed a a y teyrnas Nef ar Duw*. The Latin formula is quite different: *et morietur exul extra regnum et anima eius in manu Dei* (Sackur 1898: 182.11-12) 'and he will die in exile from his kingdom, and his soul will be in God's hand'. This is not a mistranslation. It is rather a free rendering, one that transfers the meaning, rather than the actual wording of the phrase. Most of the time, our translator tries to stay as close to the Latin texts as possible, but here in the first part of the passage he comes up with the expression *lle llaw* (one may imagine him being quite pleased with himself), and then he continues in the same free-flowing, but semantically correct vein.

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[5] *Arnaw* features in the White Book, but not in the Red Book.
[6] http://geiriadur.ac.uk, s.v. *aflonydd*.

There are many examples of a more literary style in this text, and many phrases bear witness to a genuine effort not only to translate the text, but to translate it into Welsh – that is to say, to inscribe it in the Welsh literary tradition. For example, in the introduction, where the Sibyl is introduced to the reader, we find our first *nyt amgen*, 'no other' used for 'that is to say, i.e.', which is a Welshism par excellence:

> *Sibli a damgylchyna6d amryuaelon vrenhinaetheu y d6yrein,* nyt amgen: *yr Asia, a gwlat Alexander ma6r, a Galilea, a Cicilia a Phampilia, a Galacia.*
>
> (RB 139r: 571a.6-9)
>
> Sibyl travelled through the various kingdoms of the East, *that is to say*: Asia, the country of Alexander the Great, Galilee, Sicily, Pamphylia, and Galatia.

And after the senators have asked the Sybil to explain their dream to them, she begins, as an answer, her long monologue which makes up most of the rest of the text. This answer is introduced by *a hitheu a dywawt* 'and she said'.

    Hitheu is the conjunctive form of *hi* 'she'. It can be translated 'and she, for her part', which implies often that somebody else spoke first. Latin also has a form with this function. The construction used in the corresponding passage in the Latin text is *illa dixit at eos* 'and she said to them'. In Latin, it isn't necessary to write the personal pronoun, as the person is already reflected in the declination of the verb, so using *illa* also effects a certain emphasis on the person speaking. The Welsh form *hitheu*, though, is stronger in this contrastive emphasis, and is extensively used in native Welsh literature in exactly the same type of situation, where in a dialogue an author wants to clarify who the speakers are.[7]

3. Pious additions
Another quirk of the Welsh *Tiburtina* is the translator's habit of enhancing religious passages (those that pertain to the life of Jesus) with various flourishes. This practice can be exemplified by a long passage from the prediction of the Passion:

> *Ac wynt a rodant idaw bonclusteu o ysgymynyon dwylaw, ac yn y wyneb kyssegredic y poerant poer gwennwynyawl. Ac a dyry ef y geuyn gwerthuawr udunt o'e uadeu, ac yr kymryt amarch y gantunt. Ef a deu.*

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[7] On the function of conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh, see Mac Cana 1990, and more recently Parina 2007.

> *Yn vwyt idaw y rodant bystyl, ac yn diawt idaw gwin egyr a wallonyant.*
> *Ac ar brenn diodeifeint a'e crogant, ac a'e lladant. Ac ny rymhaa udunt*
> *hynny o dim, kanys y trydyd dyd y kyuyt o veirw.*
>
> (RB 139v: 571c.38-571d.4)
>
> And they will give him slaps with detestable hands, and in his holy face
> they will spit venomous spittle. And he will turn his precious back to
> them in forgiveness, and accept disgrace from them. He will be silent.
> And they will serve him gall for food and as a drink they will serve him
> vinegar, and the will crucify him on the tree of passion, and they will kill
> him. And that will not benefit them at all, for on the third day he will rise
> from the dead.

The Latin source text of this passage is a citation from Augustine's *De
Civitate Dei* (Holdenried 2006: 61) which is common to all Latin versions.
The first phrase is a literal translation, albeit a beautifully poetic one. The
second, *Ac a dyry ef.... Ef a deu*, is harder to relate to its Latin source. The
Latin has *dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter dorsum sanctum et colaphos
accipiens tacebit* (Sackur 1898: 180.16-18), meaning 'but he will simply
give his holy back to the whips and, receiving the fists, he will be silent'.

There are small differences in the first part of the phrase. Welsh has
omitted *simpliciter* 'simply', and translated *sanctum* 'holy' as *gwerthuawr*
'precious'. After that, the two phrases – the Latin original and the Welsh
translation – start to differ so much that we may speak of "interpretation"
rather than of "translation". The reference to the whips is omitted in the
Welsh which, instead, adds that Jesus turns his back motivated by
forgiveness. In the Latin, he then receives fists in silence, whereas in the
Welsh, he receives *amarch* 'disgrace' or 'insult' from them. This is a
theological interpretation, stressing Jesus's virtues of forgiveness and
lowliness in a way which is absent from the original version. The last part
of the passage, *ac ar brenn diodefeint a'e crogant* 'and they will crucify
him on the wood of passion' is another interpreting translation. The Latin
simply states *et suspendent eum in ligno* (Sackur 1898: 180.19-20) 'and
they will hang him on wood'. The translator shows his religious
engagement with the event by adding 'passion' and 'to crucify' to the
Sibyl's theologically more neutral account, a neutrality that might have
been deliberate, given that her role is that of the "pagan prophetess", the
one who foretells the miracles of Christ from an outsider's perspective.
[*K*]*yuyt o veirw* 'he will rise from the dead' is another religious formula.
The Latin has *resurget* (Sackur 1898: 180.20), which is the Latin
ecclesiastical formula, but without *a morte* 'from the dead'. The translator
seems, in this section of the prophecy which concerns one of the central
narratives of Christianity, to be led more by his own experience and
knowledge of the subject than by what his exemplar actually states. One

can almost feel his enthusiasm for it, or at least one can imagine the way this passage touches him personally, through the free translation and the liberal use of insertions that strengthen the narrative in general or introduce certain emphases that are absent from the source text.

Most variations between the Latin and Welsh versions are of this order. We have the results of the translator's poor grasp of Latin: grammatical errors, omissions, and "creative translating", meaning that the translator made up phrases from parts of an otherwise ill-understood phrase, thus creating his own meaning. In addition to "creative writing" out of necessity, where the translator seems to guess what a given part should mean, there are also conscious changes. Many of them are there for aesthetic reasons, making the text fit better into the native literary standards, and others are motivated by piety, as we have seen in the passage about the Passion.

All these are very minor changes, when one compares this translation to those of other continental tales, such as *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* (The Tales of the Seven Sages of Rome), translated from the Old French *Sept Sages de Rome*, which lies on the other end of the spectrum, as it has been heavily condensed and has undergone considerable changes (van Seventer 2011), or the three romances from the *Mabinogion*. Sioned Davies has written of the links between the texts in that collection and the oral tradition of storytelling: she remarks that the three romances, although "loose retellings" of the courtly romances of Chrétien de Troyes, are "completely adapted to the native culture, and remain stylistically and structurally within the Welsh narrative tradition" (Davies 2007: xi).

Virtually no such adaptation can be seen here. A reason for this might be that we are dealing with a text which was perceived as religious by the translator, and as Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan writes, staying close to the "essential meaning of the text [was] a particularly important consideration when religious, and especially liturgical, texts were translated" (Lloyd-Morgan 1978: 175).[8]

Whether or not the *Tiburtina* is a religious text or a political one is a matter of controversy: although the text is traditionally seen by scholars as being political in the first instance, placing emphasis on the prophecy about the kings, Anke Holdenried has challenged this view with her thesis that the text is primarily a religious prophecy about the Incarnation of Christ (Holdenried 2006, *passim*). Given the extreme faithfulness towards the source of our translation, especially in the context of other translations of secular material, and the fact that the greatest variation is found in the

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[8] See also a current project on the language of Middle Welsh religious texts (Parina 2016).

religious parts of the text, where the translator goes out of his way to pay homage to the central narrative of Christianity, Holdenried seems to be correct as far as our Middle Welsh translation is concerned – which is of course just one example of one translation, and therefore witness to one approach to a text with a particularly long history of transmission and reinterpretation.

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TRAWSFFURFIADAU GWYN AP NUDD: O LENYDDIAETH GANOLOESOL I GREDOAU NEO-BAGANAIDD

ANGELIKA HEIKE RÜDIGER

Mae nodweddion cymeriadau sy'n cael eu defnyddio mewn rhyddiaith a barddoniaeth am gryn amser wrth gwrs yn newid wrth i'r hanesion gael eu hailadrodd. Bydd y trawsffurfiadau hyn yn amlhau pan fo'r traddodiadau llafar a llenyddol yn effeithio ar ei gilydd, ac mae cymeriad Gwyn ap Nudd (brenin Annwn a brenin y Tylwyth Teg) yn perthyn i'r categori hwn. Mae Gwyn i'w weld yn y traddodiadau rhyddiaith a barddoniaeth o'r canol oesoedd (Bartrum 1993: 351; Foster 1953; Roberts 1980/81; Rüdiger 2012).

Ac yntau wedi ei fabwysiadu gan y mudiad neo-Baganaidd yn hanner cyntaf y ganrif ddiwethaf, caiff ei ddefnyddio mewn credoau sy'n dehongli cymeriadau canoloesol Cymraeg fel hen dduwiau neu dduwiesau (Hutton 1999: 192; Rüdiger 2012: 68-77). Eto, ysgolheigion Cymreig y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg sydd bennaf gyfrifol am ysgogi'r datblygiad hwn sy'n priodoli ystyr newydd i'r cymeriadau. Creffir yn yr ysgrif hon ar y datblygiadau hyn yng nghymeriad Gwyn ap Nudd, o'r testunau hynaf, trwy waith John Rhŷs, hyd Robert Graves a Gerald Gardner a'r credoau neo-Baganaidd.

1. Gwyn ap Nudd yn yr Oesoedd Canol a'r Cyfnod Modern Cynnar
1.1. Gwyn ap Nudd yn Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin
Gwelir Gwyn ap Nudd am y tro cyntaf yng ngherdd XXXIV Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin (LlDC: 71-3). Ysgrifennwyd y llawysgrif tua chanol y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg (Huws 2000: 36-56), ond mae iaith y gerdd – ymddiddan rhwng Gwyddno Garanhir a Gwyn ap Nudd – yn caniatáu ei dyddio i ddiwedd yr unfed ganrif ar ddeg (Rowland 1990: 388-9). Cyferfydd yr arwyr ar ôl brwydr erchyll yn erbyn llu o Eingl-Sacsoniaid, ac yn dilyn sgwrs o bedwar englyn ar ddeg, ceir saith englyn sy'n rhestru tywysogion ac arwyr yr Hen Ogledd a fu farw ar faes y gad. Mae'n debyg bod y rhan hon yn perthyn i gerdd hynafol, ac yma mae Gwyn yn marwnadu arwyr yr Hen Ogledd. Mae'r ddau englyn olaf yn gosod Gwyn y siaradwr byw mewn cyferbyniad eglur â'r arwyr marw, gan adleisio nodweddion adnabyddus galarnadau'r englynion saga (Rowland 1990).

Mae'r ymddiddan yn disgrifio Gwyn ap Nudd fel marchog perffaith, rhyfelwr mawr ac 'arbennic llv' (LlDC: 71.2), sef 'arweinydd byddin'. Disgrifir Gwyn gan ddefnyddio ansoddeiriau a nodweddion yr arwr enbyd: mae'n wrol a dewr, yn farchog ardderchog a chanddo farch gwyn (71.19) a chyfrwy euraid (72.28). Mae'n farchog sy'n parchu'r foneddiges Creiddylad. Gallai ei gyflwyno ei hunan fel 'Brenin Annwn' neu 'Pen Annwn', ond yn hytrach dywed, 'hud im gelwir e guin mab nud./ gorterch creurdilad merch lut.' (71.17-18). Mae disgrifiadau fel hyn o arwyr yn weddol gyffredin: fe'u gwelir hefyd yng ngherddi Aneirin, Canu Llywarch Hen a Chanu Heledd. Gelwir Gwyn ap Nudd yn 'darw trin' (71.1), ac mae'r epithet hwn yn y *Gododdin*, yn disgrifio Eithinyn: 'arderchauc varchawc rac gododin/ eithinyn voleit mur greit tarw trin' (CA: llau 431-2), ac yn 'Enweu Meibion Llywarch Hen': 'Tarv trin ryuel adun' (Rowland 1990: 413.14). Mae *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* yn cynnwys 'Tri Tharw Unben Enys Prydein', a 'Tri Tharw Catuc Enys Prydein' (TYP: 11-13). Disgwylid i arwr fod yn ofnadwy mewn brwydr. Yn y *Gododdin* disgrifir Madog fel hyn (CA: llau 23-6):

> [T]wll tal y rodawr ene klywei
> awr. ny rodei nawd mheint dilynei.
> ny chilyei o gam-hawn eny verei
> weat mal brwyn gomynei gwyr nyt echei.

Mae'r Ymddiddan yn defnyddio geiriau tebyg (LlDC: 72.33-6):

> Gwin ab nut but. bitinaur.
> kint y sirthei kadoet rac carnetaur dy ueirch.
> no bruyn briw y laur.

Mae Gwyn yn mynd ar gefn ceffyl cannaid fel arwyr y Gododdin sy'n mynd ar gefn 'meirch eiliv eleirch' (CA: 1165). Mae eu harfwisgoedd a'u harfau hefyd yn werthfawr a hardd (374-5). Mae'r Ymddiddan yn creu darlun o Gwyn ap Nudd fel y marchog perffaith, gwrol, cywir, sy'n parchu ei foneddiges, ac yn un a allai ymuno'n hawdd â llu enwog y Gododdin, gwrthwynebwyr Lloegr.

Eto, disgrifir Gwyn hefyd fel heliwr goruwchnaturiol nad yw'n aelod o'r gymdeithas ddynol. Mae Gwyn yn sôn am Gaer Vandwy (LlDC: 72.31), sydd hefyd yn y gerdd 'Preiddeu Annwn' (Haycock 2007: 437.42). Hawdd credu y byddai cynulleidfa gyfoes yn ymwybodol o gyd-destun Gwyn ap Nudd, brenin Annwn, ac y byddent yn gwybod bod Gwyn yn rhyfelwr pwerus. Yn wir, gallai ei lu achosi diwedd y byd, yn ôl y chwedl *Culhwch ac Olwen* (CO: 26-7). Felly, y neges amlwg yw nad yw'n bosibl gwrthsefyll yr Eingl-Sacsoniaid: maent yn elyn sy'n medru

gwrthsefyll nerth goruwchnaturiol y milwr perffaith. Golyga hyn na ddylid gweld arweinwyr y Cymry fel rhyfelwyr gwan, hyd yn oed os na fedrent guro'r gelyn o'r dwyrain. Yn ogystal, mae'r gerdd yn uniaethu brwydro yn erbyn yr Eingl-Sacsoniaid â brwydro yn erbyn tynged ei hun: gellir colli brwydr er gwaethaf ymdrechion milwyr Prydain a llu Annwn. Gwelir bod thema'r gerdd yn addas iawn i englynion chwedlonol, cerddi sydd fel rheol yn archwilio gwrthdrawiadau tyngedfennol (Rowland 1990: 2).

1.2. *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Y berthynas rhwng Gwyn ap Nudd a 'Byd yr Herwr'

Y rhyddiaith gynharaf sy'n sôn am Wyn ap Nudd yw *Culhwch ac Olwen*, y mae'r copi cynharaf ohono yn Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch. Ar sail iaith y chwedl, awgrymwyd ar un adeg iddi gael ei hysgrifennu tua 1100 OC (Foster 1953: 199), ond yn fwy diweddar cynigiwyd y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg (Rodway 2005). Yn *Culhwch ac Olwen* mae Gwyn ap Nudd yn heliwr-ryfelwr a chanddo alluoedd hudol. Mae'r golygyddion diweddaraf yn credu mai cythreuliaid yw trigolion Annwn, deiliaid Gwyn ap Nudd, ac mae Plant Annwn yn sicr yn bygwth hanfodion y byd dynol (CO: 26-7).

Clywir yma hefyd am frwydr enwog Gwyn a Gwythyr dros wrthrych eu serch, Creiddylad: rhaid i Gwyn a Gwythyr frwydro bob Calan Mai hyd Ddydd Brawd (CO: 35-6). Mae'r episod hwn yn cynnwys dau fotiff amlwg o straeon y Tylwyth Teg neu blant Annwn. Mae Calan Mai yn gyfnod pan fo nerth Annwn ar ei gryfaf (Owen 1973: 94-5, 168-9; Rhŷs 2012: 20; Jones 1979: 152-3), a chyffredin mewn chwedlau gwerin yw gweld y Tylwyth Teg yn dawnsio ar nos Galan, pan fo'r drysau i'r byd arall ar agor. Yn ogystal, mae tynged yn gallu newid ar ôl blwyddyn: gellir dwyn pobl yn ôl o'r byd arall ar ôl blwyddyn, a gellir newid canlyniadau gweithredoedd (Owen 1973: 37-40, 46). Mae sawl enghraifft o hyn yng Nghainc Gyntaf y Mabinogi, megis y brwydro rhwng brenhinoedd Annwn, priodas Rhiannon, a dwyn ceffylau a phlant (PKM: 1-27). Ond pwysicaf oll yw'r ffaith mai yn *Culhwch ac Olwen* y ceir yr eglurhad gorau mewn unrhyw ffynhonnell fod Gwyn yn cyfateb i Fionn mac Cumhaill: mae'r ffynonellau Gwyddelig yn nodi na roddid morwyn mewn priodas heb yn gyntaf ofyn a fyddai un o'r Fianna, llu Fionn, yn deilwng i briodi â hi cyn ei rhoi i ddyn arall (gw. Nagy 1985: 53-4). Mae hyn yn cyfateb i herwgipio Creiddylad. Yn ogystal, yn ôl Murphy (1953: lxiii-lxviii), hen fotiff naratifol sy'n ganolog i'r traddodiad Gwyddelig yw brwydr Fionn yn erbyn cymeriad maleisus a chanddo berthynas â thân. Mae'r motiff storïol hwn, sef brwydro yn erbyn arwr sy'n perthyn i dân, yn ymddangos hefyd yn *Culhwch ac Olwen*: gelyn Gwyn ap Nudd yw

Gwythyr ap Greidawl [*greidiol* < *graid* 'gwres, llosg']. Gelyn arall i Gwyn yw Greid ap Eri: unwaith eto, wele'r elfen *graid*.

Yn wir, mae modd gweld Gwyn ap Nudd fel cymeriad a allai berthyn i *fyd yr herwr* fel y'i disgrifir gan Nagy (1985). Dyna fyd rhyfelwyr-helwyr sy'n byw y tu allan i gymdeithas, yn aros mewn coedwigoedd gwyllt a mynyddoedd anhygyrch. Ar adegau, mewn sefyllfaoedd anodd, bydd y gymdeithas yn gweld angen yr herwyr, ac yn wir, dyma debygrwydd mawr rhwng *byd yr herwr* Nagy ac Annwn Cymru. Mae Annwn hefyd yn Fyd Arall wedi ei leoli y tu allan i gymdeithas, ac ar adegau gwelir bod angen cymorth Gwyn ap Nudd ar y Brenin Arthur neu ar dywysogion Prydain.

Yn y cyd-destun hwn, gwelir yn episod y gwiddonod fotiff arall sy'n dangos tebygrwydd rhwng Gwyn a Fionn mac Cumhaill. Awgrymir yn *Culhwch ac Olwen* fod Gwyn a Gwythyr yn hen gyfarwydd â gwiddonod, ac mae'r gwiddonod hynny yn rhyfelwragedd yn hytrach na rheibesau (CO: 41-2). Mae hyn yn gyson â chwedl *Peredur*, sydd hefyd yn dangos gwiddonod fel rhyfelwragedd (PAE: 35v). Gellir cymharu Gwyn, sy'n deall arferion y gwiddonod, â Fionn mac Cumhaill a gafodd ei addysg gan wragedd yn yr anialdir: rhyfelwragedd a derwyddesau oedd ei athrawesau (Nagy 1985: 99-123).

1.3. Barddoniaeth Beirdd yr Uchelwyr

Gwelir yn y gweithiau hyn syniadau sy'n gyson â'r hyn a drafodwyd uchod. Cysylltir Gwyn ap Nudd â natur wyllt, â thir na chaiff ei aredig, ag amserau tywyll a mannau digysur sy'n bell o fyd dynion a'u cymdeithas. Yn gyffredinol, mae'r cerddi sy'n sôn am Gwyn ap Nudd yn rhai chwareus (Roberts 1980/8: 284-5). Mae Dafydd ap Gwilym yn defnyddio cyfeiriadau at Gwyn i ychwanegu lliw i gerddi megis 'Y Niwl', 'Y Pwll Mawn' ac 'Y Dylluan' (DAG 57, 59, 61). Mae Dafydd yn sôn am Gwyn ap Nudd er mwyn disgrifio natur sy'n llesteirio'r bardd rhag cyfarfod â'i gariad ('Y Niwl'), rhag mynd dros y waun heb golli ei ffordd a syrthio i bwll mawn ('Y Pwll Mawn'), neu rhag cysgu ('Y Dylluan'). Y niwl yw 'gwan dalar Gwyn a'i dylwyth' (DAG: 57.40), mae'r pwll mawn yn '[b]ysgodlyn i Wyn' (59.24) a'r dylluan yn 'edn i Wyn ap Nudd' (61.40). Ond mae'r modd y defnyddir enw Gwyn ap Nudd yn chwareus eto. Yn 'Ail Gywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym', gŵyr Dafydd fod Gwyn yn gallu herwgipio pobl (DAG 26.54): 'O'm dawr, Gwyn ap Nudd i'm dwyn' ('[...] boed i Wyn ap Nudd fy nghipio'). Yn ogystal, mae Gruffydd Hiraethog yn cysylltu Cŵn Annwn â Gwyn ap Nudd (Roberts 1980/81: 285). Mae hyn yn creu dolen gyswllt â'r heliwr-gythraul sy'n ymddangos

mewn ofergoelion canoloesol (Lecouteux 2011: 56-60)[1] ac â'r Helfa Rithiol sy'n syniad mwy modern (Hutton 2014: 175). Mae'n debyg iawn bod dangos Gwyn ap Nudd fel cymeriad sy'n cipio pobl yn dystiolaeth o gyfuno cymeriad traddodiadol lleol â'r trosiad Cristnogol o'r Diafol fel heliwr (gweler 2.4 isod).

1.4. *Speculum Christiani*: **Tystiolaeth o alw Brenin y Tylwyth Teg**

Mae'r rhan o'r *Speculum Christiani* a gyfansoddwyd yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg yn rhoi inni dystiolaeth am arferion gwerin ynghylch Gwyn ap Nudd (Roberts 1980/8: 288). Darllenir yma y byddai pobl yn galw am gymorth Gwyn ap Nudd i wella cleifion a oedd wedi eu melltithio. Mae'r testun yn tystio bod pobl yn lleoli teyrnas Gwyn mewn coedwigoedd dyfnion, ymhell o dir âr, sef lle traddodiadol i gwrdd â bodau Annwn. Mae'r testun yn galw Gwyn ap Nudd yn Frenin yr *Eumenides*, sef enw ar yr *Erinyes* neu'r *Furiae*. Mae'n enw a gaiff ei ddefnyddio i blesio a thawelu'r bodau goruwchnaturiol dialgar hyn (ei ystyr yn llythrennol yw 'duwiesau rhadlon'), yn union fel yr enwau 'Bendith y Mamau' neu 'Tylwyth Teg'. Nid yw'n amhosibl bod y testun yn defnyddio 'Eumenides' i ddisgrifio gwragedd goruwchnaturiol fel gwiddonod neu 'wrachod Annwn' Dafydd ap Gwilym. Yn sicr, mae'n addas iawn defnyddio enw'r *Eumenides* ar gyfer pobl Gwyn ap Nudd. Mae llên gwerin Cymru yn sôn am ddialgarwch trigolion Annwn: mae straeon Pantannas yn nodweddiadol (Rhŷs 2012: 176-84).

1.5. Buchedd Collen

Mae *Buchedd Collen* (BC), y mae'r fersiwn cynharaf ohoni yn dyddio o 1536, yn dangos Gwyn ap Nudd fel brenin ardderchog ar Annwn, ond mae'r testun yn cynnwys llawer o drosiadau crefyddol sy'n tarddu o draddodiadau sy'n perthyn i waith Beda, *Breuddwyd Pawl Ebostol* a thadau'r eglwys fel Evagrius Ponticus: er enghraifft, mae gwisg plant Annwn yn arwydd o boenau Uffern, sef gwres ac oerfel (BV lib. iv cap xiii 509 B; BPE). Mae Gwyn ap Nudd yn cwrdd â Chollen am hanner dydd, a'r elfen storïol hon yn uniaethu Gwyn â'r *daemonium meridianum*

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[1] Yn y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg clywir am *infernalis venator* ('heliwr-gythraul') mewn testunau gan Caesarius Heisterbach (CH), Jean Gobi (SCG, Rhif 627, tt. 430-31) ac Hélinand o Froidmont (HF, *De cognitione sui*, cap. XIII, 734 A-735/6 A). Ond mae'n debyg bod y motiff ar led dros Ewrop gyfan. Yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg mae'n ymddangos yn *Alphabetum narrationum* (AN, Rhif 464, t.262-63); yn y bymthegfed ganrif yn *Summa predicantium* mae John Bromyard yn cyfeirio at Hélinand (SPB, XVII,2; f. 91). Mae amrywiad o'r motiff yn ymddangos yn y *Decameron* hefyd (DEC, tt. 619-27). Mae Lecouteux yn honni bod traddodiad y motiff hwn yn hollol glerigol (Lecouteux 2011: 59). Mae'r heliwr-gythraul yn dwyn pobl neu'u heneidiau. Gwelir bod yr Heliwr Gwyllt yn gymeriad o'r traddodiad gwerin canoloesol sy'n hela cymeriadau goruwchnaturiol eraill.

o athrawiaeth Evagrius Ponticus (di Nola 1993: 224). Mae *Buchedd Collen* yn ymwneud â bwrw allan ysbrydion, ac ynddo gwelwn fod Gwyn a phlant Annwn yn cael eu hystyried yn gythreuliaid. Mae'r testun yn gosod castell Gwyn ap Nudd ar '[f]ynydd glassymbyri' a uniaethir â Glastonbury Tor (BC: 39), a thystir gan y ddynes hysbys Mary Parish (1631-1703) fod y traddodiad gwerin modern cynnar yn lleoli llys brenhinol y Tylwyth Teg ar Ynys Wydrin (Purkiss 2000: 191). Heddiw mae'r syniad hwn, mai llys Gwyn yw'r Tor, yn bwysig iawn mewn credoau neo-Baganaidd megis Wicca.

I grynhoi: mae Gwyn ap Nudd o destunau'r Oesoedd Canol a dechrau'r cyfnod modern cynnar yn heliwr-ryfelwr, yn farchog perffaith, yn frenin ar blant Annwn (sef cythreuliaid Annwn), ac yn frenin ar ysbrydion dialgar. Mae ei deyrnas wedi ei lleoli y tu allan i'r gymdeithas ddynol a'r byd dynol. Mae'r testunau hyn yn darparu'r deunydd a ddefnyddiwyd gan John Rhŷs, Robert Graves a Gerald Gardner wrth iddynt ddatblygu eu syniadau am Gwyn ap Nudd.[2]

2. John Rhŷs: Troi Gwyn ap Nudd yn dduw paganaidd
2.1. Gwyn ap Nudd fel Hades Celtaidd

Yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg dechreuwyd rhoi mwy o barch i Astudiaethau Celtaidd a phenodwyd John Rhŷs yn Athro Celtaidd cyntaf Prifysgol Rhydychen. Roedd Rhŷs yn gasglwr llên gwerin brwd. Ffurfiwyd ganddo yn anad neb arall y llun sydd gennym o Gwyn ap Nudd, a ddisgrifiodd fel '[a] repellent personage' (Rhŷs 2008: 560). Credai Rhŷs ei bod yn bosibl darganfod hen dduwiau cyn-Gristnogol y tu ôl i gymeriadau'r chwedlau Arthuraidd. Yn ogystal, gwelir dylanwad mytholeg Glasurol ar ei waith. Roedd methodoleg ei ymchwil i fytholeg Geltaidd yn gymharol, ac roedd mytholeg Roegaidd neu Rufeinig yn sicr

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[2] Mae'r enw Gwyn ap Nudd yn diflannu o lên gwerin ac o destunau eraill erbyn dechrau'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg. Yn y cyfnod modern cynnar, mae trigolion Annwn neu'r Tylwyth Teg yn cael eu huniaethu â chythreuliaid, ac mae Annwn yn cael ei droi yn uffern Gristnogol. Mae'r broses hon yn dechrau yn yr Oesoedd Canol, a *Culhwch ac Olwen* yn rhoi tystiolaeth gynnar ohoni. Mae *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg* gan Ellis Wynne yn dangos bod y broses wedi ei chwblhau: Lwsiffer yw tywysog Annwn (GBC: 77) a Belial yw tywysog y Tylwyth Teg (GBC: 11).

Mae Gwyn ap Nudd yn cael ei ail-ddarganfod gan Iolo Morganwg. Creodd Iolo driawd sy'n galw Gwyn ap Nudd yn un o'r tri gwyn seronydd (MA, Tr. 89, trydedd gyfres). Felly, mae Iolo yn disgrifio Gwyn ap Nudd fel derwydd neu ddewin. Yn ei *Barddas*, mae Iolo Morganwg yn rhoi Gwyn ap Nudd yn safle'r cyntaf o'r doethion (Morganwg 1862-74: 258-9). Ymddangosodd y syniad bod straeon y Tylwyth Teg yn disgrifio hen atgof o'r derwyddon a fu'n byw ynghudd wedi i'r Rhufeiniaid oresgyn Ynys Môn (Cririe 1803: 347; Roberts 1815: 192–201). Felly, naturiol oedd gweld brenin y Tylwyth Teg yn dderwydd mawr. Eto, nid yw hynny'n fawr o ddylanwad ar y syniadau am Gwyn ap Nudd ym maes y ddewiniaeth neo-Baganaidd fodern.

yn cynrychioli rhyw fath o safon iddo. Felly, chwiliai Rhŷs am yr Hades Celtaidd ac mae'n debyg mai hynny, yn ogystal â'i wybodaeth am lên gwerin Gymreig, sy'n gyfrifol am iddo gam-gyfieithu cerdd o Lyfr Du Caerfyrddin.

Cyflawnodd y camgymeriad pwysicaf drwy gyfieithu'r geiriau 'Mi. wi. wiw. vintev. y. bet' (LlDC: 73.60) fel 'I am the escort of the grave' (Rhŷs 2008: 383). Cywirach fyddai 'yr wyf yn fyw, maent hwythau yn y bedd.' Roedd y camgyfieithiad hwn, a'r ffaith fod Gwyn yn dychwelyd o faes y gad, yn ddigon i beri i Rhŷs sôn am Gwyn ap Nudd fel 'god of carnage' (Rhŷs 2008b: 260). Hoffwn gyfeirio'n fyr at ychydig o gamgymeriadau eraill: nid yw Rhŷs yn cydnabod bod Gwyn ap Nudd yn mynd ar gefn ceffyl gwyn. Newidiodd enw'r ci 'Dormach' yn 'Dormarth' a'i gyfieithu fel 'Death's door' (Rhŷs 2008b: 155-6), syniad a wrthodir gan Idris Foster (Foster 1953: 199, 202). Yn ogystal, camddeallodd Rhŷs yr enw 'Gwyn' (Rhŷs 2008a: 84). Ni welai yn y gair ond ystyr y lliw sylfaenol, gan ddiystyru'r cynodiadau 'sanctaidd, pur, etc.', a'r ffaith bod 'Gwyn' yn enw ar arwyr bendigaid a saint.[3] Galwai Rhŷs Gwyn ap Nudd yn 'god of carnage' neu 'god of the dead', fel petai'n Hades/Plwton Cymreig (Rhŷs 2008: 537), ond nid yw tarddiad y geiriau yn caniatáu hynny.

2.2. Gwyn ap Nudd fel Brenin y Gaeaf

Fel y gwelir, aeth Rhŷs yn bellach. Credai fod brwydr Gwyn a Gwythyr yn drosiad o'r gwrthdaro rhwng y tymhorau. Roedd o'r farn bod 'Gwyn yn dwyn Creiddylad' yn cyfateb i 'Plwton yn dwyn Persephone' (mae'n adnabyddus y byddai'r dduwies honno yn aros gyda Plwton (Hades) yn y gaeaf). Am i Gwyn frwydro yn erbyn Gwythyr ap Greidawl, credai Rhŷs mai duw'r haul oedd Gwythyr yn wreiddiol. Yma, dilynai Max Müller, a gredai fod yr hen dduwiau Ariaidd wedi datblygu allan o arferion o addoli nerthoedd natur (Müller 1907). A derbyn bod Gwythyr yn dduw'r haul, uniaethodd Rhŷs y cymeriad hwn â thymor yr haf, ac un unol â hynny ystyriai fod Gwyn ap Nudd yn dduw'r gaeaf a'r tywyllwch. Ond, ar y llaw arall, honnodd Rhŷs fod Fionn mac Cumhaill, sy'n gymeriad cytras â Gwyn ap Nudd, yn dduw'r haul hefyd, fel Gwythyr. Gwelir bod hyn yn peri problem resymegol fawr i safbwynt Rhŷs: mynna fod Fionn mac Cumhaill yn cyfateb i Gwyn ap Nudd ond, yn ôl ei ddehongliad ei hun, mae Gwyn yn gymeriad sy'n gwrthwynebu duw'r haul. Ceisiodd Rhŷs ddatrys y broblem gan uniaethu Gwyn ap Nudd â Finn Eces, 'Fionn arall'

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[3] Mae Pyll Wyn a Maen Wynn yn *Canu Llywarch*, 'Pyll' (Rowland 1990: 409, 411); mae Kyndylan wynn yn 'Marwnad Cynddylan' (Rowland 1990: 429), Gwelir 'crist guin' yn LLBC:15.16; a [C]ei guin yn 'Pa ŵr yw'r porthor' (LLBC: 66.3). Am Seiriol Wyn, gw. Mullins (2002: 59).

a chymeriad anfad (Rhŷs 2008a: 560). Ni welai y gallai brwydr Gwyn a Gwythyr gyfateb i frwydrau Fionn mac Cumhaill yn erbyn gelynion tanllyd (gweler uchod 1.2.), ac ni allai dderbyn na fu ond un frwydr y flwyddyn rhwng Gwyn a Gwythyr, oherwydd ei gred mai brwydr rhwng yr haf a'r gaeaf ydoedd honno. Yn wir, honnai fod ail frwydr Gwyn a Gwythyr a ddigwyddasai adeg Calan Gaeaf wedi ei cholli a mynd yn angof. Ni welodd ychwaith y motiff naratifol ei bod yn bosibl dwyn rhywun yn ôl o fyd y Tylwyth Teg ar ôl blwyddyn, sef motiff addas iawn mewn testun sy'n sôn am Gwyn ap Nudd, brenin Annwn a brenin y Tylwyth Teg (Rhŷs 2008a: 559-63).

2.3. Gwyn ap Nudd fel brenin Gwlad yr Haf

Cafodd Gwyn ap Nudd ei uniaethu gan Rhŷs â gwahanol gymeriadau a gysylltir â'r Tir Diffaith Arthuraidd, a welai fel teyrnas angau. Rhai enghreifftiau yw Goon of the Desert o barhad y *Conte du Graal* gan Manessier, a Gornumant, Brenin y Tir Diffaith, gan Gerbert de Montreuil sydd hefyd yn parhau gwaith Chrétien (Rhŷs 2008b: 120-1). Credai Rhŷs hefyd fod Gwyn yn cyfateb i Melwas, Brenin Gwlad yr Haf, ac i gymeriadau tebyg, sef Wanius a Melga, Gunvasius a Malvasius o *Historia Regum Britanniae* Sieffre o Fynwy, Meleagant o *Erec* Chrétien de Troyes, a Maheolas o *Le Chévalier de la Charette* (2008b: 137, 330, 342-4).[4] Mae Rhŷs yn pwysleisio perthynas Melwas ag Ynys Wydrin. Felly, mae cysylltiad Gwyn â Glastonbury Tor yn gryf iawn, ac mae hyn yn arwain at ddehongliad pellach gan Rhŷs.

2.4. Gwyn ap Nudd fel Mihangel Sant

Er y gallai ymddangos yn rhyfedd, tybiai Rhŷs fod Gwyn ap Nudd hefyd yn cyfateb i Mihangel Sant, am fod y ddau yn atal cythreuliaid rhag dinistrio'r byd. Derbyniai Rhŷs y syniad bod y seintiau wedi disodli'r hen dduwiau (Rhŷs 2008b: 341) a chymhara Mihangel Sant sy'n *psychopomp* â Gwyn ap Nudd, sy'n hela eneidiau. Ond, a bod yn fanwl gywir, nid *psychopomp* yw Gwyn ap Nudd.

Mae'n debyg bod y darlun o Gwyn ap Nudd fel un sy'n hel eneidiau neu bobl ddrwg yn fotiff a ffurfiwyd drwy gymysgu traddodiadau lleol a chynfrodorol â thraddodiadau Cristnogol yr Oesoedd Canol. Ystyriwn ddwy elfen o'r traddodiadau lleol. Os derbyniwn fod Gwyn yn perthyn i 'fyd yr herwr' ac yn gytras â Fionn mac Cumhaill, gall

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[4] Gweler yr argraffiadau modern: parhad i'r *Conte du Graal* gan Manessier: Roach, gol. a Toury, cyf. (2004): parhad Gerbert de Montreuil: Williams & Oswald, gol. (1922-75); *Erec et Enide* gan Chrétien de Troyes: Fritz (1992); *Le Chevalier de la Charette* gan Chrétien de Troyes: Rahilly (1971); *Historia Regum Britanniae*: Reeve, gol. a Wright, cyf. (2007).

ymddengys yn rhesymol bod Gwyn yn heliwr. Yn ogystal, mae Gwyn a'i bobl yn ddialgar iawn yn llên gwerin Cymru. Yn ôl traddodiad Cristnogol, gall y Diafol fabwysiadu ffurf heliwr: deillia hyn o waith Origen sy'n uniaethu Nimrod, yr heliwr mawr, â'r Diafol oherwydd iddo hefyd wrthod Duw (Herzog, Habermehl a Fuhrmann 2002: 120). Gwelir yn *Culhwch ac Olwen* fod Annwn yn dechrau cael ei uniaethu ag Uffern: mae trigolion Annwn – sef deiliaid Gwyn – yn gythreuliaid yma. Mae'n nodweddiadol nad yw 'Gwyn yn hela gwŷr drwg' yn fotiff sy'n ymddangos yn echblyg tan farddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yn y 14g, ond mae'r motiff 'demoniaid fel helwyr' yn hŷn, ac mae *Itinerarium Cambriae* Gerallt Gymro yn cynnwys straeon o'r fath, fel straeon Meilyr (IC: 45). Mae hanes Elidorus yn rhan o'r *Itinerarium Cambriae* hefyd, ac er nad yw Gerallt yn dweud bod unrhyw berthynas rhwng demoniaid Meilyr a phobl bach Elidorus, mae'r bobl bach hyn yn cyfateb i'r Tylwyth Teg (IC: 66-7). Nid yw'n amhosibl uniaethu Gwyn ap Nudd, yr heliwr dialgar cynfrodorol, â'r diafol Cristnogol sy'n hel eneidiau. Eto, anacronistaidd fyddai galw Gwyn ap Nudd yn *psychopomp* Celtaidd, cyn-Gristnogol sy'n hel eneidiau.

Sylwai John Rhŷs ei hunan nad oedd Gwyn yn y llên gwerin yn mynd ar ôl neb ond gwŷr drwg. Ystyriai fod y motiff sy'n dangos Gwyn fel heliwr eneidiau drwg yn deillio o draddodiad Cristnogol, a honnai y byddai Gwyn yn wreiddiol yn hel eneidiau pawb (Rhŷs 2008b: 155). Gellir cytuno â rhan gyntaf y ddadl hon, ond mae'r ail ran, sef bod Gwyn yn dduw angau sy'n casglu eneidiau – h.y., *psychopomp* – yn deillio o'r camgyfieithiad a drafodwyd uchod. Gwelir bod dadl Rhŷs yn troi mewn cylch, ar dystiolaeth a grëwyd ganddo ei hunan.

2.5. Gwyn ap Nudd fel Duw Corniog

Yn *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, gwnaeth Rhŷs gymhariaeth fawr a arweiniodd at ganlyniadau syncretig pellgyrhaeddol. Credai fod Plwton, duw angau'r Rhufeiniaid, yn gytras â Cernunnos, y duw corniog Rhufeinig-Geltaidd, a bod Cernunnos yn gytras â Heimdall, duw gwyn Aesir. Daliai hefyd fod Heimdall *gwyn* yn gytras â Gwyn ap Nudd, ac ar sail hyn uniaethai am y tro cyntaf Gwyn ap Nudd a Chernunnos (Rhŷs 2008a: 82-5). Mae'n nodweddiadol fod y gyfres o dduwiau yn dechrau â Plwton, sy'n cyfateb i Hades. Unwaith eto, mae'r ffaith i'r gerdd o Lyfr Du Caerfyrddin gael ei cham-gyfieithu a'i chamddehongli yn arwain at ddeall Gwyn ap Nudd mewn ffordd newydd. Cafodd syniadau Rhŷs eu datblygu a'u rhoi ar led gan Charles Squire (Squire 2003, 254-9).

3. Gwyn ap Nudd yn y mudiad neo-Baganaidd
3.1. Robert Graves: Gwyn fel Osiris Cymreig

Defnyddiai Robert Graves destunau a thraddodiadau Celtaidd hefyd, ac iddo yntau fel ag i eraill, roedd mytholeg Roegaidd, Rufeinig a Dwyreiniol yn fath o ffon fesur safonol a ddylanwadodd ar ei ddehongliadau o'r deunydd Celtaidd. Pwysig iawn iddo oedd gwaith James Frazer am y Duw sy'n marw (Frazer 1894) a syniadau'r Cambridge Ritualists (Doty 2000: 337). Gwaith mwyaf adnabyddus Graves yw *The White Goddess* (1948), sy'n cynnwys syniadau Graves am fyth barddonol. Erbyn heddiw, mae ffrwyth dychymyg Graves yn seiliau pwysig i syniadau'r *Goddess-movement* (Hutton 1999: 188-94), mudiad neo-Baganaidd sy'n addoli duwies driphlyg (Reid-Bowen 2007: 62-9). Yn ôl *monomyth* Graves, un thema gyffredin sydd i bob hanes mytholegol, a hynny yw bod dau arwr neu ddau dduw yn cystadlu am dduwies driphlyg mewn brwydr dymhorol, a chredai Graves y byddai gwraig arbennig yn aml yn cymryd lle'r dduwies. Felly, nid yw'r *monomyth* yn ddim mwy na brwydr rhwng dau ddyn am wraig: mae'n fotiff arbennig o syml, ac yn rhwydd ei ganfod mewn straeon o bob math, yn enwedig os ydys yn chwilio amdano. Dyma'r hyn a wnaeth Robert Graves, wrth gwrs: canolbwyntiodd arno yn ei ddehongliadau, gan anwybyddu bron pob elfen storïol arall.

Mae'r frwydr flynyddol rhyngddo a Gwythyr am Creiddylad yn caniatáu lleoli Gwyn ym *monomyth* Robert Graves, yn arbennig os caiff y frwydr flynyddol ei throi yn frwydr dymhorol (Graves 1966: 321), yn gyson â syniadau Rhŷs; ond aeth Graves ymhellach: hoff oedd ganddo fodloni'r *monomyth* gan greu – neu ffugio – elfennau newydd, a lluniodd ddefodau i'w cysylltu â marw a chladdu Gwyn ap Nudd (Graves 1966: 179); cysylltodd Gwyn â'r frwydr dymhorol, a chafodd Gwyn ei droi'n dduw llystyfiant. Yn ôl Robert Graves, Gwyn ap Nudd oedd yr Osiris Cymreig (Graves 1966: 179, 321). Yn ogystal, mae'n cael ei gysylltu â Gwythyr, gan greu duw â dwy agwedd, sef Gwyn a Gwythyr (Graves 1966: 388). Mae Graves yn honni bod un o'r agweddau yn cynnwys triawd o gymeriadau, sef Gwyn, Lleu a Dylan: mae'r ddau arall wrth gwrs yn gymeriadau o Bedwaredd Gainc y Mabinogi. Bwriad ffurfio'r triawd oedd creu cymeriad gwrol a fyddai'n cyfateb i'r dduwies driphlyg ac a fyddai'n debyg i'r Hermes Trismegistos (Graves 1966: 321).

3.2. Gerald Gardner: Gwyn fel duw cwlt Wicca

Gerald Gardner yw'r cymeriad enwocaf yn hanes neo-Baganiaeth. Chwaraeai ran ganolog yn natblygiad y ddewiniaeth fodern neo-Baganaidd, sef *Wicca* – yn wir, heb ei ddylanwad yntau, ni fyddai Wicca wedi datblygu ei ffurf bresennol (Hutton 1999: 205-40). Daliai Gardner

mai Gwyn ap Nudd oedd yr enw amlycaf ar dduw'r gwrachod: coleddai syniadau John Rhŷs a thybiai fod Glastonbury (lleoliad caer Gwyn ym Muchedd Collen) yn ganolfan i addoli'r gwrachod (Gardner 2004: 146). Ond aeth gam ymhellach na Rhŷs a Graves ill dau. Mae Gwyn yn dduw angau i Rhŷs, er mwyn i'r duw tywyll ('the dark divinity') fedru cynnwys bywyd ac angau: felly, mae'r duw tywyll yn dduw ag iddo ddwy agwedd. Ond yn achos Gwyn ap Nudd mae Rhŷs yn dal mai ffurf duw'r lladdfa sydd ar y duw tywyll ac felly nid yw Gwyn yn cynnwys agwedd greadigol y duw tywyll: nid yw'n fwy na 'Hades' (Rhŷs 2008b: 260).

Mae Gardner yn honni hefyd fod Gwyn ap Nudd, sef duw'r gwrachod, yn dduw du sy'n perthyn i angau ac i'r helfa. Mae'n cydnabod bod agwedd greadigol i'r duw du, ond pwysleisia'r agwedd ddinistriol. Hyd yma mae Gardner yn dilyn Rhŷs neu Squire (er nad yw Squire ei hun yn gwneud mwy nag ailadrodd damcaniaethau Rhŷs am Gwyn ap Nudd). Mae Gerald Gardner yn mynd ymhellach gan alw Gwyn ap Nudd yn 'dduw angau ac atgyfodiad', ac yntau'n gymeriad a fyddai'n arwain eneidiau i mewn i'r byd hwn neu i dir ble mae'r meirwon yn aros (Gardner 2004: 145-7, 150). Wrth gymharu Gwyn ap Nudd Gerald Gardner a Gwyn ap Nudd Robert Graves, gwelir bod y ddau yn gysylltiedig ag angau ac atgyfodiad, ond bod y cyntaf yn arglwydd arnynt, a'r olaf yn ddeiliad iddynt.

4. Casgliadau

Mae'r ffynonellau cynharaf ar gyfer Gwyn ap Nudd yn ei gyflwyno fel cymeriad sy'n perthyn i 'fyd yr herwr'. Gwelwyd uchod fod Gwyn yn perthyn i gylch sy'n wrthgyferbyniol i gymdeithas ddynol. Yn naturiol, un o nodweddion cymdeithas yw ei chrefydd, ac felly mae Gwyn ap Nudd a Chollen Sant yn cystadlu. Nid yw Gwyn ap Nudd yn gymeriad adeiladol.

Crewyd gan ysgolheigion destunau newydd a ddaeth yn brif ffynonellau i'r mudiadau neo-Baganaidd, ac yn y rhain dim ond y ddelwedd o Gwyn fel heliwr sy'n aros yn gyson: collir bron y cyfan a welir yn yr hen weithiau. Cysylltir syniadau John Rhŷs yn gryf â'r Gwyn newydd: ystyrir bod Gwyn yn hen dduw du, corniog sy'n rheoli tymhorau'r hydref a'r gaeaf, ac fe'i gelwir yn 'Frenin y Gaeaf' gan neo-Baganiaid y Deyrnas Unedig, ond yn 'Brenin yr Haf' yn Unol Daleithiau America. Mae'r enw a ddewisir yn dibynnu ar ba rannau penodol o waith John Rhŷs a ddefnyddir (gw. Rüdiger 2012), gan newid y nodweddion sy'n perthyn i Gwyn ap Nudd, a'i statws hefyd.

Mae Gwyn ap Nudd yn newid o fod yn symbol o fyd yr herwr (o Annwn), ac yn ffigwr mewn byd sy'n gyferbyniol i'r byd dynol, i fod yn gymeriad sy'n cynnal y byd dynol hwnnw. Caiff ei droi'n dduw defodol sy'n perthyn i gredoau cwlt megis Wicca. Mae troi Gwyn ap Nudd yn

dduw cwlt yn troi'r ystyr gwreiddiol sy'n perthyn iddo wyneb i waered am y dylai defodau fod yn hollol absennol o fyd Brenin Annwn. Yn ôl Gerallt Gymro, ni chysylltir y bobl bach y gellir eu huniaethu â'r Tylwyth Teg, deiliaid Gwyn, ag unrhyw gwlt crefyddol, a'u hunig grefydd yw'r gwirionedd: nid ydynt yn tyngu llwon ac nid ydynt yn dweud celwyddau. Dyma yn sicr arferion byd sy'n hollol groes i fyd dynion. Yn y cyd-destun hwn mae'n bosib deall ystyr gwreiddiol Gwyn ap Nudd: mae'n gymeriad goruwchnaturiol sy'n dynodi sffêr wrthwynebol i fyd dynion, ac nid yw'n dduw cwlt.

Serch hynny, dyma un agwedd y dylid ei hystyried. Mae'r neo-Baganiaeth sy'n troi Gwyn ap Nudd yn dduw yn seiliedig ar wrthod daliadau Cristnogol prif-ffrwd ein cymdeithas, a hynny, efallai, oherwydd teimlad nad yw'r ffydd Gristnogol yn gallu ateb anghenion ysbrydol ar ôl y Rhyfeloedd Byd. Yn y sefyllfa hon, dewiswyd Gwyn ap Nudd. Yn wreiddiol, bu'n gymeriad a wrthodai gymdeithas, a pherthynai i fyd yr herwr sy'n gallu dod â chymorth mewn argyfwng. Felly, yn reddfol, mae'r mudiadau neo-Baganaidd yn dewis cymeriad sy'n gweddu iddynt ac, yn wir, os dehonglir proses drawsffurfiol Gwyn ap Nudd fel hyn, nid amhosibl ystyried bod ei ystyr gwreiddiol yn fyw o hyd. Mae'r broses o drawsffurfio Gwyn ap Nudd yn parhau bob tro y gwneir defnydd creadigol ohono: mae'n enghraifft ardderchog o'r broses o drawsffurfio cymeriadau ffuglennol neu fytholegol, ac mae'n siŵr nad ef yw'r unig gymeriad y gellid ei astudio yn y modd hwn.

Prifysgol Bangor

Byrfoddau

AN   **Brilli**, E., gol., 2015, *Arnoldi Leodiensis Alphabetum Narrationum*, Turnhout.

BC   **Parry-Williams**, T.H. et al., gol., 1954, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg. Y Gyfrol Gyntaf. Detholion o Lawsgrifau (1488-1609)*, Caerdydd.

BPE   **James**, M.R., 1893*, Apocrypha anecdota. A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments*, Cambridge.

BV   **Beda** Venerabilis, 'In Lucae Evangelium Expositio', yn: Migne, J.-P., gol., 1862, *Patrologia Latina,* cyf. 92*,* Paris.

CA   **Williams**, I., gol., 1970, *Canu Aneirin*, Caerdydd.

CH   **Caesarius Heisterbach,** *Dialogus miraculorum,* Distictio XII, Cap. XX (https://www.hsaugsburg.de/harsch/Chronologia/ Lspost13-/Caesarius/caedm12.html).

CO   **Bromwich**, R., **Evans**, D., gol., 1997, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Caerdydd.

DEC   **Boccaccio**, G., **Macchi**, R., cyf., 2015, *Das Dekameron*, Darmstadt.

DG   Dafydd ap Gwilym.net (http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/).

GPC   Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/).

GBC   **Donovan**, P.J., **Thomas**, G., gol., 1998, *Ellis Wynne. Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg*, Llandysul.

HF   'Helinandi Frigidi Montis Monachi necnon Guntheri Cisterciensis Opera Omnia', yn: Migne, J.-P., gol., 1865, *Patrologia Latina,* cyf. 212*,* Paris.

IC   **Gerallt Gymro,** gol. R.C. **Hoare,** D. **Powel**, 1804, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, London.

LlDC   **Jarman**, A.O.H., **Jones**, E.D., gol., 1982, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin,* Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd.

MA   **Jones**, O., **Williams**, E. & **Pughe**, W.O., 1870, *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales,* Denbigh.

PAE   *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1350-1425* (http://www.rhyddiaithganoloe sol.caerdydd.ac.uk/).

PKM   **Williams**, I., gol., 1930, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, Caerdydd.

SCG   **Polo de Beaulieu**, M.-A., gol., 1991, *La Scala Coeli de Jean Gobi*, Paris.

SPB   **Johannes Bromiardus**, 1409, *Summa Predicantium*, Nürnberg.

TYP   **Bromwich**, R., gol., 1961, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein,* Caerdydd.

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Маѳъ Маѳонъвичь: Cyfieithiad Newydd o'r Mabinogi i (Hen) Rwsieg

Dmitri Hrapof

Y cwestiwn cyntaf, efallai, yw a oes angen cyfieithiad newydd, a dau gyfieithiad o'r Mabinogi i'r Rwsieg yn bodoli'n barod? Yn anffodus, mae'r cyfieithiadau hynny yn anghyflawn ac weithiau yn wallus. Cafwyd y cyfieithiad cyntaf gan Liudmila Volodarskaia (2000): *Кельты — Валлийские сказания — Мабиногион* [Celtiaid — Chwedlau Cymreig — Mabinogion], ac am fod hwn yn gyfieithiad o Saesneg Charlotte Guest, mae'n Fictoraidd iawn ei naws (gw. yr adolygiad gan Parina (2003)). Gan Vadim Erlichman y cafwyd yr ail gyfieithiad, Мабиногион. Волшебные легенды Уэльса [Mabinogion. Chwedlau Hudol Cymru], a hwnnw bellach wedi ei argraffu ddwywaith (Erlichman 1995; Erlichman 2002). Trafodir yr argraffiad cyntaf gan Parina (2003) a'r ail argraffiad gan A. Falileyev (2002). Mae Erlichman yn dal iddo gyfieithu o destun Llyfr Coch Hergest – ac felly o Gymraeg Canol – ond oherwydd y camgymeriadau niferus, gwêl yr adolygwyr fod lle i amau a yw hynny'n hollol wir. Digon yw nodi i'r llythyren <f> [v] Gymraeg gael ei thrawsgrifo yn <ф> [f] Rwsieg, yn hytrach na fel <в> [v], er mwyn cadw enwau yn 'hudol' ac yn 'egsotig' (Erlichman 1995: 216).

Felly, aethpwyd ati i baratoi cyfieithiad newydd, a hynny i'r Hen Rwsieg. Cyfieithiwyd yn gyntaf y Bedwaredd Gainc, sy'n dechrau fel hyn (Andrwsiac & Hrapof 2014):

> *Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned, a Pryderi uab Pwyll oed arglwyd ar un cantref ar ugeint yn y Deheu. Sef oed y rei hynny, seith cantref Dyuet, a seith Morgannhwc, a phedwar Kyredigyawn, a thri Ystrat Tywi.*
>
> *Ac yn yr oes honno Math uab Mathonwy ny bydei uyw, namyn tra uei y deudroet ymlyc croth morwyn, onyt kynwryf ryuel a'y llesteirei. Sef oed yn uorwyn gyt ac ef, Goewin uerch Pebin o Dol Pebin yn Aruon. A honno teccaf morwyn oed yn y hoes o'r a wydit yno. Ac ynteu yg Kaer Dathyl yn Aruon yd oed y wastatrwyd. Ac ny allei gylchu y wlat, namyn Giluathwy uab Don, [a Gwydyon] uab Don, y nyeint ueibon y chwaer, a'r teulu gyt ac wy [a aei] y gylchu y wlat drostaw.*
>
> (Williams 1930: 67)

Маѳъ Маѳонъвичь бѣ володѣıа Гвинедъмь а Прѵдерı̈и
Поуиличь бѣ володѣıа сътогородиıємь южнымь · А се бышѧ
:z: сътогородии Диведьскыхъ и :z: сътогородии
Моръгаоуꙗьскыхъ и :д: Кередигı̈оньскыхъ и :г: Дольныхъ
Тавиискыхъ

Тѣми часы Маѳъ Маѳоноуичь толи живъ бѣ оли же нозѣ
ѥго быста на лонѣ дѣвичьѥмь ѥгда бо тѧготы ратьныѣ томоу
не борониша · И дѣва си бѣ Гоıєвинъ Пебиничьна ѿ Дола ѿ
Пебинıа иже въ Аръвонѣ · и слоувъши та лѣпльши вьсѣхъ
тъгды знаѥмыхъ · онъ же ѿ года до года сѣдѧ бѣ въ кремли
Даѳѵльскѣмь иже въ Аръвонѣ · И не мога по полюдьѥ ити аже
и Гилоуаı̈тоуи Доничь и Гоуı̈дионъ Доничь ıаже сестрича ѥго
ходиста съ дроужиноѭ по полюдиѥ въ ѥго мѣсто

Mae'r cyfieithiad yn seiliedig yn bennaf ar olygiad Ifor Williams (1930),
gan gyfeirio hefyd at y golygiad o *Math Uab Mathonwy* gan Ian Hughes
(2013) a *The Mabinogion*, sef cyfieithiad Sioned Davies (2007). Wrth
baratoi'r testun, paratodd Hrapof gyfieithiad llythrennol o'r testun
Cymraeg Canol i Rwsieg Modern, gan ddefnyddio GPC ar-lein a hefyd
eiriadur Cymraeg-Rwsieg a grëwyd yn arbennig (Hrapov 2003-6,
Khrapov 2015). Wedyn, bu Andriy Andrwsiac (Андрı̆й Андрусяк) o
Kiev, Wcráin, yn paratoi cyfieithiad llenyddol o Rwsieg i Hen Rwsieg.
Trwy gyfrwng yr Wcraïneg y digwyddodd yr holl drafodaeth yn ystod y
broses o baratoi'r gwaith terfynol.

Pam Hen Rwsieg? Credwn ei bod hi'n fuddiol iawn ar gyfer y
gwaith hwn am iddi sicrhau bod effaith y testun Rwsieg yn debyg i
eiddo'r testun Cymraeg: h.y., bydd ymateb y darllenydd Rwsieg yn debyg
i ymateb y darllenydd Cymraeg i'r testun canoloesol. Mae Hen Rwsieg yr
un mor ddealladwy i siaradwyr Rwsieg Modern (a siaradwyr Wcraïneg a
Belarwsieg) ag yw Cymraeg Canol i Gymry cyfoes. Yn ogystal, gall yr
orgraff amrywio mewn testunau Hen Rwsieg, fel sy'n digwydd yn achos
Cymraeg Canol, a chadwyd y nodwedd hon yn ein cyfieithiad. Aeth
enwau tadenwol megis 'Math uab Mathonwy' a 'Goewin uerch Pebin' yn
'Маѳъ Маѳонъвичь' a 'Гоıєвинъ Пебиничьна', a hynny'n debyg i
ffurfiau enwau megis Dobrynia Nikitich a Nastasia Mikulichna o'r
chwedlau Rwsieg a'r былины ('bylina', ffurf o epig lafar Slafaidd: gw.
Bailey & Ivanova 2015). Cyfieithwyd 'heb' ('ebe') bob tro fel
'рече/рекоша', er bod amryw ffordd y gellir cyflwyno araith
uniongyrchol yn Rwsieg.

Er mwyn gwneud y testun yn debycach i groniclau Rwsieg, mae
pobl Gwynedd (Math, Gwydion, Lleu ac ati), yn siarad tafodiaith ogleddol

Nofgorod, a nodweddir, er enghraifft gan <ц> [ts] yn lle <ч> [tɕ] Hen Rwsieg 'safonol' (gw. Zalizniak 2004). Dyma ran o'r testun:

> *Ac nachaf y liw a'y wed a'y ansawd yn atueilaw o'y charyat, hyt nat oed hawd y adnabot.*
> *Sef a wnaeth Guydyon y urawd, synnyeit dydgweith arnaw yn graf. 'A was,' heb ef, 'pa derw ytti?' 'Pa ham?' heb ynteu. 'Beth a wely di arnaf i?' 'Gwelaf arnat,' heb ef, 'colli dy bryt a'th liw, a pha deryw yti?'*

<div align="right">(Williams 1930: 68)</div>

> И се ѥго цвѣтъ и видъ и своиство истьлѣша любъвьѭ къ нѥи · и тѣмь не бѣ льзѣ ѝ паче познати
> Одиноѭ Гоуидиѡнъ братъ ѥго възьрѣ нань и рече · Целовѣце цьто ти са стало? И рече овъ Цьто же? Цьто на мьнѣ видиши? И рече Гоуидионъ братъ ѥго · Вижю та изгоубивъша образъ свои и квѣтъ · тако цьто же ти єсть?

Mae morffoleg Hen Rwsieg yn debycach o lawer i Rwsieg Cyfoes nag yw, er enghraifft, Saesneg Tolkien i Saesneg Bēoᵽulf, ac mae nodweddion eraill hefyd yn ei gwneud yn debycach i'r Gymraeg (Canol a Modern). Yn un peth, mae'r rhif deuol ar gael yn Hen Rwsieg, fel yn y Gymraeg, ac mae defnyddio hwn yn gallu creu effaith arbennig. Eto, yn nifer amserau'r gorffennol y gwelir y gwahaniaeth (a'r tebygrwydd) pwysicaf. Nid oes ond un amser gorffennol synthetig yn Rwsieg Cyfoes (Kemple 2012: 62), tra mae tri yn Gymraeg Canol: y gorffennol, yr amherffaith a'r gorberffaith (Evans 1994: 109-12). Pedwar – yr amherffaith, y gorffennol penodol, y perffaith a'r gorberffaith – sydd yn Hen Rwsieg (Zalizniak 2004: 134).

Credaf felly fod Hen Rwsieg yn llwyddo i gyfleu mwy o flas y Mabinogi gwreiddiol i ddarllenwyr Slafaidd cyfoes. Y mae pob un o'r Pedair Cainc wedi eu cyfieithu gennym fel hyn, a gobeithiwn eu cyhoeddi maes o law gyda rhagymadrodd, nodiadau a llyfryddiaeth.

Hoffwn ychwanegu un nodyn cyn cloi. Mae'r hen chwedl hon, *Math uab Mathonwy*, yn dangos sut y gall rhyfel rhwng brodyr ddechrau am resymau cudd. Ar hyn o bryd, yn anffodus, mae rhyfel cartref yn Wcráin, ac mae'r cyfieithiad hwn yn ein hatgoffa bod rhaid cofio ein diwylliant, a thrwy hynny geisio heddwch.

<div align="right">*Ysgolhaig annibynnol*</div>

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CYNGHANEDD, AMSER A PHERSON YNG NGHYWYDDAU BRUD DAFYDD GORLECH

ALED LLION JONES

Dadl ddiddorol yn athroniaeth iaith yw honno a welir yn y pegyniad rhwng agweddau Heidegger ar yr naill law, a beirniaid megis Paul de Man a Maurice Blanchot ar y llall. 'Die Sprache spricht', yw un o ddatganiadau enwocaf yr Heidegger hwyr (1959), sydd yn crisialu nifer o dueddiadau gwrth-ddyneiddiol. Iaith ei hun sydd yn siarad, ac mae'r byd ffenomenolegol a dirfodol – a'r goddrych dynol ei hun – yn deillio o'r iaith honno. Myn Paul de Man mai cywirach fyddai ychwanegu at y ferf *sprechen* y rhagddodiad negyddol *ver-* hwnnw a hoffai Heidegger gymaint, gan ddweud 'die Sprache verspricht (sich)': gwir ydyw nad dyn sydd yn rheoli iaith, ond, eto i gyd, ni ellir ychwaith ymddiried mewn iaith i ddarparu'r byd yn llawn inni (gw. de Man 1979, 277; Derrida 1987). Mae iaith – ac iaith lenyddol yn enwedig – yn nacáu ein hymdrechion i ganfod ystyr a chyfeiriadaeth sicr, sylfaenol.

Nid oes odid addewid pwysicach nag eiddo'r proffwyd, ac yn yr erthygl hon rwyf am ystyried gwaith Dafydd Gorlech, y brudiwr o'r bymthegfed ganrif. Saith o'i gerddi sydd wedi goroesi, ac fe'u golygwyd yn *Gwaith Dafydd Gorlech* yng Nghyfres Beirdd yr Uchelwyr gan Erwain Rheinallt (Rheinallt 1997). Rwyf am edrych ar y cerddi hyn er mwyn trafod elfen strwythurol a welir yn y defnydd o'r gynghanedd: cyflwyno tystiolaeth am y strwythur hon fydd y brif orchwyl, a chyfeirir yn frysiog iawn at rai syniadau mwy damcaniaethol ynghylch trosiadau barddonol o amser a pherson sydd yn berthnasol i'r cwestiwn uchod ynghylch iaith. Ni chaf gyfle i ymwneud yn fanwl â chynnwys y cerddi hyn, ac yn sicr nid oes gennyf fawr ddim i'w ddweud am eu cyd-destun hanesyddol; dilynaf yn hyn o dasg y prif egwyddorion methodolegol a fabwysiadwyd gennyf yn Jones 2013. Mae'r cwestiynau a ofynnir yn y gwaith hwnnw ynghylch amser, hanesyddiaeth, llais ac awdurdod yn fframio ac yn sbarduno'r prosiect mwy y mae hyn o erthygl yn perthyn iddo. Gyda lwc, daw cyfle maes o law i fynd i'r afael yn llawnach â goblygiadau damcaniaethol yr egwyddorion empeiraidd a ddangosir yn yr ysgrif fer hon.

Cafwyd sawl astudiaeth ar gerdd dafod sy'n rhagweld fy nodiadau innau, ac enwaf rai yn unig mewn olyniaeth bwysig. Gweler, e.e., J. Glyn Davies (1911) a Bobi Jones (1993, yn ogystal â'i brosiect ehangach) am

ystyriaethau strwythurol a semiotig, ac ynghylch llais, traddodiad ac awduraeth gw. Jerry Hunter (1995, 2001), Helen Fulton (1996) a Peredur Lynch (2003). Heuwyd hedyn y gwaith presennol rai blynyddoedd yn ôl, mewn sgyrsiau gyda'r Athro Patrick K. Ford yn ystod ac yn dilyn seminarau yn Adran Geltaidd Prifysgol Harvard. Oherwydd prinder lle, maddeuir imi, gobeithio, am adael gwaith y beirniaid hyn – ac eraill – yn y cefndir (gan gyfeirio at rai ohonynt yn y llyfryddiaeth yn unig, os hynny): cydnabyddaf fy nyled iddynt a diolch, gan ymddiheuro am beidio â chydnabod dyledion eraill.

O safbwynt canrannau'r gwahanol fathau o gynghanedd a welir ynddynt, mae cerddi 6 a 7 yn *Gwaith Dafydd Gorlech* yn wahanol iawn i'r lleill. Gan symleiddio rywfaint drwy, e.e., anwybyddu llinellau di-gynghanedd, gwelir bod testunau golygedig cerddi 1-5 yn cynnwys canrannau uchel o'r gynghanedd gytsain (81, 64, 74, 86, 75), canran isel o'r gynghanedd sain (6, 13, 7, 3, 17) a chanran weddol uchel o'r gynghanedd lusg (13, 18, 16, 11, 8). Y canrannau ar gyfer cerddi 6 a 7 yw cytsain (57, 41); sain (42, 46); llusg (1, 8). (Nid oes cyfanswm o 100 yn achos yr holl gerddi oherwydd hepgor llinellau digynghanedd.) Bwriad yr erthygl hon yw craffu ar sut y defnyddir y cynganeddion, nid ar gyfer eu swyn gerddorol a chynodiadau barddonol, ond yn hytrach fel nodau rhythmig ac arwyddion strwythurol. Caiff y gynghanedd ei defnyddio'n debyg i'r ffordd y byddai beirdd yr awdl yn defnyddio odl a mydr i ddynodi adrannau cerddi a chaniadau, adnoddau nad ydynt ar gael i'r cywyddwr (gw. Jones 1993). Gwelir bod y gwahaniaeth rhwng canrannau'r cynganeddion yn cyfateb i wahaniaeth pwysig yn y defnydd ohonynt.

Cerdd 1. Gwelir ar unwaith fod yr enghreifftiau o gynghanedd sain a llusg wedi eu dosbarthu yn weddol gyson drwy'r cywydd (yn llinellau 3, 11, 21, 31, 33, 35-7, 41, 45, 61, 63, 69, 81, 83, 89 [tanlinellir eitemau cyfagos]). Y prif eithriadau yw'r clwstwr yn llinellau 31–38, a'r absenoldeb o gwmpas llinell 51: beth sydd i gyfrif am hyn?

Rwyf am gynnig bod pob enghraifft o'r gynghanedd lusg – neu bob clwstwr ohoni – yn dynodi diwedd adran yn y gerdd. Gwelwn felly fod y gerdd yn arddangos cryn gymesuredd. Mae darn rhagarweiniol o ddau gwpled, ac yna ddwy adran o naw ac wyth. Yna, ar ôl dwy adran o ddau gwpled ceir dwy adran o naw cwpled, ac adran o bedwar i gloi. Hynny yw, strwythur y gerdd yn ôl nifer y cwpledi yw 2, 9, 8, 2, 2, 9, 9, 2, ac mae'n bosibl gweld yma ddau hanner cymesur: 2, 9, 8, 2 / 2, 9, 9, 2. Ategir yr egwyddor hon o ddynodi toriadau adrannol gan y cyd-ddigwyddiad diddorol bod yr unig enghreifftiau o'r groes o gyswllt yn digwydd ar ddechrau adrannau (llau 39, 47, 48).

Mae'n bosibl darllen yr adrannau hyn nid yn unig fel cyd-ddigwyddiadau mydryddol, ond hefyd fel unedau synhwyrol. Gwelir bod y

ddwy linell gyntaf – 'Deallwn nad a wellwell/ Swyddau ieirll, hau y sydd well' (1,2) – yn ffurfio cyflwyniad yn y person cyntaf lluosog: yma fe gyflwynir y gerdd gan ddefnyddio motiff dechreuol yr hau, sef metaffor ar gyfer paratoi. Dyma baratoi ar yr wyneb testunol ar gyfer gweithred y gerdd a'r perfformiad ohoni; mae'n gweithio yn ogystal fel rhan o *nexus* ddelweddol y gerdd, gan gyhoeddi'r paratoi ar gyfer y gweithredoedd milwrol disgwyliedig. Mae'r ail gwpled yn odli berfau yn y person cyntaf unigol – 'tawed glaw tra y tawyf,/ tawed gwynt, tawedog wyf!' (3,4). Adleisir, o safbwynt hyder a grym, linell enwog Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch 'poni welwch chwi hynt y gwynt a'r glaw' (neu, o leiaf, adleisir yr un ddisgwrs): mae cwyn apocalyptaidd diwedd annibyniaeth a cholli sofraniaeth yn cael ei gwrthdroi mewn cerdd sydd yn darogan dychwelyd o'r rhain.

Wele'r gerdd yn symud i ddull y brud. Caiff y broffwydoliaeth ei rhannu'n is-adrannau gan gwpled ac iddo gynghanedd sain ddechreuol, sy'n troi i'r trydydd person lluosog – 'Nadredd yn niwedd y nant/ Uwch ei ben a chwibanant' (11, 12). Cyflwynir yr is-adran nesaf â delwedd y forwyn sy'n crïo yn: 'E wna morwyn, em arab,/ Wylo'r Mai o alar mab' (13, 14). Mae'r adran yn cysylltu'n ddelweddol y cariad marw â chnydau Lloegr a ddifethir gan yr adar, ac fel mae'r golygydd yn ei nodi (Rheinallt 1997), daw'r holl ddelweddau yn yr adran hon, o linell 11 hyd 22, o adrannau cyfagos *Brut Dingestow*.

Mae'r adran nesaf yn dechrau drwy gyflwyno'r unig enghreifftiau sydd yn y gerdd o'r ail berson unigol: 'Y gaer fawr gau ar fore,/ Daear a'th lwnc, dŵr i'th le!' (23, 24). Mae dau hanner amlwg i'r adran hon, fel y bu i'r un flaenorol: ceir yn yr hanner cyntaf gwpledi sydd yn darogan drwy gyfrwng priflythrennau Sibylaidd: 'Gwedir' H y gedir I/ Gŵr y god, ac R gwedi' (25, 26). Gweler y nodiadau i'r golygiad (Rheinallt 1997) am esboniad o'r modd y mae'r llythrennau hyn yn cyfeirio at Harri VI, Edward IV a Rhisiart III. Symudir yn yr ail hanner i ffocysu ar fotiff y glaw a ddaw i ddifa'r Saeson, a chloir yr adran fan hyn â storm o gynghanedd lusg a nifer o elfennau sydd yn adleisio'r dechreuad. Troir yn ôl i'r person cyntaf lluosog – 'Cyrchwn gellïau ceuon/ [...] Gwnawn gyngor y fôr-forwyn' (33, 35) – yn rhan o gyfres o wyth llinell sy'n disgrifio gweithredoedd y Cymry yn ystod y gawod ddifäol: mae ym mhob un o'r cwpledi hyn gynghanedd lusg neu seinlusg (clywir sain a llusg ill dwy yn y llinell 'Gwnawn gyngor y fôr-forwyn': mae'r cwpled hwn yn unigryw yn y gerdd, heb fod ynddo unrhyw gynghanedd gytsain). Sylwer nas cafwyd enghraifft o'r person cyntaf lluosog ers y gair cyntaf oll, 'Deallwn'.

Yn awr, dychwelir at y llais metafarddonol, a'r persona'n cynnig sylwebaeth ar ei ddarogan: datgan mai 'Da fwriad yw fy arwydd' (39) cyn atseinio'n echblyg fotiff agoriadol yr hau: 'Hau a welaf Fathrafal,/ Heuwn

ar faes hwy no'r Fâl' (41, 42). Defnyddir y personau cyntaf unigol a lluosog a welwyd yn yr adran gyntaf, a dyma ddefnyddio person y ferf, felly, i ategu'r cyrchu.

A dechrau brysio ychydig, nodaf yn unig fod yr adran nesaf (47–64), sy'n datblygu'r metaffor o erchi ych ar gyfer yr hau (gan greu felly gywydd brud gofyn) yn cloi â dau gwpled sy'n defnyddio'r gynghanedd lusg: 'Ych heb adu cau'r buarth,/ Elain â gwisg lin neu garth./ Ond cyfarch Tomas rasol/ Dafi, ni ad fy iau'n ôl!' (61–4). Mae'r adran nesaf, wrth ddatblygu'r metafforau daroganol-escatolegol i gyfeiriadau crefyddol echblyg, yn cloi eto â chwpled ac ynddo gynghanedd lusg: 'Ych a welais, iach olud,/ Asen gref Iesu'n ei grud,/ Asen fu yn y cenol,/ Asen hwyr y sy'n eu hôl' (79–82). Yn yr adran hon hefyd, diddorol gofyn a oes arwyddocâd i'r llinell unigol o gynghanedd sain, 'Ysgafn fydd coedydd y Cân' (69), sef trosiad ar gyfer milwyr ('coedydd') Ghengis Khan. Yr awgrym amlwg yw bod y gynghanedd sain yn dynodi ffin rhwng is-adrannau, ac yn wir, mae'r cwpled nesaf yn troi, o'r mawl yn y trydydd person unigol, i'r person cyntaf unigol: 'Ni wn help yn iawn i hau/ Eithr enwi f'ewythr innau' (71–2). Mae'r metafforau yma'n egluro wrth iddynt gyfuno: deellir 'coedydd y Cân' o'r isadran flaenorol yn llawn bellach fel metaffor, a rhydd hyn nod amlwg i drosiad yr hau. Yn yr un modd mae gormodiaith bensaernïol yr adran flaenorol yn dod yn rhan o blethwaith metafforaidd y tyfu: mae'r militaraidd a'r eglwysig yn uno mewn trawsenwi (*metonymy*) cyfansawdd sy'n dynodi llwyddiant cenedlaethol.

Mae'r adran olaf, sy'n dechrau â chynghanedd sain, yn cloi â'r gair hwnnw a fu'n atseinio'n gyson yn y gerdd, 'hau' – 'Gwedi darfod y nodau,/ Gwanwyn hir, gwyn hen i'w hau' (89, 90) – ac mae'r cwpled olaf hwn yn tynnu ynghyd amryw o'r haenau perfformiadol testunol ac alldestunol. Yn yr un modd ag y mae'r cwpled cyntaf yn paratoi ar gyfer y gerdd sydd yn addo ymbaratoi ar gyfer buddugoliaeth (ac yn dechrau â gair mwys y gellir ei ddeall fel gorchymyn metadestunol: 'deallwn'), wele'r cwpled olaf yn addo'r hau a gaiff ei berfformio unwaith y bydd y 'nodau' yn digwydd (ac yn cael eu deall). Y 'nodau' hyn wrth gwrs yw'r arwyddion *a addewir* gan y gerdd, ond hefyd yr arwyddion hynny a *berfformir* ganddi. Hynny yw, mae'r gerdd yn broffwydoliaeth a hefyd yn broffwydoliaeth a wireddir – i raddau. Wrth berfformio'r gerdd – wrth lefaru a gwireddu'r gân – gwelir yr arwyddion a chyflawnir y weithred. *Die Sprache spricht,* felly. Trawiadol, serch hynny (ac yn gyson â thraddodiad ehangach y canu proffwydol), yr aredig a'r hau, yn hytrach na'r medi, a gaiff eu perfformio. Dyma addewid nad yw'n cyflawni mwy na'r weithred hunangyfeiriadol honno. *Die Sprache verspricht (sich)*. Nid yn unig y mae hyn yn gyson â thraddodiad ehangach y canu brud: yn wir, mae'n gyson â hanfodion traddodiadau proffwydol yn gyffredin, sy'n dibynnu am eu bodolaeth ar yr amod nad yw

eu haddewidion yn cael eu gwireddu. Unwaith y daw'r Mab Darogan, ni wiw canu amdano bellach (gw. Hunter 2000, Balfour 2002, Jones 2013).

A ninnau wedi treulio cryn amser yn cyfeirio at nodweddion y cywydd cyntaf, hoffwn, cyn awgrymu rhai casgliadau petrus, ddangos yn fyr iawn sut y mae'r egwyddorion strwythurol hyn ar waith mewn ambell gerdd arall gan Ddafydd Gorlech. Mae ei bedwerydd cywydd yn ymrannu'n ddau hanner clir, bob un o ddeugain llinell, ac yn yr hanner cyntaf gwelwn eto adrannau wedi eu dynodi gan ffin y gynghanedd lusg (yn llinellau 1, 11, 21, 27, <u>31, 33</u>, 39): gwelwn ragair o fath yn y trydydd person – 'Nid êl ei gorff ar elawr/ A gano mwy i gnyw mawr' (1,2) – a ddilynir gan ddwy adran o bum cwpled yr un, ac yna dair adran o dri chwpled yr un. Mae adran ganol y tri chwechawd yn defnyddio cynghanedd lusg (31, 33) neu sain (29) ymhob cwpled. Heb ystyried y cynnwys yn fanwl, hoffwn dynnu sylw at ddau beth sy'n ategu'r toriadau mydryddol.

Mae'r brawddegu yn un: nodwn fod y golygydd yn cydweld bod pob adran yn diweddu ag atalnod llawn. Yr ail beth, sydd efallai'n fwy arwyddocaol, yw sut y defnyddir personau'r ferf. Dechreua'r adran gyntaf ar ôl y 'rhagair' yn y person cyntaf unigol: 'Mi a brydaf o'm brodir' (3); bron y llenwir adran 3 ag unig enghreifftiau'r gerdd o'r cyntaf lluosog: 'O chaem...' (14), 'Alan fyth ni allwn fod,/ I dŷ, ofer yw'n dyfod./ Ni wyddwn...' (17–19); ac yn y blaen, a cheir patrymu amlwg y person cyntaf unigol yn y ddwy adran olaf: 'Mae ym dŷ fry fal y frân' (29) yw llinell gyntaf y naill, sy'n cloi â'r cwpled sy'n dechrau 'Hŷn wyf i nag Elïas' (33), ac mae'r llall yn dechrau â 'Mab diddawn y'm bedyddir' (35) cyn cloi â'r llinellau 'Aros, er nas dangoswyf,/ Gwers yr âb a'i gwrs yr wyf' (39, 40). Er nad yw'n berffaith, mae'r cymesuredd strwythurol yn sicr yn drawiadol, a hynny'n dibynnu ar yr un egwyddorion a welwyd yng nghywydd 1.

Mae pumed cywydd y corpws fel petai'n gwneud yr un math o beth, ac yntau hefyd wedi ei drefnu yn ôl yr egwyddor hon o ddynodi rhannau gan y gynghanedd lusg a weithiau'r sain. Rhaid cyfaddef nad yw'r egwyddorion mor amlwg yn yr achos hwn. Dyma fel y mae'r gerdd yn dechrau:

	Y brud hen, wyt yn bratáu	
	Y byd, ni thâl **d**'wybodau!	
	Dywedwydol nid **ydwyd**,	
	Distaw yn addaw yn nwyd.	Sain
5	Disgrïwr llu, **dysg** rhag llaw,	
	Diau mynych dymunaw;	
	Trioedd mad nid coeladwy	Llusg
	Taliesin na Myrddin mwy.	Sain
	Dyfal hedd o daw fal hyn,	
10	Difoes mae'r beirdd yn d'ofyn.	

	Mae a ddwg cwyn maddau cad,	
	Mae dewin ym a'i dywad?	
	Llais main at riain o'r tŵr,	Sain
	Lleian, medd y darllëwr.	
15	Dafydd **aeth** o Lan Dyfi	
	Diwedd ei oes i'm dydd i,	
	Proffwyd pêr, hen aderyn,	Llusg
	Pregethawdd, ni **bu** hawdd hyn	Sain

Mae'r egwyddorion blaenorol yn ein harwain i geisio rhannu'r darn hwn o'r gerdd ar ôl y cwpled â'r gynghanedd lusg – hynny yw, ar ôl y llinell 'Taliesin na Myrddin mwy' (8) – ac yn wir mae cyfiawnhad dros wneud hyn: mae'r holl ferfau yn llinellau 1-8 yn y presennol ('wyt', 'ydwyd', 'dysg'). Ar y llaw arall, wrth gwrs, mae'r presennol yn parhau ar ôl y toriad hwn: 'daw', 'mae', '[d]wg', 'dywad', 'medd', cyn troi (ar ôl y cwpled â'r gynghanedd sain) i'r gorffennol: 'aeth', 'pregethawdd', 'bu'. Nid yw amser y ferf yn torri'r ddadl, felly, ond mater gwahanol yw'r person: sylwer bod yr holl ferfau ar ddechrau'r gerdd (cyn y 'toriad' yn dilyn y gynghanedd lusg) yn yr ail berson unigol. Y tro hwn, mae'r gynghanedd sain yn llinell 4 i'w gweld yn dynodi'r newid o'r mynegol ('wyt', 'ydwyd') i'r gorchmynnol ('dysg').

Yn y gerdd ar ei hyd, gwelir cynghanedd lusg yn llinellau 7, 17, 37, <u>55, 57, 59</u>, a chynghanedd sain yn llinellau 4, 8, 18, 30, <u>47, 48</u>, <u>56, 58</u>, 63. Os dynodir adrannau gan y gynghanedd lusg, ceir strwythur o 4, 5, 10, 11, 3, sef (a deall bod y rhan gyntaf yn ffurfio uned gymhleth) 9, 10, 11 a thri chwpled i gloi.

Mae'r ail adran yn dechrau â phwyslais cryf ar y person cyntaf: cawn yma'r unig ragenw cysylltiol yn y gerdd, a thry'r amser yn ôl i'r presennol: 'Minnau heddiw mewn heddwch,/ 'Manaw draw mae un yn drwch' (19, 20). Ar ôl y gynghanedd sain yn llinell 30, symudir i isadran a nodweddir gan y rhediad hiraf yn y gerdd o'r cymeriad geiriol, sef chwe llinell yn 'A [...]'. Cloir yr adran hon drwy atseinio amser diwedd y gyntaf, â chwpled sy'n dechrau yn y gorffennol amhersonol: 'Dysgu hen cymen y'i caid' (37).

Mae'r drydedd adran yn defnyddio'r unig ferfau sydd yn y person cyntaf unigol: ceir 'Darlleais' (39) ar ddechrau'r adran, ac mae 'Edrych yr wyf' (49) yn digwydd ar ôl cwpled unigryw o gynghanedd sain. Pwysleisir y berfau hyn, felly, drwy eu gosod ar ddechrau'r adran a'r isadran: hwy yw'r amserau llywodraethol ac maent yn dilyn llinellau sydd yn nodweddiadol yn y gerdd oherwydd natur eu cynghanedd. Ceir yn yr adrannau hyn batrwm cymesur o'r presennol amhersonol – mae '[g]yrrir' yn nhrydedd linell yr isadran gyntaf, a '[g]edir' yn nhrydedd linell yr ail; yn yr un modd, mae '[c]wynir' a '[c]ymhellir' ar eu diwedd – ac, yn bur drawiadol, wele'r adran hon yn gorffen â thri chwpled sydd bob un yn

cynnwys llinell o gynghanedd lusg, a dau ohonynt hefyd yn cynnwys cynghanedd sain. Mae *coda*'r gerdd yn dechrau drwy newid i reolaeth y gorffennol amhersonol: 'Daroganwyd drwy gyni' (61).

Yn olaf hoffwn droi at gerdd sydd ychydig yn wahanol. Mae cerdd rhif 6, y rhoddir iddo'r teitl 'Ymddiddan rhwng y bardd a'r Wyddfa', yn un o ddwy gerdd a nodweddir gan ganran uchel iawn o'r gynghanedd sain (42% yn achos y gerdd hon) a chanran isel iawn o'r llusg (1%). A hithau'n dangos cyfansoddiad cynganeddol sydd bron yn gytbwys rhwng y draws a'r groes ar y naill law (57%) a'r sain a'r llusg ar y llall (43%), nid oes fawr o bwynt chwilio yn hon am yr egwyddor ymrannu a brofai mor ddefnyddiol yn y cerddi blaenorol. Eto, mae'r hyn sydd yn digwydd yma, os rhywbeth, yn fwy diddorol.

Mae'r cynganeddion wedi eu gwasgaru'n weddol gytbwys drwy'r gerdd, ond fe'i nodweddir gan y ffaith mai'r hyn sydd yn *anarferol* – ac felly'n nodedig – yw'r *cwpled nad yw'n dechrau â chynghanedd sain*. Digwydd hyn ddeuddeg o weithiau, yn llinellau 7, 9, 21, 41, 57, 65, 67, 71, 73, 79, 83, 85, a rhaid gofyn a yw'r lleoli yn nodwedd strwythurol benodol, ynteu'n ddamweiniol. Archwiliwn, felly, y strwythur a welir os torrir y gerdd yn rhannau yn ôl lleoliad y cwpledi 'eithriadol' hyn: hynny yw, rhagdybir bod cwpled 'anarferol' (neu bâr o gwpledi tebyg) yn dynodi dechrau adran. Ceir felly adeiledd rhyfeddol o gymesur o 10, 10, 8; 4, 3; 4, 3; 3 (a'r adran gyntaf yn gyfuniad o 3+7).

Mae'r gerdd yn dechrau â'r bardd yn cyfarch y mynydd. Yn syth ar ôl yr adran agoriadol o chwe llinell, a'r unig ferf ynddi yn y presennol mynegol – 'Hen addurn wyd, dëyrn ar dir' (3) – newidir i'r gorffennol mynegol – 'Gwisgodd erioed gwisg o'r iâ/ Yn glaerwen dan gŵl eira./ Hon o 'deiliad hen dalaith/ A luniodd Duw, gwiw yw'r gwaith!' (7–10) – cyn i'r gerdd droi yn ôl i'r presennol am weddill yr adran. Gwelwn yma nodwedd sydd erbyn hyn yn gyfarwydd inni: wrth newid o'r presennol i'r gorffennol, mae dau gwpled y gorffennol yn rhai anarferol neu afreolaidd, a hwythau'n dechrau heb gynghanedd sain – 'Gwisgodd erioed gwisg o'r iâ/ [...] Hon o 'deiliad hen dalaith'. Mae'r naid mewn amser felly'n cyd-fynd â naid mewn rhythm.

Yn llinell 21 mae'r cyfarchiad – yr *apostrophe* – yn peidio, a'r llais yn newid yn ddarogan pur. Yma, mae cynghanedd y cwpled agoriadol yn hollol gytseiniol: 'diau o'r trwm y daw'r tro/ Dialedd ar a'i dylo' (21, 22). Mae'r adran hon yn parhau am ddeg llinell, gan ddarogan yr 'arth' (27) a ddaw 'yn y Nordd' (26), ac sydd i'w ddifa gan '[dd]ialedd Duw' (29). Yna, mae triawd o gynghanedd sain yn culhau'r ffocws i 'Fôn' a'r 'llynges goch':

Â'i fin, gerwin yw'r gurfa,	Sain
I Fôn y daw blinaw bla;	Sain
Llynges goch oer droch ar dro,	Sain
Byr alaeth, a bair wylo.	Croes

(31–4)

Mae hyn oll yn digwydd mewn un adran o'r broffwydoliaeth, a'r adran honno'n cyrraedd uchafbwynt yn argoel marwolaeth y forwyn dan law y 'P' Sibylaidd:

Y P a ddaw draw i'r drin,	Sain
A'i dorfoedd a fydd durfin.	Traws
Ei fryd a fydd, cynnydd cwyn,	Sain
Rhoi i farw rhyw forwyn.	Croes

(37–40)

Cyhoeddir cyfnod nesaf y gweithredu yn llinell 41, â phwyslais rhythmig y gynghanedd groes ar ddechrau'r cwpled (h.y., cwpled anarferol) yn pwysleisio'r unig gysylltair amser sydd yn y gerdd: '*Yn ôl hyn*, anial hanes,/ Y wadd a'i lladd er nad lles' (41–2).

Lleolir yr adran hon yn ddaearyddol 'uwch Conwy' (48) ac yn '[y]r Yri' (50) – hynny yw, mae eto yn y *Nordd*, ond wedi symud o *Fôn* yr adran flaenorol. Mae'r adran yn adeiladu at uchafbwynt amlwg – 'Hon a ddaw â'i braw gerbron/ A'i sias i ladd y Saeson' (55, 56) – a dyma symud i'r adran nesaf â'r cwpled anarferol sy'n dechrau â'r llinell 'Tarw a diria, aur darian' (57). Gwelwn yma'r ffocws ddaearyddol yn newid drachefn. Erbyn hyn yr ydys ym '[M]ynwy' (58), y 'Deau dir' (59) a '[M]ochno' (61). Mae pethau'n cyflymu tua'r diweddglo, a'r gerdd yn rhagweld y frwydr olaf a fydd yn trechu'r gelyn.

Mae adran olaf y broffwydoliaeth yn dathlu dychweliad y Cymry i'w 'tiroedd naturiawl' (76) a '[Ph]rydain Fawr' yn ffynnu (77). Mae'r adran hon yn dechrau'n debyg i'r adran flaenorol, â dau gwpled heb gynghanedd sain, ac mae'r gyfres o gysyllteiriau ar ddechrau cwpledi – 'A hyn [...]// A rhannu [...]// A rhoi [...]// A Brytain Fawr [...]' (71, 73, 75, 77) – yn ategu'r teimlad bod yma adeiladu anorfod tuag at uchafbwynt yr adran a *dénouement* y proffwydo: 'A rhoi Cymry, mor hy hawl,/ Yn eu tiroedd naturiawl,/ A Brytain Fawr, gwawr a gân',/ O'u hynt twyllir hwynt allan' (75–9).

Yn awr mae *coda* o fath yn dechrau: a'r brwydro drosodd, a threfn gyfiawn wedi dychwelyd, mae'r mab darogan – yn ôl patrwm 'Proffwydoliaeth y Chwe Brenin i ddilyn y Brenin John' – yn teithio i Gaersalem a Chwlen. Mae'r gyntaf o'r ddwy adran fer olaf yn dechrau, yn briodol ac yn gyson, â chwpled sy'n dechrau â chynghanedd draws –

'Owain a dynn i'r un daith/ I Gaersalem gwrs eilwaith' (79–80) – a chwpled anarferol hefyd sy'n cyflwyno ail gyrchfan y pererin, lle cleddir yr arwr – 'I Gwlen drwy fawr gilwg/ Oddi arnyn' mab y dyn a'i dwg' (84–5). Mae'r unig enghraifft yn y gerdd o'r gynghanedd lusg yn pwysleisio'r 'groes', drwy gysylltu'r gair ag 'oeswr': 'Hon yw'r Groes le bu'r Oeswr[,] / A'i gred yw gweithred y gŵr.' (83-4). Sylwir, felly, fod yn y gerdd hon fwy o hyder proffwydol nag a welwyd yn y lleill, a bod yr alegori Gristolegol gyffredin yn fwy echblyg.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Gwelir uchod enghreifftiau o'r modd y mabwysiedir gan y beirdd canoloesol agweddau chwareus at eu crefft. Un nodwedd a ddefnyddir mewn modd ymwybodol greadigol yw'r llenddull: gwelir yma, fel yn y traddodiad ehangach, frud yn cymysgu â gofyn, mawl, marwnad, canu serch ac ati. Ymhellach, cyfyd amwysedd o'r elfennau mwyaf sylfaenol: dryllir arwynebedd y gerdd wrth i elfennau megis y rhagenw a'r person – ac amser ei hun – droi'n drosiad, ac wele'r gynghanedd ei hun yn nodwedd i'w throi gan y bardd creadigol at ddibenion strwythurol-semiotig.

Yn achos proffwydoliaeth, efallai nad syndod ydyw mai un o'r elfennau a ddefnyddir amlycaf mewn modd trosiadol – yn eironig, hynny yw, a mabwysiadu term de Man – yw *amser*. Nid yw berfau bellach yn arwyddion cronolegol syml, ond cânt eu troi at ddibenion llenyddol eraill, fel sy'n wir yn y traddodiad ehangach. Mae'r byd a ddatguddir gan y gerdd, wrth gwrs, yn bodoli *yn y gwaith*, mewn modd anostensif, a'r nodweddion llenyddol hyn sy'n gyfrifol am oroesiad llawysgrifol daroganau nas gwireddwyd ac na fedrid eu gwireddu (cymh. Jones 2013, ac yn enw. Pennod 4).

Yng ngherddi Dafydd Gorlech gwelir dwy agwedd at y defnydd o'r gynghanedd ac o leiaf ddwy agwedd ar y potensial sydd i lwyddiant y proffwydoliaethau. Anodd dweud a oes cysylltiad uniongyrchol rhwng y rhain, ac anos gwybod fel y byddai'r gynulleidfa yn ymateb iddynt, neu fel y caent eu cyflwyno mewn gweithred berfformiadol. Am y rhesymau hyn ac am eraill, gellid herio nifer o'r dehongliadau uchod: mae penderfynu ymhle mae cerdd yn 'ymrannu' yn gallu dibynnu ar chwiw a barn bersonol. Eto, ar y cyfan, fel y gwelwyd, mae yma newidiadau diamwys mewn ffocws, o'r cymeriad ar wyneb y testun i'r cynnwys neu'r iaith, o ddaearyddiaeth i amser, modd neu berson y ferf.

Fel mae'n digwydd, hefyd – a dyma bwynt tra phwysig – mae amrywiadau'r llawysgrifau yn tueddu i gadarnhau'r awgrymiadau hyn. Bu'r erthygl hon yn trafod y testunau golygedig, ond rwyf hefyd wedi archwilio'r amrywiadau llawysgrifol. Lle cafwyd amrywiad geiriol, ni

welais yr un a newidiai'r gynghanedd gan effeithio ar ganlyniadau'r astudiaeth hon. Mwyaf trawiadol yw'r newidiadau i drefn llinellau. Efallai y daw cyfle i gyflwyno'r dystiolaeth hon yn llawn maes o law; nid oes yma le i wneud mwy na datgan bod yr amrywiadau'n ategu'r damcaniaethau a drafodir: erys yr adrannu hyd yn oed wrth amrywio trefn llinellau. Os yw'n wir bod y nodweddion hyn yn cael eu cynnal wrth i'r cerddi gael eu trosglwyddo (a hynny weithiau ar lafar), ategir o bersbectif newydd gasgliad Peredur I. Lynch (2003, 141) yn ei astudiaeth dreiddgar o gynghanedd Dafydd ap Gwilym fod 'anawsterau lu yn wynebu'r sawl a fyn ganfod llais awdurol y tu hwnt i'r llawysgrifau cynharaf a thraddodiad hylifol y datgeiniad.'

Ni thrafodwyd uchod ond pedair cerdd, a dim ond yn y pedair hyn o blith y saith y canfuwyd nodweddion perthnasol: dyma godi cwestiynau pellach nad oes gennyf atebion iddynt.

Crynhoir y casgliadau isod.

1.   Cywydd Brud
• Defnyddir y gynghanedd lusg i ddynodi terfyn adran.
• Defnyddir y gynghanedd sain i ddynodi isadrannau.
2.   I ofyn march gan Rosier Fychan
• Ansicr. Mae efallai rywfaint o arwyddocâd i gwpledi nad oes ynddynt gynghanedd gytsain.
3.   Cywydd Brud
• Ansicr. Efallai y dilynir yr egwyddorion a welir yng ngherdd 1, ond yn anghyson.
4.   Cywydd Brud
• Cysondeb clir, fel yng ngherdd 1.
5.   Cywydd Brud
• Cysondeb echblyg, fel yng ngherdd 1.
6.   Ymddiddan rhwng y bardd a'r Wyddfa
• Dechreuir adrannau gan gwpledi a nodweddir gan gynghanedd gytsain yn y llinell gyntaf.
7.   Cywydd y Gigfran
• Ansicr.

Prifysgol Bangor

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MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES AND LINGUISTIC CONTACTS IN PRE-PATRICIAN IRELAND AND LATE ROMAN BRITAIN

MAXIM FOMIN

0. Introduction

What kind of contact and exchange was known to exist between the Roman world and the island of Ireland in the pre-Patrician period? This necessarily short contribution will try to answer this and the following questions that emerge as a result of this inquiry. Do we have any evidence of archaeological, toponymic and palaeographic nature that argues in favour of the contact? Can one find any evidence of the linguistic contact? What kind of words entered Early Irish from Latin in this period? How do we address and interpret the instances, variations and patterns of Irish/Latin code-mixing and diglossia in the earliest documents, such as the Leinster genealogies, the early sections of the glossaries and of the annals (c. 440-470 AD)?

Various scholars (Mohrmann 1962: 217; Ó Cróinín 2004: 8; Harvey 2011: 66) have argued that Latin, introduced as "an artificial, bookish language, distant from the dimension of everyday communication" (cit. in Bisagni 2014: 53), was alien to the Irish in its form and essence so that it was used purely for monastic purposes. I will argue against this, proposing a contrary argument: the Irish were at home with Latin, and gained their knowledge of the language through their communication with the Roman world through warfare and trade.

1. *Pax Romana* and Ireland

A recent study by the Marburg historian Patrick Reinard (2014) entitled '*Arma ultra litora Iuvernae promovimus* – Römer in Irland?' re-visited the long-accepted view based on the information conveyed by the Roman authors Juvenal and Tacitus that Roman presence in Ireland was always excluded. In his opinion, the military campaign to invade Ireland would have been too costly, and unnecessary in the absence of any clear economic or military benefits. He argues that the Romans organised so-called 'Erkundungsfahrten' – reconnaissance trips – to examine the Irish land and its people, as well as its economic, military and political potential, but that the military threat of Ireland to the Roman empire was

ultimately considered too low to carry out a military expedition of any sort. The key passage in Tacitus is carefully examined:

> *si quidem Hibernia… si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia different [in melius] aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.*

> inasmuch as Ireland…its extent is small when compared with Britain, but exceeds the islands of our seas. In soil and climate, in the disposition, temper, and habits of its population, it differs but little from Britain. We know most of its harbours and approaches, and that through the intercourse of commerce.
>
> (trans. John & Brodribb 1942, chapter 24.2)[1]

He provides arguments in favour of the established trade relations between the Roman province of Britain and Ireland since the middle of the 1st century AD (ibid., 21-3) and, what is more, that the Romans could have had a continued presence on the islands of Drumanagh and Lambay, located north of Dublin, employing them as trading outposts. It cannot be confirmed whether Drumanagh could be identified with Ptolemy's *Manapia*,[2] and whether Lambay is identical with Ptolemy's *Limnos*,[3] however, discussing late 1st – early 2nd cc. AD finds from these islands, various scholars (Rynne 1976; Raftery 1994: 200; *id*. 1996) argue that these were inhabited by the North Britons whose material culture was strongly influenced by Rome. It is still not clear whether the 40-acre "iron age promontory fort" at Drumanagh was a civil trade centre ("einen zivilen Handelsstützpunkt", Reinard 2014: 21) or a bridgehead for the Roman military campaign across the island.

Reinard's view accords with that of T. Charles-Edwards (2000: 156) who speaks of the Roman merchants getting access to Ireland at

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[1] Reinard suggests a different interpretation of the last sentence: "the approaches and ports are better known through trade and [by] merchants (than the interior of Ireland)" (2014: 6, fn. 29).

[2] And whether the Menapian soldiers who were stationed in Britain (Spaul 2000: 174.185, *cohors I Menapiorum nautarum*) had any connection with it. Di Martino (2003: 32) and Warner (1995: 26) are in favour of this hypothesis. Toner (2000: 79) cautions that "none of the settlements or promontories have been securely identified". Following O'Rahilly (1946), Mac an Bhaird (1991-3) and Pokorny (1954), he identifies the tribe of *Manapioi* as 'Monaig' and locates them in Fermanagh, SW Ulster. Warner (1995: 26) notes that "the Irish tribe of *Manapii* and the town of *Manapia* are placed very firmly by Ptolemy south of Dublin bay".

[3] Identified as such by Warner (1995: 26). No data provided by Toner (2000: 82) for the island of Limnos. He, however, identifies the island of *Rikina* with the Rathlin Island (Ir. *Rechru*, *Rechrainn*). Note that the Ir. name of Lambay is also Reachrainn.

nexus points, "sometimes called 'gateway communities' […] known in the seventh and eighth centuries as *emporia*."

> One site that has been suggested as having such a role is Dalkey Island, at the southern end of Dublin Bay. Another may have been found at Drumanagh, near Loughshinny, on the coast north of Rush, Co. Dublin […]. By the seventh and eighth centuries, if not earlier, there may have been another at Colp near the mouth of the Boyne.[4] *Emporia* within this central span of the east coast would account for the concentration of Roman finds in what was later known as Brega.
>
> (Ibid.)

It is important to point at the find of a Roman naval vessel, "a typical product of the Mediterranean tradition of shipbuilding", known as the 'Monk's Boat' from Loch Lene, Co. Westmeath, of "not later than the fourth century AD and probably earlier" dating (Brindley & Lanting 1990: 11). The scholars point out that

> only five boats […] constructed in this manner have been found north of the Alps, all in provincial Roman contexts […] the Loch Lene vessel is smaller than the other five […] probably because it was used for short-distance inland commuting. The boat itself can be considered on the basis of its construction and rarity as arguably *either* a Roman import *or* built by someone from the Mediterranean ship-building tradition, i.e. a Roman settler in Ireland.
>
> (Ibid.)[5]

The above-mentioned evidence argues for the strong trade connections between the Roman world and Ireland. These connections were

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[4] Charles-Edwards (2000: 156) points to the evidence of Muirchú's *Vita S. Patricii* I 14(13). *Eleuata igitur nauis ad mare… in portum hostii Colpdi bene et prospere delati sunt*, 'they set their ship afloat… and after a good and calm voyage they landed at Inber Colpdi' (Bieler 1979: 84-5). A vernacular, rather than a Hiberno-Latin, source speaks of ships arriving at the same port of Colp as one of the blessings of the righteous rule: *.uii. mbárca cach mís mithemon da gabáil oc Inbiur Colbtha cach blíadna*, 'seven ships every month of June to arrive (?) at Inbhear C. every year' (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga* §17.183-4, Knott 1936: 6), also arguing for this port's provenance in the late 7th c. AD Ireland.

[5] Bockius (2011: 31, fig. 13) provides a map of the locations where such barges (or 'scows': the scholar uses the term 'Prahm' to designate this type of a naval vessel) were found and provides his analysis of the finds from Châtenay-Mâcheron and Laibacher Moor (figs. 14a, 16a). He argues that such boats came in the train of the Roman occupation of the areas and presented a technological innovation with regard to the naval vessels previously used, with its roots in Italy or in the Mediterranean, pointing to Massillian influence. Thus, one can be safe in assuming that we are dealing here with the evidence of Roman presence in Ireland.

established by the Roman merchants to Ireland long before the invasion of Britain under Claudius in 43 AD. We are informed of the writings of Philemon who probably consulted such merchants[6] and provided a detailed account of "the sea routes around the island, the names of places and tribes, and roughly the distances from the ports to the strongholds of the tribal chieftains" (Toner 2000: 73). On the other hand, the Irish mariners were well informed of the wealth of the British coastal ports, having primarily benefited from trade in the period of late Roman Britain. Beside trade, there were Irish military expeditions, details of which are provided, for example, in the historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus. As a Roman army officer and a contemporary, he writes about the attacks by the Scots and the Picts on Britons:[7]

> [T]he ability to mount major sea-borne attacks across the Irish sea suggests that the Irish had previously, during the peace broken in 360, invested heavily in ships […]. The Irish shipping that existed by 360 may, therefore, have played a part in ensuring that the Irish had access to the greater prosperity of Britain in the fourth century.
>
> (Charles-Edwards 2000: 157)

Returning to Ireland, let us surmise that the foundation of such trade outposts as Drumanagh and Lambay, together with possible contact between the foreign visitors and the local inhabitants using the coastline and the inland water routes, argues in favour of active commercial interaction between Roman Britain and Ireland since at least the 1st c. AD.[8] However, as no trade may exist without both parties in the exchange

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[6] Philemon's work was consulted by Marinus of Tyre who was the major source for Ptolemy's description of Ireland. Because a number of Irish names such as these appear in Ptolemy showing British characteristics, scholars attributed them to the informants that supplied information to Philemon, who, most likely, were British merchants trading with the south-east coast of Ireland (Toner 2000: 73; Mac an Bhaird 1991-3: 1; Raftery 1994: 206).

[7] *Consulatu vero Constantii deciens, terque Iuliani, in Britanniis cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete condicta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido provincias, praeteritarum cladium congerie fessas* 'But in Britain in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts, who had broken the peace that had been agreed upon, were laying waste the regions near the frontiers, so that fear seized the provincials, wearied as they were by a mass of past calamities' (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. & trans. Rolfe 1935-40, cap. XX.1.1).

[8] Although they are of a later date, one should not disregard the evidence of the early Irish wisdom-texts concerned with ideal kingship: "there is an interesting association of trade with the rule of the ideal king" (Breatnach 2014: 8). One should recall that the *Audacht Morainn* (Rec. A), compiled in the first third of the 7th c. AD, speaks of *tromliberna lán[a] mban, mór maíne, mór mbárc*, 'heavy ships, plenty of women, abundance of treasures,

sharing a common language, our next step is to look at the linguistic data that permit us to argue in favour of early language contact and exchange between post-Roman Britain and pre-Patrician Ireland.[9]

2. Linguistic borrowings from Latin in pre-Patrician Ireland

The question of bilingualism in the Roman world has been extensively studied, confirming that different languages continued in use alongside Latin: their presence is revealed by chance intrusions into the documentary evidence.

On the other hand, the influence of Latin on the vernacular languages may not be discussed without considering the special connections between Latin and other IE languages. The IE language groups which we know to have been spoken adjacent to the Latin speech area in historic times are Germanic, Greek and Celtic, of which the latter two are the closest. The features shared by Latin and Greek reflected common inheritances from the parent language, whereas those between Latin and Celtic gave birth to the so-called Italo-Celtic theory (though later scholars are divided in their assessment of the evidence used to support it).[10]

It is possible to propose an argument that some unique morphological features shared by Latin and Celtic arose due to language contact. Thus, a gen. sg. marker *-ī*, characteristic of Latin and Primitive Irish (Ogham *maqqi* 'of the son') arose relatively late in Latin and Celtic, *c.*300 BC, as it replaced the ending *-oiso* found in the earlier 400 BC Lepontic inscriptions

abundance of ships', and the 9th c. AD *Tecosca Cormaic* lists *bárca do thochor, allmuire sét*, 'ships arriving, foreign goods of value' (ed. & trans. Fomin 2013: 211). "These statements find a close parallel in the seventh-century Munster law text *Cáin Fhuithirbe*, in a part of the text concerning the rightful king […] *trīa fholta-som .i. mā dagfolaid do-berat longa lūatha fairce ⁊ bārca gona mbrīg* 'through [him fulfilling] his obligations, i.e. if he has fulfilled them well, they bring swift seagoing ships and barks with their strength'" (Breatnach 2014: 9). Breatnach also notes that although "prosperity through trade is seen as a sign of rightful rule, a major problem is that the law texts […] have very little to tell us about trade and merchants […] their apparent absence in these texts" (ibid.). Note however a reference to the presence of foreign tradesmen in Ireland in the *Metrical Dindshenchas*, which could be an echo of such commercial intercourse. In the *dindshenchas* of Carmun, §77, lines 305-8, among the three kinds of markets current in early Ireland, there is a mention of "the great market of the Greek foreigners, where were gold and fine raiment" (*marggad mór na nGall ngrécach i mbíd ór is ardd-étach*, Gwynn 1906: 24-5).

[9] For a fresh overview of the recent findings on the contact between Ireland and the Roman world, see now Johnston (2017).

[10] See, inter alia, Vendryes (1913) and Dillon (1944). The latest treatment of the theory is in Weiss (2012); the main features of the Italo-Celtic hypothesis are given in Weiss (2009: 465-6). Schrijver (2016) discussed phonological innovations shared by Italic and Celtic, and argued "for an Italo-Celtic node on the Indo-European family tree", suggesting "that the two language groups were spoken in geographical proximity" (ibid., 499).

(Eska & Wallace 2001: 80; replaced by -*i* in the later) and the ending -*osio* (attested as a genitive singular) in early Faliscan and Latin inscriptions (i.e., the so-called *Lapis Satricanus* inscription) < *-*osyo* as reconstructed from Greek and Sanskrit. "The common gen. sg. ending may therefore be an example of a borrowed inflectional morph between closely related languages" (Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 32). An independent study by Ringe, Warnow & Taylor (2002) provided an argument for a close relationship between Italic and Celtic that share four features to the exclusion of other IE subgroups that include the phonological change of *pVkw* to *kwVkw* (i.e. Lat. *quinque*, OIr. *coic* < *penkwe* '5'),[11] the productive suffix *-tion-*, the word for lake *loku-*, the verb 'to sing' *kan-*.

Ringe, Warnow & Taylor (2002: 100f.) argued that "these agreements arose through very early contact between the ancestor of Latin and the Celtic languages, continued through the common presence of both branches" (cit. from Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 34) in proximity with each other.[12]

As far as Roman Britain and pre-Patrician Ireland are concerned, language contact between the Britons and the Irish would often be facilitated by the presence of Latin in Britain as an official language; however, contact was also established by the insular Celtic speakers without recourse to Latin. Matasović (2007: 95) notes a number of Goidelic loanwords in British and vice versa, pointing out that in the linguistic situation where "two languages in contact are of radically unequal status […] borrowing of lexical material from the higher variety into the lower one can [be of] massive proportions":

> In Early Britain and Ireland, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 410 A.D., the dominant type of bilingualism seems to have been one in which at least Goidelic and British were idioms of roughly equal status. Code-switching must have been frequent, as well as exogamy, with children growing up in mixed marriages speaking early forms of British and Goidelic, and in some cases also Vulgar Latin, equally fluently.
>
> (Matasović 2007: 95)

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[11] See a more extensive list in Schrijver (2016: 490-5) who discussed fifteen sound changes found only in Italic and Celtic.

[12] One should take into account the study by Russell (1990) in relation to the effect of Latin on the derivational patterns of the insular Celtic, noting parallels between the Gallo-Latin pattern of adding -*(i)acum* to personal names (he explains this as "a Gaulish innovation making use of a native suffix added to Roman personal names", Russell 1990: 53) and the late Brittonic pattern of adding a hypocoristic -*og* to such names of the -*io*-stem. Likewise, "most of the -*ol* derivatives have been influenced by the parallel Latin suffix -*alis*, a connection between Welsh -*ol* and Latin -*alis* was perceived at an early stage in Welsh and was effective in the creation of derivatives based on Latin loanwords" (ibid., 128-9).

Historical[13] and toponymic evidence,[14] as well as the data of the literary sources[15] and bilingual inscriptions[16] speak in favour of the existence of Goidelic speaking communities in Wales as early as at least the 5th c. AD due to the external expansion of the Leinster dynasties across the Irish sea. Likewise, one can safely postulate the existence of British-speaking communities in Ireland.[17]

Taking into account this information, we can now look at the question of the linguistic contact of the Irish with Latin in the pre-Patrician period and the influence of Latin on the Irish lexicon. J. Carney (1971) was the first to systematically look at the earliest borrowings into Early Irish from Latin in the spheres of warfare and seafaring. His observations were followed by the detailed studies of McManus (1983) and Russell (2005). According to McManus (1983: 43, fn. 50), "most of the words listed, all of which are found in the Leinster Poems[18] [...] show 'a non-Christian Ireland, having very close contact with and knowledge of

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[13] T. Charles-Edwards (2000: 157-63) argues for the existence of confederations of Irish tribes that were interested in expansion and "a need for land must also be part of the explanation […] a need on behalf of the kings and nobles for land to sustain their rank" (ibid., 161). Snyder (2003: 192 ff.) points to the Irish names in the regal lists of the kingdoms of Gwynedd and Dyfed.

[14] See Richards (1960) on the study of topography of the South-West Wales which also confirmed the Christian character of the local monuments bearing Irish names.

[15] The early medieval kingdom of Dyfed, originally founded as the Romano-British *civitas* of Demetae, was ruled by an Irish dynasty "from at least the sixth century until the ninth" (Charles-Edwards 2000: 163). The literary sources where the story of the dynasty is told include *Tairired na nDésse* ('Expulsion of the Desi'; see Ó Cathasaigh 1984, 2005) and, indirectly, *Sanas Cormaic* (Meyer 1912, no. 883).

[16] Charles-Edwards (2000: 164) points to the Latin-Irish inscription at the Castelldwyran church, "in the heartland of early medieval Dyfed", commemorating the local king Voteporix (analysis in Hamp 1996). Matasović (2007: 95) discusses the Latin-Irish Ogham inscriptions of the area and cites Jackson (1953: 153-4) who provides evidence for the whole of Britain: "two [Ogams] in Argyllshire opposite north-eastern Ireland, six in the Isle of Man, forty in Wales, six in Cornwall, two in Devon, and a stray at Silchester in Hampshire; a total of fifty-seven, of which forty-four are accompanied by a Latin inscription".

[17] Dumville (1993: 138) speaks of the 5th c. AD British Christian missionaries; evidence of St. Patrick's letters is in favour of the recurring presence of the British warlords on the island of Ireland (Hanson 1971); note also a vague recollection of the mission of Isernius to the south of Ireland in the *Additamenta* to the Tirechán's *Vita S. Patricii* (Bieler 1979: 174-5). Matasović (2007: 96), following de Bernando Stempel (2000) refers to Ptolemy's record of British place-names and tribal names in Ireland, but in view of Toner's (2000: 73) argument (see fn. 5 above) this view cannot be supported.

[18] "When these poems are re-edited, the ancient nucleus will, I think, provide something very close to contemporary documentation for the Laigin and their enemies in the years separating Cathair Már (*c.* 400) from Nad-Buidb and Eochu son of Énna Censelach (*c.*480-500) politically […] a dynastic group in Leinster […] given to overseas raiding, extending as far as Gaul, and are very conscious of Roman civilisation" (Carney 1971: 73).

the Roman empire'". These are EI *arm* 'armour' < Lat. *arma*, EI *míl*, *cathmílid* 'soldier' < Lat. *miles*, EI *bárc* 'bark, ship'< Lat. *barca*, EI *long* < Lat. (*navis*) *longa*, EI *múr* 'wall of a rampart' < Lat. *murus*, EI *drauc* 'dragon' > Lat. *draco*, EI *gríb* 'griffin' < Lat. *gryphus*, EI *léo* 'lion' < Lat. *leo*, EI *Mercúir* 'Wednesday' < Lat. (*dies*) *Mercurii*, EI *Saturn* 'Saturday') < Lat. (*dies*) *Saturni*, EI *cland* 'plant, off-spring' < Lat. *planta*, *romdae* 'Roman' < Lat. *Romanus*, EI *ór* 'gold' < Lat. *aurum*, EI *trebun* 'chieftain' < Lat. *tribūnus*,[19] EI *Gall* 'a Gaul' < Lat. *Gallus,* EI *Alpión* 'Alps' < Lat. *Alpes/Alpium*. Intriguingly, the EI *claidem* 'sword' (> Lat. *gladius*)[20] and EI *sciath* 'shield' (> Lat. *scutum*)[21] may provide examples of linguistic borrowings in the opposite direction.

Most of these words borrowed into Early Irish were transmitted orally: they reflect sound-changes in Irish subsequent to their arrival (Russell 2005: 437). Russell argues for the use of Latin, along with Irish, in Ireland since the 4th c. AD onwards. He alludes to the examples of loanwords contained in Cormac's Glossary that provide indications of established language contact: much of the material in the glossary derives from pre-existing glossary collections and thus provides us with a glimpse of quite an early stage of the language.

The Irish were aware of borrowings not only from Latin, but also Greek, Hebrew (and even Pictish!), yet they explained them in terms of language contact, borrowing and 'corruption' rather than parallel genetic developments from a common ancestor.

"Latin words borrowed into early Irish can take on more than one form, depending on the date of their arrival" (Russell 2005: 436). One of

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[19] By analogy, OI *centúir*, *cetuir*, 'centurion' found in Rawl. B 512's treatise on the Roman realm may also have been borrowed into the language with other terms of Roman provenance in the pre-Patrician period: *Flaithius Róman, tra, ise flaithes deginach a ceimendaib ar imat a consal ocus a conditore ocus a legaite ocus a coimite ocus a ndictodoire ocus a patrici a patrapas* [leg. *satrapas*] *ocus a lataire ocus a ndiuce ocus a centure,* 'The realm of the Romans, now, it is the last realm of the world, and it is impossible to reckon their ranks and their steps because of the multitude of their consuls and their founders and their legates and their counts and their dictators and their patricians, their satraps, and their legislators (?), and their judges (*recte* war leaders) and their centurions' (ed. & trans. Stokes 1887: xxviii).

[20] This etymology is already attested in an Old Irish Glossary from H.2.13 (DIL s.v.; Stokes 1860, item 461); P.W. Joyce reports "*claidheamh* [cleeve], old Irish *claidem*, obviously cognate with Lat. *gladius*; Fr. and Eng. *glaive*; which is still well known in the Scotch claymore, i.e. *claidheamh-mór*, 'great sword' (Joyce 1912: 180). Matasović (2009: 205) links OIr. *claideb* < *kladiwo-* 'sword' to the "Brittonic words (MW *cledyf*, MBret. *clezeff*, Co. *clethe*) [that] are early loanwords from Goidelic. It is usually assumed that Lat. *gladius* was borrowed from Celtic in prehistoric times, but it could also be inherited".

[21] Ivanov (1999: 185) indicates that Lat. *scūtum* 'big square shield' derives from OIr. *sciath* due to a late reflex of the palatalised *sc-* in front of *-i*, and provides an Old Church Slavonic *schit* 'shield' as a further example of this development.

the most important words, imported from Latin into Irish and in two different forms was the personal name *Patricius* > OI *Cothriche* and *Pátraic*. Both were invoked in the twentieth-century academic scholarship as the headings of the two groups (the earlier *Cothrige* series and the later *Pátraic* group) of the Latin loanwords into Irish.

According to McManus (1983: 29), the words of the so-called *Cothrige* series, including OI *cuithe* 'pit' < Lat. *puteus* and OI *cland* 'off-spring' < Lat. *planta*, as well as OI *senester* 'window' < Lat. *fenestra*, OI *sorn(n)* 'oven, kiln, furnace' < *furnus*, OI *sléchtaid* 'kneels, bows down' < Lat. *flēcto*, OI *síbal* 'buckle' < *fíbula*, OI *sroigell* 'scourge' < Lat. *flagellum*, OI *seib* 'beans' < Lat. *faba*, OI *srían* 'bridle' < Lat. *frēnum*, OI *súst* 'flail' < Lat. *fústus*, have been borrowed between 450-500 AD into Primitive Irish.

Apart from a purely ecclesiastical lexicon which exhibited the influx of terms to do with the introduction of Christian religion and doctrine into Early Irish tradition from the year 450 AD onwards, McManus (1983: 43) refers to an exhaustive list of borrowings "associated with trade, especially of wine": EI *fín* < Lat. *vīnum*, EI *corcur* 'purple dye' < Lat. *purpura*, EI *sesra* 'a measure of capacity' < Lat. *sextārius*, EI *muide* 'a vessel for holding liquids' < Lat. *modius*, EI *esarn* 'year-old wine' < Lat. *exhibernum (vinum)*, EI *creithir* 'container, vessel' < Lat. *creterra/crātera*, EI *cann* 'vessel' < Lat. *panna*, EI *síthal* 'vessel for drawing water' < Lat. *situla*, EI *cess* 'basket' < Lat. *cista*, EI *ingor* 'anchor' < Lat. *ancora*, EI *cróch* 'saffron, dye' < Lat. *crocus*, EI *monad*? 'money' < Lat. *monēta*, EI *dírna/dinnra* 'weight' < Lat. *dēnārius*.

The use of the lexical items cited above is not only confirmed by written documents: it is supported by the abundant archaeological evidence of active trade routes. These ran between, as we have already mentioned, Roman Britain and the south of Ireland, and also – of equal importance – between the Mediterranean Europe and Ireland (Raftery 2005: 175-9). Such items may have been borrowed into the language before the arrival of Christianity to Ireland, yet McManus states that "there is nothing inherently unchristian about them" (1983: 43).

In the first section of the article, following Charles-Edwards (2000: 156), I recalled the existence of trading ports, the so-called *emporia*, on both sides of the Irish Sea where any commercial exchange between the Irish and the Roman British was protected by mutually binding treaties. One can point to the evidence of Old Irish that testifies to the existence of such centres: OI *calad* (< Low Lat. *calatum*, 'port, shore, landing place', Romance **calatum*; Ital. *calata*, Fr. *Cale*). O'Curry (1873: I.21) refers to the second book of Ptolemy's *Geographia* on Britain ('Albion'), that mentions the towns (*poleis*) of the *Brigantes*, among them *Kálaton* or

Calatum.[22] Other words from a purely commercial lexicon that were probably borrowed in the pre-Patrician period include OI *callait* 'clever, cunning'[23] and OI *legáit* 'envoy, ambassador'.[24]

3. Code-switching: Latin in Early Irish genealogies, glossaries and annals

Proinsias Mac Cana (2011: 47), writing on cultural diglossia in early medieval Ireland, draws attention to "the disparity in the cultural provenance of the two languages, Irish and Latin", putting the two languages in contrast with one another – Latin being foreign and innovative and Irish being native and conservative. The view that Latin was alien to the Irish has been supported by a number of scholars who, assessing the parallel existence of Latin writing and the vernacular Irish learned tradition, tried to downplay the fluency with which the Irish *literati* were at home with the Latin language.[25] Writing about his experience of compiling the *Additamenta* to Tirechán's *Life of St. Patrick* in the Book of Armagh, Ferdomnach complains of the necessity of

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[22] Toner (2000: 78) points to the existence of *Brigantes* in the south-east of Ireland as well as south of the Hadrian's Wall in Britain, yet says that their name has no "credible reflex in any Irish tribal name". Old Irish *calad* is found in *Aided Guill mac Carbada*: Goll, the warrior from northern Germany, when asked by Cú Chulainn not to come back to Ireland, *na gaibed i n-airiur do aireraib Herenn din chursa* 'do not approach into any shore of the shores of Ireland of your course', is addressed by Cú Chulainn's charioteer, Loeg: *na taisc do churach co calad do chaladaib Herend*, 'bring not your boat near to any port of the ports of Erin' (LL 12698, Stokes 1893: 408.17).

[23] Based on the Lat. *callidus*, the word is glossed *glic* 'clever' in Cormac's glossary; O'Mulc unequivocally indicates its Latin derivation: *callaid* gl. a kallido, 197. A Latin dictionary explains the meaning of the word (in negative or neutral meaning) as *versutus* (*virum versutus* – Odysseus) 'wily, full of stratagems', *dolosus* 'sly', *astutus* 'cunning, crafty'; (in positive meaning): *peritus* 'skilled', *sollers* 'intelligent', *prudens* 'sensible, clever' (Lehmann 1968: II.1 s.v.). In this word, one finds a human quality so important for commercial operations and trade. Another archaic borrowing of commercial nature which is however difficult to date is OI *meirse* < Low Lat. *mercia* in the meaning 'a fine, amercement': *méirse* gl. *amerciamentum* (Stokes 1860: Item 780).

[24] Derived from Lat. *legatus*, early examples of its usage in Irish are found in the *Féilire Óengusso*: *Gallicanus .i. leghait do rig Roman tainic co tir Frangc*, 'G., legate to the king of Rome came to the land of the French' (Stokes 1895: 158 § 26); however, its meaning here is ecclesiastical. For non-ecclesiastical usage of the term in OI, see Rawl. B 512's treatise on the Roman world, fn. 16 above.

[25] Thus, Mohrmann (1962: 217): "in Ireland Latin was introduced as the language of the Christian Church and of the Latin civilization introduced by Christian missionaries, without being adopted as the current language of everyday life"; Ó Croinín (2004: 8): "[…] for them [the Irish] Latin was an *alien* language. Never having been part of the Roman Empire, the Irish acquired their knowledge of Latin at second hand, from books"; and Harvey (2011: 66): "to the early medieval Irish, Latin was an entirely foreign language, which they had to learn from books".

undertaking such an exercise through the medium of Old Irish rather than Latin:

> *Finiunt haec pauca per Scotticam inperfecte scripta, non quod ego non potuissem Romana condere lingua, sed quod uix in sua Scoti<c>a hae fabulae agnosci possunt; sin autem alias per Latinam degestae fuissent, non tam incertus fuisset aliquis in eis quam imperius, quid legisset aut quam linguam sonasset pro habundantia Scotaicorum nominum non habentium qualitatem.*

> [IX 2] 17. (1) Here end these few pieces, written imperfectly in Irish. Not that I could not have penned them in the Roman language, but these stories are hardly intelligible even in Irish; had they, on the contrary been told in Latin, one would not so much have been uncertain about them as left in the dark as to what one had read and what language had been used because of the great number of Irish names which have no established forms.
>
> (Bieler 1979: 178-9)[26]

Rather, the evidence collected by Harvey (1999: 56), speaks in favour of an opposite practice: "Adomnán […] a native speaker of archaic Old Irish, wrote a Life of Columba that contains hundreds of names translated into Latin from his native language […] the Latinising habit is the rule rather than the exception". Harvey explains this due to the perceived high status of Latin in the Middle Ages as compared with the vernacular.

I am inclined to carry this argument further. The historical and archaeological evidence provided above speaks in favour of the networks of exchange that existed between pre-Patrician Ireland and Roman Britain epitomised in the trade centres ('*emporia*') on both islands where Latin was probably used as a *lingua franca*, along with the two (or more) vernaculars. The ease with which Christian missionaries move across the Irish Sea and to the continent in the 5th c. AD, argues at least in favour of the fact that the Irish monastics were capable of using Latin as an everyday language on their travels.[27] Arguments in favour of Latin being a spoken language in Ireland have been put forward by Bisagni (2014: 7),

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[26] Bieler dated the colophon to *c.*700 AD (1979: 246). Bronner (2005) gives a study of Latin/Irish code-switching in late ninth-century Ireland on the basis of the *Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii*.

[27] I refer to the early documents by St. Patrick. In his *Confession* and *Letter to Coroticus*, the saint does not seem to be "lost in the language". On the contrary, he demonstrates a perfect ability to communicate with people of different social standing and nationalities, be they the sons of the Irish princes who guard him on his mission throughout Ireland, the Irish pirates who capture him in his youth, or a British war-leader whom he addresses in the latter document, and it is clear that he uses Latin as a linguistic medium to be understood.

on the basis of the research done by McManus (1983), J.-M. Picard (2003) and others.[28]

    This foundation provides us with a different perspective on how to access the evidence of the data in which Latin and Early Irish are found side by side within the confines of one inscription, document or compilation. While "the use of Latin and Irish in the same text is a very frequent phenomenon in medieval Irish sources" (Bisagni 2014: 16), it is important to note such a practice and call the reader's attention to the earliest examples where it can be found.

    The Ogam inscriptions in Britain set the scene. McManus (1991: 61) speaks of approximately forty items, of which two have independent Irish and Latin inscriptions and twenty-eight he describes as bilingual.[29] The differences between Irish and Latin are due to morphological adjustments (inscription 362: "the imitation of the Latin *filia* with the Irish nominative *inigena*", McManus 1991: 63; cf. also inscription 449, where the Lat. *fili* is imitated with the Ogam genitive *maqi*), Latin inscriptions look sometimes longer than the corresponding Ogam in their addition of the phrase *hic iacit*. The formula originated in Italy in the 4th c. AD (Nash-Williams 1950: 8) and its presence in the British Ogams provides "a link between their Irish counterparts and Gallic funerary customs" (ibid., 62). McManus (1991: 63) adds:

> If some scholars have regarded the Latin inscriptions accompanying the Ogams as secondary in nature, designed for the benefit of native Britons who could not read the Ogam script, the single-name Ogams with more detailed Latin legends appear to suggest that the opposite was in fact the

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[28] See also Harvey 2013: 9. This proposal should not be taken as an argument against the importance of the influence of Latin within the confines of the written medium. In fact, a number of Latin loan-words into Old Irish that belong to the domain of the scriptorium point to the primary role of the Latin learning in the formation of the Irish written tradition. Such examples include OI *scíam* < Lat. *scēma* 'figure of speech' (*in sciám arafoimsom* 'the figure that he adopts' gl. *scema* Ml. 29ª3, Stokes & Strachan 1901: 60) and OI **dechtaid* < Lat. *dictare* 'composes', attested in Cogitosus' writing in the form of a part. nec. in *budh laedh bo deachtaidhe dóibh* 'a poem should be made for them,' Cog. 98. 9; cf. also a compound *do-er-dechtim*, gl. *dico dicto* (Sg 155ᵇ4, Stokes & Strachan 1903: 163).

[29] See fn. 13 above for their exact locations as informed by Jackson 1953. McManus (1991: 62) reports that "the importance of these inscriptions cannot be overstated. They constitute valuable contemporary evidence for the existence and distribution of Irish settlers in western Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era […] In this they are complemented by a number of non-Ogam inscriptions bearing Irish names […] as well as by some features which may stem from Irish practices, such as the son X of the Y formula, the preference for the genitive construction and the vertical disposition of inscriptions on memorial stones".

case, i.e. that the Ogam was considered secondary and complementary and might be abbreviated and modelled on the Latin.

Secondly, we draw the reader's attention to the earliest Irish "surviving verses […], found in the Leinster genealogies; these are in primitive accented metres, and some may date from as early as the fifth century" (Carney 2005: 458). A careful look at the manuscript tradition of those texts demonstrates that some of the lines in these poems in archaic Irish are intertwined with explanatory notes in Latin (given below in bold):

> *Bresal Brec dā mac leis Condla senathair Ossairge **ut de illis post dicemus** ocus Lugaid senathair Lagen*
>
> (BB 120a 10)

Bresal Brec who has two sons, Connla, the ancestor of the Ossairge **about whom we will speak afterwards** and L. the ancestor of the Leinstermen

> *Art Mess-Telmann díbad a chlann; is lais con-rotacht Mur nAlinne **licet antea ciuitas regalis fuit, ut poeta dixit** […]*
>
> (Rawl. B 502 118a29)

Art M.-T., his progeny is destroyed; it is he who built a Wall of A. **although previously there was a royal city, as the poet said** […]

> *In Cathai̯r Mār imorro .xxx.iii. meic [lais] **ut periti dicunt** (BB **affirmant**). Do-roi̯bdatar a clanna huili acht .x. meic **tantum**.*
>
> (Rawl. B 502 120b51)

C.M. then, [his] 33 sons **reported (confirmed) as perished**. All his children perished, except **so few as** 10 sons.

> *Cathair Mar .xxx. mac leis; do-roebdatar **tantum sed .x. ut periti dicunt**. Fiachu ba hAiccid **a quo sunt reges** Hui Ceinselaig ⁊ Hui Dunlainge […]. Ōr a ndire enechclainne, **de quibus dicitur** […].*
>
> (Rawl. B 502 121a19)

C.M., his 30 sons, perished ***all but ten reported as perished***. F. ***from whom are the kings of the Uí Chensellaigh and Uí Dunlainge*** […]. Gold is the compensation of their honour-price ***of whom it is said*** […].

> *Nirand **iuuenis quando mortuus fuit Connamail mac Cathair de quibus dicitur** […]*
>
> (Rawl. B 502 124a34)

N. **the young, when C. m. C. died, of whom it is said** […]

Quia Luaigne **occiderunt eum, ut idem ait** [...]

<div align="right">(Rawl. B 502 124a34)</div>

Since L. **overthrew him, as the above-mentioned said** […]

Thirdly, we notice a similar pattern in the early Irish glossaries. The ease with which the compiler switches back and forth between Latin and Irish is remarkable. Both the earliest stratum of O'Mulc.'s glossary (perhaps of the seventh century) and the earliest versions of Cormac's glossary contain a high proportion of entries where the technical framework is Latinate even though the words under discussion are Irish.

Nimb .i. bróen. **ab eo quod est nimbus. inde dicitur** *isna Brethaib nemid.*

N., i.e., rain, **from which there is rain-storm. Thence it is said** in the Bretha Nemed.

<div align="right">(Meyer 1912: 32)</div>

Beist .i. *a bestia*… Bārcc .i. *a barca.*

B., i.e. **from [the word for a] 'beast'**… B., i.e. **from [the word for a] 'ship'.**

<div align="right">(Meyer 1912: 11)</div>

Brisc .i. **ab eo quod est priscus** *ar is brisc (cach crīn ₇) cach n-arsaid.*

B., i.e., **from which there is [the word] 'old'**, for everything withered and everything old is fragile.

<div align="right">(Meyer 1912: 13)</div>

Finally, we can look at the earliest sections of the annals, where one sees some short variation in the use of Irish as opposed to Latin at certain periods with the high proportion of Latin found in the earlier stratum.

Alii libri dicunt Maine **filium** Neill **in isto anno perisse**.

<div align="right">(*Annals of Ulster* 440.2)</div>

Some books state that Maine **son of** Niall **perished this year**.

<div align="right">(Mac Airt 1983: 40-1)</div>

Bellum Femhin in quo cecidit filius Coerthin **filii** Coeboth. **Alii dicunt** di Chruithnibh **fuisse**.

<div align="right">(*Annals of Ulster* 446)</div>

The Battle of Feimen in which the son of Cairthinn **son of** Caelub **fell. Some say he was** of the Cruithin.

<div align="right">(Mac Airt 1983: 42-3)</div>

Mors Ennai mc. Cathbotha ₇ **natiuitas sancte Brigide ut alii dicunt.**

(*Annals of Ulster* 456)

Death of Énna son of Cathub, **and the birth of Brigit, some say**.

(Mac Airt 1983: 44-5)

Cena ^{alias feis} *Temhra* **apud** ^{alias la} *Loeghaire* **filium** *Neill*

(*Annals of Ulster* 454)

The Feast of Temair [held] **by** Laegaire **son of** Niall

(Mac Airt 1983: 44-5)

Cath Atho Dara for Laihaire re Laighnibh **in quo ₇ ipse captus est, sed tunc dimissus est, iurans per solem ₇ uentum se boues eis dimissurum**.

(*Annals of Ulster* 458)

The Battle of Áth Dara [was won] by the Laigin over Laegaire, **and in it he himself was taken prisoner, but was then freed on swearing by sun and wind that he would remit to them the cattle-tribute**.

(Mac Airt 1983: 46-7)

Mors *Laeghaire* **filii** *Neill oc Greallaigh Daphil* ^{alias oc Greallaigh Ghaifil for taebh Chaisse in Campo Lifi} *etir in da chnoc, .i. Eiriu ₇ Albu a n-anmanda* ^{ar ata re Laighnibh gumadh grian} ₇ ^{gaeth ros-mharbhsad}.

(*Annals of Ulster* 462)

Death of Laegaire **son** of Niall, at Grellach Dabhaill ^{or Grellach Ghaifil on the side of Caisse in Magh Life}, between two hills called Eiriu and Albu; ^{for the Laihin thought that it was sun and wind that killed him}.

(Mac Airt 1983: 42-3)

Cena Temhra la hAilill Molt. **Sic in Libro** *Cuanach* **inueni**.

(*Annals of Ulster* 467)

The Feast of Temair [held] by Ailill Molt. **Thus I have found in the Book** of Cuanu.

(Mac Airt 1983: 48-9)

Such recurrent usage of Latin supposes a functioning bilingualism in the medieval Irish scriptorium. Indicative of its status is the use of Latin in the glossaries, genealogies and annals as a medium providing a linking device– or rather, to be precise, as a responsive technical language.

One may even speculate that the compilers used Latin spontaneously. Defined in the linguistic studies of code-switching as "authentic" usage of the language (Grotans 2006: 114), such spontaneous connecting through the medium of Latin of the textual building blocks

(conveying vernacular topics in the vernacular language) outlines the Latinate-minded linguistic culture of the compilers.

The scribes, for whom it was easier to think in Latin than in Irish, had to re-adjust themselves to thinking in a vernacular, and the process was an evolving one. The fabric of manuscript writing, although filled with native idioms and clauses appropriate for the context, was weaved together using an international linguistic medium which, on the one hand, had a long and culturally pre-eminent pedigree, and on the other – in the context of the developing Christian conversion – was of a higher, more prestigious status.

4. Conclusion

In this necessarily short contribution, I have tried to assess historical, lexicographic and textual evidence in relation to the earliest period of the Irish tradition. I have dealt with the matters of contact and exchange between pre-Patrician Ireland and Roman Britain, noting the movement of peoples, words and languages in both directions. On the basis of the data cited above, I propose that the trade nexus centres ('*emporia*') were necessarily the focal points where interlinguistic exchange took place in the first instance. Having re-assessed the question of the pre-Patrician borrowings from Latin into Irish, it has become clear that such linguistic items were necessarily limited to the spheres of trade, seafaring and warfare. Turning to Irish/Latin diglossia and code-mixing, the evidence of the first vernacular Irish documents points to the use of Latin as a responsive technical language. Irish scribes were already fluent in Latin, treating it as a spoken rather than a written medium, and it may well be that the first compilers of the early Irish documents gained their fluency from the verbal exchanges of the *emporia* as well as from their training at the *scriptoria*.[30]

Furthermore, these sources were compiled by scribes whose Latin was as good as their Irish,[31] and yet we are dealing with a specific repertoire of genres in which the two languages are equally mixed. It may be that the early scribes prioritised the production of genealogical, annalistic and lexicographic compilations, feeling that providing a reasonable and reliable historical (on the basis of the annals), political (on the basis of the genealogies) and linguistic (on the basis of the glossaries)

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[30] See Bisagni (2014: 54) on the training and education of the medieval scribes with accompanying references.

[31] One may question whether the compilers in question were native or foreign to Ireland; this dichotomy however may not be appropriate in view of the recent study by O'Loughlin (2007) who presented the conversion of Ireland as the undertaking of a single nation.

framework for early Irish learning was of primary importance.[32] Having thus paid particular attention to the three genres under investigation, these nameless compilers provided the Irish learned circles with the opportunity– from the sixth century onwards – to discover and develop other forms and genres of literary expression in a more elaborate and exquisite way.

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[32] Bisagni (2014: 15-6) calls our attention to the disparity of the classic diglossic dichotomy 'H(igh) vs. L(ow).' in relation to the standing of Latin in relation to Irish: "while Latin obviously enjoyed a position of international cultural pre-eminence, at the same time Irish seems to have been perceived as an important tool […] worthy of being employed in a learned context for the production of vernacular literature, as well as for the elucidation of difficult texts." The legend of St. Patrick who is authorising the different branches of vernacular learning to thrive under the auspices of the Church (administered through the linguistic medium of Latin), preserved in the Ps.-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*, thus may not be far from the truth: "Until Patrick came, speaking was only granted to three men: the historian […] the man of art […] the judge for giving judgements […] After Patrick's coming, however, all of these […] are subject to the possessor of the white language of the scriptures" (Carey 1994: 19).

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CRYNODEBAU PAPURAU NAS CYHOEDDIR YMA
ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS NOT PUBLISHED HERE

Sabine Asmus (*Szczecin University; Universität Leipzig*)
Acquisition of Distorted Language as an Obstacle to Cultural Continuity

The paper aims to disclose some of the reasons for a potential language shift in Wales and its possible results, despite the fact that Welsh enjoys official status and a supportive legal framework. Using as a comparative case that of Sorbian, which has a much richer morphology and few legal rights, the paper presents a language-orientated means of preventing language shift. In this context, the concept of language health as a language right is introduced.

Linus Band (*Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru / University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies*)
The History and Usage of Brythonic Compound Verbs with 'to be'

The compound verbs with 'to be' are one of the most characteristic features of the Brythonic languages: when their Goidelic counterparts are considered, where we find nothing of the sort. Even within the Brythonic languages themselves, the spread and productivity of this phenomenon differs: e.g., 'to happen' is a 'to be' compound in Middle Cornish (*whar-fos*) and Middle Breton (*hoar-vout*), but not in Middle Welsh (*chwaru*). What, then, is the history and usage of these compounds? I present a general outline of the problem and discuss my first steps towards unearthing the origins of these verbs.

Philip R. Davies (*Myfyriwr PhD / PhD Candidate, Prifysgol Bangor*)
'The National Game': Emrys ap Iwan ac Imperialaeth Brydeinig 1879-1885 / 'The National Game': Emrys ap Iwan and British Imperialism 1879-1885

Rhwng 1879 a 1885, cyhoeddwyd yn *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* bum llythyr ar faterion imperialaidd gan y llenor-bolemegwr o Ddyffryn Clwyd, Emrys ap Iwan. Dim ond un o'r llythyrau hyn, sef 'Sylwadau am y rhyfel nad oedd yn rhyfel', a ailgyhoeddwyd ers iddo ymddangos yn y 1880au. Mae'r rhan fwyaf o'r sylw academaidd a roddwyd i syniadau gwrthimperialaidd Emrys hyd yn hyn, felly, wedi'i seilio ar un ffynhonnell. Amcan y papur hwn yw casglu ynghyd yr holl lythyrau gwrthimperialaidd am y tro cyntaf a dadansoddi eu prif ddadleuon a syniadau. Gosodir syniadau Emrys ap Iwan

yng nghyd-destun meddwl gwrthimperialaidd Prydain y 19g, gan amlygu sut y maent yn adlewyrchu barn radicalaidd prif-ffrwd Lloegr neu farn sydd yn fwy neilltuol neu yn fwy Cymreig ei seiliau.

Between 1879 and 1885, five letters were published in *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* on imperial matters by the writer and polemicist from the Vale of Clwyd, Emrys ap Iwan. Only one of these letters, namely 'Sylwadau am y rhyfel nad oedd yn rhyfel,' has been republished since appearing in the 1880s. The majority of academic attention given to Emrys's anti-imperialist ideas up to now has therefore been based on the evidence of a single source. The purpose of this paper is to bring together for the first time all the anti-imperialist letters and to analyse their principal arguments. Emrys's ideas will be put in the context of 19th-century British anti-imperialist thought, highlighting whether (and if so, how) they reflect either mainstream radical opinion in England or more individual and specifically Welsh ideas.

Nancy Edwards (*Prifysgol Bangor University*)
Chi-Rhos, Crosses and Pictish Symbols: Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Early Medieval Wales and Scotland

By the beginning of the fifth century Wales had been a part of the Roman Empire for over three centuries. However, distinct regional differences are evident in the intensity of Romanisation, especially as the south-east, with the town of Caerwent and scattered Roman villas, is compared with the north-west, where the auxiliary fort at Segontium (Caernarfon) continued to be the most important Roman site into the early 390s. Scotland, it is true, did remain largely outside the Roman Empire, but Hadrian's Wall was a permeable barrier, and considerable influences are detectable as far north as the Forth and Clyde line, though they are very limited north of the Tay. The aim of this paper is to examine the process of Christian conversion by comparing and contrasting the evidence of inscriptions, symbols and images on inscribed stones and early stone sculpture in Wales and Pictland.

Maxim Fomin (*Ulster University*)
Multilingual Practices in Maritime Memorates of Ireland

When oral tradition is studied from a linguistic point of view, it is always intriguing to look back in an attempt to study the process of code-switching and the phenomenon of bilingualism in Ireland. The study of folklore sources for such purposes is even more exciting. However, one cannot fully trust early twentieth-century publications of such sources, as they were exposed to the editorial method of de-Anglicisation. Editors of such collections took special pride in removing English turns of phrase (Ir. *Béarlachas*).

In this regard, it is worthwhile to turn to the written records preserved at the National Folklore Collection (UCD, Dublin, Ireland), which present the fruits of the efforts of the Irish Folklore Commission collectors active from 1927 down to the 1970s. The workings of the IFC collectors lay an important foundation for the study of folklore in Ireland devoid of the de-Anglicization of their predecessors. My paper offers a glimpse of the instances of code-mixing found in the IFC manuscripts, with a specific focus on the stories concerned with personal experiences at sea ('maritime memorates').

Grigory Grigoryev (*European University, St Petersburg*)
The Symbolism of the Staff in St. Patrick's Hagiography
This paper explores the significance of the *bachal*, the miracle-working staff which is a typical attribute of Irish saints: Grigoryev analyses the textual and iconographic tradition of early medieval Irish hagiography.

Jadranka Gvozdanovic (*Heidelberg University*)
Northeastern Croatia in the Light of Celtic Heritage
Investigations into the late La Tène period in northern Croatia provided strong evidence of pre-Roman Celtic presence in these areas (cf. Majnarić-Pandžić in Dobrzańska, Megaw, Poleska, 2005). For the following period, recent archaeological investigations in the area of Vinkovci in NE Croatia testify to the coexistence and historical over-layering of cultures. Of particular importance is the most recent discovery of a major Early Christianity Complex in the *Pannonia Secunda* of the 4th and 5th cc. AD. My paper analyses the cultural and onomastic importance of these excavations, in the light of evidence presented by Sims-Williams (2006) and Falileyev (2012).

Steve Hewitt (*UNESCO*)
Welsh 'Syntactic Mutation and Arabic 'Faulty Accusative': Case or Configuration?
Modern analyses of Welsh syntactic mutation (SM) are either semantic ('case') or syntactic (configuration). In Formal Arabic, a persistent, if ostensibly incorrect, 'faulty (indefinite) accusative' (FA), instead of correct nominative, is strikingly reminiscent of Welsh SM – *all* examples of FA in Arabic would show SM in Welsh. Arabic FA may be analysed as either semantic (unaccusative) or syntactic (head-trigger-dependent.acc!). Unaccusative effects are very old in Semitic, but a configurational intervening trigger analysis, as suggested by Welsh, seems more straightforward today, and would account for *all* instances of accusative, including correct accusative for direct objects! In the light of this probable case > configuration reanalysis in Arabic, Welsh SM may have had the

following origin and evolution: (1) sandhi~lenition of first post-verbal nominal; (2) following introduction of V-2 in Middle Welsh with frequent fronting of unergative subjects, the first such element is increasingly unaccusative subject (with object-like properties) or direct object – the rule becomes associated with object properties; (3) case > configuration reanalysis to head-trigger-SM.dependent. This analogous marking phenomenon in each language thus helps to elucidate that of the other language, and a case > configuration reanalysis is suggested for both Welsh SM and Arabic FA.

John T. Koch (*Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru / University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies*)
Indo-European from the East and Celtic from the West: Reconciling Models for Languages in Later Prehistory
Linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests that Celtic branched off from Proto-Indo-European in south-west Europe, in contact with *p*-less Iberian and Aquitanian/Palaeo-Basque. An overview of some current theories of the Indo-European homeland reveals the limitations of the family-tree model and favours alternatives. Evidence for the Celticity of the South-western (a.k.a. Tartessian) inscriptions of the Early Iron Age (750–500 BC) will be briefly summarized. The archaeological context of the SW stelae shows a survival or revival of funerary rites of the same region (south Portugal) of the Early and Middle Bronze Age (1800–1300 BC). This nativist revival articulates an indigenous cultural identity predating the arrival of the Phoenicians, iron working, and literacy in Atlantic Iberia, all of which occurred by 900 BC. Looking into the deeper prehistory of the Copper Age of the 3rd millennium BC, the distinctive features of the SW necropolises (e.g., anthropomorphic stelae depicting high-status weapons and reused as lids over single-burial cists at the centres of paved circular barrows) have antecedents in the 'Yamnaya package' of the Pontic steppes, rather than the local Beaker complex. This steppe culture, which expanded west to Hungary 2900–2700 BC, has been associated with the expansion of Indo-European languages in the traditional 'kurgan' theory of Gimbutas and Mallory.

Peredur Lynch (*Prifysgol Bangor University*)
John Morris-Jones a'i Ddeddfiadau / John Morris-Jones and His Prescriptions
Yn 1913 cyhoeddodd John Morris-Jones ei waith arwyddocaol *Welsh Grammar: Historical and Comparative.* Hwn oedd y disgrifiad mawr cyntaf o Gymraeg llenyddol a oedd yn seiliedig ar ddatblygiad ieitheg

Geltaidd gymharol. Yr oedd hefyd yn ramadeg hynod o ddeddfol a chanddo, yng ngeiriau Morris-Jones, y nod ymarferol o bennu 'the traditional forms of the literary language' a chael gwared ar 'fictitious forms' a oedd yn deillio o 'false etymological theories'. Bydd y papur hwn yn rhoi ystyriaeth i un o'r deddfiadau mewn manylder. Erbyn ail hanner y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg roedd y ffurf Gymraeg Canol *wyneb* (Hen Wydd. *enech*) wedi datblygu *g-* anorganig a *gwyneb* oedd y brif ffurf mewn Cymraeg ysgrifenedig. Bydd y papur yn olrhain ymdrechion obsesiynol Morris-Jones i ailorseddu *wyneb* fel y ffurf 'gywir' mewn Cymraeg ysgrifenedig.

In 1913 John Morris-Jones published his monumental *Welsh Grammar: Historical and Comparative*. It was the first major description of literary Welsh to be based on modern Celtic comparative linguistics. It was also a highly prescriptive grammar that had, in the words of Morris-Jones, the practical aim 'of determining the traditional forms of the literary language' and of culling 'fictitious forms' that derived from 'false etymological theories'. This paper will consider one prescription in detail. By the second half of the nineteenth century middle Welsh *wyneb* 'face' (Old Ir. *enech*) had developed an inorganic *g-* and *gwyneb* had become the predominant form in written Welsh. The paper will trace Morris-Jones's obsessive attempt to reinstate *wyneb* as the 'correct' literary form in written Welsh.

Tatyana A. Mikhailova (*Moscow State University*)
'Taming of Islands': The Overcoming of a Monster by a Christian Saint as a Motif of Irish Hagiography
Central to Calvert Watkins' famous book *How to Kill a Dragon* is the notion of how a hero gains the 'everlasting fame'. Irish Saints' Lives are shown to represent the tales of secular heroes, with similarities in the structure of the biographies. There are however important differences in the saints' motivation: a saint is concerned not only with his own fame or with the reputation of the new faith, but also with the purification of the land from paganism. This goal in Irish hagiographies is represented by the motif of the contest with druids, and also by the symbolic battle with an autochthonous monster residing on a small island. It is noteworthy that a saint does not usually kill (*orgaid*) a dragon but rather 'tames' (*sochtaid*) it.

Vera Potopaeva (*Moscow State University*)
The Bold Queen: Some Legal Notes on *Genemain Aeda Sláne*
In some cases a narrative can tell us more about the application of law then any legal source. The birth-tale of Aed Sláne describes the complicated relationship in the family of king Diarmait mac Fergusa Cherrbeoil. Both

of his wives were called *rígan*, 'queen', but they were obviously not equal. Both of them also had serious physical defects. This paper discusses circumstances which influenced the status of women in Medieval Ireland.

Angharad Price (*Prifysgol Bangor University*)
T.H. Parry-Williams a'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf / T.H. Parry-Williams and the First World War
Treuliodd T.H. Parry-Williams y blynyddoedd cyn y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf yn fyfyriwr prifysgol yn yr Almaen ac yn Ffrainc. Cafodd agweddau ar y Foderniaeth y daeth ar ei thraws yn y cyfnod hwnnw ddylanwad mawr ar ddatblygiad ei waith. Ond esblygodd ei waith ymhellach yn ystod y Rhyfel ei hun, yn enwedig yn sgil y profiadau a ddaeth i'w ran oherwydd ei safiad heddychol, ac mae'r arloesi a ddigwyddodd yn y cyfnod hwnnw wedi gadael ei ôl ar lenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd heddiw.

The great poet and essayist T. H. Parry-Williams spent the pre-First World War years as a student in Germany and France. Modernist influences acquired during this period profoundly influenced his work. But, as shown in this lecture, it was the First World War itself – and his experiences as a pacifist – that made him a truly pioneering writer whose influence on Welsh literature continues to this day.

Huw Pryce (*Prifysgol Bangor University*)
Medieval Welsh History in the Victorian Age
This lecture aims to assess what the history of medieval Wales meant to people, especially Welsh people, in the Victorian period. Given the breadth of the topic, coverage will necessarily be exploratory rather than exhaustive. The discussion will proceed in three stages. The first will provide some introductory background (both to Victorian Wales and to the writing of Welsh history); the second will assess how Welsh medieval history was approached, especially with respect to the treatment of sources; and the third will consider why the history of Wales continued to be presented as something that had largely if not wholly taken place in the Middle Ages and earlier.

Tatiana Shingurova (*Moscow State University*)
The History of the 10th-century Eoganachta According to the Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories
Genealogies were among the first texts to be recorded in Irish, but as historical sources they have been viewed with suspicion, because of their legendary aspects. Beyond the colourful stories, though, a most interesting subject concerning the Laud genealogies is the context in which they were

written. This paper explores what the Laud genealogies can tell us about historical conditions in 10th-century Munster, as well as about the life of the Eoganachta kings of that time.

Robat Trefor (*Prifysgol Bangor University*)
Siaradwyr Cymraeg Bob Dydd a'r Iaith Lenyddol /
Everyday Speakers of Welsh and the Literary Language

Bydd y papur yn dechrau trwy nodi natur ddwylosig draddodiadol y bwlch rhwng Cymraeg Llenyddol a Chymraeg llafar yn y tafodieithoedd. Yna holir a yw'r ffurf Uchel, Cymraeg ffurfiol ysgrifenedig, bellach wedi mynd y tu hwnt i ddealltwriaeth siaradwyr Cymraeg bob dydd. Ai dyna'r rheswm pam mae siaradwyr Cymraeg mor gyndyn o lenwi'r fersiynau Cymraeg ar ffurflenni swyddogol sy ar gael yn helaeth erbyn heddiw yn dilyn ymgyrchoedd iaith yr hanner can mlynedd diwethaf?

Disgrifir gwaith ymchwil a wnaed gyda dau grŵp ffocws o siaradwyr brodorol, un yng Nghwm Gwendraeth yn y de a'r llall yn Ynys Môn yn y gogledd. Dangosir sut rhoddwyd prawf ar allu aelodau'r grwpiau i ddeall Cymraeg llenyddol a ffurfiau ystwythach a mwy tafodieithol o destunau arbennig. Datgelir agweddau y siaradwyr brodorol hyn at eu hiaith lafar eu hunain a'r synnwyr dwfn o fath o ddwylosia estynedig sy ganddynt pan ddeuir at ddewis iaith at ddibenion 'swyddogol'.

We begin by recognising the traditional diglossic gap between Literary Welsh and the spoken language in its various dialects. We then ask whether the High variety, formal written Welsh, has by now gone beyond the grasp of everyday speakers of the language. Is that the reason why Welsh speakers are still so reluctant to fill in the Welsh versions of official forms which are now widely available following fifty years of language campaigning?

We then describe research work carried out with two focus groups of native speakers, one in Cwm Gwendraeth in the south and the other on Ynys Môn in the north. We show how we tested the groups' ability to understand literary Welsh and other more flexible and more dialectal versions of set pieces of text. We disclose these native speakers' attitudes towards their own spoken language and a deep sense of a form of extended diglossia they share in matters of their chosen language for 'official' purposes.