ZEUSS'S "GRAMMATICA CELTICA."—No. 2.

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THAT the Irish writers began their etymological speculations at a very early period, is clear from glosses to the ancient Irish works called *Agallamh an da Shuadh, Amhra Choluim Chille, Feilire Aenguis*, the *Senchus Mor*, and the various Brehon Law tracts. The derivations proposed by these writers are, however, often visionary, and sometimes wild and false.[a] The only writer among them who attempts to establish an etymological law is Cormac MacCuillenan, who, in his *Sanasan*, or Glossary, under the word *fin* (wine), observes that the Gael employs *f* for the *u* consonant of the Latin, "*quamvis hoc non per singula currat*," as *fin* for *vinum*, *fis* for *visio*, *firt* for *virtus*. He also remarks under the word *cruimther* (a priest), that where the Gael uses *c*, the Cambrian or Welshman has *p*; but he does not extend his law any further. This, however, shows a rational beginning, which ought to have produced a better result in the course of centuries. Cormac derives many Irish words from the Latin language which unquestionably are not borrowed from it, but only cognate with it, or derived from a common source. He also derives Irish words from Greek, where no affinity exists; as *Teamhair* (the Irish name for Tara, or any pleasant hill), from the Greek *theoreo*, conspicio, which is manifestly false. He likewise derives several Irish words from Hebrew, though it is now proved that we have borrowed no words from that or any other of the Semitic dialects. Keating informs us that words have been borrowed from all primitive languages to form the "Thebean" dialect of the Irish; but this he has from bardic tradition only.

It must be confessed, however, that no improvement had been made in the etymological science in Ireland down to the middle of the seventeenth century, when Michael O'Clery, a lay brother of the order of St. Francis, attempted to lay the foundation of an Irish etymological dictionary; but his means were small, and his powers crippled by the political troubles of his time (he died in 1643); and he only produced a small vocabulary of difficult or obsolete Irish words, which was printed at Louvain, in 1643. He expresses a hope, however, that his learned friends Boetius *Roe* MacEgan, Torna O'Mulconry, Melaghlin *Moder* O'Mulconry, and Peregrine O'Clery, would produce a more perfect and copious work. He remarks, in the preface to his vocabulary, that ancient Irish writers seldom attended to the rule of "Broad with a Broad and Slender with a Slender vowel," and that they seldom marked the aspirations of consonants, or the long quantities of vowels; that they often put consonants of the same class for each other, such as *c* for *g*, *t* for *d*; for instance, *cloc* for

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[a] Whenever an Irish word could be traced to a Latin etymon, it was considered satisfactorily explained.

clog, agut for *agad, bee* for *beag, cotlat* for *codladh, art* for *ard;* and that they also substituted *ae* for *ao, ai* and *oi* for *aoi,* as *Aedh* for *Aodh, cael* for *caol,* and *bai* and *boi* for *baoi;* that the ancients wrote *e* for *a,* as *die* for *dia, cie* for *cia,* &c., and that they also wrote indifferently *a, o,* and *u,* one for the other, at the end of a word.

This work of O'Clery's was, however, far from approaching a perfect system of comparative etymology. The time had not yet arrived for such a science; and we find the able and classically erudite Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin in 1674, style him and his collaborateurs " ignorant men," [*homines illiterati,*] from whose performances little of truth can be collected or inferred. [*Primat. Dublin,* p. 42.]

The first man of the Celtic race who brought the etymological science to anything like a scientific standard was Edward Lhuyd. This writer gives it as his opinion that the roots of the Celtic language are better preserved in the Irish than in the Welsh tongue; and concludes that the Gaedhil of Ireland had inhabited all Britain before the ancestors of the Welsh took possession of it. He was the first really learned man that handled this subject with anything like etymological skill, and the first who drew the attention of the literati of Europe to Celtic studies, which he did in his *Archæologia Britannica,* published in the year 1707. His labours attracted the attention of the famous philosopher Leibnitz, who makes the following reference to their value and to the use that may be made of the Celtic dialects for illustrating European antiquities :—" Postremo ad perficiendum vel certè valdè promovendum literaturam Celticam, *diligentius linguæ Hibernicæ studium adjungendum censeo,* ut Lwydius egregiè facere coepit. Ex Hibernicis vetustiorum adhuc Celtarum, Germanorumque, et, ut generaliter dicam, accolarum oceani Britannici cismarinorum antiquitates illustrantur." [*Collect. Etymolog.* vol. i., p. 153.]

To the excellent Lhuyd succeeded a number of visionary etymologists inScotland, such as David Malcolme, and the two MacPhersons, whose etymological *ignes fatui* amused and deluded the world for many years, but which have been completely extinguished by the modern light of true etymology. Dr. O'Brien, R.C. Bishop of Cloyne, warmly took up Lhuyd's system, and willingly rejected all the early Irish traditions, to cling to the honour which the Irish derived from what Lhuyd attempted to prove, viz. that they had come from Gaul, and that, after possessing Great Britain so long as to have left the impress of their language upon that country, they afterwards passed over into Ireland, leaving a large portion of their population behind, which, merging in the Cambrians, ultimately lost their language. O'Brien's system, however, was not sufficiently scientific to withstand the test of true criticism; and his Irish-English dictionary, which was printed at Paris, in 1768, is now regarded as a work of little authority. He died at Cambray, in 1769.

The next etymologist who laboured in the same field was General Vallancey, who made Irish and Celtic literature the laughing-stock of the truly learned of Europe, by his false translations and his absurd and fanciful etymologies. O'Reilly, the last author of an Irish dictionary, had no

'knowledge of even the classical languages, and, being totally incapable of any linguistic comparisons, must be regarded as a mere compiler. His work was principally drawn from Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, interleaved and added to by the late William Haliday Esq.

The only writer, next after Lhuyd, who had treated of the Celtic dialects in a scientific manner was Dr. Prichard; but the new science of comparative philology was only in its infancy in his time, so that the greater part of his writings on this subject are now obsolete. Zeuss, with an ability and industry scarcely credible, has completed what Prichard only dreamed of, or saw in the dim distance, from his want of the clear lights of modern philological science.

These brief notices of our etymologists are necessary, to show how much all future Irish grammarians owe to the vast and true learning, and indefatigable industry of J. Caspar Zeuss, whose work, which was published at Leipsic, in the Latin language, in 1853, we now propose to examine, and who may be said to have sacrificed his life to his Celtic studies.

Zeuss commences his work by treating of the sounds of the Celtic dialects, their origin and laws. These separate themselves into two great divisions, namely, Irish and British, both of which agree in the main with the sounds of other cognate languages, but are evolved by modes and laws peculiar to themselves.

The letters, or signs used to represent these sounds, have been the Roman characters, since the time that the Christian religion passed from the Romans to the Gauls, Britons, and Irish. These Roman or Latin characters were employed by the Irish under modified forms from the fifth century; and, having passed to the Angles and Saxons through the teaching of the early Irish Christian missionaries, have received among the learned of Europe the name of Anglo-Saxon characters, or writing. Our author is, however, of opinion that, before these letters were received from the Romans, a peculiar mode of writing had been in use among the Celtic people, known by the name of *Ogam*. Of this fact evidence seems to be afforded by the name *Ogmius*, which was that of a God in the Gaulish language, and which has been preserved among the Irish to the present day in the word *Ogam*, designating a peculiar kind of ancient Irish writing, to be seen in ancient stone inscriptions, and also known to the writers of the German-Irish MSS. of the ninth century. Zeuss refers to his description of the St. Gall MS. for specimens of *Ogam* writing as early as the ninth century; and to O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar* [Introduction, pp. xxviii, xlvii], where it is said that the commonest kind of *Ogam* is called *Ogham craobh*, or virgular *Ogam*, because, if the whole combination of characters lying from left to right be raised upright, it will look like a *craobh*, or tree. But this kind, he observes, is rather linear, as the short lines, drawn in various numbers and in various directions to represent the several letters, adhere to a straight line serving as a basis; and these little chains of lines may have been compared by some one to the "chains" of the God Ogmius.

Concerning this god Ogmius, we find a curious account in Lucian, who says that he was pourtrayed in the figure of Hercules, but strong only in speech and persuasion, being represented as an

old man, drawing a crowd after him by chains of gold and amber extending from his tongue to the ears of his auditors, who willingly followed him. Lucian's words are as follows:—

"Hercules is called Ogmius by the Celtæ in their native language; but their representation of of the God is quite grotesque. By them he is represented as an extremely old man, with a bald pate, such hairs as remain being evidently grey, with a wrinkled skin reduced to a black colour, like the skin of those who work on the sea, &c. . . . . and in truth, he is anything but Hercules! He has, nevertheless, the armour of Hercules: he is clothed in the lion's skin, holds the club in his right hand, carries the quiver and exhibits the bended bow in his left, and is (in these particulars) altogether Hercules. For this old man draws after him a great crowd of the commonalty, who are afraid of him. There are cords of gold and amber extremely fine, like beautiful necklaces, binding these people to him. Cheerfully they follow him, rejoicing like labourers relieved from toil. The painter, not having a place to fasten the strings, on account of the club being in the right hand and the bow in the left, pierced the extremity of the tongue of the god, and fixed the strings to it, and has turned him smiling towards those who are led. A certain Celtic by-stander, ... a philosopher, I think, said, concerning these native peculiarities—'O, stranger, I will unfold unto you the mysteries of this picture . . . The Celtæ do not, like you Greeks, consider Hermes to be the Logos, but we consider Hercules to be it, because he is much more powerful than Hermes; and if he is represented as an old man, you must not wonder, for the Logos manifests its vigour only in ripe old age . . . . . therefore, you must not be astonished if the old man Hercules, the Logos, draws after him those men in the crowd, who are attached to his tongue; nor if you see the connexion between the crowd and his tongue . . . . and on the whole, we suppose this Hercules to accomplish everything by the wisdom sprung from the Logos; and then words, which are his darts, are, I think, sharp and sure to hit the mark, and swift at wounding souls. At least you say that his words are winged.' Thus spoke the Celt."

It must be acknowledged, however, that the name of this Celtic god Ogmius has not been yet found in any of the Gaulish inscriptions.

From this passage, our author infers that Ogmius was the god of language and of wisdom among the Celtæ, by means of which qualities he became the conqueror of all, like Hercules. He thinks the Irish word *Ogham* is cognate with the Welsh *of,* (an element,) from which various words are derived, such as the adjective *ofas* (elementary), the substantive *ofydd* (a learned man, a philosopher), *ofyddiaeth,* (philosophy, science). To me, however, this seems very doubtful.

The Ogma of the Irish was one of the Tuatha De Danann colony, and flourished, according to O'Flaherty's corrected Irish Chronology, about A.M. 2764. He was the brother of a King Breas, son of Elathan, and the uncle of King Dagda, and " exceedingly well acquainted with letters and with magic." [*Ogygia* iii., 30]. The question of the origin and antiquity of the Ogham character

has not been yet fully discussed; but it is in safe hands, and the public will soon be put in possession of all that is known on the subject by the researches of the Rev. Dr. Graves, F.T.C.D. If we could rely on an assertion of O'Flaherty's [*Ogygia*], we might incline to believe that the Irish Druids had many written tracts in the time of St. Patrick, [432]; but his reference is too vague, and his authority too modern to be received in a question of such importance. His words are—"The Dananns are recorded to have been exceedingly well versed in letters and the magic arts; and the memory of Dagda, King of Ireland (A.M. 2804); of Ogma; of Etana, the poetess, the mother of King Delboeth; of Cairbre, the poet, son of the same Etana; of Dananna, daughter of King Delboeth, and who was his wife; of Brigit, the poetess, daughter of King Dagda; is yet preserved among the learned. Finally, Dudley Firbisse, hereditary professor of the antiquities of his country, mentions in a letter [to me] a fact collected from the monuments of his ancestors, that one hundred and eighty tracts [tractatus] of the doctrine of the Druids or Magi were condemned to the flames in the time of St. Patrick."[b]

This fact, however, is not mentioned in any of the lives of St. Patrick as yet discovered, nor does any mention of it occur in any of Dudley Firbisse's writings, nor in any of the MSS. of his ancestors, which are known to the present writer; and even if it were found in any MS. of the MacFirbises of Lecan, since they became the historiographers of their race, it would not be sufficient to prove so important a fact, in the absence of any mention of it in the ancient lives of St. Patrick, in which it might be expected to be found if there were any foundation for its truth.

Among the Welsh, also, the ancient forms of the letters are somewhat similar to the Scandinavian Runes, and are suitable for being cut on wood or stone; such as the alphabet of Nemnivus, called *Coelbren y beirdd,* the "alphabet of the Bards," in contradistinction to which is placed *Coelbren y menaich,* the "alphabet of the monks," or Roman alphabet. The Irish bards also used figures like shrubs, or the small branches of trees, such as are the Scandinavian Runes; from which it is to be inferred that they formed their alphabet called *Beth-luis-nion,* giving the name of a tree or a shrub to each of the letters: as *beith,* the birch; *luis,* the mountain ash; *nion,* the ash, &c. But, as Zeuss remarks, the investigation of these subjects is more properly the province of palæography than of grammar.

It may be urged against the pagan antiquity of the Ogham characters in Ireland that Cæsar makes no mention of such letters having been used in his time by the Druids of Gaul or Britain, for he states expressly that they used the Greek characters; but, supposing that the Druids of Gaul

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[b] "Postremo Dualdus Firbissius patriæ antiquitatum professor hæreditarius, ex majorum monumentis, literis datis refert, 180 Druidum seu Magorum disciplinæ tractatus S. Patricii tempore igni damnatos." *Ogygia* iii., 30, p. 219. It would appear from Cæsar, that the Druids of Gaul did not commit their doctrines to writing at all, and that the characters which they used on ordinary occasions were the Greek letters. If they ever used the Ogham, or any other characters of the same kind, Cæsar does not appear to have been acquainted with the fact.

concealed from Cæsar the alphabet in which they wrote their mysteries, it may be further urged that no characters resembling either Oghams or Runes have been discovered in any part of Celtic Gaul—not even in Bretagne, nor in any other purely Celtic district. The question then naturally arises, when were the Ogham characters first invented, and how long have they been in use in the British Islands? Were they first invented in these Islands, or adopted in imitation of the Runes of the northern nations, after the Roman alphabet had been received? These are some of the questions which Dr. Graves has to consider, and which, it is hoped, he will set at rest, in his forthcoming work on the origin of Ogham writing.

Zeuss next proceeds to analyse the sounds of the Irish and Welsh languages. In treating of this subject, he employs the term *infection* to express those changes which the Irish grammarians had expressed by *caelughadh*, and *leathnughadh*, as well as by *aspiration* and *elipsis;* but before entering on this subject, he treats separately of the single sounds of the vowels and consonants.

In the first chapter of his first book, he examines the natural classification of the Celtic vowels and their short sounds. He gives examples of the short sounds of the vowel A, as occurring in ancient Gaulish names, in the writings of the Latin poets. He considers it to be an undoubted fact that the vowels of Gaulish words were rendered by the Latin poets by the quantity in which they were heard from the mouth of the foreigner; because this appears from both the Irish and British languages still retaining the same quantities; and also, because many of the poets themselves were of Gaulish origin, or had a knowledge of the Gaulish language, such as Virgil, Catullus, Ausonius, and Sidonius: and he thinks that this general rule is not invalidated by any of the poetic licenses which occasionally occur, as when, for instance, Propertius [4, 10, 41] shortens the *o* of the Gaulish proper name *Virdomarus*, which both the Celtic languages make long; or when other poets are obliged by the metre to lengthen the short vowels *e, o,* in the names *Arémoricus, Calêdonius, Mediólanum.*

By various examples adduced from these poets, he establishes that the ancient Gaulish language had a short vowel *a,* but he does not attempt to prove any more. He does not determine whether it was *a* short and slender, as in the English word *cat,* or short and broad, as in the Irish *cat,* (like *a* in what) which are very distinct.[c]

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[c] By the various quotations which our author gives from the Roman poets, he proves nothing but that the ancient Celtic language had a vowel *a* short. He does not attempt to show in what situations it was short, *i.e.*, in connection with what combination of consonants, or what kind of an *a* short it was. It is worthy of remark here, that the Irish word *athair* (father) has the first *a* short, as in the Latin *pater ;* while in the word *máthair* (mother), it is long, as in the Latin *mater :* and that the Irish word *ar* (plough, tilled land) has the *a* short, like the Latin verb *aro.* It would be curious to follow up this analogy by comparing generally the quantities of cognate Latin and Irish words. In the French language, not only has the *t* disappeared from the middle of *pater* and *mater,* but the vowels also have been "infected," and the present forms of *père* and *mère* are more infected than any known Irish words cognate with the Latin.

He next proceeds to exhibit, from the ancient German-Irish MSS., examples of Irish words which retain the original *a* short in its purity; as *mag*, a plain; *magen*, a place; *carad*, a friend; *caradrad*, friendship; *cath*, a battle; *gab*, *rogab*, he took; *labar*, *labrad*, speech; *rann*, a part. For each of these words he finds cognates in Gaulish proper names, many of which are probably correct; but we have not room in the present article even to glance at them. The reader can form an idea of his comparisons from the following note on the word *mag*, a plain—now *magh*; anglicised *moy*, in proper names of places in most parts of Ireland.—

"The word *magus* is found very frequently in Gaulish names of places compounded with proper names of men, as *Cæsaromagus, Juliomagus, Drusomagus, Borbetomagus;* or, with adjectives or substantives, as *Noviomagus, Nivomagus, Rigomagus.* By the simple word *mag* is meant "a plain;" the monastery which is called *Magh-lunga* is interpreted "campus navis" [*long*, a ship, Bolland. Jun. 2, 237]. The plain which the Scoti call *Magh-Sceithi* is explained "plain of the shield" [Bolland, Jul. 5, 596]. In Welsh, on the other hand, the derivative *maes* (=*mages*, compare *Magesis*, now Mays, near Meran, in the life of St. Corbin, c. 11, 35) signifies a plain, but the simple *ma* signifies a place. The derivative *magen* is common to both languages, signifying place; in Irish, *nach magen*, "any place" [Ml, 2d 27c]; *issin magen sin*, "in that place" [Sg, 30b]. In the Welsh *yman*, "here, in this place," *man* = *magen*, according to the rule of the medial *g* [Mab. 264]. In Armoric, *man* frequently serves as a demonstrative. The simple substantive is of the feminine gender, in both languages; in Irish, *maige rein*, "of the plain Ren" [Ann. 4 Mast., O'Conor, 2, 123]; *y pebyllua honno*, "a place this for pitching tents;" here *honno* is the pronoun fem. [Mab. 3, 273]. It is doubtful whether to this may not belong the proper names in ancient inscriptions, *Magiorix* [Steiner 145], *Magianus* [Orelli 457], *Magiatus* [1987], *Magiacus* [4900], *Magissius* [1395], *Magidius* [Gruter, 983, 10], *Magunus* [Grut. 1012, 8], *Magulla* [912, 10], *Magullinus* [648, 2]. Except certainly *magulus*, in the compound *Taximagulus* [in Cæsar], *Conomagulus* [Bolland. Mart. 1, 258], which in the more modern Welsh is *mael*, "a boy, or servant," and is to be compared with the Gothic *magus*, "a son, or boy," [and we may add to the Irish *macc*, *mag*, *mac*, a son, a child. The word *mag*, which is now always written with the *g* aspirated (or "infected," as Zeuss calls it), enters largely into topographical names throughout Ireland, and is usually anglicised *Moy*, and sometimes *Ma*, *Mo*, and even *Muff*.]

Our author next proceeds to show the changes which this vowel undergoes by what he calls *infection*, when *i* follows (or *e* proceeding from an original *i*) either in inflection or derivation. The usual change is into *ai* in ancient Irish MSS., as *clainde* (of the race, of the children), nom. *cland* [Wb 5ª]; *rainne* (of the part) nom. *rann*, [Wb, Sg, fq]; *cairimse* (I love), [Wb, 5c 23ᶜ]; *baitsimse* (I baptize), [Wb, 8ª]; *baithis*, (baptism), 12ª; *claideb* (a sword), 6ª; *aimser* (time), Wb, fq; *bairgen*, (bread, Welsh *bara*), [Wb, Ml, Sg].

He also finds the *a* infected into *e* and *i*, particularly in compound words, as *erdirc* (celebrated),

erdaircigidir (he celebrates). From this infection, he concludes that the old Gaulish preposition *ambi*, and the Irish preposition *imme* (about), the *b* being assimilated, are identical.

The diphthong *au* represents another infection of the vowel *a*, which diphthong takes the place of the radical *a* when followed by *u*; as in *baullu* (members), *rolaumur* (glossed "audeo"), Wb 17ᵃ, for which *rolomur* Ml. 21ᵇ, whence also *rolaimmemar, conlaimemmar* (we dare), Wb 15ᵉ 17ᵇ. He adduces various examples from Wb, Sg, and Cr, to establish this fact, which he demonstrates conclusively. The reader should be here informed that *au* never occurs in modern Irish orthography, and that wherever it does occur in ancient MSS. it may be converted into modern orthography by changing it into *u, ea, oi,* or *o* long. The same rule will hold good with respect to the prefixes *er, ir,* and *ur:* for example, the ancient spellings *aurdairc, erdairc, irdairc, urdairc,* are now *oirdhearc;* the ancient *aurnaigthe, irnaighte,* are now written *urnaighthe.* The student should also bear in mind that the consonants *c, p, t,* are aspirated as regularly in the ancient as they are in the modern MSS., but that *b, d, g, m,* are never aspirated in ancient MSS., the reason of which will appear when we come to the chapter on infected consonants.

After having fully considered the various infections of *a* short, our author proceeds to consider the modern canon of Irish orthography, "Broad with broad, and slender with slender," which has been so rigidly adhered to in the modern Gaelic of Ireland and Scotland. The following are his words:—

"These forms of orthography are met with in our ancient MSS., but not according to the common rule and usage—sometimes indeed, not without cause, but partly through abuse. It is easy to perceive that in this abuse is to be sought the origin of that famous rule of the more modern Irish language, so peculiar to the Gaelic dialects of Ireland and North Britain, by which rule the modern spelling is so corrupted that it becomes a horror to a foreigner, and to the lover of pure orthography. Now, by this rule—which is called *còil re còil, lethan re lethan,* or as they write it now, *caol re caol, leathan re leathan* (*i.e.,* slender before a slender, broad before a broad, *i.e.,* let the vowels be so)—it is required that after vowels which, by infection, are particularly opposite to each other (viz., *a, o, u,* which are called broad or thick, on the one hand, and *e, i,* which are called slender or thin, on the other), if there follow in the next syllable opposite vowels, there must be inserted superfluous vowels of the same class. Therefore, they write *Albanach* (a Scotchman), *suilibh* (with eyes); but not *firinnach* (true), *mathir* (a mother), *nathir* (a snake), *bardibh* (to bards), *dorsibh* (to doors), which have to be written, according to this modern rule, *firinneach, mathair, nathair, bardaibh, dorsaibh,* with a superfluous *a* after *a* or *o,* and a superfluous *e* after *i.* There is also an anteposition of broad vowels, as in the adjective *leathan* (ancient Irish *lethan*) broad, the substantive *rioghacht* (a kingdom—from Irish *righ,* a king); and when in this way for the short *e* there arose the common orthography *ea,* and for the long *i* the frequent form *io,* there was here introduced before the slender vowel a further superfluity; as in the Scottish Gaelic, *cealgair* (a defrauder, read *celgir*), *rioghaich* (rule thou, read *righich,* as it may also be written)."

This modern rule of " Broad with broad and slender with slender," is not observed in any of the ancient Irish MSS., though various approaches to it are frequently to be seen in the oldest. It has been followed very strictly since about the middle of the sixteenth century. Almost all the writers of the last seventy years have condemned it as redundant, and subversive of the pure original orthography; but still, in all printed books it has been strictly adhered to in Ireland and Scotland.

This rule seems to have naturally grown out of the nature of the pronunciation of the Gaelic, in which every *consonant*, or combination of consonants, has a certain fixed *broad* or *slender* sound, according to the nature of the *vowel* with which it is connected. Take, for example, the word *cealgair* in the Scotch Gaelic, which our author considers so redundant in its orthography. In this word the consonants *lg* are remarkably broad, according to the present pronunciation; so that, according to our modern ideas of broad consonantal sounds, the spelling *celgir* could not represent them; nor could this sound be otherwise expressed than by employing a double set of consonants, and emancipating them altogether from the influence of the vowels. It should be remarked that the words anciently written *delg*, a thorn; *celg*, a sting; *gell*, a pledge; *fell*, treachery, and other similar words, are now written *dealg, cealg, geall, feall*, and correctly so, according to the modern pronunciation; and that in these the *a* is not only not redundant, but in some instances does not even convey a sufficiently broad sound for the Munster dialect. The *a* imparts a broad sound to the succeeding consonants which the slender vowel could not at all give to them. We must, therefore, either conclude that the ancient pronunciation of such words was different from the modern, or that the single vowel *e* had a two-fold influence;—namely, that it communicated a slender sound to the consonant going before it, and a broad sound to the consonant coming after it. If we reject the *ea* in these and other words of similar orthography in the modern language, we must reject the Munster pronunciation altogether, and introduce characters or marks to represent the broad and slender consonants. Thus in the words, *min*, meal; *min*, small; *minn*, a relic, these three distinct consonantal sounds could be represented by writing the slender *n* without any mark, and the broad *n* and *nn* with dots over them.

Our author next gives examples of Celtic *e* short, from the classical poets, but without establishing any rule or any fact except that the Celtic names had *e* short in the time of those writers. He goes on to give examples of *e* pure short in Irish words from Wb, as *nem*, heaven; *nemed*, a sanctuary; *atrebat*, they inhabit; *breth*, judgment; *iress*, faith; *meldach*, acceptable; *nert*, strength; *delb*, effigy. These words, however, are not considered now as exhibiting *e* short pure and intact; for their present sounds would not at all be represented by that letter, the consonants at the end being broad and thick, and requiring to be preceded by broad vowels. They are now written as follows—*neamh, neimheadh, aitreabhat, breath, ireas, mealdach, neart, dealbh*.

Now, if it be granted that the present pronunciation is correct, it will follow, as a matter of

course, that the ancient orthography was very imperfect, not only in its system of broad and slender sounds, but also in its system of aspiration.

Zeuss next proceeds to show instances of infected *e* in inflection or derivation, and finds that it becomes *i*, and sometimes *ei*, in position; as *nem*, heaven, gen. *nime; breth, brithe, brithemnact*, judgment; *iress*, gen. *irisse*, of faith; *grientairisem*, solstice; *airchinnech*, a chief; *cenn*, a head; *aimser*, time, gen. *aimsire; ingen*, a daughter, gen. *ingine; sen*, old, comp. *siniu; toisech*, first, comp. *toisigiu;* superl, *toisigem*. In position : *geinte*, "gentes;" *esseirge*, resurrection; *creitme* of faith, nom. *cretem; meirddrechloc*, "fornix." He finds, however, in Wb. the writing *genti*, *mértrech, cretme;* also, *delbe*, of an image; *serbe*, of bitterness; *serce, deserce*, of love; *ferce*, of anger: and on the other hand, *ei* sometimes occurs even out of position; for example, in the numeral *deich*, ten. In the same way, in position nothing changes the *u* of the internal inflection added to the vowel *e* of the root itself: *ó neurt, inneurt*, dative of the substantive *nert*, strength; *coindeulgg*, from the subst. *coindelgg*, comparison. Out of position, however, the *e* passes into *i*: *isintuisiulsin*,* in that case, nom. *tuisel*, (Sg, 204ª); *hogiun*, "ex ore," nom. *gen; onchiunn*, from the head, nom. *cenn; dindriuth*, from the course, nom. *reth*.

According to the modern orthography the above examples of pure and infected *e* short are now written as follows : *neamh*, heaven, gen. *ncimhe; breath*, judgment, gen. *breithe; breitheamhnacht*, judicature; *ireas*, faith, gen. *irise*, by syncope *irse; grian-tairiseamh*, solstice; *airchinneach*, a chief; *ceann*, a head; *aimser*, time, gen. *aimsire; inghean*, a daughter, gen. *inghine; sean*, old, comp. *sine; toiseach*, beginning, comp. *tuisce*, sup. *tuisce*.

With respect to the rule of writing *ei* for simple *e* in position, it is always adhered to at present; but the ancient writers used simple *e* as frequently.

It should be here remarked that it is highly probable that in the earliest stage of the language the vowel *e* in such words as *ferg*, anger, *delg*, a thorn, *celg*, a sting, must have imparted a broad sound to the consonant or consonants following it; and that hence, when in the course of inflection a slender sound was required, even the ancients inserted an *i*. This mode of writing began very

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* *Isintuisiulsin = is in tuisiul sin.* Here four distinct parts of speech are written as if they were one word. This might be done with some reason when giving a facsimile of the MS., but there is no necessity for crowding distinct words in this manner now, when paper is so plentiful. It is exactly like writing in English *inthisverycase*, or in Latin *inhaccecausa*. In the combination *hogiun* above given, the words are obscured by being amalgamated; as if one were to write in Latin "*hexore*," for *ex ore;* or in English, *bymouth*, or *bywordofmouth*. It is incorrect to jumble words together in this manner when there is no synthetic amalgamation, and where the words are grammatically separable, and represent each a distinct part of speech. In such combinations, however, as *hirrigi*, (in the reign), *hillaigniu*, (in Leinster) there is a kind of synthetic amalgamation of the preposition with the substantive, which seems to warrant their union; but I am of opinion that it would be better to write *hi rrigi, hi Llaigniu*, keeping the preposition and the noun separate. The French do so, and we ought to adopt their method. The English, during the barbarous stages of their language, wrote *thone, thother*, afterwards *th'one th'other;* but in the nineteenth century these barbarisms are rejected, even in poetry, and all the words are written separately and in full.

early, as Zeuss himself shows; although it must be acknowledged that this *i* is redundant if considered in any other point of view than as attenuating the consonants which follow it. This affords a strong argument in favour of the modern mode of writing the nominatives *fearg, dealg, cealg,* and *méar, féar, déar,* instead of the ancient *ferg, delg, celg; mér, fér, dér.* We have as much reason for inserting these broad vowels as the English have for writing the words *lead, speak, treat.*

The student should constantly bear in mind that in the modern Irish orthography the quality of the sound of the consonants is defined by the vowel with which they are connected; and this must have been also the case in the ancient language, but, in consequence of the imperfection of the ancient orthography these sounds are often left uncertain. Unless, therefore, two sets of consonants be invented to represent, the one slender and the other broad sounds, these apparently redundant vowels cannot be dispensed with. Take for example the word anciently written *fin,* [wine]; if we allow the slender vowel *i* to exercise its atttenuating influence upon the *n,* no one could now understand what the word means by its sound; but if we insert an *o* between the *i* and the *n,* we give the *n* a broad sound (and this is the only use of the *o*) which will at once convey the true sound. If we reject the *o,* we must mark the *n* by some symbol or sign to indicate broadness or thickness; as, by a dot placed above it.

Our author next goes on to show that the vowel *e* short is sometimes changed into *o;* as, from *delb* is formed *dolbud,* figment; however, it is very doubtful that *dolbud* is a grammatical modification of *delb.* He thinks also that *e* short becomes *a* long; of which he adduces as example the substantive *bráth,* judgment, occurring frequently in Wb. He finds a cognate word in the Welsh *brawd,* =*brát;* and probably also in the ancient Gaulish names *Bratispantium,* and *Mandubratius,* in Cæsar, and *Casibratius* in Gaulish inscriptions, (Gruter 869,7). As an example of *e* short becoming *e* long, he instances the numeral *dech,* ten, which becomes long in the combinations *én-déc,* eleven, *dó-déc,* twelve, *tri-déc,* thirteen. It is remarkable that the English *ten* becomes *teen* in similar combinations. He adds the Gaulish *rhèda,* cognate with the old Irish *reth,*[*] to run. Finally he sees reason to believe that the *e* short becomes even *o* long; as in the substantive *srón,* nose, if it be compared with the verb *srennim,* I snore.

[*] From the ancient Irish root *reth,* which may be reduced to the primary forms *red* and *ret,* it does not appear to a certainty whether the original consonant is *d* or *t.* But, in the modern Welsh, *rhedu,* (to run), not *rheddu,* points out an original *t,* with which also the Armoric *ret* (running) agrees. Against this however it is to be noted that sometimes in the British a difference existed in the grades of the consonants. Among the Gaulish names in the Vindobon MS. we read as follows concerning the name of the river Rhodanus: "*Roth* violentum, *dan* et in Gallico et in Hebraeo judicem; ideo *hrodanus,* judex violentus." The syllable *an* is doubtlessly a derivative; and of the "judex" therefore, nothing is to be here enquired. But the signification *violentus,* running rapidly, is not to be impugned when others are not badly explained in these ancient glosses. As the Rhodanus is called "violent, rapid," so the Arar is called "placid." It flows with incredible smoothness, so that it could not be judged by the eye in what direction it runs.[†] (Caes. B. G. 1, 12). From the same root is derived the name of another river *Arabo,* and the Gaulish name of a man *Arabius* which occurs in inscriptions: in modern Welsh, *araf* is mild, placid.

[†] The river Sileece in Fermanagh is locally believed to glide against the hill "*rith a n-agaidh an aird.*" The eye is so deceived by the inclination of the ground that the stream appears to flow in an opposite direction from that in which it really does, and, contrary to streams in general, against the hill. This peculiarity is attributed to the curse of St. Nia.

By combining the preceding examples he obtains the formula of mutation *delb, dolb, breth, bráth, red, roth, réd, sren, srón;* a series of sounds which is common and regular in the German dialects, as for example in the Gothic roots. *grab, gröb, gib, gab, géb.*

Our author next proceeds to give examples of *i* short in Gaulish names from the Latin poets, but without establishing any fact or rule, except that the Gaulish language had *i* short. * He then adduces Irish examples of *i* short, un-inflected by infection or composition; as in monosyllables, *bithbeo,* ever-living, immortal; *bithfotai,* always long; *bith,* the world; *fid,* a tree; *forling, inforling,* the effect. Also before *i,* or *o; inis,* an island, gen. *inse; cride,* heart. As *a* is altered by *i* following it, so, *vice versá, i* is broken by *a* or *o* following it, *u* being next in the following syllable, and becomes *e;* as *bith,* the world, gen. *betha; ith,* corn, gen. *etha, etho; fid,* a tree, gen. *fedo; rind,* a constellation, gen. *renda. Italia* is therefore in Irish *Etal,* and *Italida, Etaldai;* and the adjective *lethan,* wide, accords with *Litana* the name of a wood in Gaulish Italy; and in the same manner the adjective *Ægyptius* is made in Irish *aegeptacde* in Wb. 30[c]. and *philosophus, felsub,* Wb. 27[a]. *philosophia, fellsube,* Wb. 30[b].

Then follow examples of *o* short from the Latin poets, and of *o* short, pure, and uninfected in Irish words; as in the particles *con, com,* in compound words, such as *condelc,* comparison; *comacobar,* concupiscence; *cotecht,* convention; and in nouns, particularly when *a, o,* or *u* follows, as *mora,* of the sea; *montar,* a family; *molad,* praise; *accobar,* desire; *folus,* evident; *lobur,* work. It is retained also in monosyllables, sometimes even when *i* follows, which however does not seem to be original *i;* as *tol,* will; *trom,* heavy; *colinn,* gen. *colna,* flesh. In position also *o* as well as *e* often remains intact, as *torbe,* utility; *lobre,* infirmity; *forbe,* firmness; *duforbaithe,* (gl. veneratur usque ad superiora); *forbuide,* (gl. intensivus); but this adjective is in Wb. very frequently written *foirbthe;* to which may be added *doilbthid, foirggae, mointer, muinter.*

The preceding examples would be written according to the modern Irish orthography as follows: *coinnealg, comhacobhar, coiteacht, mara* [not *mora*] *muintear, moladh, accobhar, folus, lobhar, toil, trom, colann,* [gen. *colainne* or *colna*]*; torbha, lobhar, forbha, dofhorbhaithe, foirbhthe.*

When he finds a Gaulish proper name resembling any Irish words, he takes occasion to compare them as he goes along; and in the above list he compares *mora,* of the sea, with *Morini* and *Aremorici; montar,* family, with *Komontorios,* the name of a Gaul mentioned by Pausanias; and *folus,* evident, he compares with *Volusius, Volusianus.*

In these comparisons he is right according to the strict rules of modern philology; but such comparisons ean never be considered as more than ingenious conjectures conducted according to the

* Among these examples he gives the name *Virgilius* from Tibullus, Martial, and Sidonius, and believes that this name is of Gaulish origin. He thinks that the correct form of it is *Vergilius.* He finds the root of it in *Ouergilia,* a town in Spain, and *Vergobretus,* an officer mentioned by Cæsar He does not compare it with the Irish proper name *Firgil* or *Fergal* with which it is obviously cognate; but he finds its root in the Irish *ferg,* anger; *foirge,* the sea.

rules of an uncertain science. The case would be different if we had original Gaulish compositions to compare with ancient Irish and Welsh ones; for then the parts of speech would be distinguishable by their various inflections and influences on each other in grammatical sequence. At present nothing remains to guide us but some proper names of men and places, and these not in the Gaulish orthography, but reduced to the Roman and Greek standard of orthography and prosody; so that we have only the classical refined forms of names which their writers considered almost unpronounceable—*rudem hunc et incultum Transalpinæ sermonis horrorem.* The Gaulish inscriptions alone have afforded any thing like sentences in the ancient language; but these have not yet been sufficiently understood to afford any fair specimens of ancient Celtic inflections. It is only now that they are likely to be brought under proper scrutiny and put into the crucible of scientific philology.

It is very remarkable by the bye, that the ancient Phenician, the ancient Celtic of Gaul, and the language of the Picts of Scotland have all passed away without leaving a single sentence to enable us to form an idea of their grammatical construction.

He next proceeds to point out the infections of *o*, which he finds from old Irish MSS. to be *oi*, and *ui*, examples of which are adduced from Sg., Ml., and Wb.; as *foilsigud*, manifestation, from *folus*; *dina ibdoirsib*,* dat. plur., from *dorus*, a door; *doilbthia*, figulus, cf. *dolbud*; *mointer, muinter,* family; *tuile*, gen. of *tol*, the will; *uile*, all, cf. the Arm. *ol*, the Welsh *oll*; *buinne*, a tube; *colluinde*, with bitterness, nom. *luinde*, cf. *londas*, indignation; *sluindid*, it means—subst. *slond*, signification. The substantive *muir*, the sea, is to be mentioned above all others as an example of infection occurring even in a monosyllable, the same as *ai* in *flaith=flathi*, (Slav. *wladi, imm= ambi*). That this infected form of *muir* came from the ancient *mori* is demonstrated by certain ancient Gaulish words compounded with it, as *Moritasgus*, Gallus Seno, (Cæs.), *deus Moritasgus,* (Inscrip. Orell. 2028,) *Moridunum*, a town of Britain; *Morikambe eischusis*, an estuary of Britain, (Ptol.); *Morimarusa*, =mortuum mare, (Plin.)

Zeuss next proceeds to give examples of Gaulish or British *u* short from the Latin poets, and then exhibits a list of Irish words, in which *u* short is preserved intact, which are not many. He finds it, however, in the following from the MS. Wb; in the particles *su*, well, *du*, bad, or ill; in compound words, as *sualche, sualchi*, benefacta; *dualche*, malefacta; *suacaltmiche*, suavity, *i.e.*, good affability; *sulbir*, eloquent, from *su* and *labar*; which particles also appear in ancient Gaulish names, as *Suessiones*, Cæsar, *Suanetes*, Plin., *Sucarus, Sucaria*, Inscript. Grut. 742, 3, *Suasa*, Grut. 369 5; also, in certain monosyllabic nouns and derivatives, as *mug*, a slave, a boy; *soïrmug*, a freed slave; *dub*, ink, modern Irish and Gaelic of Scotland *dubh*, Welsh and Armor. *du* black, whence the name of the river *Dubis*; *druth*, a druid; *bunad*, gen. *bunid*, dat. *bunad*, origin.

This preserved *u* passes into its intermediate *o*, as the *i* into *e* in *bith, betho, etal, felsub*, if *a*,

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* *Doirsib* is now pronounced *dóirsibh*, the *o* long, though it is short in the nom. sing.

o, or *u* follows, as *mug*, gen *moga*, a slave. Hence, it is legitimate to compare the words *domun*, the world, *domunde*, worldly, with the ancient Gaulish names *Dumnacus, Dumnorix, Dumnorigis*, which do not differ in signification from the names *Biturix, Bituriges*, in Cæsar.

That the short *u*, however, is apt, even without the aforesaid cause, to pass into *o*, is shown by the frequent writing of the particles *so, do*, for *su, du;* and not only the forms *crochad, crochto, crucifixion; rochrochsat*, they crucified; *crochte*, crucified, in Wb., but even the nominative form itself *croch*, a cross, proves the same. Also, *bolc*, belly, bag; " *Bulgas* Galli sacculos scorteos appellant," *cilornn*, a pitcher, cf, *Cilurnum*, a town of Britain, Sg, 49.[a]

He then sums up as follows:—

" If we distinguish this return of the short *i* and *u* into *e* and *o*, from the proper infection *ai, ei, oi*, of *a, e*, and *o*, as the proper infection is not *i* short, it is not to be expected in the *u*; and so we find, both in Wb. and in Camar. *airde cruche*, the sign of the cross; *tiesal ar cruche*, the taking up of our cross; *cenel cruche*, a kind of saffron; *foditu cruche*, the bearing of saffron; from *croch, =cruch*, which in Sg. 61[b] is explained *ainmm lubae*, (gl. *gummi, i.e.*, a kind of fruit,) for which is to be substituted the noun *lub*. It seems, however, introduced on account of the confusion with *o*, and its infection *oi* and *ui*. For it is not to be doubted that the substantive *loth*, (gl. coenum, gl, Lerna=Lat. lutum), gen. *loithe* paludis, (gl. Mefites, over which is written "nomen *loithe infer*," *i.e.*, the name of an infernal pool, Sg, 127[a],) may be compared with the Gaulish names *Lutetia, Luteva;* and *roithnech*, serenus, with the name *Ruteni, i.e.*, merry people.

" In other cases the infection *ui* is obvious, as *cruind*, round, Welsh *crwn=crun*, fem. *cron; duine*, a person, Welsh, *dyn*, from *dun?; duille*, a leaf, ancient Gaulish *dula*, in *pempedoula* (Diosc.) five-leaved, unless perhaps for this may be substituted *done, dola*, =folium.

" Of the interchange between *o* and *u* there are also ancient British examples, cf. *u* short, British; hence the form *muntar*, family, in Wb, 21[c] is not to be wondered at, instead of which *montar, mointer, muinter*, are more frequently written.

"From the foregoing examples, it appears that the evolution of the short vowels is generally made in a very simple manner—in such a manner, indeed, that two series have arisen opposite to each other and infecting each other mutually. The first series comprehends the vowels *a, e, o*, which, by infection from *i, e*, are made *ai* (sometimes *e* and *i), ei* (or *i), oi* (or *ui*). In the second series, *i* and *u* from *a, o, u*, by receding, are made *e* and *o*. The leaders of the infections, of which the first may be called the "proper infection," and the second, the "fraction," are ɪ and ᴀ."

We have now surveyed one section of his chapter on orthography. It will convey to the reader a pretty fair idea of his method, which is the best that has been yet adopted by any writer on Celtic languages. We shall return to his work repeatedly, and point out fully to our readers what this great scholar has done not only for Celtic philology, but also for linguistic science generally.