Transforming Traditions: Studies in Archaeology, Comparative Linguistics and Narrative

Maxim Fomin, Václav Blažek and Piotr Stalmaszczyk
(editors)

Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica held at Příbram, 26-29 July 2010

ABSTRACT

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This volume contains thirteen articles, ten of which were presented at the Fifth International Colloquium of *Societas Celto-Slavica* held at Příbram, 26-29 July 2010. The contributions include papers on a range of subjects relating to Celtic and Slavic early and modern linguistic data, their cultural and narrative traditions. In addition to papers on lexical and grammatical parallels between Celtic and Slavic languages, other subjects covered are mythological aspects of Irish narrative tradition, modern Welsh literature and language, and aspects of Breton grammar. The second part of the volume includes invited papers on Russian and Scottish Gaelic paremiology, early Irish pseudo-history and archaeological evidence relating to Celtic presence on the territory of the present day Ukraine.

Maxim Fomin, Research Institute for Irish and Celtic Studies, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland

Václav Blažek, Department of Linguistics and Baltic Languages, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Piotr Stalmaszczyk, Department of English and General Linguistics, University of Łódź, Poland

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INTRODUCTION

This volume presents the proceedings of the Fifth International colloquium of the Learned Association *Societas Celto-Slavica* held between 26-29 July 2010 at the Business Academy, Příbram, Czech Republic. The previous conferences of the *Societas* were held in Coleraine (19-21 June 2005), Moscow (14-16 September 2006), Dubrovnik (18-19 September 2008) and Łódź (13-15 September 2009) and their proceedings have now all been published.[1]

The Fifth International colloquium of the *Societas* was opened by Josef Řihák, Mayor of Příbram, whose address was followed by a short talk by Josef Velfl regarding the Celtic antiquities of the area. The papers finally published in this volume fell into two distinct parts. The first one includes ten contributions originally presented at the colloquium,[2] whereas the second part contains three invited papers.

The focus of the volume is wide-ranging, including such matters as archaeological evidence of the Celtic presence in the Eastern Europe, Celtic and Balto-Slavic isoglosses, aspects of early Irish narrative and modern Celtic linguistic traditions with reference to areas of syntax, grammar and language change, creative writing in Wales as well as Celto-Slavic paremiology and folklore.

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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 South-eastern 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, *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.

[2] All in all, fifteen papers were presented at the colloquium, including papers by Hanka Blažková on 'Celtic Motifs in the Works of Julius Zeyer', Grigory Bondarenko on 'A Prose *Dindshenchas* of Irarus', Maxim Fomin on 'Character Identification Formula in Early Irish Narrative and Russian Folklore Traditions', Patricia Lewkow on 'Early Women's Writing in Wales and Poland' and Hildegard L. C. Tristram '*Éli Loga inso sís* – Lug's Charm in the *Táin*'.

The opening address 'Bohemia, Ireland and Pan-Celticism' by Séamus Mac Mathúna, the President of the *Societas*, examines a range of issues dealing with the Celtic heritage of the Czech Republic, and of the Bohemian region in particular, the establishment of the Irish college in Prague and the role of the Irishmen in its activities, the interest to the Ossianic compositions by James Macpherson in the 19th century Czechia and the growth of Pan-Slavic and Pan-Celtic movements.

Václav Blažek, the Chair of the colloquium, presents an important paper 'On Specific Zoological Isoglosses between Celtic and (Balto-) Slavic'. He convincingly argues that the words denoting 'eagle', 'swan' and 'fox' in Celtic, etymologically reconstructed as *orilo-*, *gulbio-*, *luxo-*, can be best explained by drawing on Balto-Slavic isoglosses as appropriate comparanda. The topic of Celto-Slavic etymological research is further carried on in the paper 'A Celtic Gloss in the Hesychian Lexicon' by Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak. He deals with the etymology and the semantics of the lexemes *mátan*, *matakos* and *matakon* that crop up in the lexicon by Hesychios of Alexandria, explaining its meaning by drawing on a range of examples from insular Celtic.

The etymological section of the first part is concluded with Tatyana Mikhailova's contribution 'How and why I-E 'daughter' was lost in Insular Celtic?' In her view, the loss of IE kinship term represents a part of the so-called "linguistic revolution" that took place in the insular Celtic languages between the fourth and the sixth centuries AD and was provoked by some social changes, e.g. the growing importance of the institution of fosterage, causing shifts in the meanings of social terms. In this regard, the semantic transition between 'girl – daughter – maidservant' is a frequent if not a universal phenomenon.

The papers by Maria Shkapa and Anna Muradova are devoted to linguistic aspects of modern Celtic languages. In the contribution 'Cleft as a Marker of a Thetic Sentence: Evidence from Russian and Irish', Maria Shkapa outlines a set of pragmatic contexts in Modern Irish for the use of cleft, as well as provides examples of trivial prosodic patterns distinguishing focalising and non-focalising uses of cleft, proposing a comparison with the Russian *eto*-cleft construction. Anna Muradova deals with 'The Breton Verb *endevout* and the French *avoir*: the Influence of Descriptive Grammars on Modern Breton Verbal System'. She draws reader's attention to the influence of Latin and French grammatical framework on the creation of Breton descriptive grammars since the early 16th century with a specific reference to the way the verbs of being and existence as well as possessive constructions are expressed in the language.

The first part of the volume continues with two papers devoted to Welsh evidence. Katarzyna Jedrzejewska-Pyszczak studies 'The Figurative Dimension of Welsh Nicknaming in the Light of the Great Chain of Being'. The author analyses her data in the context of the cognitive view of metaphor and metonymy as well as of a universal hierarchy of life forms and how it reflects in Welsh nickname formations. Elena Parina reviews 'A Welsh Award-Winning Novel on Russia: *Petrograd* by Wiliam Owen Roberts' published in 2008. In terms of his sources, Roberts was inspired by Mikhail Bulgakov's 'The White Guard', as well as by the works of Anton Chekhov, Maxim Gorky and Alexey Tolstoy. Further in her review, she juxtaposes the importance of the First World War and its consequences for Wales with those for Russia and discusses various features of the novel, including name-giving practices in pre-revolutionary Russia and their adoption by Roberts.

Finally, the first part is concluded with two papers dealing with comparative aspects of Celto-Slavic narrative and folklore traditions. Dean Miller in his 'Supernatural Beings and 'Song and Dance': Celtic and Slavic Exemplars' compares supernatural beings of Celtic (the Irish *sí*, the Welsh *Tylweth Teg*, the Breton *korriganñed* and the Scottish *sithiche*) and Slavic (the Serbo-Croat *vila*) traditions with particular attention to their favourite occupations of dancing, playing music and singing. Dmitry Nikolaev's contribution '*Fír Flathemon* in the Russian Primary Chronicle? The Legend of the Summoning of the Varangians and the Prefatory Matter to *Audacht Morainn*' emphasises the striking resemblance between the *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* historical poem and the Varangian legend of the Russian Primary Chronicle from a structural morphological point of view. In this perspective, the main purpose of the Russian tale was not to provide an aetiological explanation of the Russian statehood, but to show the importance of having a ruler possessing the 'rightness' (*pravda*), in a way, similar to the Irish concept of the 'ruler's truth' (*fír flathemon*).

The second part of the volume contains three papers. Grigory Bondarenko in his contribution 'Fintan mac Bóchra: Irish Synthetic History Revisited' deals with a multi-faceted aspect of the figure of Fintan mac Bóchra who serves as a plot-making protagonist in a number of Irish texts. The earliest surviving variant of Fintan's story occurs in an Old Irish tale *Airne Fíngein* 'Fíngen's Night-Watch'. The variant is edited and translated by the author along with a detailed commentary of other sources containing legends of Fintan. Maria Koroleva in her 'Migration through Gaelic and Russian Proverbs' discusses such problems as definitions of the migration concept in the proverbs, the binary opposition of native vs foreign land, approaches to migration (negative vs positive),

socially approved reasons for migration, human characteristics that help to migrate, personal feelings (e.g. homesickness), and various types of migration such as travel, pilgrimage, and seasonal work.

The contribution by Gennadiy Kazakevich 'Celtic Military Equipment from the Territory of Ukraine: Towards a New Warrior Identity in the Pre-Roman Eastern Europe' concludes the volume. In the author's view, among the dozens of Middle and Late La Tène artifacts known from the territory of Ukraine, some of such artifacts come from the Upper Tisza area which was exposed to the colonization of the Central European Celts. According to the research carried out by the author, it was the autochthonous warrior élite that adopted the La Tène swords and helmets as symbolic objects reflecting the high social rank of their possessors. To this effect, the emergence of La Tène weaponry in the areas to the east of the Carpathian Mountains, the North Pontic steppes, the Dniester and Dnieper basins reflects a similar process of new warrior identity formation in the local cultural milieu.[3]

The editors wish to thank the organisers of the conference Mrs Marcela Blažková and Ms Hanka Blažková for their hard work. We are thankful to our reviewers and anonymous readers, and would also like to express our acknowledgement to, notably, all the guests and participants to the conference.

We would also wish to express our thanks to the Philological faculty of the University of Łódź who generously provided a grant for the publication of the volume.

Maxim Fomin   *Václav Blažek*   *Piotr Stalmaszczyk*
University of Ulster   *Mazaryk University*   *University of Łódź*

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[3] The transliteration of Cyrillic titles and names throughout the volume follows the conventions applied by the authors.

Part I:
Proceedings

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOHEMIA, IRELAND AND PAN-CELTICISM

SÉAMUS MAC MATHÚNA

Friends and Colleagues, *Prosima*, *Dobra vecher*!

It is a great pleasure to be gathered together here in the city of Příbram in the Czech Republic for the Fifth International colloquium of *Societas Celto-Slavica*. I welcome you most warmly on behalf of the Society and the Organising Committee. This is the fourth time we have met in a Slavic country, three of our previous meetings having been hosted in Moscow, Dubrovnik and Łodź respectively. We are considering the possibility of holding the sixth colloquium in St. Petersburg in 2012, hopping over 2011 to give colleagues the opportunity of attending the Celtic Congress in Maynooth in 2011, and it may then be time to return to one of the Celtic-speaking countries for the seventh colloquium.

I

It is entirely fitting that we should be here in the Czech Republic in the historic region of Bohemia in which there has been a history of contact and engagement with matters Celtic over many centuries, going back to the Celtic *Boii* tribe, from which Bohemia, earlier *Boihaimum* (probably from *Boi-* and Germ. *xaim-* 'home of the *Boii*'),[1] derives the first part of its name, and continuing to the recent blossoming of interest in Irish and Celtic culture following the Velvet Revolution. It is good to see therefore that the varied programme of lectures which the organisers have prepared for us should include one by the Chair of Conference, Professor Blažek, on Celto-Slavic isoglosses, together with others on the early Celtic and Indo-European lexicon, Irish, Welsh and Breton language and culture, and various papers of a comparative nature on Celtic and Slavic.

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[1] At the inaugural colloquium of the *Societas* at Coleraine, Professor Blažek argued that the origin of the toponym was purely Celtic, and explained its meaning as the 'mountain ridge of the *Boii*' (see Blažek 2010: 22-3).

II

The Czech connection with Celtic culture is not just limited to the early *Boii* tribe and the more recent manifestations of Celtomania. We know, for example, that Irish monks settled in various parts of the Moravian Empire during the seventh and eighth centuries, and Bohemia was the home of an important Irish college founded in Prague in the seventeenth century. One of the main streets in the city running from the Old Town to the New is called *Hybernska* (Irish Street), a name which derives from the Latin word for Ireland (*Hibernia*) and the college the Irish Franciscans established there in 1629, the College of the Immaculate Conception. The college was founded to relieve the pressure on numbers at the Irish colleges in Louvain and Rome and remained in use by the Franciscans for one hundred and fifty years, until 1786. Irish colleges on the continent during this time provided Irish Catholics with educational opportunities which were not available to them at home and they played a pivotal role in preserving and nurturing Irish learning and culture at a critical time in Irish history.

Among the many interesting things that happened in Prague is the translation into Irish of the influential *Introduction à la vie dévote* of Saint Francis de Sales (1567-1622), bishop of Geneva and a leader of the Counter-Reformation movement. It was a very popular work which was translated into a number of vernacular languages. The Irish translation, *An bheatha chrábhaidh* (The Devout Life), was made by Fr Philip O'Reilly, guardian of the college between 1650 and 1654. Stylistically, the Irish translation is similar to other Counter-Reformation devotional works written or translated into Irish during this period, deviating from the more conservative language of Classical Irish in its use of a simpler more popular idiom which made it accessible to a wider public.[2]

III

Since the latter part of the sixteenth century and through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly following the flight of the Wild Geese at the end of the seventeenth century, large numbers of Irish served in the armies of the great powers of Europe, including the Habsburg Empire. According to a list of names in the *Kriegsarchiv* in Vienna, there were approximately 1,500 officers of Irish or probable Irish origin in the imperial army between *circa* 1630 and *circa* 1830. It has also been

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[2] See Dillon 2006, Mac Craith & Worthington 2003; more generally on the Irish Franciscans in Prague, see Jennings 1939; Bhreathnach, McMahon & McCafferty 2005; Millett 1964 (in particular, chapters 2 and 6).

estimated that there were over 100 Austrian field-marshals, generals and admirals of Irish origin, including the illustrious field-marshals, Von Browne, Kavanagh, O'Donnell and De Lacy. Many Irishmen distinguished themselves not only in the army but also in the diplomatic and administrative services and were integrated with the host society and intermarried to form an élite influential group in society. These Irish-Austrian-Bohemian émigrés encouraged the establishment of the Irish College in Prague and influenced members of the Catholic Austro-Bohemian aristocracy to do likewise, such as Count Adalbert von Sternberg who endowed the College's library.

IV

One of the most distinguished Irish families who served in both the Holy Roman Empire and Austro-Hungary were the Taafes. Sir John Taafe, the first Viscount Taafe, was raised to the Peerage of Ireland in 1628 and his eldest son, Theobald, the second Viscount, was created the Earl of Carlingford. Nicholas Taafe, the second Earl of Carlingford, was killed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 fighting on the side of the James II of England. Although his Irish estates were forfeited, his younger brother, Francis Taafe, third Earl of Carlingford, succeeded in having the forfeiture repealed. He was a Field Marshal in the Habsburg Army. On the death of the Fourth Earl, the Earldom of Carlingford became extinct. Nicholas Taafe, the Sixth Viscount Taafe, tried to legally retrieve the estates, finally succeeding in gaining enough recompense to purchase the castle of Ellisschau in West Bohemia which was modelled on that of his Irish estate.

The most famous member of the Taafe family was probably Eduard (Franz Joseph) Taafe (1833-1898), the Eleventh Viscount, who spent two periods as Minister-President of Cisleithania, the Austrian part of the Empire, between 1868 and 1870 and again between 1879 and 1883. His aim was to unite the main nationalities of Austria – the Germans and the Slavs – and to this end he succeeded in persuading the Czechs to abandon abstentionism. He was also a reformer who introduced legislation which increased significantly the franchise and helped in alleviating the democratic deficit.[3]

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[3] On the Irish in Austria in the period concerned, see Downey 2002.

V

The rise of romantic nationalism in the late eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century was accompanied by an interest in primitive or 'exotic' cultures and in the search by aspiring nationalities of foundational epics which would underpin their claim to nationhood. One such text, which was to have a profound influence on European literature and culture, was James Macpherson's *Ossian*. It was translated into most of the languages of Europe, including Czech and Slovak, and as late as 1885, the Czech poet, Julius Zeyer (1841-1901), based his *Ossianův návrat* (Ossian's Return) on Irish sources. In this connection, I look forward to hearing the paper on Celtic motifs in Zeyer's work which is to be delivered at the conference by Ms Blažková.

VI

The winds of change blowing in Europe, and the interest in marginal cultures, influenced not only the development of Irish and other nationalisms but also the growth of Pan-Slavic and Pan-Celtic movements. These movements had a mutual influence on each other. The founder of Pan-Slavism was the Slovak poet, philosopher and preacher, Jan Kollár (1793-1852), who held a professorship at the University of Vienna. He published in 1824 the verse epic *Slávy Dcera* (The Daughters of Slava), a foundation text which inspired the national and cultural-linguistic spirit of Slavs in general. The work of other scholars, such as the Slovak linguist Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861), in his landmark study published in 1826, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten* (*History of Slavonic Language and Literature in All Its Dialects*), and the Czech historian and politician František Palacký (1798-1876), who published extracts of a translation of *Ossian*, confirmed that the Slavic dialects were all related and belonged to one original language. This suggested to them that there was at one time a Slavic national unity. Josef Dobrovský (1753-1839), the father of Czech philology, had already founded Pan-Slavic periodicals through the medium of German, such as *Slawin* and *Botschaft aus Böhmen an alle Slavischen Völker.* Palacký and Šafařík assembled the first Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague in June 1848 which was attended by 141 delegates, mostly Austrian Slavs, but also Slavs from Russia and Poland.

VII

The first movements towards Pan-Celticism began with the foundation of the *Academie Celtique* (1805-14) and interest burgeoned thereafter so that societies interested in the national affinity between the Celtic peoples grew up in England, Wales and Scotland. In 1838 the Welsh *Eisteddfod*, held at Abergavenny, was attended by Breton delegates, led by the young nobleman Théodore Hesart de la Villemarqué who had begun collecting and publishing Breton manuscripts and ballads. The first Pan-Celtic Congress was held in Paris in 1867 shortly after the second Pan-Slavic Congress in Moscow. Greetings from the Pan-Slavic Congress were relayed to the new Celtic Congress. Another development of the Pan-Celtic Congress was The Pan-Celtic Association which was launched in Dublin in 1900. At the meeting of Congress in Dublin 1901, the Polish cultural activist, Alfons Parczewski, delivered a talk entitled 'Slavonic Society for the Dissemination of National Literatures: an Example for the Celtic Nations'.

VIII

More recently, Czech and former Czechoslovakian Celtic scholars who have made important contributions to Celtic Studies include the linguist and philologist Josef Baudiš (1883-1933), the archaeologist and historian Jan Filip (1900-1981), and modern day scholars such as Václav Blažek and Věra Čapková, together with other younger scholars, some of who are present here today. I should say that the illustrious tradition instituted in the seventeenth century by the Irish Franciscans has continued in Charles University, where, incidentally, both Josef Baudiš and Jan Filip once taught and studied, and where today there is a vibrant centre for Irish Studies, which includes among its programmes the teaching of Old and Modern Irish.

IX

Our conference here during these next few days, with its coverage of a wide range of topics of Czech and Celtic interest, will hopefully serve to support and develop the scholarly and cultural links between the Celtic countries and the Czech Republic. We are grateful that to have the opportunity to hold this conference in a country which provided such a welcome home and haven for our wandering Irish clerics, scholars and soldiers of the past.

University of Ulster

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ON SPECIFIC ZOOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES
BETWEEN CELTIC AND (BALTO-)SLAVIC

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

0. Introduction
In this contribution, I shall be dealing with three major questions:
(1) Was 'eagle' in Celtic and Balto-Slavic extended in *-l-* or in *-r-*?
(2) Can Balto-Slavic 'swan' be etymologised as 'beaked' with the help of Celtic?
(3) Can words for 'fox' be based on a Celto-Baltic or Celto-Slavic isogloss?

1. Celtic and Balto-Slavic words for 'eagle'
Words to denote 'eagle' in Balto-Slavic and Celtic languages are similar, but it is difficult to find a common lexeme from which both were derived:

Baltic **arelijas* 'eagle' > Lithuanian *erẽlis*, gen. *-io*, Old (Szyrwid) & dial. (East) *arẽlis*, dim. (Szyrwid) *arelaitis* 'pullus aquilae', pl. *arelinis*; Latvian *ḕrglis* (Gospel 1753) and in Bērzgale and Kārsava *erelis*, Upper Latvian nom. pl. *ereļi* (Fraenkel 1962-4: 122; Smoczyński 2007: 146-7; Mühlenbach & Endzelin 1925: I.570, 575; Endzelin & Hausenberg 1934: I.370; the spelling of the beginning of the word with *e-* rather than with *a-* in Standard Lithuanian and Latvian is explained by Lex Rozwadowski, cit. from Andersen 1996: 141), Prussian *arelie*, in Elbing Vocabulary #709 gl. *are*, i.e. in modern German *aar* 'eagle', corr. **arelis* (Mažiulis 1988: I.90; Toporov 1975-90: I.101), Narewian *adłiʃ* < **ardlis* id. (according to Zinkevičius 1984: 8, a borrowing from German *Adler* is less probable).

Slavic **orьlъ* 'eagle': Old Church Slavonic *orьlъ*, Bulgarian, Macedonian *orél*, Serbo-Croatian *òrao*, gen. *órla*, Slovenian *órəl*, Slovak *orol*, Czech *orel*, Upper Sorbian *worjoł*, Lower Sorbian *jeŕeł*, Polabian *viŕål*, Polish *orzeł*, Old Russian *orьlъ*, Russian *orël*, gen. *orlá*, Ukrainian *orél*, gen. *orlá/virlá* id. (Vasmer 1953-8: III.150-1; Schuster-Šewc 1984: 1661).

Goidelic: Old Irish *irar*,[1] Middle Irish *ilar*[2] m. 'eagle' [*o*-stem], *ilur* gl. aquila, dim. *ilarán* (DIL I 62.17ff).

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[1] See Thurneysen (1918: 61): "Die altirische Form des Wortes, das mittelir. *ilar*, neuir. *iolar*, kymer. *eryr*, mbret. *erer* (korn. neubret. *er*) lautet, ist bisher an der einzigen mir

Brittonic: Middle Welsh *erer*, Welsh *eryr* 'eagle; hero, chief, prince, leader', m. & f., pl. *eryrod*, *eryron*, Old Cornish *er*, Middle Breton *erer* m., Modern Breton *er* m. 'eagle' (Pedersen 1909: I.491, §336; GPC: I.1240; Matasović 2009: 117-8).

There have been several attempts to explain the relation between the insular Celtic and Balto-Slavic designations of 'eagle'.

Schulze (1908: 342-7) collected several animal names extended in -*l*- which were meant to support his idea that Slavic **orьlъ* 'eagle' and Baltic **arelis* are derived by the same suffix:

Old Indic *gavala-* 'wild buffalo': *gav-* 'cattle, bull', *chagalá-* 'buck': *chā́ga-* 'he-goat', *chā́gā* 'she-goat'.

Latin *capreolus*: *caprea*, cf. French *chevreuil* 'Rehbock', Old Provençal *chevrol*, Italian *capriulo*, Romanian *căpriór*.

Old Icelandic *gymbill* 'he-lamb': *gymbr* 'ewe lamb', similarly *ekkill* 'widower': *ekkja* 'widow'.

Slavic **kozьlъ* 'he-goat': **koza* 'she-goat'.

Schulze (1908: 343ff.) saw the same suffix in the *l*-extensions of words meaning 'big, plenty', e.g. Old Indic *bahú-*: *bahulam*; Greek μεγάλος· μέγας, πολύ-· πολλό- < *πολυλό-; Gothic *mikils*: Old Norse *mjǫk* < **megu-*; Lithuanian *didis* 'big': *didelis*, *daũg*: *daũgel* 'many'.

However, Thurneysen (1918: 61) did not agree with him:

Ir. *irar*, kymr. *eryr* gehen auf *eriros zurück (fn. 2: vgl. Pedersen I: 491). Das zeigt, daß slav. *orьlъ* aus *orьrъ dissimiliert ist (noch weiter verändert lit. *erẽlis*) und nicht mit W. Schulze, *Jagić-Festschr.* 343ff., benutzt werden kann, um eine urindogermanische Augmentativbildung mit *l*-Suffix zu erweisen. Auch seine übrigen Beispiele kommen mir nicht recht beweisend vor. Got. *mikils*, ahd. *mihhil* erklärt man mit Wahrscheinlichkeit als Anbildung an gegensätzliche Ausdrucke wie got. *leitils* ahd. *luzzil* und so wird es sich auch mit gr. μεγαλο- und ähnlichen verhalten. Wie der Ablaut in den Vogelnamen hineingekommen ist, ist schwer zu sagen (fn. 3: Pedersen stellt auch arm. *oror urur* 'Möve, Weihe' dazu).

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bekannten Belegenstelle nicht erkannt worden. Es ist der Vers, den K. Meyer, *Fiannaigecht* 30.16, aus Laud 610 druckt: *Dāre Doimthech (ba) rí for Mbruig is é ēm irar īrar ngail*, 'Dare Doimthech (war) König über Mruig, er ist wahrlich ein Adler an Tapferkeit'".

[2] *delbh ilair do dergór alainn, aithlegtha fura barr* 'and the figure of an eagle, of beautiful, red, refined gold, on the top of the shaft' (see Robinson 1908: 59, 138).

>Vielleicht wurzelte die Form *or-* ursprünglich in der *n*-Bildung: an. *ǫrn* ahd. *arn* gr. ὄρνῑς. Ob got. *ara* ahd. *aro* usw. zu dieser gehört oder durch Haplologie entstanden war wie korn. nbret. *er*, ist zweifelhaft.

Later Thurneysen (1946: 104, §166) added: "Old Irish *irar* 'eagle', which together with Welsh *eryr* points to a primary form **eriros*, the neutral *-ρ-*, despite the *-i-*, is yet unexplained".

Let us mention that Pedersen's and Thurneysen's reconstruction **eriro-* is not the only possibility of the insular Celtic starting-point. For example, Stokes (1894: 39) reconstructed **eruro-* and Toporov (1975-90: I.101) even **erilo-*.

It is also impossible to answer unambiguously whether it was the *l-* or *r-* extension in the Celtic and Balto-Slavic designations of 'eagle'. Schulze had collected several zoonyms from various IE branches which were apparently extended by the *l*-suffixes. His examples are valid, independently of any relation to the words for 'big' and 'little' discussed in the polemics of Thurneysen. It is possible to add Latin *aquila* 'eagle' and Germanic **fuglaz* 'bird', independently of its further etymology, whether from Germanic **fleugan^{an}* 'to fly', and further to Lithuanian *plaũkti* 'swim', or to Lithuanian *paũkštis* 'bird' (Buck 1949: 183, §3.64). But there is also the *r*-suffix forming some of the bird-names, e.g. Latin *passer* 'sparrow', *hanser* 'gander' vs. Slavic **gǫserъ* id.: **gǫsь* 'goose'. Taking in account the external parallels, it is possible to quote two proper names:

>(a) Gaulish toponym *Orilus* 'Rupertsberg by Bingen' (Holder II.877).
>(b) Palaeo-Balkanian name of the Thracian leader Ὄλορος [Herodotus: VI.39; Thucydides: IV.104.4] and Ὄρολος [Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 2], and the Dacian king *Oroles* [Pompeius Trogus, *Hist.* XXXI, 3.16] (collected in Detschew 1957: 341; Kretschmer 1896: 214).

Both names agree in the initial *o-* and the derivational suffix *-l-*. Unfortunately, their meaning remains unknown, and so they cannot play any substantial role in our solution, although 'eagle' belongs to the most beloved motives in both anthroponymics and oronymics.

But this is not the main problem regarding the compatibility of the Celtic and Balto-Slavic data. The most difficult is the difference in initials: Celtic *e- vs. Balto-Slavic *o- indicate the only possible ablaut pair *H_1e- vs. *H_1o-, while the Anatolian counterparts, Hittite *haras*, gen. *haranas*, Palaic *ha-ra-a-as*(-) 'eagle', Cuneiform Luwian *harran*(*i*)- 'a bird'[3] are derivable only from *H_3er^o or *H_2er^o. The Germanic (*aran- > Gothic *ara*, Old Norse *ari* and *ǫrn* < *arnu-, Old High German *aro* & *arn*), Greek (ὄρνις, -ῖθος, Doric -ιχος 'Vogel; Hahn, Henne', ὄρνεον 'bird') and Armenian (*ori* 'raven', Olsen 1999: 442) cognates are derivable from *H_3er^o or from the o-grade *$H_{1/2/3}or^o$. Summing up, with regard to the existing reconstructions, the Celtic designation of 'eagle' is not compatible with its Anatolian semantic counterpart. There are three possibilities:

> (a) Celtic 'eagle' is related to the Balto-Slavic, Germanic and Greek forms – the initial laryngeal was *H_1-, excluding the Anatolian data.
> (b) Anatolian 'eagle' is related to Greek, Germanic and Balto-Slavic – the initial laryngeal was *H_3- or *H_2-, excluding the Celtic data.
> (c) All forms are related only in the case of a wrong reconstruction of the insular Celtic protoform in *e-.

Let us try to verify the possibility (c). This entails revising all steps in the reconstruction of the Celtic protoform.

In agreement with the traditional reconstruction *eriro-, the Middle Irish form *ilar* implies a dissimilation of the type r...r > l...r. Although it is not directly attested, it is perhaps possible; an analogical dissimilative process l...l > r...l or r...l explains such forms as Old Irish *aile* 'other', *alaile* and *araile* 'the other', Welsh *arall* and *ereill* 'another', Breton and Middle Welsh *eil* 'second', or Irish *lemlacht* 'sweet milk' vs. Old Cornish *leverid* id. (Thurneysen 1946: 119, §192b; 307-9, §§486-8). But with regard to the exceptional attestation of the form *irar*,[4] the form *ilar* may represent an original starting point. If the Old/Middle Irish final ^{o}*[C]ar* is derivable from *^{o}*[C]ros* or *^{o}*[C]V̆ros* (see de Bernardo Stempel 1999:

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[3] Cf. also the Lycian dynastic name *Xerẽi* (HED: III.137-9; Kloekhorst 2008: 301).
[4] See Thurneysen (1918: 61) at fn. 1 above; an artificial hypercorrection cannot also be excluded.

317), it is also possible to think about a hypothetical pre-Goidelic protoform *iloros* or *eloros* and via metathesis from **orilos* or **orelos*. The following examples can illustrate that metathesis of this type operated in Celtic:

(i) Middle Irish *criol* vs. *clior* (Pedersen 1909: I.493).

(ii) Old Irish *ónn uraid* gl. ab anno priore, Middle Irish *innuraid* 'from last year' < *per-uti* via metathesized (?) *irud* (Griepentrog 1995: 445, fn. 5) with the word for 'year' in the zero-grade and loc. sg., or < *per-utem* in the fossilized accusative, as it is possible to understand from the form of the definite article (Schrijver 1995: 244, 257; Matasović 2009: 128).

(iii) Celtic verbal base *kli-nu-* < *klu-ni-* 'to hear' (Thurneysen 1946: 357; Kümmel in LIV: 335, fn. 8; Schumacher 2004: 413). The phenomenon of metathesis opens new paths in connection of presumably otherwise incompatible Celtic and Balto-Slavic forms.

In Brittonic, *i*-umlaut of the type $*o...\breve{\imath} > e...i$ operated, e.g. Old Welsh *elinou*, Middle Welsh *elin*, Middle & Modern Breton *elin*, Cornish *elyn*, *elin* 'elbow' < *olīn^o* vs. the Gaulish hydronym *Olina* (Ptolemy: II.8.2: Ὀλίνα; see Holder II.844) and Old Irish *uilen*, Gothic *aleina* 'elbow' etc. (Jones 1913: 92; Matasović 2009: 297-8). This means that *eriro-* is also derivable from *oriro-*. With regard to the tendency to dissimilation of the type *r...r > r...l* or *l...r* (Jones 1913: 160), it is possible to speculate that the Brittonic *eriro-* can represent a relatively late formation reinterpreted as the reduplication (cf. Middle Welsh and Middle Breton *erer* or Armenian *oror* 'seagull' – see Olsen 1999: 207; Martirosyan 2010: 538) from primary *erilo-* and further *orilo-*.

The forms discussed here allow us to formulate the following partial reconstructions:

Branch	Branch protoform	Projection in Late Indo-European
Slavic	*orьlъ*	*orilo-*
Baltic	*arelis*	*oreliyo-*
Goidelic	*elVros*	*il[o]ro- < *orilo-* or *el[o]ro- < *orelo-*
Brittonic	*eriros*	*eri[l]o- < *orilo-*
Gaulish	?NL *Orilus*	*orilo-*
'Palaeo-Balkanian'	?NV *Oroles ~ Oloros*	< *orelo-?

NL – *nomen loci*; NV – *nomen viri*.

If the preceding argument is correct, the primary root was really *H_3er- and its extension in Balto-Slavic, Celtic and perhaps 'Palaeo-Balkanian' was really in *-l-*.

2. Balto-Slavic words for 'swan'

Baltic m. *gulbjas* > Lithuanian *guĨbis*, Latvian *gùlbis*, Prussian *gulbis* 'swan', f. *gulbijā* > Lithuanian *gulbě* id., corresponds exactly to Slavic *gъlbъ*, reconstructible on the basis of Serbo-Croatian *gûb* id. (ESSJ: VII.190; Toporov 1975-90: II.332). Better documented is the voiceless variant *kъlpъ* id. This traditionally accepted comparison (BSW: 101) has been classified as an exclusive Balto-Slavic isogloss without any deeper etymology.

However, a key to this etymology can be found in the Celtic word for 'beak':

Celtic *gulbā*, *-iā* & *gulbīno-* 'beak' (Stokes & Bezzenberger 1894: 115; Matasović 2009: 168-9).

Gaulish *gulbia* > Latin *gulbia* (Isidore of Seville), cf. Old Brittonic *Re-gulbium* 'name of a promontory';

Middle Irish *gulba* f. 'beak, jaw', *gulban* m. gl. aculeum, i.e. 'beak, sting'.

Old Welsh m. and f. *gilbin* 'acumine', Middle Welsh *gylf*, *gylfin*, *gylfant* 'beak', Old Breton *golbin*, *golbinoc* gl. acc. rostratam, Middle Breton *golff*, Modern Breton *golv* 'without tail', Old Cornish *gilb* gl. foratorium, gl. *geluin* rostrum.

Semantic motivation in the ornithological terminology based on the word 'beak' has its analogy e.g. in Germanic *snīpōn-*, *snippan-* 'snipe': Norwegian *snīpa* 'beak' (Falk & Torp 1909: 523).

If this solution is acceptable, it is not necessary to speculate about any pre-Celtic substrate source of the Celtic word.

3. Is 'fox' a Celto-Baltic or Celto-Slavic isogloss?

Irish *lois* f. 'fox' (Dinneen 1927: 672 who also quotes variants *loise*, *luis*) is without any unambiguous etymology. Macbain (1911: 232) reconstructed Celtic *luxo-*, deriving it from IE *luk̂s-* 'lynx'. Jones (1953: 43) saw the closest cognate in Cornish *lostek* 'fox', deriving both from Celtic *losto-/ā* 'tail' (Old Irish *los(s)*, Welsh *llost* f., Cornish & Breton *lost* m., Stokes 1894: 256; but Elsie 1979: 137 reconstructs *lust-* 'tail', comparing it with Old Icelandic *lustr* 'cudgel'). Finally, Mann (1984-7:

17) included Irish *lois* in his entry *alōw-pĕk̂s* 'howling dog, fox'. Among these solutions the derivation from 'tail' looks most convincing, cf. Old Indic (Śilarika) *lomaṭaka-* 'fox' vs. *lūma-* 'tail' or Germanic *fuχōn-* and *fuχsa-* 'fox', Torwali *puš*, Khowar *pūši* id. < Indo-Aryan *pucchī* vs. Old Indic *púccha-* 'tail' etc. But there are also other possibilities for the internal reconstruction of Irish *lois(e)*: (a) *lopsī, -iā-*; (b) *loipsā* (concerning the development *-ps- > -s-*, cf. Old Irish *ós, úas* 'over, up' < *oup-su*, see Pokorny 1959: 1107).

The alternatives (a) and (b) have their promising cognates in Baltic and Slavic respectively, but not together, since they exclude one another:

(a) Baltic *lapsā* f. continues in Latvian *lapsa* 'fox', while the unique *lapse*, *lapsis* attested only in *Manuale Lettico-Germanicum* can reflect *lapsijā, -ijas* (Mühlenbach & Endzelin 1927: II.422; Karulis 1992: I.501). The masculine counterpart *lapas* may be identified in Kurish *laps* m. (El Mogharbel 1993: 245) and Yatvingian *łapʃ* (Zinkevičius 1984: 14), cf. Lithuanian *sẽnas* 'old' vs. Yatvingian *ʃenʃ*. The component *laps-* in the Lithuanian river name *Laps-kójis*, lit. 'fox's leg', represents more probably the syncopated genitive *lapės* (Vanagas 1981: 181).

The asigmatic variant *lapijā* f. appears in Prussian *lape* (Elbing Vocabulary #658 'Vochz'), Lithuanian *lãpė* (Bammesberger 1970: 38-43; Toporov 1975-90: V.83-9). Identifying the same suffix *-iyā* in the feminine *vìlkė* 'she-wolf', Bammesberger (1970: 39) assumes the following development: *wḹkʷ-ī-* (= Old Indic f. *vṛkī-*) + feminine marker *-ā > Baltic *vilk-ij-ā > Lithuanian *vìlkė*. This idea also implies the existence of the form *lapas* corresponding to the masculine *vìlkas* (cf. Kurish *laps*, Yatv. *łapʃ* analyzed above). The Baltic nom. sg. ending *-as* can indicate not only the masculine *o*-stem, but also the neuter *es*-stem with the nom. sg. in *-os* (cf. Brugmann 1906: 524 quoting e.g. Lithuanian *kvãpas* = Latin *vapor*, gen. *-ōris*). If we accept this hypothesis, the following scenario could explain the origin of both variants: the verbal root *lAp-* (A = *o* or *a*) extended in *-es-* resulted in the abstract noun *lAp-os*, gen. *lAp-es-os*. Its plural *lAp-es-eH₂* could be reinterpreted as the feminine *lAp(e)sā > Latvian *lapsa*. On the other hand, the nom. sg. *lAp-os* gave Baltic *lapas* and this form could be reinterpreted as a masculine. Later the corresponding feminine *lap-ī* was formed, too; its final shape came into being by adding the most wide-spread feminine ending *-ā: *lap-ī-ā > *lap-ij-ā > *lapē* (Bammesberger 1970: 39).

The hypothesis based on the primary *s*-stem explains sufficiently the existence and mutual relations of both *lapsa* and *lapė* forms. The same cannot be said about the alternative derivation of the sigmatic extension from *-k̂-*.

(b) The second alternative is as follows: Slavic m. *lîsъ* continues in Old Church Slavonic *lisъ*, Serbo-Croatian dial. *lîs*, Slovenian *lìs*, gen. *lísa*, Upper Sorbian, Polish *lis*, Kashubian *lës*, Slovincian also *ləs*, Belorussian *lis*, Ukrainian *lys*, Russian (archaic) *lís*. In Czech, *lis* has shifted its meaning to 'press' (= 'choking'); f. *lisa* is attested in Bulgarian *lísa* (further the dialectal forms as *lesá*, *ljása* reflecting *lĕsa*; they are probably influenced by *les* < *lĕsъ* 'forest'), Macedonian, Old Czech *lisa*, Belorussian, Russian *lisá*, Ukrainian *lýsa*. The most wide-spread form is extended in *-ica*: Church Slavonic & Macedonian *lisica*, Bulgarian *lisíca*, dial. *lesíca*, Serbo-Croatian *lìsica*, Slovenian *lisíca*, dial. *lesica*, Polabian *laịsaị́ćə*, Polish *lisica*, Belorussian and Russian *lisíca*, Ukrainian *lysýcja*. This form is missing in Slovak, Czech and Sorbian, where *líška* and *liška* respectively appear. With respect to the complementary distribution it seems probable to identify here the diminutive *lisičьka* (Bulgarian *lisíčka*, Slovenian *lisîčka*, Polish dial. *lisiczka*, Ukrainian *lysýčka*, Russian *lisíčka*), assimilated in *lišička* and finally syncopated in *liščka* > *liška* (cf. Machek 1971: 336 and Trubachev in ESSJ: XV.142, 151).

The accentuation *lîsъ* indicates the original diphthong *-ei-* (Sławski 1970: 277-8). The absence of the change *s* > *x/š* (the *RUKI*-law) implies the original cluster *-Ps-* or *-Ts-*. The reflex *k̂* should be taken into account, too, but for the same arguments as in Baltic it is omitted. Consequently, the reconstruction *(w)leipso-/ā* has usually been chosen. But among numerous zoonyms with the similar consonantal skeleton (*(w)-l-p-(s-)*) there is only one form compatible also with Slavic in vocalism, namely Irish *lois*, if it is a continuant of *loipsā*. The only difference lies in the root vocalism, namely the opposition *ei* vs. *oi* can reflect the old ablaut, cf. e.g. Old Irish *froech*, Welsh *grug* 'heather' (*wroiko-*) vs. Greek ἐρείκη id. (Pokorny 1959: 1155).

The preceding analysis isolated the primary ('Brugmannian') roots *lop-* or *lap-* (*lǝp-*) in Baltic and *leip-* in Slavic. The Irish counterpart is derivable from both *lop-* (but not from *lap-*) and *leip-*. Although *lop-* (and *lap-*) and *leip-* are not directly compatible, they agree in semantics, which the following examples demonstrate:

(a) *lop-/*lap-: Ossetic *læfīnæ* 'bright ray, light' (Abaev 1973: 19; the vowel of the first syllable reflects Iranian *a and not *i < IE *ə̯ = *H̥), Hittite *lap-* 'to glow', *lappiya-* 'fever', (?) ᴳᴵˢ*lappiya-* 'embers, kindling' (CHD: 39, 44), Greek λάμπω 'I shine, I am bright' (with a frozen nasal infix), λοφνίς 'torch' (*lop-snᵒ) (Chantraine 1968: 617, 647), Old Irish *lassaim* 'I flame', *lassair* 'flame', Welsh *llachar* 'coruscus, igneus' (*laps-; but also *laks-) vs. Old Irish *loscaim* 'I burn', Welsh *llosgi* 'urere' (*lop-sk̂-) (Stokes 1894: 238, 256); Old English *lĕven*, *-in* 'lightning' (Holthausen 1921: 62), Lithuanian *lópė*, Latvian *lãpa* 'torch', Prussian *lopis* [Elbing Vocabulary 44] 'Flamme' (Fraenkel 1962-5: 386; Toporov 1975-90: V.353ff.). The Baltic forms reflect *lāp- in 'Brugmannian' reconstruction, i.e. *leH₂p- in the laryngealistic reconstruction. The 'Brugmannian' pair *lap- & *lop- is compatible only starting from the apophonic opposition zero grade: o-grade, i.e. *lH̥p-: *lHop-. The identification *H = *H₂ (Beekes 1988: 27, 36) is based on Baltic *ā (different from *ō), pre-Celtic *laps- or *laks- and Greek λάμπω, rather differing from the formation of nasal presents in Greek (cf. e.g. Hirt 1902: 372-7 and Kuiper 1937: 118, 152).

(b) *leip-/*loip-: Irish *laom* 'blaze' (*loipsmᵒ), Old Icelandic *lifa* 'to blaze', *leiptr* 'lightning', Lithuanian *liepsnà* 'flame', *lìpst* 'burns', *pãlipas* 'Holzspan', Latvian *lìesma* 'flame', *lipt* 'glänzen, anzünden' (Pokorny 1959: 653; Fraenkel 1962-5: 366-7; Mann 1984-7: 704).

(a/b) Old Irish *loise* 'flame, blaze; splendour' (DIL: L-190-91) is derivable from both *lopsiā and *loipsā.

The preceding thoughts imply that the primary abstract noun *lop-es- proposed above could mean 'brightness'. Similarly, in Slavic we may expect a synonymous primary abstract noun *leip-es-. Thematized, it gave *leips-o-/ā 'that characterized by brightness'. The same process is evident for Indo-Iranian *vatsá- 'calf' derivable from *wét-es- 'year' (Mayrhofer 1995: 495). It is quite possible that almost all the animal names in -s- originated in a similar way (cf. Brugmann 1906: 546-7).

The semantic motivation 'fox' = 'shining', i.e., 'that with shining hair or tail', is well-known, cf. Old Icelandic *skolli* 'fox' vs. *skulla* 'to

shine' (Vries 1962: 498) or Greek Λάμπουρος 'name of a dog', lit. 'that with shining tail', or the appellative f. λάμπουρις 'fox' (Aeschylus; see Chantraine 1968: 617).

Masaryk University, Brno

Abbreviations

BSW = Trautmann, R., 1923 [1970], *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen.

CHD = Güterbock, H.G. & Hoffner, H.A., 1989, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, *L-N***,** Chicago.

DIL = Quin, E.G. *et al*., 1990, eds.. *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Compact Edition), Dublin.

Elbing Vocabulary = Mažiulis 1988-93.

ESSJ = Trubachev, O.N. *et al.*, 1974ff., eds., *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ slavjanskix jazykov* [*Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Languages*], Moscow.

GPC = *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru I* (A-Ffysur), 1950-67, Caerdydd.

HED = Puhvel, J., 1984-91, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary 1-2* (A, E & I), *3* (H), Berlin – New York – Amsterdam.

LIV = Rix, H., & Kümmel, M. *et al*., 2001, eds., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben$_2$*, Wiesbaden.

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animadvertit, fragmenta pridem nota adiunxit, ac una cum prologis historiarum philippicarum et criticis annotationibus, Leopolis.

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A CELTIC GLOSS IN THE HESYCHIAN LEXICON

KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK

0. Introduction

The well known lexicon, prepared by Hesychios of Alexandria (c. 400-500 AD), contains a number of glosses recorded not only on the basis of various dialects of the ancient Greek, but also on the basis of various languages of ancient Europe, Asia and Africa. There are also glosses which have been defined as "Celtic", e.g. ἀβράνας, Ἀδριανοί, βαρακάκαι, κυρτίας, μαδάρεις (Schmidt 1861: 159), or as "Galatian", e.g. βαρδοί, ἔντριτον, κάρνον, λειούσματα, λεύγη (Schmidt 1861: 157).

However, most Hesychian glosses appear with no ethnic designation. Some of them can be convincingly treated as Celtic (especially Galatian) terms. There is also such instance, which is connected with the following gloss:

> μάταν·ἡ λύγξ. ἔνιοι δὲ ματακὸς ἢ ματακόν (Latte 1966: 633, μ-391).
> *mátan* [means] a she-lynx. Some [call lynx] *matakós* or *matakón*

The heading μάταν is actually defined as 'a female lynx' (Gk. ἡ λύγξ), i.e. a short-tailed wild animal of the *Felidae* family, noted for its keen sight (Hornby 1981: 509). Also two alternative forms ματακός (originally 'a male lynx') and ματακόν (probably 'a small or young lynx'), which belong undoubtedly to the same idiom, are given by Hesychios of Alexandria.

1. Celtic evidence.

Three Hesychian names for 'lynx' seem to possess exact and convincing equivalents only in the Celtic insular languages.

1.1. Celtic ***mat-** 'a kind of predator' (1. lynx, 2. bear, 3. fox, 4. dog), ***matākós** m. *id.* (1. lynx, 3. fox).

1.1.1. Continental Celtic μάταν· [acc. sg. f.] ἡ λύγξ. ἔνιοι δὲ ματακὸς ἢ ματακόν. Further Continental Celtic cognates are extremely uncertain: Cib. *matu-* 'a bear' (?) appears in the first Botorrita inscription (v. 6): *tiris matus tinatuz* (translated as 'drei Bären sollen saugen' by Schmidt 1976a: 365; 1976b: 57; Toporov 1986: 219 accepts such interpretation).

1.1.2. OIr. *math* (gen. sg. *matho*) m. (*u*-stem) 'a bear' (< Celt. Goid. *matu-*); Scottish Gaelic *mathan*, *mathon* m. 'a bear' (< Celt. Goid. *matagnos*) (Forbes 1905: 66; Owen 1993: 78), also Sc. Gael. *mathghamhuin* 'a bear' (Forbes 1905: 66), Early Ir. *mathgaman* id. (Macbain 1998: 244);

1.1.3. OW. *madawg*, W. *madog* m. 'a fox' (< Celt. Britt. *matākos*); W. *madyn* m. 'a fox', *maden* f. 'a small she-fox, a vixen' (< Celt. Britt. *matinos* m. vs. *matinā* f.) (Holder 1904 [1962]: II 479; Evans 1979: 124);

1.1.4. Ir. *matad* 'a dog' (Polomé 1998: 669); Sc. Gael. *madadh* m. 'a dog', esp. mastiff, *madadh-allaidh* 'a wolf' (lit. 'a wild dog'), *madadh-ruadh* m. 'a fox' (lit. 'a red-haired dog') (Forbes 1905: 160). The relation of the last group (1.1.4) is uncertain. Some linguists derive it from the Indo-European root *masd-* (so Macbain 1998: 238) and not from *mat-*.

1.2. The animal name in question was highly popular in the Celtic languages, as can be seen from the following personal names (PNs):

Gaulish PN *Matacus* = Old Brittonic PN *Matucus*, Old Welsh PN *Matauc*, *Matoc*, Breton PN *Matoc*, later *Matec* (< CC. *Matākos*), see Holder (1904 [1962]: II 457, 480).

Gaulish PN *Matinus* m., *Matina* f. (< CC. *Matinos* m., *-ā* f., cf. W. *madyn* m. 'a fox', *maden* f. 'a small female fox, a vixen'), cf. Holder (1904 [1962]: II 460).

Gaulish, Old Brittonic PN *Matugenus* m., Hispano-Celtic PN *Matugenus*, *Matucenus*, Old Irish PN *Mathgen*, Old Welsh PN *Madyein* (< CC. *Matu-genos*, lit. 'a son of bear'), cf. Holder (1904 [1962]: II 480-481), Evans (1979: 124) and Vallejo Ruiz (2005: 350-354).

Old Welsh PN *Matgueith* (< CC. *Matu-vektos*), see Holder (1904 [1962]: II 479).

1.3. Comments: Oštir (1930: 73) treated the Hesychian names for 'lynx', μάτα (f.), ματακός (m.), ματακόν (n.), as native in Greek. He did not connect them with the Celtic names. Also, Celtic scholars (cf. Holder 1904 [1962]: II 479; Evans 1979: 124) give no reference to the Hesychian gloss.

2. Ethnic designation

The Celtic origin of the Hesychian gloss seems to be relatively certain for three reasons.

Firstly, none of non-Celtic Indo-European languages know an animal term which derives from *mat-*. This root is limited only to the Celtic language world.

Secondly, the archetype *matākós* appears both in the Brittonic common names (see OW. *madawg*, W. *madog* m. 'a fox') and the Common Celtic proper names (cf. Gaulish PN *Matacus* = OBritt. PN

Matucus, OW. PN *Matauc*, *Matoc*, Bret. PN *Matoc*, *Matec*). The same item is, with no doubt, reflected in the Hesychian gloss in question (ματακὸς ἢ ματακόν).

Thirdly, the Hesychian forms ματακός (m.) and ματακόν (n.), as well as Old Welsh *madawg*, Welsh *madog* m. 'a fox', were formed by means of the identical suffix *-āko-*. The Celtic origin of the gloss is therefore confirmed by its word-formation structure.

The Gaulish personal name *Matacus* seems to demonstrate the existence of the proper term **matākos* denoting 'lynx' (or a similar animal) in Continental Celtic (as suggested by the Hesychian gloss in question). Also, the related proper names of Celtic origin, attested in Gaul and Celtiberia (e.g. Gaulish PN *Matinus*, Hispanic Celtic *Matugenus*), confirm the correctness of the Hesychian gloss in question.

3. Semantic questions

The insular Celtic languages demonstrate three various meanings: 'a bear', 'a fox' and 'a dog'. The semantics of the Hesychian gloss ('lynx') is completely different. However, the semantic aspects can be easily explained by the well known fact that lynx was (and is) absent in the British Islands. Mallory and Adams (1997: 360) stress that "the lynx was died out in the British Isles quite early in the prehistoric period, the most recent find being only of Mesolithic date". In this situation the original term for 'lynx', a big and strong predator, might be easily transferred onto 'a bear' (in the Goidelic dialects) or 'a fox' (in the Brittonic dialects). As lynx inhabits the Continental European area (beginning from the Iberian Peninsula in the west[1]) as well as the Asia Minor, the Common Celtic term for 'lynx' (which I identify with the root **mat-*) should be preserved in the Continental Celtic languages such as Galatian, Gaulish or Celtiberian. If the Hesychian gloss indicates the meaning of 'lynx', then there is a justifiable reason to think that the Common Celtic root **mat-* meant originally nothing other than 'lynx'. All the meanings attested in the Insular Celtic languages ('bear'; 'fox'; 'dog, mastiff') must be treated as secondary.

4. Etymology

Vendryes (1959: M-24) connects OIr. *math* m. (*u*-stem) 'ours' ('a bear') with the Celtic adjective **mati-* (*i*-stem) 'bon, favorable' ('good, favourable') (cf. OIr. *maith* adj. 'bon, excellent, avantageux' ('good, excellent'), n. 'le bien, l'avantage' ('good, fortune') (Vendryes 1959: M-12).

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[1] The Iberian Peninsula is the homeland of Spanish lynx or Iberian lynx or Pardel lynx (*Lynx pardina*), slightly smaller and more heavily spotted than the Northern lynx (Burton 1984: 141-142; Arnold, Corbet, Ovenden 1989: 53; Dobroluka 1998: 96). It is generally treated as a local species.

He suggests that "l'ours aurait été désigné par une épithète flatteuse, comme cela se produit pour d'autres animaux de l'époque préhistorique". The original IE name for 'brown bear', PIE *$h_2i̯tḱos$ (o-stem), is preserved as *artos 'bear' in Common Celtic (cf. OIr. arth m. 'a bear'). The removal of the original term *artos was probably caused by a taboo. According to Mallory, Adams (1997: 55), the same process may be observed in the Germanic (Eng. bear, Germ. Bär orig. 'brown animal'), Slavic (Russ. medved', Pol. niedźwiedź orig. 'honey-eater') and Baltic languages (Lith. lokŷs, Latv. lâcis, OPruss. clokis orig. 'shaggy animal').

Toporov (1986: 220) compares Celtiberian matu- (with the alleged meaning 'bear') with Latv. mats (pl. mati) 'hair', matains adj. 'hairy, covered with hair', matiņš 'a single hair', Russ. mot' 'прядь волос' ('lock of hair'). The Latvian word for 'hair' seems to be related to Toch. B matsi 'Haupthaar' ('(human) head hair'). Thus, 'a hairy (shaggy) animal' appears to be a taboo word for 'bear'.

The internal Celtic etymology, proposed by Vendryes, seems more acceptable than Toporov's explanation. What is more, Toporov's comparison prefers the original semantics of 'bear' (or, perhaps, of 'fox') and excludes the original meaning of 'lynx' (the Eurasian lynx has a relatively short, reddish or brown coat, especially during the summer). It is quite appropriate that lynx might have been once called 'a good, favourable one', itself being a wild animal that avoids people.

It cannot be excluded that the Common Celtic term for 'lynx' (CC. *matākos and so on) was originally motivated by the substrate (perhaps Celtic) verbal root *mat- 'to kill', cf. Port. Sp. matar 'to kill, hurt, harm, wound' (Corominas, Pascual 2000: 878-881; Meyer-Lübke 1935: 442-443) and Gaulish matara, mataris f. 'a Celtic javelin or pike' (Billy 1993: 104). In fact, lynx as a big carnivorous predator, which hunts hares, rodents and birds, may be called 'a killer'.

5. Galatian influence (?)

Though the ancient Greeks were well acquainted with the Gauls and the Celtiberians, they also had somewhat intensive contacts with the Galatians. There are at least ten Celtic glosses in the Hesychian lexicon and five of them (i.e. 50%) are defined as "Galatian". Also, the remaining Hesychian glosses of Celtic origin may directly derive from a Galatian source.

There is also the following case connected with the gloss below:

ματίς·μέγας. τιν`ες ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως

(Schmidt 1861: 76, μ-404; Latte 1966: 633, μ-402)

matís [means] 'great' (strong, mighty). Some [say so] about the king.

This adjective is completely absent in all the Greek literary texts. That is why the gloss is said to represent a foreign non-Greek word. In my opinion, it is possible to connect the gloss in question (ματίς adj. 'great, strong, mighty') with the Old Irish adjective *maith* (*i*-stem) 'good, excellent, profitable, wealthy', MW *mad* 'fortunate, good', MCo. *mas*, MBret. *mat*, Bret. *mad* 'good' and Gaulish *mat* attested in the Coligny inscription (< CC. **matis* adj., *i*-stem) (Schrijver 1995: 175). The gloss should be treated as a Continental Celtic word, possibly a Galatian one. The same suggestion is given by Ranko Matasović (2009: 259): "Beyond Celtic, Gr. *matis* 'great' (Hesych.) is uncertain (it is not even ascertained that the word is Greek, it might be Galatian)".

To the best of my knowledge, there is no adjective in the attested Indo-European languages which is similar to **matis*. It is possible to suggest that the Hittite adjective *lazzi-* 'good, fortunate' (Güterbock, Hoffner 1980: 50), which can be securely derived from the Anatolian **latis* of the same meaning, may be somewhat related to the Celtic *matis* 'good, excellent, profitable, wealthy'.[2] Appropriate comparanda can be drawn from the Hitt. *lē* 'not' (prohibitive particle) that corresponds to PIE. **mē* id. (Kloekhorst 2008: 523, cf. Skt. *mā*, Gk. μη, Arm. *mi*, Toch. AB *mā*). However, the initial phoneme *l-* in Anatolian hardly agrees with *m-* in Common Celtic, as well as with μ- in the Hesychian gloss in question.

If the Hesychian gloss ματίς· μέγας. τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως actually refers to the Celtic adjective *matis* 'good, excellent, profitable, wealthy', then the words τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ("Some [say so] about the king") seem to denote the Galatian kings called "great" after the ancient Greek phrase ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς 'great king'.

It is further probable that these two Hesychian glosses μάταν· ἡ λύγξ. ἔνιοι δὲ ματακὸς ἢ ματακόν and ματίς· μέγας. τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως were taken from the same literary source, which explained the titles of the Galatian kings.

University of Łódź

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DAUGHTER ~ MAIDEN ~ MAIDSERVANT: DYNAMICS OF SEMANTIC SHIFT FROM CONTINENTAL CELTIC TO INSULAR CELTIC VOCABULARY[*]

TATYANA A. MIKHAILOVA

1. Introduction

The history of Irish language has been thoroughly explored as much as its phonology, morphology and syntax – in their transition from Old Irish to Middle Irish and to its modern state – are concerned. However, the language vocabulary has been largely ignored,[1] while it is the vocabulary evolution that provides the basis for the glottochronological studies, based on lexicostatistics. This is understandable, since vocabulary is the least systematic part of language and, therefore, the most challenging when one faces the task of structural description; however, lexical changes reflect changes in the society. From this viewpoint, one of the most interesting lexical-semantic groups is kinship terminology, which is normally quite distinct and compact yet having marked ways of evolution. This minor piece of our research will encompass a single sememe of 'daughter' in Celtic languages.

2. Reflexes of IE 'daughter' in Celtic

It has been commonly accepted that cognates of the proto-Indo-European word for 'daughter' (*$dhugH$ (Szemerenyi 1977: 21) or *$dhug\hat{g}(h_2)$-$t\partial r$ (Mallory, Adams 2006: 472)) survive in many later languages save for Albanian, Italic and Celtic.[2] Its only reflex is thought to be the Old Irish *der* 'daughter, girl', a shortened form of the Indo-European stem surviving only in compound words (O'Brien 1956: 178), "an allegro-form" (Matasović 2009: 110). Typically, *Der-* (also found in such forms as *Dar-*, *Tar-*, *Ter-*) is the first part of a compound name in which the second part appears in a genitive form, so it may be interpreted as 'daughter of'. However, such compounds are never used as patronymics, but rather as

[1] Save for studies describing loanwords (of either Scandinavian, English or Anglo-Norman origin).
[2] See also, for the possible Indo-European origin of Middle Persian *duxt* 'princess' in (Kullanda 2002: 92), while in Mongolic the word for 'daughter, girl, princess' is *ökin* (Rykin 2009: 89).

proper names, such as *Derfhinn, Der(b)forgaill, Derluga, Daróma*, *Derfiled* etc. While most of them are commonly understood as derivations from theonyms, *Derfiled* means 'daughter of a poet', but, surprisingly, in Irish sources the latter name appears as belonging to males. At least two instances of male saints bearing this name are given by Donnchadh Ó Corrain and Fidelma Maguire in their book on Irish names (Ó Corrain, Maguire 1990: 71). Sometimes, however, *der-* may appear as an isolated lexeme, in such expressions as *Der gréine* ('daughter of the Sun', e.g. 'dew' (LEIA-D 53)) or alone. The 'obscure bardic language' yields such an example as *mór ndear .i. mór mban* 'many *ndear*, i.e. many women'. This case makes the interpretation of semantics and etymology of *der-* more problematic. In the surviving compounds it may well be interpreted as the 'wife of', and *Der gréine* might be understood as the 'solar woman'. On the other hand, Cormac mac Cuilennáin in the early 10th century glossed *der-* as *ingen* 'girl, daughter, young woman' (Meyer 1913: 41). Perhaps this lexeme is not unrelated to Old Irish *ander* 'girl, young woman', glossed in the same work by Cormac as *ander .i. ben .i. ní der .i. ní hingen* (Meyer 1913: 9), and can be translated as '*Ander*, i.e. a woman, i.e. not a girl (*der*), i.e. not a daughter'. Cormac's popular etymology is improbable, since in Goidelic the Indo-European prefixal negator would consistently becomes *in-*, rather than *an-*, which in fact is an emphatic prefix of unclear etymology, unrelated to negation. Well-learned in Latin, Cormac, however, lacked understanding of native Celtic language structures, so his etymology, cited by Joseph Vendryes, can hardly be other than a bizarre one. Nor the parallel to Welsh *anneir* 'heifer', suggested by Vendryes (LEIA-A 76), seems phonetically plausible: Brittonic languages, unlike Goidelic, would not tend to assimilate consonant clusters. However, the semantic transition between 'heifer' and 'girl' is not infrequent and well attested in the Irish saga tradition. Moreover, the link between the words for 'son/boy' or 'daughter/girl' and those denoting animal youngsters is by no means uncommon, though the exact way of semantic transition cannot be identified. For instance, some Russian dialects use the word *dochka* (which the literary norm has for nothing other than 'daughter') for 'young sow' (Trubachev 2006: 57). Modern Russian slang uses *tyolka* ('heifer') for 'teenage girl, young woman'. Compare also Old Irish *suth* 'litter', deriving from a Proto-Indo-European word for 'son' (LEIA-RS 205).

In the early 1970s, a Gaulish lead tablet dating back to the first century A.D. was found in Larzac, France, which added to the known vocabulary of Continental Celtic a new lexeme, *duxtir*, with the possible meaning of either 'daughter' or 'female disciple, female foster-child'

('jeune fille initiée', in (Lejeune 1985: 133); see also (Sims-Williams 2007: 3)). Anyway, there is little disagreement on the word's etymology.

3. **Gaulish** *geneta* **vs. Old Irish** *ingen*

Maurice Lejeune's suggestion that *duxtir* must have had a narrower sense than just 'a girl' is apparently supported by the fact that, in Gaulish, the broader meaning of 'a girl, daughter (?), female person' is normally represented by derivations from another IE stem, *$\hat{g}enh_1$* 'to generate' (IEW 373 ff.): *geneta*, *genata*, *gneta*, *nata* (Delamarre 2003: 177, 181); compare also Oscan *genetaí* 'daughter'.

This lexeme is an adjectival of IE *$\hat{g}enh_1$-t-ā* (*$\hat{g}en$-* 'to bear, generate', (Matasović 2009, 157)), formed by the *-t-* affix and, in Gaulish, well-attested also in the masculine form, both in personal names (*Meddu-gnatus*, *Eposo-gnatus* etc.) and separately, with a probable meaning of 'boy' or 'son'. A closer look at Gaulish inscriptions brings us to a stunning conclusion: the use of the feminine form is limited to a single particular kind of source, that is, inscriptions on loom-weights (for more on this class of archaeological objects, see (RIG 317)). Loom-weights were specifically feminine attributes, and the tradition of inscribing them with playful phrases, as well as the whole epigraphic tradition of Gaul, dates back to the late Roman Empire. Loom-weight inscriptions are also not uncommon among archaeological finds from Medieval Scandinavia and Russia. This kind of finds with Latin inscriptions occurs as commonly in Gaul as in late Rome, and, just as commonly, they bear a word with a meaning of 'female person'. Here are some examples: SALVE TU, PUELLA; AVE DOMINA; SALVE, DOMINA; SALVE SOSOR; AVE VALE BELLA TV (RIG 318). Compare some Gaulish parallels (numbering after RIG, translation being conjectural):

L-112: NATA VIMPI / CVRMI DA *'lovely girl, give me beer'*
L-114: GENETA / VIS CARA '*girl, be sweet*'
L-115: M (N?)ATTA DAGOMTA / BALINE E NATA
　　　'*girl good… girl*'
L-119: MONI GNATA GABI / BVDDVTTON IMON
　　　'*come girl, take my small…*'
L-120 : GENETTA IMI / DAGA VIMPI '*I am [a] girl good lovely*'

While the exact meaning of the word is unknown, both Latin parallels and the very nature of inscription suggest 'girl' rather than 'daughter'.

Its insular cognates are Welsh *geneth* (for 'girl', while *merch* [< Old Celtic *merkka*] was used for 'daughter') and Old Irish *gen* 'girl, young woman' (a rare word found in glosses only; see DIL, s.v. *gen* 2).

For Welsh *geneth*, the general rule of spirantisation in auslaut allows us to restore its Proto-British form **genettā* with a secondary gemination which might have been of expressive nature (Morris Jones 1913: 133).

The Old Irish word *ingen* '1. girl; 2. daughter' could possibly be a secondary formation based on the same stem **gen-*; however, in Middle Irish *ingen*₁ (for 'girl') was superseded by another word of unclear etymology, *cailín* (see below). Of *ingen*, Cormac mac Cuilennáin (see above) wrote what is consistent with this kind of etymology:

> *Ingen .i. in-gin .i. nī ginither ūaithe. Nō in-gen .i. nī bean. Gune graece*, *mulier latine* [Meyer 1913, # 773]
> '**Ingen**, i.e., non-procreative, or **in-gen** 'not woman'. ['Woman' is] **Gune** in Greek, **mulier** in Latin.'

The word *ingen* (Middle Irish *iníon* 'daughter', Modern Irish *Ní* of patronymics and family names) is first recorded, as *INIGENA*, in the inscription, what Kenneth Jackson describes as "a bilingual puzzle" (Jackson 1953: 185). However, Damian McManus is more cautious, saying that "the relationship between the Ogam and Latin is unclear" (McManus 1997: 61). Let us invoke CIIC # 362 inscription from Wales:

> *AVITORIA FILIA CVNIGNI* – AVITTORIGES INIGENA CUNIGNI (or: INIGENA CUNIGNI AVITTORIGES)

Arguably, the grammatical discrepancy between Irish *Avitoriges* (m. gen.) and Latin *Auitoria* (f. nom.) does not disprove the bilingual nature of the inscription, but rather reflects an attempt of an intercultural exchange – that is, an imitation of the Roman *praenomen-nomen-cognomen* model of naming, created by a Goidel (or perhaps a Britt) and written down in Ogham. It could mean that *Avitoria* is both a daughter of a certain *Avitorix* (like the name *Tullia* that indicates being a daughter of Marcus Tullius) and a member of the *Cunigni* family. Compare another Latin inscription from the Roman Britain:

> *Dis M(anibus) / Verecu(n)d(a) Rufi **filia cives** / Dobunna annor(um) XXXV….*
> 'To the spirits of the departed: Verecunda, daughter of Rufus, **tribeswoman** of the Dobunni, aged 35' (RIB 621, see (Raybould, Sims-Williams 2007: 90)).

In this context, it is not unlikely that the word INIGENA in the Ogham text, seemingly matched by *filia* of the Latin counterpart, is in fact

supposed to mean *filia cives* 'native (female) person'. Moreover, we might suggest that the Irish word, rather than deriving from Old Celtic **eni-genā* 'born into a family' (compare Gaulish *Enigenus* (Evans 1967: 206)), is an early loanword from Latin and derives from *indigena* 'native/ local (female) person'. This suggestion is supported by the phonetic form of the word. According to Jackson, the vowel affection $\verb|ĕ| > \verb|ĭ|$ ('raising' caused by the *i* of the next syllable) did not occur until the mid-6th century, so it postdates the apocope of the late 5th century. Yet the inscription is basically of pre-apocope character, which suggests that the native form should have been *ENIGENA. However, dating Ogham inscriptions may be difficult because of the deliberate archaisation employed by its carvers (often in consistent and sophisticated manner). Anyway, in Goidelic, this lexeme seems to have superseded the old IE term for 'daughter'. Before the Middle Irish period, it bore a broader sense of 'daughter, girl, young woman'. Compare Welsh *merch* (< **merio-* 'junger Mann', with the *-g* formant and an emphatic gemination, a Lithunian cognate being *mergà* 'girl, maidservant' (IEW 738-39)).

4. Lost/loan kinship terminology

The suggestion that the Goidelic term for 'daughter' could have been a loanword may be supported by the Uralic data. For instance, in Sami the lexeme for 'daughter' is a loanword from early Baltic **tektāre*; in Finnish and Estonian, the same word seems to be of Scandinavian origin (*tyttär*, compare Swedish *dottir*). The original proto-form for 'daughter' cannot be reconstructed either in Uralic or in Altaic (Koivulehto 2007 241; Sammallahti 2007 404; Rykin 2009).

What could have caused the loss of the IE term for 'daugher' in Insular Celtic, given that, as the existence of differing lexemes suggests, it happened independently in different languages and cannot be traced back to a single linguistic event (unlike the loss of the IE word for 'son' which in Proto-Celtic was **mak^{w}k^{w}-os* and whose etymology is problematic)?

Arguably, the simultaneous loss of the IE word for 'daugher' in more than one of the Insular Celtic languages may be explained through the fact that the Irish and the Britons had a special institution of fosterage (Old Irish *altramm*) − prominent families would send their children to foster-parents, which meant raising their social status. The 'baby language' words *aite* and *muimme* would then acquire the corresponding meanings of 'foster father' and 'foster mother' ("the intimate forms have been transferred to the fosterparents" (Kelly 1988: 86)); compare, however, Welsh *mam* 'mother, Mom' and *tad* 'father, Dad'. At the same time, in modern Irish dialects (in colloquial speech), the Old Irish word

for 'foster child' (*dalta*) may be used for addressing one's biological child.

On the other hand, the insular Celtic loss of the IE lexemes for 'daughter' and 'son' may be regarded as fitting into the pattern of the 'linguistic revolution' which took place between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. and must have had social origins – perhaps related to the conversion to Christianity. Namely, social changes caused shifts in the meanings of social terms; however, these shifts are consistent with the patterns widely observed in other languages. The semantic transition between 'girl – daughter – maidservant' (or between 'boy – son – male servant') is a frequent if not universal phenomenon well-attested in many languages (Zalizniak 2008). It is most obvious in English where *maid* still retains a more archaic meaning of 'girl', used in poetry as recently as in the 19th century (from Saxon *mægden* 'girl, maidservant'; compare modern German *Mädchen* 'girl', derived from the same stem); *boy* has also an immediate meaning of 'male servant' (just as *garçon* in French). In Latin, *puella* stands for both 'girl' and 'daughter', while *puer* for 'child/boy' and 'servant'. Czech *děvice* and Polish *dziewa* mean 'girl', but their Sorbian cognate *dźowka* means 'daughter'; Czech *naše holka* means literally 'our girl' but is in fact used for 'daughter'; in informal Russian, *devochka* ('girl') may also be used for 'daughter', as an intimate form, and in colloquial Russian, *dochka* (the diminutive form of the word for 'daughter') is used for 'girl' as a form of address (by older people) (Trubachev 2006: 56). Notably, this semantic process is bilateral, yet the very shift occurs within a single shared semantic field, without transgressing certain boundaries.

5. 'Girl' ↔ 'maid-servant' as a universal semantic shifting

Later, in the Middle Irish period, the further changes of the social structure caused changes in age-sex group stratification, which left some semantic niches empty, so that the gaps called for filling in. Thus, if in earlier Irish the word *ingen* could mean either 'daughter', 'girl' or 'young woman', in Middle Irish it only retained the first meaning of 'daughter', while another word for 'girl', *cailín*, emerged. Originally, *cailín* could have probably meant 'maidservant'; morphologically, it is a diminutive of the archaic word *caile*. The latter is masculine and of unclear etymology (LEIA-C 12). This is the way Cormac glossed it:

> *Caile do chaillig coimēta tighe is ainm* (Meyer 1913, # 243)
> *Caile* comes from *caillech* ['old woman'], as a home warden.

While my earlier suggestion was linking *cailín* to Georgian *kal-* 'woman', *kale* 'girl', or Turkic *kalin 'daughter-in-law' (Mikhailova 2007: 58), now I am inclined to dismiss this idea as speculation. My present (and perhaps just as speculative) etymology links this word (instead of linking it to *caillech* 'old woman' < Latin *pallium* 'cloak') to Old Irish *cailech* 'cup' (< Latin *calyx* 'cup'). *Cailín* might be a back-formation from *cailech* understood as an adjective (*cail-ech*), 'object related to maidservants'. The diminutive suffix could have been added later. This is not an uncommon way of how folk etymology works: compare *suckl-ed* < *suckle* < *suckling*, understood as *suckl-ing*, a gerund (in fact, *suck-ling*, a noun with an archaic diminutive suffix). However, this etymology may only be hypothetical.

While Mallory and Adams have suggested, with some uncertainty, that the Proto-Indo-European word for 'daughter', **dhuĝ(h₂)-tər*, came from **dhug-* 'food' (therefore, 'daughter' = 'the one who cooks' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 148), such kind of semantic transition looks uncommon. More typical is a reverse transition (*boy* 'male child' → *boy* 'male servant', *maid* 'girl' → *maid* 'female servant'), attested in many languages (see above). Apparently, the meaning of '(unskilled) servant' or 'aid' is secondary and rooted in social reality: unskilled jobs were performed by adolescents, although the exact ways of semantic transition may have been more complicated – compare Russian words *rab* 'slave', *roba* 'female slave' [archaic], *rebyonok* (dialect *robyonok*) 'child', all of them deriving from Proto-Slavonic **orb-* 'feeble', 'having no rights' (Chernykh 1994: 91, 102). There are also African examples of semantic derivation linked to age-sex groups, of which V. A. Popov wrote:

> A well-known phenomenon that seems to be universal throughout social history is the extension of terms, originally meaning either children or uninitiated young people, to indicate lower-class people (slaves or other subordinates). So, as may be expected, in Akan languages the meaning of *abofra* 'child' shifts to 'servant, subordinate', *akoa* (another term for 'child') to 'slave, servant', *abaawa* ('young woman') to 'maidservant', *abasimma* (also 'young woman') to 'of lower class' etc. (my trans., Popov 1981: 95).

Nevertheless, however frequent these transitions were, they cannot be called truly universal. In Old Irish, a corresponding semantic transition

occurred in the use of the word *gilla* whose original[3] meaning was probably 'a male adolescent at the age when he first gets a weapon' (DIL), and this polysemy had survived until much later (Dinneen 1927: 536).

Given that Old Irish *cail* 'maidservant', from which the diminutive form *cailín* derives, cannot be reliably traced back to any Indo-European stem, it is not implausible that this word comes from non-Indo-European substrate, which allows reconstructing a possibly more complex way of its semantic evolution: the original word from the pre-Celtic substrate vocabulary could mean 'girl' and then shift to 'maidservant' – so it is at the latter stage that it was borrowed into Old Irish. Parallels are found in modern Russian which borrowed the French word *garçon* (both 'male child' and 'waiter) to indicate 'waiter' only, and the English word *boy* which in Russian narrowed to 'male native servant in former British colonies' (the meaning now near-obsolete in English); compare also the Germanism *Mädchen Zimmer* used in the jargon of the old St. Petersburg for 'a small room next to the kitchen, housing (female) servants'. However, the use of these loanwords in Russian is very limited (if not obsolete), and further or broader semantic evolution did not happen.

In Welsh, the semantic shift marking the divergence of 'girl' and 'daughter' must have happened earlier, or it may be the case that the extant Welsh records date from much later period, since the words *merch* and *geneth* found in surviving Middle Welsh texts do not seem to be semantically competing. Compare, however, the translation of Welsh *merch* (found in a 16th-century text) as *maid* by Morris Jones:

> *Llyfr Ofydd a fydd i ferch*
> 'The *maid* shall have a book of Ovid' (Morris Jones 1913: 170)

Neither of these lexemes is attested in Old Welsh. Interestingly, at the same time (presumably, about the 16th century) Old Irish *macc*, from a broader meaning of 'son, boy, child', changes to a narrower one of 'son', while the resulting semantic gap is filled in with the word *buachaill* (Breton *bugel* 'child'), derived from Old Irish *bó caill*, literally 'cow-servant', i.e. 'cowboy'. That is, another uncommon semantic shift within the same frame, from 'servant' to 'child', occurs. Welsh, where the need for a specification term for 'male child' had also arisen (the older polysemantic term *map* being attested in a variety of meanings as early as

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[3] In fact, there is little certainty as to which of the meanings was the earlier one. In the extant written records, the meaning of 'servant' is more frequent. One may deduce that the compilers of Irish dictionaries tend to mark it as 'derivation' automatically, by analogy with the more common type of semantic shift. Presumably, this question needs further research, especially on the word's etymology which is presently unclear.

in Middle Welsh),[4] used another way of semantic derivation, forming the word *bachgen* 'boy' from *bach* 'little'. The same way of semantic transition is clearly seen in modern Russian *mal'chik* 'boy', derived from the Old Russian adjective *mal* 'little [masculine form]' (now occurring as a root, rather than an independent word, but retaining the meaning of 'little').

Anyway, the shift within a semantic field mirrors social changes, in this particular case – changes of the idea of age-sex group stratification.

6. As a conclusion: The way forward

It seems promising to broaden the context of this research endeavour by adding the notions of 'cub' and 'small creature' and by drawing parallels from other languages, perhaps even other than Indo-European. On the other hand, the apparent and potentially productive challenge is tracing the diachrony of the 'child' concept in Irish and Welsh, observing how vocabularies subtly change within an integral semantic field and how they reflect social changes such as those of age-sex group stratification.

Institute of Linguistics, Moscow

Abbreviations

CIIC – **Macalister**, R.A.S., ed., 1945, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum,* Dublin: Genprint, vol. I.
DIL – *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, Dublin: RIA, 1913-
IEW – **Pokorny,** J., 1959, *Indogermanishes etymologishes Wörterbuch*, Bern, München: Francke Verlag.
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien de J. Vendryes* (A – Paris, CNRS, 1959, repr. Dublin : DIAS, 1981; R,S – Paris, CNRS, 1974; C - E.Bachellery et P.-Y.Lambert – Paris, DIAS-CNRS, 1987; D – P.Y.Lambert. Paris, DIAS-CNRS, 1996).
RIB – **Collingwood**, R.G., **Wright**, R.P., eds., 1995, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, I, Inscriptions on Stone*, Stroud: Sutton.
RIG – **Lambert**, P.Y., ed., 2002, *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises*, vol. II, f. 2. *Textes Gallo-Latins sur instrumentum*, Paris: CNRS.

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[4] For corresponding examples, see (Mikhailova 2007a: 14).

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CLEFT AS A MARKER OF A THETIC SENTENCE: EVIDENCE FROM IRISH AND RUSSIAN

MARIA SHKAPA

1. Introduction

Modern Irish is a strict VSO language, meaning that it does not allow for SV or OV inversion, the only phrases able to precede the verb being sentential adverbials ('yesterday', 'often' etc.).

Some pragmatic and grammatic functions that in other languages are served by inversion in Irish are performed by a biclausal (cleft) construction. As in English or French, it is used when focalisation of a constituent takes place (1). The construction also forms *wh*-questions (2).

(1) *Dá   bhféadainn an t-airgead   a   bhaint dé* (sic) *féin*
    if   I.could   the money   PRT extract from.him self
    *bheinn   sásta,   ach **ní   díot-sa**   is   ceart*
    I.would.be content but not from.you-CONT is(REL) right
    dom a   chuid siúd a   bhaint.
    to.me his share that PRT   extract
    If I could get the money from him, I would be content, but it's not from you that it is right for me to get his money (MSF, 18-43).

(2) ***Cathain** a   tháinig   tú?*
    when   REL came   you
    When did you come? (*Graiméar...* 1999: 248)

Those two functions of the cleft are well-known and are described in standard Irish grammars. However, it is quite obvious that the cleft construction has other pragmatic meanings. Consider, for example, the following sentence starting a paragraph:

(3) ***Duine anoir**   ó   **Chill Mocheallóg** a   bhíodh   sa*
    man from.east from C. M.   REL was   in.the
    chathaoir (sic) *againn   i gcaitheamh   na   h-aimsire sin.*
    town   at.us   during   the   time   that
    A man from Cill Mocheallog in the east was in the town with us during that time (MSF, 24-6).[1]

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[1] There is no presupposition that some foreign person lived in the town, so there is no subject focalisation here.

The fact that the cleft in Celtic languages can have a non-focalising interpretation was mentioned as early as 1942 by Henry Lewis:

> If we chanced in walking along a country road to meet straying cattle, and inquired the cause, we should as likely as not be told *y ffermwr adawodd y glwyd ar agor* 'the farmer left the gate open'. We should be hearing an expression in a form that undoubtedly goes back to very early times. For the sentence does not mean 'it was the farmer that left the gate open'. There is no emphasis at all on the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, we might see a gate open which should have been shut, and it might be important to know who was the culprit. We should still be told *y ffermwr adawodd y glwyd ar agor*, but this time *y ffermwr* would be very differently stressed and intoned. The sentence would now mean in English 'it was the farmer that left the gate open' (Lewis 1942).

Thirty years later Proinsias Mac Cana in his paper on the Celtic word order noted that insular Celtic languages preserving VSO have a special construction where 'the emphasis expressed by the abnormal word-order (the same as cleft here – *M. Sh*.) applies to the whole verbal statement and not merely, or especially, to the subject or object which takes the initial position' (Mac Cana 1973: 102). He cites examples from Old, Middle and Modern Irish and Old and Modern Welsh, such as:

(4) *'Faoi Dhia, goidé tháinig ort?' ars an t-athair.*
by God what.it happened on.you said the father
'Micheál Rua a bhuail mé', ars an mac.
M. R. REL hit me said the son
'In God's name, what happened to you?' asked the father. 'Micheál Rua gave me a beating', said the son. (Mac Cana 1973: 106)

(5) *Lecc Tollcind. Unde nominatur. Ni handsa. Tollcend druth*
L. T. not difficult T. jester
Echach meic Énnai Chendselaig ro marbad for Muir Icht ...
of E. son of É. C. was.killed on Sea of Wight
Lecc Tollcind. Whence is it named? It is not difficult: Tollcend the jester of Echu mac Énna was slain in the Sea of Wight. (Mac Cana 1973: 106)

The topic did not receive further investigation until the notion of theticity was developed in linguistics.

Since Kuroda's work on Japanese (Kuroda 1972), a discourse situation like that described by Henry Lewis and Proinsias Mac Cana is usually labeled 'thetic' (less common names being 'sentence focus

utterance' and 'neutral description'). The term 'thetic' goes back to the philosophy of language and Vilem Mathesius' work on functional sentence perspective (Mathesius 1929). In opposition to categorial sentences that have both topic and comment, both presupposition and assertion, thetic sentences were said to be all-comment and all-assertive.

However, no universal definition of theticity has been worked out so far due to the fact that pragmatic categories involved, such as 'topic-comment', 'assertion-presupposition', have neither similar nor straightforward manifestation in languages (Sasse 1995: 7). As H. J. Sasse points out, it would be more efficient to study single cases that are acknowledged to be thetic and 'try to abstract a common core which can serve as a basis for generalization' (Sasse 1995: 3). As a working definition, we can take his statement that a thetic sentence is a sentence that 'expresses a pragmatically unanalysed state of affairs' and presents a whole situation at once, while a categorial sentence 'selects one of the participants of the state of affairs to present it as a predication base and arranges the rest in such a way that it forms the predication about the selected predication base' (Sasse 1987: 558).

Thetic/categorial distinction may have various manifestations:

I. Intonation
English

CATEGORIAL	THETIC
(6) *How's your neck?*	(7) *What's the matter?*
My neck HURTS.	*My NECK hurts.* (Sasse 1995: 4)

II. Word order
Italian

CATEGORIAL	THETIC
(8) *Il collo mi fa male*	(9) *Mi fa male il coll* (Sasse 1995: 8)

III. Binar construction containing a relative clause, e.g. cleft construction
French

CATEGORIAL	THETIC
(10) *Mon cou il me fait mal* (Sasse 1995: 8)	(11) *J'ai le cou qui me fait mal*
(12) *Mon prof il arrive* (Lambrecht 2000: 509)	(13) *Voilá mon prof qui arrive*

Other less common means mentioned in literature are nominalisation and incorporation (see Sasse 1985). Usually more then one device for coding theticity is present in a given language. These devices may work together,

e.g. intonation + word order change, be interchangeable, or in complementary distribution (see Lambrecht, Polinsky 1997, Lambrecht 2001, Sasse 1985 for details).

In Irish, besides prosodic means which will not be discussed here, theticity can be marked in the following ways:

I. Various non-finite constructions, e.g. verbal noun clause

(14) *Cad chuige? — Dónall   a   bheith   i   ngrá.*
      why   D.   REL be:VN in love
      Why so? — Donald is in love. (Graiméar... 1991: 234)

II. Cleft construction

(15) *Is do dhaoine le   cumas   bunúsach sa   Ghaeilge atá*
      is for people   with capability basic   in.the Irish   REL.is
      an Fáinne Airgid.
      the Ring   of.silver
      The silver ring is for people with basic knowledge of Irish
      (http://www.gaelport.com)[2]

III. Making a sentence 'artificially categorial' by means of topicalisation of a constituent that is focal in discourse

(16) *An t-ealaíontóir gur   mhór aici   an damhan alla   agus gur*
      the artist   that.is big at.her the spider   and that.is
      mhór a   cuid damhan alla,   Louise Bourgeois, fuair sí   bás
      big   her share of.spiders   L. B.   got   she death
      ar na mallaibh.
      recently
      An artist who valued the spiders greatly and whose spiders were plenty, Louise Bourgeois, died recently.
      (The first sentence of a newspaper article, http://www.beo.ie)

IV. Existentials with *ann*[3]

(17) *'Bhí lá ann,' a   deireadh sé, 'nuair a bhí dhá   bhó*
      agam...'
      was day there REL said   he   when was two   cow at.me
      'There was a day', he said, 'when I had two cows...' (BB: 7)

Irish as a language that uses the cleft construction for thetic utterances is mentioned in Sasse (1987) and Lambrecht & Polinsky (1997), based on Lewis (1942) and MacCana (1973). However, the topic has not yet

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[2] The article is an advertisement. *An Fáinne Airgid* is a new entity here. See also P. Mac Cana's examples which appear as (5) and (6) above.

[3] See McCloskey (2009) and literature cited there for syntactical analysis of existential *ann*.

received further investigation and we do not have a list of pragmatic functions that can be performed by the cleft in Modern Irish (be they thetic or not). As it has been pointed out above, the very notion of theticity is vague and needs to be specified for each individual language.

The aim of this paper is to outline a set of pragmatic contexts in Modern Irish where the cleft construction is used with no focalisation of a clefted constituent taking place. The issue of whether these uses should be called thetic will not be discussed here. In sections 3 and 4 some trivial prosodic patterns distinguishing focalising and non-focalising uses of cleft will be mentioned and a comparison with the Russian *eto*-cleft construction will be proposed.

2. Non-focalising cleft in Irish: Pragmatic functions[4]

For our analysis we took texts representing different genres and styles: two autobiographical novels (Fr Peadar Ua Laoghaire, *Mo Scéal Féin*, published 1915, hereinafter MSF, and Myles na gCopaleen, *An Béal Bocht,* published 1941, hereinafter BB), a detective story (Seán O'Connor, *An Guth Istóiche,* 2008, hereinafter GI), a textbook on Irish poetry (Caoimhghin Ó Góilidhe, *Díolaim Filíochta don Ardteistiméireacht*, 1974, hereinafter DF) and fifty newspaper articles. *MSF* also has an audio version.[5] The data has not shown any significant differences in cleft uses depending on genre or time of composition: all cleft functions met with in one genre were present in the others as well.[6]

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[4] The starting point for this classification is 'Guidelines for collecting material on "THETIC UTTERANCES" in European languages' (Sasse 1995: 28-31).

[5] The reading of the text by a native speaker was recorded in 2008 and was accessed at http://www.corkirish.com on 05.12.2011.

[6] We have not performed any statictical comparison due to the insufficient data, but would like to mention one tendency: newpapers use cleft sentences in thetic contexts very rarely and prefer other means, the favourite one being 'artificial topicalisation' [(16) above], sometimes with the predicate repetition. The authors of the analysed novels resort to this strategem too when the subject is a heavy NP, e.g. containing a relative clause (a), or a phrase in brackets (b).

a. *Sa   bhliain d'aois an Tighearna   míle ocht gcéad cheithre fichid a deich...*
   in.the   year   God's   1890
   do leath eadrainn an sgéal, go raibh   an sagart paróiste   a   bhí   anso
   spread   among.us the story that was   the priest of.parish REL was   here
   i   bparóiste Chaisleáin Ua Liathain,   go raibh sé ag dul   chun   bais.
   in   parish   C.   that was he at go-VN   to   death
   *In the year 1890, news spread among us that a parish priest that was here in the parish
        Caisleán Ua Liathain, that he was dying*. (MSF, 30-7).

b. *Thugan t-Athair Séamus   (an Canónach anois), thug   sé dinnéar breagh*
   gave   the Father Seamus   the Canon now   gave   he dinner excellent
   brothalach dúinn.
   luxurious   to.us
   Father Séamus (a Canon now) gave us an excellent luxurious dinner (MSF, 29-25).

The functions found in our data are the following:

I. Annunciative

(18) *Sraith   nua   faoi fhilí agus faoin   bhfilíocht ... a bhíonn*
program new   about poets and   about.the   poetry REL is:HAB
le   cloisteáil gach Céadaoin   ag 1.30 p.m.   ar RTÉ
with   listen-VN every Thursday   at 1.30 p. m.   on RTÉ
Raidió na Gaeltachta.
R. n. G.
A new program on poets and poetry is on RTÉ Radió na Gaeltachta each Thursday at 1.30 p.m. (http://www.galwayindependent.com)

II. Text opening

(19) *Aighneas a   tharla   idir   an file   ó   Éirinn*
dispute REL happened   between the poet   from Ireland
agus an t-iascaire   ón   gCorsaic...
and   the fisherman   from.the Corsica
There arose a dispute between a poet from Ireland and a fisherman from Corsica. (DF: 381)

III. Existential (usually introducing a new discourse topic)

(20) *Duine anoir   ó   Chill Mocheallóg a   bhíodh   sa*
man   from.east from C. M.   REL   was   in.the
chathaoir (sic) *againn   i gcaitheamh   na h-aimsire   sin.*
town   at.us   during   the time   that
A man from Cill Mocheallog in the east was in the town with us during that time. (MSF: 24-6; = (3) above)

IV. Descriptive

(21) *Pictiúr   leathmhagúil, leathgheanúil   atá   againn   anseo de*
picture   half-mocking half-loving   REL.is at.us   here   of
sheanbhád   canálach á   tharraingt   go mall ag an
old.boat   of.canal to.its pull:VN   slowly   at the
seanchapall...
old.horse

Here we have a half-mocking, half-loving depiction of an old canal boat being pulled by an old horse... (DF: 388)

V. Connecting episodes

(22) *An   scéal céanna   a   bhí   ag Joe.*
the   story same   REL was   at J.
It was the same story with Joe. (GI: 72)

(23) *A mhalairt de scéal a bhí ag Brian.*
its reverse of story REL was at B.
It was the opposite story with Brian. (GI: 72)

Instances I–V are properly thetic: neither subject nor object are presupposed by the context. There are also utterances whose functions are to a high degree similar to those of thetic sentences, e.g. opening a new episode with a character presented earlier in the text. They often have a form of a cleft construction too, but it is not always the subject that is extracted.

VI. Introducing a new episode (with a given subject)

(24) *Ar a slí chun uachtar reoite a cheannach a bhí sí.*
on her way to ice-cream PRT buy-VN REL was she
She was on her way to buy an ice-cream. (GI: 39)[7]

Often it is a scene-setting adverb that is clefted in such instances:

(25) *Ba thart ar an am sin a bhog Daid isteach*
was around on the time this REL moved Dad inside
sa seomra beag codlata a bhíodh agamsa roimh
in.the room small sleeping REL was at.me before
dhul le sagartóireacht dom...
go:VN to priesthood by.me
It was around that time that Dad moved to a small sleeping room that used to be mine before I became a priest. (GI: 42)

VII. Explanatory

(26) *Oíche Dé Máirt is fearr chun glaoch orm, mar*
evening of.Monday is the.best to call on.me because
is ag imirt beiriste sa bhunscoil a bhíonn Mam.
is at play-VN bridge in.the primary.school REL is:HAB Mum
Is ó Bhré atáim ag glaoch ort anocht.
is from B. REL-I.am at call-VN on.you tonight
Monday evening is the best time to call me, because Mom is playing bridge in the primary school. It's from Bré that I am calling you now. (GI: 36)

VIII. Introducing an unexpected event

(27) *Is orm-sa a bhí an iongnadh nuair a glaodhadh*
is on.me REL was the surprise when was.called
m'ainim ar dtúis.
my.name on beginning
I was amazed when my name was called out the first. (MSF, 14–12)

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[7] Here the author begins an account of what the character saw under hypnosis.

This list may be not exhaustive and further research on the basis of a larger corpus is needed.

3. Thetic/categorial ambiguity of the cleft sentences. Some basic prosodic patterns

In sentences with extracted subjects, ambiguity often arises: an utterance can be interpreted either as thetic or as subject-focal, depending on the context.

(28) *Tadhg ó h-Arrachtáin a   bhí   mar aturnae ag cosaint*
   T.   REL   was   as   solicitor at defend-VN
   an   Bhrianaigh.
   of.the Brianach
   The solicitor defending the Brianach was Tadhg ó h-Arrachtáin.
   (MSF, 29–13)

Categorial reading:[8]
Presupposition: The Brianach had a solicitor X.
Assertion: X was Tadhg Ó h-Arrachtáin.
(Possible context: answering the question 'Who was protecting the Brianach?')

Thetic reading:
Presupposition: —
Assertion: The solicitor defending the Brianach was Tadhg Ó h-Arrachtáin.
(Possible context: answering the question 'Why did the Brianach win the process?')

Why are theticity and focalisation of a subject marked in the same way? According to Lambrecht & Polinsky (1997), thetic marking must involve detopicalisation of nominal constituents. In European languages, the subject is topical and the predicate is focal by default, thus, it is the subject that should be detopicalised. That can be achieved by following one of the two ways: 1) 'formal properties which are conventionally associated with TOPIC arguments can be cancelled' or 2) the subject 'can be coded with formal features which are conventionally associated with FOCUS arguments' (Lambrecht & Polinsky 1997: 192, emphasis original). The cleft is a way to make a subject focal, and thus it can ascribe thetic meaning to the sentence. (The same principle is used in other

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[8] We use the model of description from Lambrecht 2000.

languages, which assign to thetic subjects grammatical features of objects, e.g. by incorporation.)

However, thetic sentences and sentences with a focalised constituent are not homophones. In thetic utterances, both clauses are accentuated and the rate of speech does not change significantly during the utterance. In cleft sentences with a focalised constituent, a post-focal clause is usually unaccented, has a lower intensity and a faster rate of speech (compare a thetic cleft in Figure 1 with a focalising cleft in Figure 2).

(29) *Is   minic a   tháinig glaodhach ola   sa   n-oídhche*
is   often REL   came   call   of.oil-VN in.the night
chúgham ó   Bheinn na Leacht.
to.me   from B.
Often a call for anointment came to me at night from Beann na Leacht (MSF, 17–1).

Fig. 1

Is minic a tháinig glaodhach ola   sa n-oídhche   chúgham   ó   Bheinn   na Leacht.
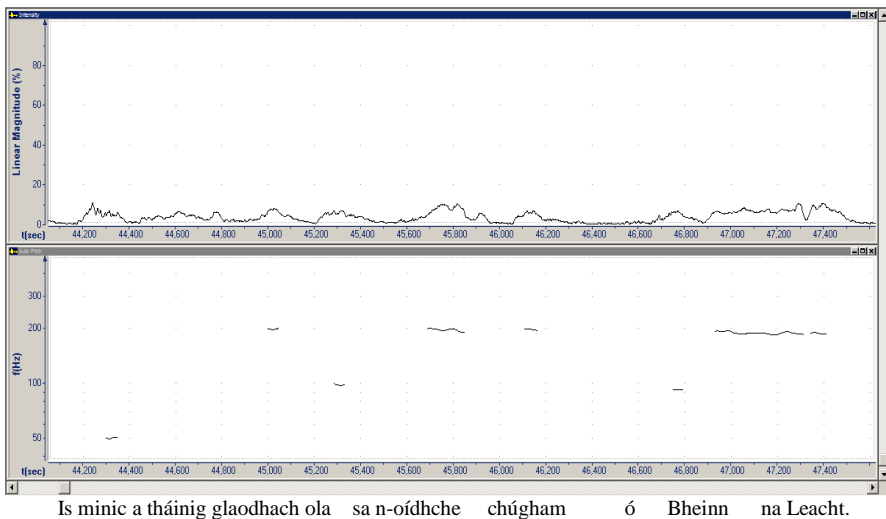
(30) *Bhí   Cormac ag caint   leis   na   fearaibh.*
was   C.   at talk-VN with   the   men
As Gaeluinn   a   bhíodar   ag caint.
in Irish   REL   they.were   at talk- VN
Cormac was speaking with the men. It is Irish that they were speaking (MSF, 7–6).

Fig. 2

As   Gae- luinn a bhíodar ag caint.
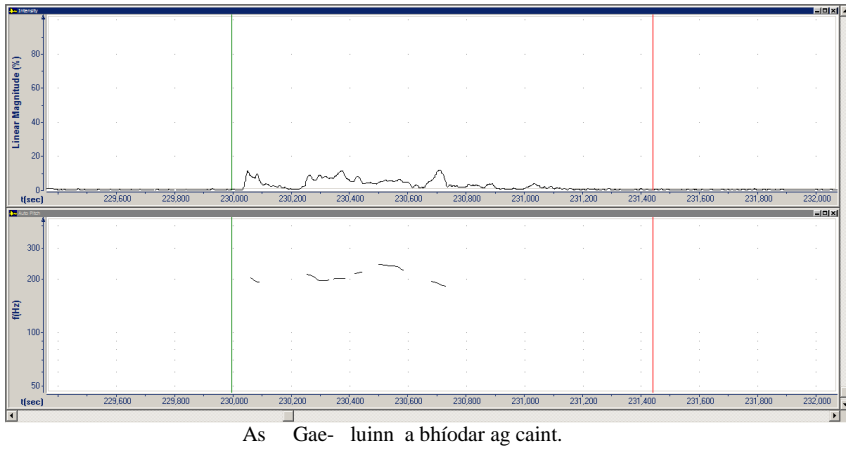
4. The Russian *eto*-cleft in comparison with the Irish cleft: Conclusion.

Russian lacks a canonical cleft construction. The so-called *eto*-cleft, with a deictic particle *eto* on the left and the remainder being grammatically the same to a categorial sentence, takes some of the other languages' cleft's functions. The *eto*-cleft has two meanings – focalising a constituent and forming a thetic sentence, illustrated by (31) and (32) resp.

(31) *Kto   razbil okno?   — Eto Pet'a   razbil okno.*
      who   broke window   PRT   P.   broke window
      Who broke the window? — It is Pet'a who broke the window
      (Kimmelman 2007: 1)

Fig. 3

E- to   Pe-   t'a raz- bil   ok-   no.
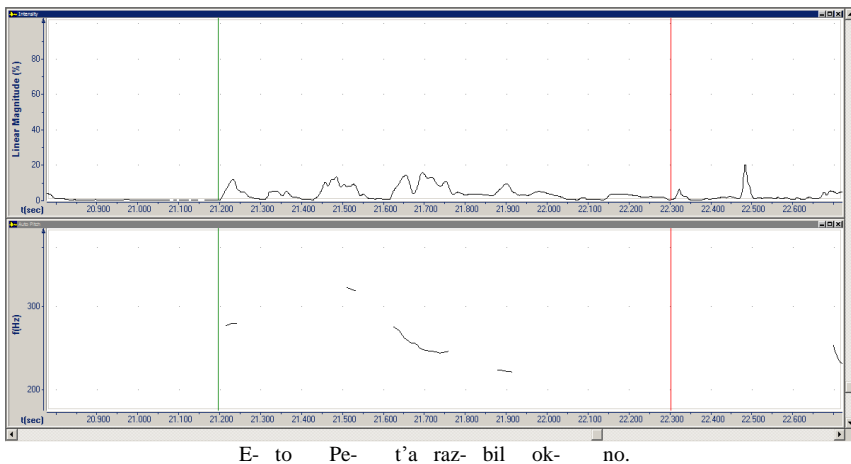
Postfocal material (*razbil okno*) is unstressed, has a lower intensity, and a more prominent vowel reduction.[9]
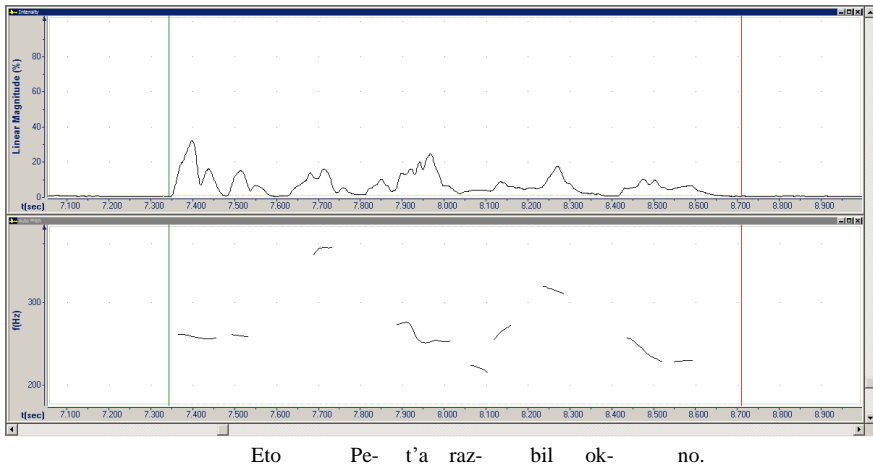
(32) *Chto   za shum? — Eto   Pet'a razbil okno.*
      what.kind   of noise   PRT P.   broke window
      Where does this noise come from? — Pet'a has broken the window.
      (Kimmelman 2007: 1)

Fig. 4

              Eto   Pe- t'a raz-   bil   ok-   no.

Those two functions of *eto*-cleft are generally regarded as two separate constructions having different syntactic structures and even different *eto*-particles (see Kimmelmann 2006, 2007 and literature cited there). However, we may propose that the existence of a typological parallel in Irish enables us to view it as a case of pragmatic homonymy. The parallel is reinforced by the fact that the *eto*-cleft also distinguishes the two pragmatic meanings prosodically.

Institute of Linguistics, *Moscow*

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[9] See also Kodzasov 1996 on vowel reduction in topics in Russian.

Abbreviations

CONT contrastive
HAB habitual aspect
PRT particle
REL relative particle
VOC vocative particle
VN verbal noun

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THE BRETON VERB *ENDEVOUT* AND THE FRENCH *AVOIR*: THE INFLUENCE OF DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS ON MODERN BRETON VERBAL SYSTEM

ANNA R. MURADOVA

1. Introduction

The present day Breton verbal system is represented in both descriptive and prescriptive grammars in a manner which follows the Latin and the French descriptive traditions. The problems of grammatical description that arise in some cases are due to the difficulties of framing the grammatical and syntactical constructions using a system of grammatical terms which is familiar for the author, but not always suitable for the purpose. As Plungian (2000) demonstrated, one of the difficulties of modern morphology is its terminology based on the Greek-Latin grammatical tradition and therefore problematic not only for non-Indo-European languages, but also for some categories of the Indo-European ones, e.g. Celtic languages.

As far as Breton is concerned, the influence of Latin and French can be seen in the emergence of the Middle Breton verb *kaout/endevout* 'to have' formed on the basis of *bezañ/bout* 'to be'. The need for *kaout/endevout* production treated as a separate verb instead of the *bezañ/bout* inflected form operation is not at all obvious for the Breton verbal system. Still, Breton lexicographers Reverend Maunoir, Gregor de Rostrenen and others had to ascribe to the forms such as *am eus*, *ac'h eus* etc. the same functions as those of the French *avoir* and of the Latin *habere* verbs following the paradigm of the Latin and French grammatical tradition.

2. The problem of grammatical meanings compatibility

Anyone trying to create a descriptive Breton grammar for academic or educational purposes will find it difficult to use well-known and understandable grammatical terms without any additional remarks. The verbal system of Breton illustrates this point well: the Breton language possesses not only the synthetic and analytic conjugation in the present, future, past perfect and imperfect tenses, but also has some special forms for habitual actions or states of *bezañ/bout* as well as the paradigm *emaon*, *emaout*, *emañ* etc. for space location also used in the construction *emaon o* + infinitive similar to English constructions with –*ing* forms:

> *Emaoñ o tansal*
> I am dancing

According to Plungian, the problem of compatibility of grammatical meanings in the modern typology has neither single nor simple solution:

> Linguists give contradictory answers to the question whether different grammatical systems can be compared. In fact, the structuralist logic based on "meaningfulness" inside the system does not only deal with the possibility of comparison between the languages, but does not even need such a comparison. If an element of the language is what makes it different from other elements in the system, then it is not comparable with any other element in a different system (Plungian 2000: 233, my trans.).

Hence, describing Breton grammar using Latin and French grammatical framework and terms leads to numerous misunderstandings. Still, the sociolinguistic and extra-linguistic factors that brought about the increasing influence of French on Breton made it possible to justify the influence of Latin and French grammatical tradition not only on Breton descriptive grammars, but also on the Breton verbal system itself as far as the written language was concerned. This fact was pointed out by a number of twentieth century Breton creative writers who tried to produce a new standard of the Breton literature. Not only did they notice a large gap between the spoken language and its written form heavily influenced by Roman languages, but also the lack of adequate description of the spoken language grammar.

Modern grammarians describing modern Breton have to create new grammatical terms and a new descriptive approach. This approach is without a doubt appropriate for a linguist. The problem is that as such it is not applicable for practical purposes in so far as it is unintelligible for the non-linguist readers and learners. How can the new system of terms be communicated to those who were educated in French and have no notion of a descriptive system different from French grammar in its turn derived from the Latin tradition?

Different modern grammarians looked for different ways to solve this problem. F. Kervella wrote his 1947 *Big Grammar of Breton* (*Yezhadur bras ar brezhoneg*) in the vernacular using grammatical terms created on the basis of Breton stems. The problem was that the new terms such as *ar verb, ar vogalenn, ar gesonenn* were borrowed from French (*le verbe, la voyelle, la consonne*) or calqued from the French and Latin terminology: e.g. *an anv-gwan* 'verb participle', lit. 'the verbal adjective',

an amzeriou eeun 'the simple tenses' etc. With no disrespect to the work by Kervella who created a remarkable book of reference for Breton teachers and students, we must point out that it represents an application of French linguistic framework to Breton rather than a new way of describing Breton according to its own grammatical structure.

A different way to describe the modern Breton grammar was proposed by J.-Y. Urien (1987). His aim was not to use the traditional Latin-based descriptive terms. He rather strove to set up a new descriptive system of terms resorting to the recent linguistic work on morphology. This academically oriented grammar was a step toward the understanding of an alternative way of grammatical description.

There still remains the problem that Urien's *Grammar* cannot be used in primary and secondary schools in so far as it is too complicated and therefore cannot be understood by young students. This way of describing modern Breton grammar system is certainly of great interest for modern scholars. But students and native speakers are still in need of a simple and clear grammar book. The existence of several modern descriptive and prescriptive grammars of several authors (see list of references below) does not mean that a good solution to the problem has been found.

Another difficulty for the authors of prescriptive grammars nowadays is that most of the students cannot learn Breton from their parents. In fact, modern grammarians aim their books at Francophones (or sometimes Anglophones) who have no intuitive knowledge of specific grammatical or syntactical constructions. So, the traditional way of description is more suitable because the learner will easily draw parallels between French (or English) and Breton grammatical features.

This approach is transparent from a pedagogical point of view, but entails some misunderstandings of grammatical and syntactic categories which are peculiar to the Breton language. Normally, such kind of mistakes made by the student learning a foreign language is normally corrected not by the teacher, but rather by native speakers in practice. However, in the context of contemporary situation existing in Modern Breton such mistakes do not tend to be corrected by the older generation of speakers. In the schools and universities students communicate in Breton strongly influenced by French and use grammatical and syntactical constructions that do not differ too much from the French ones.

Yet, it may not seem appropriate to think that the strong French influence on Breton grammatical system is a new phenomenon only due to the demographic and socio-linguistic changes of the twentieth century.

3. The background: Tradition of Breton descriptive grammar

The tradition of creating Breton descriptive grammars and teaching Breton was set up at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The adjustment of the Breton grammatical categories to the Latin/French grammatical framework had begun largely before Breton lost its position as the everyday spoken language in the rural areas in Western (Lower) Brittany and before its area began to decrease.

I will look at the way such concepts as 'to be, to exist' and 'to have, to possess' are expressed. In French, the concepts are expressed by two verbs: *être* < Lat. *esse* and *avoir* < Lat. *habere*.

Both of these concepts were expressed in Old Breton by different forms of conjugation of the verb *bot* (*but*) < IE **bheu-* (Fleuriot 1964: 320-4). The restricted number of Old Breton texts does not make it possible to make any conclusions about how the possessive constructions were marked in grammar and syntax.

In Middle Breton, the verb *bout* (an alternative infinitive form *bezañ* appeared later and became the most commonly used in Modern Breton, *bout* remained as a dialectal form) obtained both meanings of being/existing and of possession. According to R. Hemon (2000: 199), it is possible to speak about the appearance of possessive constructions based on 3 sg. pres. *eus* and personal pronouns. In fact, the paradigm of the new verb with a possessive meaning is similar to the Russian possessive construction *у меня есть* 'I have'.

The problem is now to understand whether these possessive forms of *bezañ/bout* were considered to be part of the paradigm of this verb by Breton speakers up to the Modern period. What complicates things is the fact that the verb attests several specific paradigms such as the consuetudinal and situative forms. Actually, unless one is aware of the fact that Roman languages have two separate verbs with two separate meanings 'to be' and 'to have', the idea of considering the possessive construction to be a separate verb does not seem to conform to the internal logic of the Breton language.

For instance, Russian does not need the verb 'to have, possess' (*иметь* or *владеть*) in the following cases:

I have many friends	*У меня [есть] много друзей*
I have money	*У меня [есть] деньги.*

Only dealing with translations of Latin and French texts into Breton one notices a striking difference between possessive constructions in Breton and in Roman languages.

The first known descriptive grammar of Breton, *An Donoet*, was the translation of the Donatus *Ars grammatica*. It was carried out *circa* 1501 by an anonymous author from Plougreskant. The author used French grammatical terms which needed no translation into Breton: all those who could read and write had sufficient knowledge of Latin and French to understand them. *An Donoet* testifies that the Breton descriptive grammatical tradition was set up based on the Latin pattern with the employment of French terms. For many centuries, *An Donoet* was the template for grammarians, and an example to follow.[1]

The following attempts of describing Breton grammar attempted to make it as similar to *An Donoet*'s description as possible. The authority of Latin authors and of the Latin language had a large influence on Breton clerics and their appreciation of the mother tongue: the Breton language grammatical system seems to have been considered by that time as a deviation from the proper Latin grammatical model (which was considered more appropriate).

A good grasp of Latin was the sign of good education much earlier than French was spoken in Breton towns. So, the Latin grammar became the universal pattern and Breton grammatical categories had to be described in the way which followed this pattern. All the features of the Breton grammar which did not have parallels in the Latin grammar were considered a deviation from the standard. This could have been a reason for the "standardisation" of the verbal system and the differentiation of possessive constructions based on the forms of *bezañ*/*bout* and the artificial formation of a new verb. The new verb has two artificially created infinitives: *kaout*, being a variety of the infinitive of the verb *kavout* 'to find', and *endevout*, constructed from 3 sg. fut. *en devo* 'he will have'. The derivation of the infinitive from the 3 sg. of a different personal form of the verb is not typical for Breton. Actually, no verb has such an infinitive. Another peculiarity of *endevout* is its absence in the spoken Breton. The infinitive *kaout*, meaning 'to find, to have'[2] is largely employed in the colloquial speech and in literary works, but *endevout* does not appear in spoken Breton and seems to be a bookish word easily associated by native speakers with the heavy style of devotional literature, the so-called *brezhoneg beleg*, 'priests' Breton'.

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[1] In Breton, the name *Donatus* became a common noun meaning a grammar manual.

[2] The two meanings are very close, e.g. *kaout amzer* 'to find' (and, logically) 'to have time (for doing something)'.

4. The influence of the so-called 'priests' Breton'

The main feature of this variety of written Breton is following the Latin pattern in grammar and syntax. The most frequently given example is the word *pehini*, pl. *pere* 'which' that does not exist in colloquial Breton and was invented by Breton-speaking priest in order to translate Latin prayers and saints' *vitae*. In his works, Yann Gevrenn (2002, 2003) points out not only the abusive use of French and Latin loanwords and Latin-like constructions in religious texts but the strong influence of priests' writing on the pre-modern and modern literature:

> *Se zo bet gwir betek an XIXvet kantved, ha gant Prosper Proux*
> *zoken, ha ne oa ket beleg, e kaver ar pozioù-mañ* :
>
>> *Adieu dit ma zi bihan, war leinig an dorgenn*
>> *Tachenn c'hlas **war behini** bugel e c'hoarien*
>> *Gwez ivin ker bodenneg en disheol **a bere**,*
>> *E-pad tommder an hanvioù e kousken da greiste. (Kimiad...)*
>
> *E meur a ganaouenn all e kaver ivez ar* pehini *pe ar* pere*, deuet*
> *diwar ar galleg, ma vez ar memes ger evit ar goulen* lequel*,*
> lesquels *hag ar relatif* par lequel, sur lesquels*,... etc... :*
>
> <div align="right">(Gevrenn 2002)</div>

This is true up to the nineteenth century and one can find these constructions even in texts by a Breton poet Prosper Proux, who was not a priest:

> Farewell, my little home on the top on a hill,
> And the green lawn **on which** I used to play
> And the bushy yew-trees under **which**
> I stayed in shade by the hot summer days... (Kimiad)

In other songs we find *pehini* and *pere* coming from French like the interrogative *lequel lesquels* and relative *par lequel* and *sur lesquels*…etc.:

However, according to Y. Gevrenn, the French influence on the written Breton consists not only of introducing *pehini*, *pere*, and lexical borrowings. It also brings about the word order change resulting in the preference of SVO word order to that of VSO, and an abusive use of participles. The latter, according to Y. Gevrenn, seems not to be the result of French but rather of Latin influence. Translating Biblical texts from

Vulgata into Modern Breton, such authors as J. M. Le Gall employed the following constructions: *o* + verbal noun (*o* + *any verb* in Y. Gevrenn's terminology) when a participle was used in Latin and French: in subordinate clauses (e.g. *ablativus absolutus* etc.) According to Y. Gevrenn, in many cases the use of verbal noun is ungrammatical, and is rarely found in the literary works of native Breton speakers. Examples from the New Testament translation that are incorrect from this point of view are provided by Y. Gevrenn as follows:

> *p. prés.* *Et extendens Jesus manum...*
>   'Ha Jezuz, oc'h astenn e zorn (...), a lavaras..'
> *p.prés.*   *Tunc surgens, imperavit...*
>   'O sevel neuze, e kemennas...'
> *p.passé*   *Et ingressus in templum...*
>   'O vezañ aet en templ...'
> *Abl.abs.*   *Et apertis thesauris suis...*
>   'O vezañ digoret o zeñzorioù...'
> *sub.*   *Ut cognovit mulier...*
>   'Ur plac'h, o c'houzout...'
>
> (Gevrenn 2002)

But his aim was not to blame the priests who created a written style very different from the colloquial language. The *brezhoneg beleg* in the nineteenth century was used in a specific way to mark the difference between the sacred and profane subjects. For example, the presence of a holy name in a phrase brought about a different word order:

> *Evel ma vije bet savet un urzh disheñvel evit frazennoù ma vez kaoz enne eus un dra/un den sakr, evit lakaat ane'añ war-wel.*
>
> (Gevrenn 2002)
> As a different word order was used in a phrase, it means its subject is a sacred thing/person, and it must be shown.

5. Breton possessive constructions in modern grammars

The first known complete Breton grammar in French was published in 1738. Its author Gregoire de Rostrenen based his work on the dictionary and grammatical appendix from the catechism *Le Sacré-Collège de Jésus*, written by Julien de Maunoir and published in 1659. However, De Rostrenen criticises his predecessor for trying to make the Breton syntax as similar to Latin as possible:

> *...Père Maunoir Jésuite a fait au siècle dernier, une Grammaire imparfaite, dont j'ai retiré quelque avantages, mais non de la Syntaxe, parce qu'elle est toute conforme à la Syntaxe Latine qui*

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> *n'a aucun rapport à la syntaxe bretonne: mais il a beaucoup fait, si l'on considère que la Langue Bretonne lui étoit étrangère.*
>
> <div align="right">(Rostrenen 1738: 7)</div>

> ... Father Maunoir the Jesuit made in the last century an imperfect Grammar from which I took some advantage but not from the Syntax because it is all like the Latin Syntax which has nothing in common with the Breton syntax: but he has done a lot, if we take into consideration that the Breton Language was foreign to him.

Gregoire de Rostrenen makes a clear difference between the verb *bezañ* (written as *beza*) and *kaout*/*endevout*. The two of them he called auxiliary verbs. The distinction corresponds to the existence of two auxiliary verbs *être* and *avoir* in French. Since G. De Rostrenen, the tradition has remained and *kaout/endevout* is still regarded to be a separate verb; yet, modern authors emphasise the fact that this verb was created on the basis of *bezañ* (see F. Favereau's grammatical appendix to his dictionary):

> *Verbe avoir. Composé de bezañ/bout, précédé d'un pronom personnel* (Favereau 1993: vii).

> Verb to have. Composed from *bezañ/bout* and a preposed personal pronoun.

F. Kervella (1976: 206) refers to the etymology of *bezan*. Others, like Y. Desbordes, do not mention this fact but point out the defective character of *kaout*:

> *De tous les verbes de la langue, le verbe **Kaout** est le seul a développer une conjugaison unique que l'on utilise donc en toutes circonstances.*
>
> <div align="right">(Desbordes 1995: 63)</div>
> Out of all Breton verbs, the verb **Kaout** is the only one having a single way of conjugation used under any circumstances.

Meanwhile, in Breton there is a clear difference, not present in French, between the state of general possession and that of possessing something here and now:

> (1) *Arc'hant am eus* 'I have money'
> (I am wealthy and I own money, but at the moment of speech I possibly have no money with me at all).

> (2) *Arc'hant a zo ganin* 'I have some money on me'
> (in my pocket, in my wallet, but this does not mean I am wealthy).

Taking into consideration a number of different conjugated forms of *bezañ* (including situational and habitual actions), it is not surprising to see that some of them are treated as separate verbs. The possessive constructions of *bezañ* are considered in grammars as a new verb *kaout/endevout* (see Rostrenen 1738: 7, Favereau 1993: vii, Desbordes 1995: 63). On the one hand, they are a result of the grammarians' activity which was influenced by Latin and French tradition of grammatical description. On the other hand, they can be perceived as an outcome of a natural trend in the development of the verbal system in Breton to use more and more analytic verbal constructions.[3]

In this regard, the influence of Latin and French patterns on the descriptive and prescriptive grammars of Breton and even on the *brezhoneg beleg* is not to be neglected. Nor should we neglect the fact that the development of the Middle Breton and pre-modern Breton verbal system made it possible for these changes to become understandable and acceptable for the speakers.

Institute of Linguistics, Moscow

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THE FIGURATIVE DIMENSION OF WELSH NICKNAMING IN THE LIGHT OF THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

KATARZYNA JĘDRZEJEWSKA-PYSZCZAK

0. Introduction

This paper aims to set the analysis of contemporary Welsh nicknames in the context of

>   a) The cognitive view of metaphor and metonymy and
>   b) The cultural conception of the Great Chain of Being.

Firstly, the historical background of nickname formation in Wales is outlined. Secondly, a cognitive approach to the notions of metaphor and metonymy is briefly discussed with special reference to the class-inclusion model postulated by Glucksberg and Keysar (1990). Thirdly, the concept of the Great Chain of Being and its implications for the study of Welsh nicknames are introduced. Lastly, instances of metaphorical and metonymic Welsh nicknames are addressed as reflecting the natural hierarchy of life forms conceptualised in the Great Chain of Being. The corpora of Welsh nicknames are mainly based on Myrddin ap Dafydd's (1997) *Llysenwau*: *Casgliad o lysenwau Cymraeg a gofnodwyd yn y cylchgrawn Llafar Gwlad* 'Nicknames: Collection of Welsh nicknames which were recorded in the journal *Llafar Gwlad*' as well as Roy Noble's (1997) *Welsh nicknames* for contemporary nicknames only. Also, Welsh popular periodicals such as *Llafar Gwlad* and *Country Quest* proved useful.

1. A short history of nicknaming in Wales

The popularity of nicknames in Wales takes root at the time of the Renaissance, even though already in the ancient stories of the *Mabinogi* a change of name based on individual peculiarity comes as no surprise. In the tale of *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed*, a lost boy was first called by his guardian *Gwri Wallt Euryn* 'Gwri Gold Hair' due to his appearance and was later renamed *Pryderi* 'Anxiety' on being returned to his mother as:

> "I declare to heaven," said Rhiannon, "that if this be true, there is indeed an end to my trouble." "Lady," said Pendaran Dyved, "well hast thou named thy son Pryderi, and well becomes him the name of Pryderi son of Pwyll Chief of Annwvyn."
> "Look you," said Rhiannon, "will not his own name become him better?" "What name has he?" asked Pendaran Dyved.

> "Gwri Wallt Euryn is the name that we gave him." "Pryderi,"
> said Pendaran, "shall his name be." "It were more proper," said
> Pwyll, "that the boy should take his name from the word his
> mother spoke when she received the joyful tidings of him."
> And thus it was arranged (*The Mabinogion*, 14-15).

Fixed surnames as a direct influence of the Anglo-Norman conquest produced a Welsh surname system that was patronymic in nature: it entailed the addition of the particle *ap* (before a consonant) and *ab* (before a vowel)[1] – abbreviated form of the word *mab* 'son' usually followed by the father's (or other ancestor's) name – to the baptismal name. In a similar vein, married women usually retained their patronymic; metronymic patterns were highly exceptional in Welsh, yet not non-existent, as in *Gwladus uch Morgan* 'Gwladus the daughter of Morgan' or *Lleucu uch Gruffudd* 'Lucy the daughter of Griffith' where *uch* and *ach* were abbreviations for *ferch* 'the daughter of'. Morgan and Thomas believe that the patronymic system in Wales "reflected the clear distinction the Welsh then had (and still have) between surnames and nicknames, a strong sense of kinship and perhaps the lack of a sense of individualism" (Morgan & Thomas 1984: 232).

Bishop Rowland Lee, (1487-1543), president of the Council of Wales at the time of the Welsh–English Union, has been famously credited with imposing the first fixed Welsh surname of *Mostyn* upon *Rhisiart ap Hywel* of Mostyn (the influential relative of the Tudor dynasty), yet several Welsh families living along the Welsh-English border are recorded to have adopted fixed surnames as early as the fifteenth century. In fact, it were the anglicised Welsh gentry that initiated the process on a large scale. In rural areas the process had a much slower pace and came to a halt as late as the mid-nineteenth century. The patronymic pattern of naming in Wales suffered from the decay of the native legal system that evolved around the notion of kinship. With the individual and his role in the society on the rise, group and community bonds were easily broken. Current fashion also played a vital part in the narrowing down of the available name stock as few baptismal names became highly conventionalised, leaving almost no room for diversity.

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[1] This is a simplified version of the rule and, as Morgan and Morgan admit, "uncertainty remains about the use of *ab* and *ap* in certain other contexts" (Morgan & Morgan 1985: 10). Nevertheless, the general assumption, although true with regard to the twelfth century, that *ab* preceded vowels and voiced consonants and *ap* voiceless consonants (Williams 1975: 112), cannot be borne out by evidence from later centuries.

After the Acts of Union (1536 and 1543) English clerks, unfamiliar with the intricacies of the Welsh language, ruthlessly transcribed Welsh patronymics in the English manner. The old names of Celtic origin were either anglicised, e.g. *Dafydd – David*, *Gruffudd – Griffith*, or substituted by biblical or royal ones, e.g. *John, David, Henry* or *Richard* (cf. Stephens 1986: 567). In effect, numerous families bore the same surname. With the obscured recognition and identification that followed the Welsh resorted to the coinage of nicknames in the face of the striking paucity of unambiguous means of reference. The Welsh inclination towards nicknames, at the expense of adopting surnames, can also be explained in pure psychological terms, as marked by Parry-Jones: "I have said that the Welsh had little use for surnames – that is an understatement. In the countryside, there survives a tenacious objection to them, possibly an inherited consciousness of the fact that they were foisted upon us by judges in English courts" (Parry-Jones 1949: 51).

2. A cognitive view of metaphor and metonymy

A classical view of metaphor claims that metaphors are artifacts of language use with no relation to meaning or understanding. Moreover, they are said to arise from objective similarity.[2] Thus, we can speak of "digesting an idea" because the mental action of attending to the expression of an idea, reasoning about it and coming to understand it is objectively similar to the physical action of ingesting food, breaking it into nutrients and absorbing them into the system. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue against this idea of a priori similarity. They insist that metaphors create similarities, instead of simply pointing them out.[3]

Lakoff and Johnson shift focus towards ways of organising our experience by claiming that we do not need to postulate an inherent similarity between two concepts, because the metaphorical organisation of our perception and understanding is systematic. Subsequently, "the essence of metaphors is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of the other" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 9), e.g. TIME IS MONEY, EMOTIONAL HURT = PHYSICAL HURT or IDEAS ARE FOOD. What Lakoff and Johnson also noticed is the presence of a single underlying

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[2] Kuryłowicz (1970: 135) provides the following definition of a metaphor: "A linguistic form B is a metaphor of a linguistic form A, if it is associated with A owing to the SIMILARITY of the respective referents and used to denote the referent of A".

[3] As it is the Lakoffian approach that has become increasingly influential, it will provide the point of departure of the current work.

metaphor behind whole clusters of expressions as in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY cluster, e.g. *Look **how far** we've come*, *We're at **the crossroads***, *It's been **a long, bumpy road*** or *This is a **dead-end** relationship*. However, this does not enable us to understand all aspects of one concept in terms of the other as some aspects are hidden, e.g. time cannot be taxed or passed on to our children, while others are highlighted (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002). Hence, metaphorical correspondences are always partial. It is further supported by the Invariance Principle which allows only as much knowledge from the source domain to be transferred onto the target domain as guarantees a non-violation of the image-schematic properties of the target.

A metaphor in the cognitive view involves systematic correspondences (*mappings*) from a *source* (or *donor*) *domain* to a *target* (or *recipient*) *domain*, where the former represents familiar and mundane experiences while the latter draws on abstract concepts and socially constructed phenomena. Entailments from the source domain are used to reason about the target domain. The selection of source domains, i.e. the *experiential basis* or *motivation* of metaphors[4], is conditioned by everyday interactions. Both domains, however, cannot be part of the same superordinate domain (cf. Barcelona 2000: 3).

Apart from Lakoff and Johnson's ground-breaking work, a number of theories of metaphor have been propounded. The class-inclusion model (cf. Glucksberg & Keysar 1990), favoured in this paper, construes the source of the metaphor as a prototypical member of an ad hoc created superordinate category that also encompasses the target. For this reason the source is simultaneously treated as an exemplar of this category. Systematic mappings are not required of the source and target as the presence of one salient property suffices to establish a link.

The following analysis of metaphorical uses nicknames embraces the class-inclusion approach so as to account for the disregard for all the other properties but the one that underlies the choice of an alternative personal designation.[5]

The traditional definition of a metonymy, i.e. X stands for Y indicates a relation of substitution. Metonymy studied from the cognitive perspective is defined as a "process in which one conceptual entity, the

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[4] As Kövecses (2002: 69) notes: "conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experience, including correlations in experience, various kinds of non-objective similarity, biological and cultural roots shared by two concepts, and possibly others".

[5] The underlying origin of nickname coinages is based entirely on available compilations as included in the primary sources.

vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model" (Radden & Kövecses 1999: 21) or, as Seto (1999: 91) has it, "a referential transfer phenomenon based on the spatio-temporal contiguity as conceived by the speaker between an entity and another in the (real) world". Subsequently, it is the first category that is given prominence. Kosecki (2005: 21) assumes it to be a highly structured mechanism based on association and (physical or conceptual) contiguity that underlies numerous linguistic operations ranging from semantic change and pragmatic inferencing to the structure of categories and signs and word formation. Despite the alleged prevalence of metonymy as the "fundamental and over all phenomenon" (Kuryłowicz 1970: 136), some scholars (cf. Bredin 1984, Barcelona 2000, Ibánez 2000) claim metonymic models have not been as extensively studied as metaphorical constructions.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38-39) enumerate ten metonymic models that are to be treated as "representative examples", namely:

(1) FACE FOR PERSON (*We need some new faces around here*),
(2) CONSUMED GOODS FOR CUSTOMER (*Are you the baked beans on toast?*),
(3) BODY PART FOR PERSON (*There are a lot of good heads in the university*),
(4) PART FOR WHOLE[6] (*That's a nice set of wheels*),
(5) PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (*I have a Ford*),
(6) OBJECT USED FOR USER (*The sax has the flu today*),
(7) CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (*The buses are on strike*),
(8) INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE (*The Senate thinks abortion is immoral*),
(9) PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (*Wall Street is in a panic*),
(10) PLACE FOR EVENT (*Watergate changed all our politics*).

The set does not by any means aspire to be exhaustive and a plethora of additional metonymic representations can be found elsewhere, e.g.

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[6] As Radden and Kövecses (1999: 31) remark, the term *synecdoche* is commonly employed to refer to part for whole metonymies, hence indicating a separate class in its own right. A dictionary definition of a synecdoche entails a distinction between a *particularising synecdoche* (reference by means of a semantically narrower term, as in part for whole or the specific for the general) and a *generalising synecdoche* (application of a broader term, as in the whole for part) (cf. Bussmann 1996: 470). For details on the metonymy-synecdoche relationship, see Seto (1999).

>   (a) AUTHOR FOR WORK (*She loves Picasso*),
>   (b) RESULT FOR ACTION (*to beautify the lawn*),
>   (c) EFFECT FOR CAUSE (*Don't get hot under the collar*),
>   (d) MATERIAL FOR OBJECT (*I sent you an e-mail*) or
>   (e) DESTINATION FOR MOTION (*to porch the newspaper*),

to mention but a few. In contrast to metaphor, metonymy usually allows for bidirectional mappings as in

>   (1) CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS (*I'll have a glass*) vs. CONTENTS FOR CONTAINER (*The milk tipped over*),
>   (2) SPECIES FOR GENUS (*to earn one's daily bread*) vs. GENUS FOR SPECIES (*readable*) or
>   (3) PLACE FOR INHABITANTS (*The whole town voted for the Mayor*) vs. INHABITANTS FOR PLACE (*The Russians hosted the Eurovision Song Contest*).

2.1. Metaphor and metonymy overlap

Metaphor and metonymy are generally perceived as diverse cognitive mechanisms as they function along the lines of similarity/comparison and contiguity/nearness/neighbourhood respectively. Thus, according to Bredin (1984: 44), metaphor can be said to create a relation between its objects, while metonymy presupposes it. Additionally, the difference lies in the direction of the mapping: metaphors involve correspondences across different cognitive models, while metonymy operates within a single model. Metaphorical expressions rely on contradictory experiential domains in the sense that one domain typifies abstractions whereas the other utilizes concrete concepts. In metonymy, the reality of one conceptual space determines a closer relation between its underlying elements, even though the dichotomy abstract vs. concrete may still hold, reducing considerably the internal distance between the two notions. Kövecses (2002: 147-8) goes as far as stating that while understanding may indeed be the main aim of a metaphorical formation, a metonymic construction is predominantly concerned with affording mental access to a target.

Nevertheless, it has been acknowledged (cf. Goossens 1990, Ungerer & Schmid 1996, Black 1962) that metonymy and metaphor are involved in processes of interaction where the boundaries between the two figurative phenomena are often blurred.[7] Traces of such connections can

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[7] Already Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 37) laid the foundations for such investigations by touching upon the sameness of purpose and manner as shared by metaphor and metonymy.

be seen in linguistic expressions such as *to be close-lipped* or *to shoot one's mouth off* where the former exemplifies the case of *metaphor from metonymy* while the latter employs *metonymy within metaphor* (Kövecses 2002: 160-161). Radden (2000: 93) admits that the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is "notoriously difficult, both as theoretical terms and in their application… it is often difficult to tell whether a given linguistic instance is metonymic or metaphorical". His enumeration of four types of metonymy-based metaphors leads him to the conclusion that the metaphor-metonymy transition is a common occurrence. Likewise, Ibánez (2000) observes the apparent similarity between metonymic mappings and those of "one-correspondence" metaphors.

3. The Great Chain of Being

From the time of the ancient Greeks, it has been a commonplace to think and write about life forms as if they were part of a linear hierarchy. The medieval cultural conception of such a natural hierarchy is known as the Great Chain of Being. Yet, the concept seems to be of significance as Lakoff and Turner (1989: 167) remark: "it still exists as a contemporary unconscious cultural model indispensible to our understanding of ourselves, our world, and our language". In the basic version of the Great Chain of Being it is the humans who occupy the top position within the hierarchy of life forms. The extended version of the concept assumes God to be the ultimate being. Arthur O. Lovejoy (1963) identifies three basic intellectual components of the Great Chain of Being. The Principle of Plenitude focuses on the diversity of species as exemplars of God's bounty. The Principle of Continuity, on the other hand, ascertains that species blend into one another with no unbridgeable gaps separating them. The Principle of Gradation holds that there exists a scale from the lowest type(s) of existence to the highest form.

Krzeszowski (1997: 68) presents the Great Chain of Being, together with the corresponding hierarchy of properties for each level, as follows:

Being	Mode of existence	The highest property
(A) GOD	being in itself	divinity
(B) HUMANS	spiritual	reason/soul
(C) ANIMALS	animate	instincts
(D) PLANTS	vital	life
(E) INORGANIC THINGS	physical	material substance

3.1. Reflection of the principle of gradation in Welsh nickname formations. Metaphorical expressions

(E) INORGANIC THINGS

- Over-representation of form:

Pots – The underlying metaphor:
Pot (Source) → Implicit nicknamee[8] (Target)
Entailment: The shape of the source is projected onto the target's appearance, so as to stress the latter's shortness and roundness.

Huw Hanner Mast 'Huw Half Mast' – The underlying metaphor:
Half Mast (Source) → Explicit nicknamee *Huw* (Target)
Entailment: The dressing style of the target evokes direct associations with the source – trousers ending before the ankle resemble half folded sail on a mast.

Spike – The underlying metaphor:
Spike (Source) → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: The length of the source is mapped onto the target with a view to underlining the size of the nicknamee.

- Physical potential:
Bella Blue Balls – The underlying metaphor:
Ball (Source) → Explicit nicknamee *Bella* (Target)
Entailment: The target's eyes evoke associations with balls due to their shape.

- Refinement of form:
Coesau Bwrdd 'Table Legs' – The underlying metaphor:
Table legs (Source) → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: A comparison to table legs is intended to accentuate the shapely limbs of the target (as they are so straight).

Y Geiriadur Mawr 'The Big Dictionary' – The underlying metaphor:
Dictionary (Source) → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: The notion of possessed knowledge is the element that binds the source and the target.

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[8] *Implicit nicknamee* is to be understood as the nickname bearer whose original designation (first name or, rarely, surname) does not form part of the nickname, whereas in the case of *explicit nicknamee* official name is augmented by means of an accompanying epithet.

- <u>Coarseness of form</u>:

Ned Pot Jam – The underlying metaphor:

Pot (Source) →   Explicit nicknamee *Ned* (Target)

Entailment: The thickness of a pot's glass is projected onto the target's glasses.

Fanny Spare Parts – The underlying metaphor:

Spare Parts (Source) → Explicit nicknamee *Fanny* (Target)

Entailment: The randomness of sets of spare parts exemplifies a lack of aesthetics in the target's choice of clothes.

Ken Custard – The underlying metaphor:

Custard (Source) → Explicit nicknamee *Ken* (Target)

Entailment: The mapping for the metaphor is based on the physical feature of source (and more specifically its consistency) that is meant to indicate the sneezing affliction of the target.

Jimmy Candles – The underlying metaphor:

Explicit nicknamee *Jimmy* (Target) →   Candle (Source)

Entailment: The sorry sight of the target's runny nose conjures up a picture of a burning candle.

(C) ANIMALS

- <u>Over-representation of form</u>:

Trwnc 'Trunk', *Bil Parot* 'Bil Parrot' – The underlying metaphor:

Trunk/Parrot (Source) → Implicit nicknamee/Explicit nicknamee *Bil* (Target)

Entailment: The sizes of nicknamees' noses are highlighted by matching them to an elephant's trunk and a parrot's beak respectively.

Egg on Legs – The underlying metaphor:

Egg (Source) → Implicit nicknamee (Target)

Entailment: The shape of an egg, and more specifically its roundness and shortness, serves as an apt characteristic of the target.

- <u>Natural resilience</u>:

Yr Arth 'The Bear' – The underlying metaphor:

Bear (Source)   → Implicit nicknamee (Target)

Entailment: The mapping between the source and the target operates along the lines of impressive stature and unmatched physical strength as both features characterize the animal.

Conger – The underlying metaphor:
Conger (eel) (Source)   → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: The inherent feature of the source, i.e. its slipperiness, is mapped onto the sphere of the target's relations with the outside world.

- Instinctive behaviour:

Ian Ci 'Ian Dog' – The underlying metaphor:
Dog (Source)   → Explicit nicknamee *Ian* (Target)
Entailment: Lecherous behaviour of the target is explained through biological conditioning of the source.

Huw Ddyfrgi 'Huw the Otter' – The underlying metaphor:
Otter (Source)   →   Explicit nicknamee *Huw* (Target)
Entailment: Swimming prowess as an inherent quality of the source and the target.

Hedydd 'Lark' – The underlying metaphor:
Lark (Source)   → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: The target's preoccupation with whistling is reflected through the prism of the source's incessant singing. Additionally, the mapping suggests a similar artistic par.

Seagull – The underlying metaphor:
Seagull (Source) → Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: Insatiable appetite as the defining feature of the source and the target.

(B) HUMANS

- Individual diversity:

Chinc 'Chinese'/*Joni Jap* – The underlying metaphor:
Inhabitant of China/Japan (Source) → Implicit/Explicit nicknamee *Joni*
Entailment: Squinted eyes as the source for the mapping.

Bob Doctor – The underlying metaphor:
Doctor (Source)   → Explicit nicknamee *Bob* (Target)
Entailment: Target's knowledge of medical affairs is believed to equal that of an educated man of the profession.

- Awkwardness of style:

Robin Soldiwr 'Robin Soldier' – The underlying metaphor:
Soldier (Source)   →   Explicit nicknamee *Robin* (Target)
Entailment: A military walking style is mapped from the source onto the target.

Annie Dyn 'Annie Man' – The underlying metaphor:
Man (Source)   →   Explicit nicknamee *Annie* (Target)
Entailment: Male features dominate over the target's biological gender.

- <u>Resistance to unfavourable conditions</u>:

Baban 'Baby' – The underlying metaphor:
Baby (Source)   →   Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: Young looks of the target, despite its being advanced in years, are implied by the choice of the source.

Amazon – The underlying metaphor:
Amazon (Source)   →   Implicit nicknamee (Target)
Entailment: The target and the source are similar in terms of displayed female defiance.

Morgan the Lawyer – The underlying metaphor:
Lawyer (Source)   →   Explicit nicknamee *Morgan* (Target)
Entailment: The nicknamee exemplifies a sense of infallibility, characteristic of lawyers.

3.2. Reflection of the principle of gradation in Welsh nickname formations. Metonymic expressions

(E) INORGANIC THINGS

- <u>Item of clothing for person</u>:
John Bais 'John the Petticoat',
Ned Trowsus Gwyn 'Ned White Trousers',
Tomi Crys Glan 'Tomi Clean Shirt'

Additionally, the nickname *Patchy* represents a metonymic chain[9], i.e.

- <u>Material for item/Item for person</u>
Patchy (teacher who always wears patches on his jacket).

- <u>Accessory for person</u>:
John the Box, *Dai Cube*, *Dai Book and Pencil*, *Wigs*, *Iwan Ring*, *Jac Sebon* 'Jac Soap', *Bob y Sgidie* 'Bob the Shoes'.

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[9] In metonymic chains the first source of the chain entails a further succession of metonymies so as to arrive at a proper understanding of an utterance (double metonymy, multiple metonymy).

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Types of accessories are mostly connected with the nature of work as well as appearance/habit:

- Place of work/Institution for person:

Ysbyty Ifan 'Hospital Ifan',
Jones y Siop 'Jones the Shop',
Shoni Ben Pwll 'Shoni Top Pit' (it refers to the part of the mine just above the ground).

- Object for place/Place for person as a metonymic chain:

Gwilym Lampy (one who worked in the lamp-room on top pit)

- Controlled for controller:

Dei Banjo, *Ffani Ffidil* 'Ffani Violin', *Dai Grass* (one who worked as a groundsman), *Stan the Can* (one who recycled cans), *Tommy One tune*, *Jimmy Small Coal* (one who collected small coal), *Willie Three-Piece* (one who worked for a furniture firm).

- Material for object/Controlled (object) for controller as a metonymic chain:

Johnny Skins (one who plays the drums).

- Place for inhabitant:

Bob Llawr 'Bob Downstairs',
Bob Lloft 'Bob Upstairs',
Mrs. Jones Cornerhouse

- Number for place/Place for inhabitant as metonymic chains:

Huw Bach 13 'Little Huw 13' (Huw who lived under number 13),
Rhen Bedwar 'Rhen the Four' (Rhen who lived under the number 4)

- Material for object/Place for person:

Dai Bricko (one who lived in a house made of brick)

- Product sold for seller:

Jones y Bara 'Jones the Bread',
Dafydd Menyn 'Dafydd Butter',
Roberts Sand y Môr 'Robert Sand of the Sea'
                              (one who sold sand from the sea)

(B) HUMANS

- <u>Body part for person</u>:

Dafydd Talcen 'Dafydd Forehead',
Goronwy Fochau 'Goronwy the Cheeks',
Llinos Bengoch 'Llinos the Red Head',
Wil Pen Cam 'Wil Crooked Head',
Aled Pen Fflat 'Aled Flat Head',
Miss Williams Gwallt Gwlyb 'Miss Williams Wet Hair',
Drip Nos 'Runny Nose'

- <u>Utterance for Person</u>:

Ydy Ydy 'Yes Yes',
Dai Sybstanshal 'Dai Substantial',
Jack Catch Me,
Dai Pretty Trousers,
Herbie Good Boy,
Annie Walk Nicely

- <u>Activity for person</u>:

Sack-em Jack (one who ruthlessly sacked his employees),
Billy Shake-um (clock and watch repairer who would shake that watch),
Billy Cash Down (one who purchased everything with cash),
Mrs Noddy (old lady who agreed with everyone and nodded),
Dai Look-up (pigeon fancier)

4. Conclusion

Welsh nickname formations are ripe in both metaphorical and metonymic expressions. The theory of the Great Chain of Being and its principle of gradation allows to investigate the stock of nicknames and classify them according to the source of inspiration (external motivation) into those driven by inanimate elements of material world (the basic form of existence), through the more elaborate animal world and, finally, the highest form of existence as shown by examples from the human world.

Welsh nicknames are characterised by metaphorical entailments that allude to over-representation, refinement and coarseness of physical form as well as awkwardness of style, individual diversity, natural resistance or instinctive behavior. Sources domains are derived from the three areas (levels on the ladder of life forms), namely inorganic things, animal world and human world. Mappings that mention refinement of form rely on concepts that appear in the material world. Coarseness of form, on the other hand, is believed to occur among animals and physical

objects. Associations connected with the human body revolve around the notion of mortality, while natural resilience and resistance to unfavourable conditions are typical of animals and humans respectively. What is more, God's creatures are also perceived as instinct-driven via unpredictability and instability of manner. Individual diversity is nevertheless best exemplified by reference to other human beings.

The class-inclusion model of metaphor, adopted in the investigation, focuses on one salient feature as shared by the source and target. In this sense, it sets aside other possible sources for mappings. What follows is that often it is not the first and most obvious association that is highlighted. The examples of *Yr Arth*, *Ken Custard* or *Ned Pot Jam* well illustrate the point. This clearly shows the unpredictability of metaphorical mapping.

With respect to nicknames, an even greater variety of types is observable. Thus, apart from inorganic metonymic mappings of the (most common) type: ITEM OF CLOTHING/ACCESSORY FOR PERSON one comes across a plethora of other correspondences that include PLACE OF WORK/INSTITUTION FOR PERSON, CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER, PLACE FOR INHABITANT or PRODUCT SOLD FOR SELLER. With respect to "human" mappings, BODY PART FOR PERSON, UTTERANCE FOR PERSON and ACTIVITY FOR PERSON are encountered. The study has not revealed, however, references to either animals or plants as the source of nickname inspiration. Moreover, a preference for simple mappings instead of elaborate metonymic chains is striking.

Further investigation is envisaged to study the above mentioned patterns in detail, especially as an attempt to discern preferences for mappings in Welsh nicknames (e.g. the human and animal world) together with noticeable disregard for others (e.g. the world of plants or God).

An analysis of what features of different life forms are utilised as the motivation for nickname formation could also produce promising results.

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Abbreviation

The Mabinogion, trans. Lady Charlotte E. Guest, New York (4th ed.), Dover Publications, 1997.

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A WELSH AWARD-WINNING NOVEL ON RUSSIA: *PETROGRAD* BY WILIAM OWEN ROBERTS

ELENA PARINA

0. Introduction

I would like to present to the readers interested in Celto-Slavic links an example of interaction between those cultures that lies slightly outside of the scope of the previous research carried out by the members/my colleagues of the *Societas Celto-Slavica*.

This article is dedicated to the novel *Petrograd* written in Welsh by Wiliam Owen Roberts. We shall briefly introduce the author, outline the sources he used in order to create his novel, enumerate the main historic events that serve as a background for his characters, describe some situations in which they act and finally refer to the names the author provided his characters with.

1. Wiliam Owen Roberts

Wiliam Owen Roberts, born in Bangor 1960, is one of Wales's influential writers. His work includes plays and several television series, but he is mostly known for his novels. His 1987 novel *Y Pla* (*Pestilence*) (Roberts 1987), set in Wales, the Near-East and Europe in the fourteenth century, was translated into more than ten European languages, including English, French and German, and also Bulgarian and Slovak.[1] His 2001 work *Paradwys* (*Paradise*) (Roberts 2001) is set in the late eighteenth century and dedicated to the Atlantic slave-trade. The novel under review was published in 2008 (Roberts 2008), and in 2009 won both Wales Book of the Year award for a Welsh language book and the Welsh language readers' prize.[2]

The 544 pages novel depicts the lives of two well-off Russian families from 1916 in Petrograd to 1924 in Berlin. One is that of a factory owner Fyodor Mikhailovich Alexandrov, the other of his brother, a military officer Kozma Mikhailovich Alexandrov. The main characters however are the adolescent children of the two families: Alyosha, thirteen in 1916, and his cousins, Margarita and Larissa. Thus, as Kate Crockett

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[1] See *the Cyfnewidfa Lên Cymru* (Wales Literature Exchange) website, http://www.walesliterature.org.
[2] See BBC web-site, accessed 20 June 2011 (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/8101974.stm).

remarks in her BBC review, this is not only a historical novel, but also a *Bildungsroman* ['education novel'] (Crockett 2009).

As noted by critics, one of the work's merits is that it is not Wales-based or Wales-related at all. This may seem strange, but in fact it is vitally important for a literature in a minority language, that a reader could read not only about his fellow countrymen in the present, past and future, but also get acquainted with worlds distant from them in space and time. Otherwise every wish to read about something different other than domestic matters could be satisfied only by turning to works written in the English language.

2. Sources

Such distance between the author and his audience and the world of his novel, including the fact that the author has no previous knowledge of Russian, does not affect any aspect of the work. Emyr Edwards (2009) states:

> As a piece of fiction based on a troubled period of history, it is obvious from the novel's construction that there is rich background of research. The historical events bubble beneath the narrative and the story remains truthful to the facts.

Such testimony is due to the writer's extensive knowledge of literatures of every kind: fictional, biographical and research works about Russia of the early twentieth century and the life of Russians in exile. Some influences are clear without any comments: first we are dealing with the most famous Russian writers, whose names are recognizable to every European intellectual not otherwise familiar with Russian culture: Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov. The first two are noticed in reviews: "something more than the title, the topic and the volume reminds you of big Russian novels. One feels that Tolstoy and Dostoevsky would appreciate this achievement" (Lewis 2009). Chekhov is cited directly. For instance, one of the *Petrograd*'s main characters – Margarita – is reading Chekhov's short story 'Ionych' about a doctor falling in love with a young provincial girl, and their romance having a sad outcome, which correlates with her insecure romantic relationship at the time of reading (Roberts 2008: 519). Probably, the major influence on Roberts can be ascribed to the early twentieth century Russian writer Mikhail Bulgakov. It is felt in the novel and was repeatedly admitted by the author himself both in public statements and in private communication. The reading of the famous *The White Guard*, dedicated to the times of Civil War in Kiev in 1918 has triggered the whole story for our author, in his own words:

> Reading Mikhail Bulgakov's 'The White Guard' made me think that writing from the perspective of the people that lost everything, and not the ones who were victorious, would be the most interesting way to treat the subject (Roberts 2009).

The Master and Margarita novel impacts in a rather indirect way, but "the obsession with Bulgakov" (Roberts 2009) explains why the name Margarita was chosen for one of the main characters. The classical works of Soviet literature, those of Alexej Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky are equally important, as some episodes from *The Ordeal* trilogy (Tolstoy 1953) enter the novel. The difference however is striking – *The Ordeal* is a pro-Soviet epic, a propaganda work, and may be the major example of otherwise so many descriptions of the Civil War depicted from the Red side, published during the Soviet time. Soviet literature enters the novel not only through its most officially recognised representatives, but also through the voices of those writing in the Soviet Union, but far from being in unison with the Communist agenda, e.g. Vasiliy Grossman and Boris Pasternak.

Fortunately, the Russian readers are no longer disadvantaged from a point of view alternative to an official one. Yet, one must admit that it is very difficult to come across any evidence of fictional treatments of the Civil War from the White side. There are heart-breaking diaries of Ivan Bunin (Bunin 1998), a host of memoires written in Paris and elsewhere (many of them were read by Roberts), but there are no major epical compositions. One exception might be Gaito Gazdanov, a 1903-born émigré writer, who went to the Civil War at the age of 15 (which is exactly the age of our main hero), went into exile, working as a cabdriver for many years in Paris, and who was acknowledged in contemporary reviews as a rival to Nabokov and is finally discovered in Russia. He refers to the Civil War in his works, though without any propagandistic agenda. In a novel *An Evening with Claire*, Gazdanov prompts a wise uncle to say the following words to his young hero, when the latter wants to enter the Voluntary Army:

> That doesn't mean anything. If you are still alive after all this carnage has ceased, you shall read in the specialized books the detailed accounts of the heroic defeat of the Whites and the infamous accidental victory of the Reds – that is, if the book is to be written by scholars sympathetic to the Whites – and about the heroic victory of the workers' army over the mercenary bourgeoisie, if the author is on the side of the Reds (Gazdanov 1988: 95).

This writer is not known to Wiliam Owen Roberts, however everything else he has read otherwise enables him to write with quite the same attitude towards the events as cited above. His sympathies are clearly on the White side; however he does not conceal neither their anti-Semitism in Russia, nor their disunity and hostility towards each other in exile, which is still quite surprising for a Russian reader accustomed to a "black and white" picture during those seventy years of the Soviet regime.

And finally, very important for the writer was the bulk of publications written by Western scholars, such as Isaac Deutcher, Robert Service and Orlando Figes, to mention some of the names, which introduce the world of Russian culture in Russia and in exile to a European reader (*inter alia* Deutcher 1954; Deutcher 1959; Deutcher 1963; Service 2000; Figes 1996; Figes 2002). This extensive reading list allows the author to create a very convincing world.

3. Events depicted

An extensive list of events building the background for the story is found in a review by Ned Thomas. These are the war against Germany, the toppling of the last Tsar, Kerensky's Provisional Government, the emergence of the Petrograd Soviets, the Kronstadt sailors' revolt, the Bolshevik victory, the chaotic violence of the Civil War as Red and White armies roam across Russia, the machinations of dispossessed capitalists and bankers in exile in Berlin (Thomas 2009).

On my part, I suggest that it is the Russian literature that dictates the choice of topics for the novel. Probably, the best example to show is the portrayal of the First World War. This historic event may have been the one to trigger the interest of the author and its audience in the distant Russian history. In fact, there are similarities between Great Britain and Russia in this case as in both countries the war took a heavy toll (the statistics of casualties are controversial, that is why we do not provide here any exact figures). However, the perception of the WWI in literature and in culture as a whole is quite different in Britain and in Russia. The topos of the WWI as an event which has drastically changed the world view of a common man is prominent in British literature. A vivid example of this can be the early poetry of Robert Graves; also, it has influenced the works of Virginia Wolf and the Inklings group.

For the history of Welsh literature, the story of Hedd Wyn, the poet who won the Eisteddfod chair in 1917, but could not celebrate it as he died shortly before in Belgium, is symbolic (for Welsh perspective see Llwyd 2008; on Hedd Wyn see Llwyd 2009). In Russian history all the nightmares of the WWI were only the beginning of further sufferings, i.e. the two revolutions and the devastating Civil War. Many who could have

described it, left the country, and many died in the following turmoil. Therefore, in Russian literature WWI is mostly presented as a horrid background of a still fairly normal life in one of the capitals (see e.g. *Doctor Zhivago* by Boris Pasternak). The same holds true for our novel – the officer Kozma is at the front, he comes back reporting of low morale of the army, several letters of condolence nature arrive, but there are no direct descriptions of military operations.

The characters are described in manifold situations: at their holidays in the Crimea, celebrating Christmas, at a fashion show, joining in a conspiracy against Kerensky, and then again in the Crimea at the time of the Civil War, tramping with other homeless kids all over South Russia, giving puppet-plays in Kiev, living in Odessa, fleeing over the boundary to Finland, starting new business in Berlin, shooting a film at a German film studio etc. Most of the scenes are convincing and full of vigorous, lively dialogues. Some look slightly odd, such as a Christmas rite of smearing the faces of the family members with a honey blessing:

> *Wedi i bawb eistedd, Anna Timurovna a aeth o gwmpas y bwrdd i dynny croes o fêl ar dalcen pawb.*
> *'Yn enw'r Tad a'r Mab a'r Ysbryd Glân,' camodd yn bwyllog o berson i berson, 'bydded ichwi fwynhau melys bethau bywyd yn ystod y flwyddyn sydd ar ddyfod…'*

> When all were seated, Anna Timurovna went around the table to draw a cross of honey on each others' forehead.
> 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,' she stepped discreetly from one person to another, 'let you enjoy the sweet things of life during the coming year' (Roberts 2008: 84, my translation).

Also to my mind, the role of superstitions (of those really existing) is a little bit exaggerated (cf. Roberts 2008: 336, 340 telling of Alyosha's grandmother entreating him not to proceed on his journey if he encounters a woman with an empty bucket). But those exotic depictions are few and far between, and on the other hand, it could well be that our generation, raised in the Soviet times, may have lost some of the beliefs, which could have been preserved in the émigré diaries and memoires and thus came down to our author.

4. Names
The last point to discuss here are the names Wiliam Owen Roberts gives to his characters. As he put once in his interview, Petrograd is "a multi-

layered and multifaceted novel, with a polyphonic feel and a larger cast than any of my other novels, in the attempt to map many societies and a large spectrum of experiences" (Roberts 2009). The cast is indeed a huge one: more than 100 characters are living their own lives through the novel. Some names are impeccable: Fyodor Mikhailovich Aleksandrov, a wealthy factory owner, and his son Alyosha put a blissful smile on the face of everyone familiar with Russian literature. Many other names were either found in some biographical accounts or else invented by the author and by all means sound natural e.g. Perarski, Kukushkin or Zinaida Ernestovna. One of the novel's merits is the fact that the author really keeps his world multi-layered and polyphonic. It is not a stereotypical 'Natasha-Masha-Ivan' world, but a world full of living individual characters with interesting and non-trivial names. We have our doubts about less then twenty of them.

4.1 Name-giving practices in pre-revolutionary Russia

But before we enter into any further detail, we should provide some information regarding the name-giving practices that existed in pre-revolutionary Russia. Two points are essential in this regard. First, the names of the Orthodox believers (or rather, Russians in general, not only the active church-goers) were mainly given according to the Saints' calendar. The name was given at the baptismal ceremony in the church which normally took place on the eighth day after his birth, and the saint's day should usually fall within the eight day period (Avdeev, Blum, Troizkaya 2008). The priest had certain means either to give to a child a name of the saint celebrated on the very day, or else of a more prestigious one. Several names enjoyed particular popularity; among the male names were Alexander and Nikolay. Those were the so-called *rublyovye imena* ('one-rouble names'), i.e. names given for a special informal payment to a priest. Let us note that it is the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry we are speaking here about, as the nobility and merchants were a bit more flexible in their choice of names.

Thus we are coming to the second point: the names differed drastically between different social classes, different names were popular with different social groups, and the difference was even more striking in the case of pet names. Then we are dealing with the surnames, i.e. family names with their subtle laws and the patronymics. Taking into account the ethnical diversity that always existed in the Russian society, this ultimately results in an obvious difficulty, no less impossibility, to provide all the characters with proper names for a non-Russian author. Therefore, the 20% rate of the names that can be treated as minor failures is therefore rather a success.

4.2 Difficulties regarding some names in Petrograd

Here are some of examples of such failures: the wife of F. M. Alexandrov is called Inessa, the wife of Kozma is called Ella – both are supposed to come from purely Russian families, but both names are absent in the calendar of Orthodox saints. In all, four such names enter the category of failures. Kozma is an extremely rare variant of the name Kuzma (probably known due to the prominence of a fictitious character Kozma Prutkov), and Kuzma in his turn is not quite a middle-class, but rather a merchant's class name. In its turn, the female patronymic of Kuzma should be 'Kuzminichna' (and such formation is unfortunately difficult to predict), and yet, it is 'Kozmievna' – which is incorrect – that crops now and again in our novel. Then some exotic names follow, which may be too exotic even for a multi-faceted Russian society. One servant is called Aisha (Roberts 2008: 47). The Russian National Corpus provides examples of this name only in two works that were written in the first quarter of the twentieth century. One is *The Fairy-tales and Legends* by V. M. Doroshevich (1923), where it appears in an Oriental context. Another is a famous Modernist novel *Julio Jurenito* by Ilya Ehrenburg (1920), where it is actually applied to a black male character. Another servant's name that casts some doubt is Lika (Roberts 2008: 163) – which is an elitist variant of the Christian name Lydia, the way a female friend of Anton Chekhov was called. The character called 'Mili Samoilovich Petreuko' (Roberts 2008: 70) has a very rare name[3] and a mistake in his surname ('Petrenko' can be the only possible variant). A prominent character is called Stanislav Markovich Feldman – Stanislav is a Polish name, and I am not sure whether a Jewish mother could have given such a name to her son in about 1890, even in an assimilated family.[4] The strangest name is Lazarevna Petrovna Vengerov (Roberts 2008: 121). Lazarevna is only a female patronymic and the surname is male, not female. Finally, it is quite improbable that the name of the Countess Lydia Herkulanovna Vors should be attributed to a failure – the name Ida Herkulanovna Vors appears in a nightmare of Nikanor Ivanovich Bosoy in *The Master and Margarita* by Bulgakov (2000: 164). To see this allusion is nice, however the name is very artificial.

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[3] I am aware of only two people born before the revolution bearing such name, the famous composer Balakirev being one of them.

[4] Searching on-line, I failed to find Stanislavs living in the first half of the twentieth century in the lists of famous Jewish people.

5. Conclusions

We hope to have demonstrated that *Petrograd* by Wiliam Owen Roberts is a good example of a non-superficial, but a very sympathetic and informed link between a Celtic and a Slavic culture. This novel is only a first part of a trilogy, the second part *Paris* was due to appear in 2011. For me personally this work serves as a symbol of the importance of further investigations in the Celto-Slavica domain, and I hope that new masterpieces from the Celtic lands related to Slavic cultures will provide new material for exploration in years to come.

Institute for Linguistics, Moscow

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SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND 'SONG AND DANCE': CELTIC AND SLAVIC EXEMPLARS

DEAN MILLER

"But Maggie stood there sair astonished
Till by the heel and hand admonished
She ventured forward on the light
And vow! Tam saw an unco sight!
Warlocks and witches in a dance,
Nae cotillion brent-new frae France,
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys and reels
Put life and mettle in their heels."

1. Music, dance and the supernatural

That great Scot Robert Burns adds that Auld Nick, one of the names for the devil himself, provided the music for this horrid and unseemly event, playing the bagpipes. There are those who would say that the skirl of the Scottish war-pipes is sufficiently diabolical even if Satan weren't playing them, but the point is that here in Kirk-Alloway beings infused with the supernatural - that is, "warlocks and witches" – are clearly depicted as enjoying the pleasures of 'human' music and dance.

Music and dance have, of course, had any number of uses in our human cultural cosmos: in courtship rituals, in socialization, of course for entertainment (cultural and countercultural), in religious ceremonial – and even in politics and, finally, in war. We would aver that the two are specifically, undeniably human – a product of the cultural world of humankind, and its agents.[1] Yet in myth, epic, and folktale and all the other works of the human imagination, music and dance can be, and often have been, handed over or assigned to supernatural (non-human) beings of various kinds and types, benign or malign or neutral, singular or in groups, and this brief effort of mine will try to identify, analyse, and contrast "supernatural song and dance" in our two familiar Indo-European contexts, the Celtic and the Slavic.

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[1] On the other hand: "An anthropologist observed a male chimpanzee performing a special fire-dance next to a huge blaze on the Senegalese savannah" ("Findings" endnote, *Harper's*, March, 2010). All sorts of questions have to be raised about this alleged observation.

Burns's Ayrshire warlocks and witches are human, however evil (usually) their acts and intentions, and so human music (the pipes) and Scottish dances are in a sense appropriate for them. As we look elsewhere in the world of the Other, we find various explanations and aetiologies (and also some of the connections, or the lack of them, extending from the supernatural world to that of the human). The Russian/Eastern European *rusalky* are usually identified as "the souls of children, of girls and women who died prematurely" (Barber 1997: 9, cit. Niederle 1926: 132) – and the music they are associated with are the songs sung to "lure" these spirits out of the forest, their home and refuge, toward the fields where their beneficent effect on fertility (that is, the effect of a *potentially* fertile former human) is accounted as paramount (Barber 1997: 10).[2]

The supernatural *vila* figure with which these spirits may be confused, however – the Balkan, especially the Serbo-Croat *vila* – are rather different characters: they are not human (though they may dramatically interact with humans), they seemingly have little to do with any kind of fertility, human or otherwise, their origins are mysterious (certainly pre-Christian, and perhaps pre-Indo-European) and a particular kind of dance (and, to a somewhat puzzling extent, song) is very much a specific marker for them.

Moving westward, the described nature of the Breton *korrigañed*, the Welsh *Tylweth Teg* (or 'The Fair Family') and the Irish *síthe* all point toward what might be called parallel existences to the human world (for the Irish and Welsh "fairies" this can include intermarriage with humans, at least as a temporary state).[3] One origin story for the Irish *síthe* identifies them as the pre-Goidelic *Tuatha dé Danaan*, the 'children of the goddess Dana,' conceived of as a once-human "race" to which the mythic kings and heroes of the island belonged, now having taken up residence elsewhere, possibly underground in some *rath* or *dun* or *bruig*, possibly in a land or island somewhere over-sea, to the west – or perhaps both. All these beings are, technically speaking, "trooping fairies," as William Butler Yeats would have it, that is, they make up a supernatural collective, a 'people' (Yeats 1888/1973: 11-12). The Scottish tales give us a similar supernatural grouping (of *sithan* or *sithiche*) with approximately the same sort of inclinations, dwelling places (mainly, again, underground or inside hills or mounds, from which they emerge at specific times) and a pronounced taste

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[2] Barber (1997: 18) also noted the medieval fertility celebrations called (in Russian) *rusalii*, which drew the ire and condemnation of various clerical authorities because of their nocturnal "demonic songs... and dancing."

[3] For sources regarding Irish fairies, of course see Tom Peete Cross (1953) and his Motif-Index, in which "fairy stories" are included under F200-299.

for music and dance.[4] The Welsh *Tylweth Teg* love "dancing, singing [naturally, being Welsh residents or inhabitants, of a sort] and music" (Briggs 1979: 150). Yeats is explicit: the Irish *síthe* have, as their chief occupations, "feasting, fighting, making love, and playing the most beautiful music" (Yeats 1888/1973: 12).[5] In Henry Glassie's commodious modern folkloric classic, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*, there is almost no mention of the *síthe* – except that it was known to his twentieth century Irish storytellers that "beautiful lights follow their movement, and fairies make the world's loveliest music."[6]

The musical instruments of these supernatural beings are those (mostly) familiar to us humans – fiddles are often mentioned; the Welsh "fair family" favours sweet singers and harping (Rhys 1901/1980: 457). Briggs says that the Cornish fairies (the Spriggans) can organize what would almost count as an entire orchestra to accompany their revelry: "mouth-organs... cymbals or tambourines... jew's harps... May whistles and feapers."[7] Sir Walter Scott is our source for "The Fairy-Boy of Leith" who plays a drum for a gathering of *sithain* near Carlton Hill, in (or formerly, near) Edinburgh city.[8] The only appearance of a supernatural musician in Fitzroy Maclean's collection, *West Highland Tales*, involves an old, well-dressed piper whose skillfully-played music, coming from underground (in fact from Cnoc an t-Sithein, the "Knoll of the Fairies," on the isle of Barra) lures a passing islander deep into the knoll.[9] The Breton *korriganñed* may dance to the music of the viol (Markale 1977: 76) while, elsewhere, the Breton sources simply say that the native supernatural beings "dance and sing," not necessarily in celebration, however.[10] Finally, our Celtic sources

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[4] The Breton *korriganñed* and the Cornish 'Spriggan' also have marine associations (see the Irish 'Merrow' or merman below); the Breton fairies (a different supernatural population, seemingly) may also be found secluded in the deepest forest (Markale 1977: 186).

[5] He adds (*ibid*.) that dancing was also their delight; that an old woman who "went with the fairies" for seven years had no toes – "she had danced them off." Yeats gives the old woman's village – Ballisodare – for confirmation of her story.

[6] Glassie 1982: 546. Glassie did his fieldwork in Northern Ireland in the 1970s.

[7] Briggs 1979: 73. A "feaper" is a split reed; "May whistles" I suspect are very similar to those whistles I remember from my own youth; about 15-20 cm long, cut (in the spring) from willow withes, the bark loosened and a mouth-hole carved out, and all this done by someone who knew the art. They whistled until the sap dried and the bark split. This particular tale also shows a feature shared with Burns's poem: the possible peril attendant upon interrupting a fairy event, and also an observation about the size (variable) of the supernatural being.

[8] Douglas 1901-2000: 128-131, citing Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, who in turn cites, as his source, a seventeenth century gentleman named Captain George Burton.

[9] Maclean 1990: 127-129, citing J. L. Campbell 1960.

[10] In Seignolle 1979: 189, *korriganñed* (also called *tuez* or "dwarves") dance and sing before cursing an ungenerous house-wife (and her house, which they then desert).

give us a *friendly* Manx spirit, the Dooinney-Oie or 'Night-Man,' who blows a horn "sounding like an alpen-horn" to warn humans of approaching storms (Briggs 1979: 59, citing Broome 1951).

On the Slavic side (mainly citing Balkan and Serbo-Croat sources) we ought to note that the "epic" *vile* that D. Juri identifies (and that we are especially interested in) are great dancers – especially in the round-dance, the *kolo*. Their singing remains a bit of a mystery (though the *kolo* usually is accompanied by song); perhaps it is pertinent that, as compared to the Celtic supernatural beings, these *vile* are *created* by or in song, in or near our own time, songs invented, passed along, and sung by professional singers, the *gislari*; these songs were eventually collected by scholars and folkloric researchers, in the nineteenth century and later.[11] In the depictions we have of them these beautiful female (always female) supernaturals live and have their being far from humankind: on mountains and highlands, near remote mountain lakes (see Miller 2009: 11, 15). Yet they freely approach humans, especially human heroes, for good or sometimes malignant purposes, can act as counselors of advisors, or as a "warrior helper" and *poseštrime* ("sister in God"). The most famous citation for the effects of human song in the *vile* cosmos is displayed in the tale *Marko i Vila*, where the *vila* Ravijojla shoots "two white arrows" at Prince Marko's friend Miloš and wounds him almost mortally after he had sung too beautifully for her taste; the same theme occurs in the song *Vila Strijela Markova Pobratima*, where Marko (and we might ask why?) persuades another blood-brother of his to sing "to the mountains" and the hero's *pobratim* is then attacked by a posse of offended *vile* (Karad 1891: i II #38, #158). Some sort of jealousy (or artistic snobbery?) on the *vila*'s part seems to be obvious here, though in another song a human wedding cortége is advised to stop their traditional celebratory noise near "Eagle's Mountain," lest the mountain's resident *vila* object to it for some reason (Juri 2010: 181-182). A resentment of human interference or presence (or simply of human observation) is not uncommon elsewhere in what we see (or construct) as the broader realm of the supernatural being. As for dancing and the *vila*, this seems to be another, a different sort of magical operation for these creatures – perhaps even moving the *vila* toward a shamanistic posture (as a relic of an earlier stage in her mythography?).

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[11] Dorian Juri, a student of the historical linguist John Colarusso, is working on the "epic" *vile*, and I am grateful to be able to use his numerous citations of Serbo-Croat source materials: see Juri 2010.

2. Humans and supernaturals: Contacts and consequences

The human and the supernatural being come into contact: how does this happen and what are the consequences, and what rôle does song-and-dance play in these encounters? We can find the following scenarios:

2.1. Luring, attraction

Douglas, citing J. F. Campbell (one of the clan of "collecting" Scottish Campbells) gives us two tales where humans are lured into the world of the Other, by (first) "music and dancing... fiddling and singing" (this was "about Hallowe'en times" – that is, near a major Celtic holy-day) when one of two young plowmen enters the old mill where the supernatural revelry is taking place – and does not return.[12] A second Campbell tale ("The Smith and the Fairies") is more complicated. It involves a changeling exchange, reveals the techniques to be used for exposing and expelling such a supernatural creature, and finally tells of the rescue of the smith's real (human) infant son from the fairy *rath* or hillock. There, we are told, "piping, singing and joyous merriment" came from the rath, which the smith entered carrying a Bible, a dirk (that is, "cold iron") and a crowing cock (evidently to signal the approach of dawn). One way and another the father's appearance and interference so agitated the resident fairy folk that he and his son were thrown out of the hill; the kidnapped and rescued son eventually showed a preternatural skill at sword-smithing, a skill presumably 'learned' or acquired by *contactus* in the fairy *rath*. The Douglas collection also contains a "literary" tale (elegantly re-written in a nineteenth century high style) in which humans are enticed into joining the Annandale fairy host who "marched in midnight procession" while playing on wonderful instruments, not specified (but later called "flute and dulcimer", Douglas 1901/2000: 328). The character in the title, "Elphin Irving," is "taken" (recruited) by the fairies, as is another handsome lad, and some other narrative themes are laid out here.[13]

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[12] He is rescued by his companion, who carries his (protective) Bible: Douglas, "The Two Young Ploughmen," 1901/2000: 133, citing Campbell 1892. Upon the rescue, the Otherworld celebration (cf. Burns's Tam at Kirk-Alloway) ends suddenly, "and all was dark" (ibid., 133).

[13] Douglas 1901/2000: 319, citing Cunningham, *Traditional Tales of the English and Scottish Peasantry*. The Irvings (various spellings) of course were and are thick on the ground in Annandale (see Fraser 1995: 61). It is also alleged here (in Douglas) that "there has not been a fairy seen in the land since Donald Cargill, the Cameronian, conjured them into the Solway for playing the pipes during one of his noctural preachings..." (327), showing another citation for fairy music-making – and for an aversion to the Christian religion, or at least to this persecuted sect that held its conventiclers at night, a time the fairies seemingly liked to call their own.

Yeats's collection of Irish tales also gives us "Jamie Freel and the Young Lady," in which young Jamie is attracted to a ruined castle on Hallowe'en by the "elfin revelry" held there, in which (in this particular tale) he can freely join. He then is allowed to travel to Dublin with the elvin host (on flying horses – and the names of the various cities and towns they pass over are announced as if by a railway conductor) where the fairies steal away a lovely young woman whom Jamie subsequently tricks away from her abductors from the *síthe*. The theme of "fairy time" is involved here – one night's adventure with the *síthe* evidently spanned many human years (Yeats 1892/1973: 52-57, citing McLintock 1976).[14] Yeats also includes a long narrative from Croker's early nineteenth century Irish collection, "The Confessions of Tom Bourke" – and here young men are lured to a nocturnal gathering of the *síthe* because of the music and especially dance (on a riverside meadow, in a churchyard, both being taken to be liminal *loci*) and who end up, by supernatural contagion, with extraordinary dancing skills. [15]

2.2 Separation, occultation

The intervention of a human is not welcome in drunken Tam O'Shanter's case, at the witch-haunted kirk, and the same is true, as Briggs reports to us, in the case of the Cornish smugglers who happen to overlook the antics of the Spriggans – the fairy-folk of this seaside locality who not only resent the human intrusion, but grow larger and "turn ugly" as they advance on the intruders.[16] Even when humans are inveigled or invited to join the revelry, the violation of certain taboos or proscriptions can cause the entire fairy presence (or cast) to abruptly disappear, musicians and all. In the Balkan/Slavic context the distant or relatively inaccessible home territories of the *vila* (cloud, mountain, upland lake or tarn) are not usually invaded by humans, though the super-hero Prince Marko will pursue the jealous Ravijojla there – and beat her up. These supernatural beings descend from

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[14] Of the thirty-three "fairy-tales" included in the invaluable *Tales From Highland Perthshire* (Stuart Murray 2010) eleven involve humans attracted into a fairy hold by sweet music, and most of the eleven also emphasize "fairy time," that is, a year spent with the fairies could translate into a hundred or more human years: see Markale 1977: 197, for "three hundred years in the Chateau Vert" a Breton tales from Morbihan; see also Markale 1977: 262, and Markale's note on p. 264. American readers may recognize this theme from the 'Rip van Winkle' tale, by Washington Irving.

[15] Both supernatural events are ended abruptly, with the disappearance of the fairy-folk, and part of this tale has to do with the "fairy doctor" who can deal with those ills that can be brought on by contact with the "good people" (the reverse of the positive effect, such as dancing or smithing skills): Yeats 1892/1973: 154-166, citing Croker 1825-1828.

[16] See fn. 4 above.

their remote bases to interact with heroes or others – and we observe the restrictions placed on the wedding party near "Eagle Mountain," where a very grouchy *vila* is resident.

2.3. Reversals

We can find cases in which the theme of human interposition into a supernatural musical site or event is reversed. In fact, Briggs gives us three examples. The Manx "Fenedoree," identified as a sort of hard-working brownie or house-elf, is supposed to have once been one of the fair folk (the "Ferrishyn" in Manx), but he was one who, unfortunately for him, fell in love with a mortal girl and was dancing with her when he was supposed to be with his own people, at the fairies' autumn festival (All-Hallows' Eve, presumably) and so by stern fairy judgment he was made ugly and hairy and "expelled from Fairyland" (Briggs 1979: 80). Then the Shetland "Henkie," a species of uncharacteristically friendly or harmless trow or troll, is so-called because he or she "henks" or walks all tapsilteerie (and "whose dance music was very catchy but their dancing was very queer"). One of these creatures is attracted to a Shetland *ceilidh* and wants to join the dancing, but no one will dance with her. [17] Finally, Briggs notes that the dangerous Scottish *each uisge* or Water-Horse can, in its human shape, be lulled to sleep by human song (not an uncommon theme in narratives where malignant supernatural beings are "tamed," and one seen in other Celtic folkloric traditions).[18]

3. Supernatural song and dance: Characteristics and translations

Here I have the problem of setting forth what we can determine to be the specific characteristics – the "marks" – of supernatural song and dance; how the human imagination can re-code and then de-code (or translate) activities that may resemble the human, but are clearly in-human. This is not easy.[19] Effusive or banal or emotively-charged descriptions of fairy music-making as producing "the most beautiful music" or "strains of enchanting melody" do not get us very far at all. One Irish source repeats a baroque witch-tale collected by Lady Wilde (Oscar's very eccentric mama) wherein twelve witches are seen and heard "singing together an ancient

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[17] Briggs 1979: 100, cit. Saxby 1974. Briggs gives the "henkie's" name (Cuttie) and her sad little rhyme, ending with "Sae I'll henk awa' mesel', so [quoth] Cuttie."

[18] See Markale 1977: 262, for a Breton citation; in a tale ("Le basin d'or") collected in Seignolle 1979: 196-198, the hero, "Lenik," sings Breton songs to a threatening, murderous *korrigan nû* or "Black Dwarf" who dances – and then falls asleep.

[19] We ought to note, in passing, such ingenious modern inventions of the speech of non-humans as H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu-cult speech, or J. R. R. Tolkein's elvish – or orcish – languages.

rhyme" while spinning (Yeats 1888/1973: 150) and Yeats also reprints another tale collected and decorated by Thomas Crofton Croker, in which a hunchback overhears "an unearthly melody" and the words sung (which translate as "Monday, Tuesday" in Erse) to which he adds "Wednesday" and is promptly welcomed by the delighted *síthe* and is miraculously relieved of his disfiguring hump.[20] There seems to be no very unearthly mystery in the language used here. An Irish "Merrow" or merman sings a song in his underwater abode, but as recalled by a human guest the ditty is merely a string of what appear to be rhyming nonsense syllables.[21] The "chorus" of a song purportedly sung by a Scottish fairy is "ay lu lan dil y'u" which *could* be a sort of supernatural lilting (in Douglas 1901/2000: 150-151, and see his fn. 2). Perhaps the clearest or most obvious statement of difference is contained in another story in Yeats's collection, namely "The Piper and the Púka," where a piper (who is called a "half-fool") is taken to the sacred, that is, sacred in terms of the Christian cosmos, hill-shrine of Croach Patrick by a fairy, a pooka (clearly the numinous or Otherworldly character of the site is not limited to a Christian point of view). There the pooka gives the piper another set of pipes which, when he returns to his family, cannot be persuaded to play 'human' music.[22] So we can say that, at least in most cases, what happens in Fairyland, in brugh, rath, hill or dun, *stays* in Fairyland. And yet the poet Yeats himself insisted that some Irish folk music, that is, certain tunes, had a supernatural origin. More, he avers that the great Irish blind harper Turlough O'Carolan had "slept on a rath" and so was able to be the literally inspired musician he became (Yeats 1888/1973: 12).[23]

Something should be added here as to the *physical* characteristics of the supernatural singers and dancers in the Celtic and Slavic traditions. The Balkan *vila* is invariably described as white – e.g., "Bela vila" (see

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[20] Yeats 1892/1973: 44-45. The tale goes on: another hunchback makes the mistake of interrupting the fairies' song (with "on Thursday") and gets an additional hump for his pains. This "weekday" theme is repeated in the Highland Perthshire tales collected by Stuart Murray (2010: #24, #157).

[21] So: "rum fum boodle boo/ripple dipple nitty dob/rmdoo doodle coo/raffle taffle chittyboo!" This is not exceedingly mystical nor a betrayal of arcane knowledge, though it certainly could be called cryptic. In "The Soul Cages," collected in Yeats 1892/1973: 66.

[22] Yeats 1892/1973: 89; the translation by Douglas Hyde. The pooka gave the piper "what he never had before - sense and music (*ciall agus céol*)" but the gold the piper had been given in the hill had turned to plant-leaves – a common folklore theme or dénouément (*ibid.*). By the reference to "buckling on" the pipes I conclude that these probably were "elbow" or uileann pipes, more likely to be found and played in Ireland.

[23] The famous piping MacCrimmons, of Skye, according to a Highland Perthshire tale, also got their gift of music from a fairy piper – a woman, no less: Stuart Murray 2010: #186 (345).

Miller 2009: 14); Juri says that she is often called *prebijela* or "more than white, very white, too white" even to her dress and hair (Juri 2010: 178). "Whiteness" in the Serbo-Croat context is an attribute or descriptive showing extraordinary importance, possibly an Otherworldly connection: so, we have a Sultan's white city, a *beg*'s white castle, even the "two white arrows" in the tale of Prince Marko and the *vila* Ravijolja. We should note that one "family" of supernatural beings in the Breton tales, the fairies, seem to be specifically contrasted with the dark *korroganñed* and are fair-skinned and blonde and always female.[24] The size of our supernatural beings seems to vary according to the narrative – they are typically small, even dwarfish, but may be human-sized (and the Cornish Spriggans grow in size as their wrath grows). On the other hand, the description of the "fairy piper" given in the tale from Barra makes him an old, well-dressed (green-kilted), and rather aristocratic human, in appearance.

4. Conclusion

If music and dance are identified as to specifically human cultural productions, invention – story-telling, the narrative art – obviously and emphatically another, or "narrative skills seem to be part of the basic human toolbox," as Margaret Atwood, the genial (here, meaning superlatively talented) Canadian novelist put it – and she should know.[25]

In our sources, in the Celtic and the Slavic traditions, we have stories, songs, narratives, image-making inventions of all sorts, about supernatural beings and their interactions with humankind – and with "song and dance" in the foreground, seen as acts deeply involved in, forwarding or enabling, the process of interaction between the two realms. And yet: "song" is not simply speech, "dance" is not just walking or running – the two activities we have in view are of a slightly but significantly different quality: ordinary, and yet not ordinary at all (art, artifice, and artificiality are not 'normal,' nor should they be). What I think is happening here is, first, a display of the human urge to – in imagination – separate dangerous Otherworld beings and potencies from the human sphere, and then to somehow reconnect them (as is also true in our dealings

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[24] The two types or families seen as "frolicking" together are in Seignolle 1979: 179, 417 (and in the latter citation are dancing a *ronde* or Breton round-dance together – and compare the Balkan *vile* here).

[25] In her review of E. O. Wilson's *Anthill* (*The New York Review of Books* LVII/6, 10 April 2010: 6).

with the numinous realm of the Dead – those Dead who may also somehow, even often, be themselves connected to the "fairy" world).[26]

Second, and perhaps more importantly, despite the reasonable (or frenzied) urging of clerics or religious authorities (priests, ministers, *dominees* – or, for that matter, rabbis or imams) demanding the acceptance of a rigid, absolute and orthodox monotheism, older – or at least *other* – beliefs or notions can be regarded as still active and still potent ("The old gods aren't dead," said the great Greek – Alexandrian – poet Constantine Cafavy, "they haven't even left!"). The pre-Christian origin and archaic significance of the Balkan *vile* seems to be clear enough;[27] the Irish *síthe* and the other Celtic "communities" or troops of supernatural beings, and any number of other, singular supernatural figures (house-brownies, "elementals," guardian "fairies" and so on) carry, possibly, traces or remnants of a polytheistic sacrality. Finally, extraordinary (= "superhuman"?) abilities – musical in the case of Turlough O'Carolan and the MacCrimmons on the Celtic side, heroic in the case of Prince Marko and other human heroes in the Balkans who are granted or given their exceptional status and powers by the *vile* – can be transmitted, transmuted, or inflected from the supernatural realm. What we regard as commonplace cultural marks, cultural creations or artifacts, are detached from "mere" human culture, and are inflated with other powers – another *explanatio* is provided. And human beings, we know, continually search for explanations.

As for us, we (especially if we are male) can perhaps attend to and learn from Rabbie Burns's final poetical warning:

> "Now, wha this tale o' truth shall read,
> Ilk man and mother's son, tak heed:
> Whene'er to drink ye are inclin'd,
> Or cutty sarks run in your mind,
> Think! Ye may buy the joys o'er dear;
> Remember Tam O'Shanter's mare."

University of Rochester, New York

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[26] See, e.g., Douglas 1901/2000: 328, where the dead are said to walk in a fairy "processional" on Midsummer's Eve, while for processions of the dead on Hallow'en see Cross 1953: F241.1.0.1, and F211.1.1.1.

[27] Barber (1997: 37-38) connects the *vila* to the Minoan figure she calls "the Protectress" (Athena would be a later, Olympian reflex of this mode).

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FÍR FLATHEMON IN THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE?
THE LEGEND OF THE SUMMONING OF THE VARANGIANS
AND THE PREFATORY MATTER TO *AUDACHT MORAINN*

DMITRY NIKOLAYEV

1. Introduction

One of the most hotly disputed questions of medieval Russian history is the interpretation of the so-called legend of the summoning of the Varangians. This legend forms part of the reconstructed Russian Primary Chronicle, also known as the *Tale of the Bygone Years*, which is deemed to be the source text for all the subsequent Russian annals. Main evidence for the Russian Primary Chronicle (supposedly composed at the beginning of the twelfth century) is produced by the Laurentian and the Ipatian chronicles dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Narratives preserved in these chronicles are usually invoked to examine the summoning legend.

I will cite the abridged version of the legend contained in the Laurentian chronicle (Karsky 1926) in a slightly modified translation by Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953) (see full text in the Appendix). The differences in content between this version and the versions in Ipatian and other chronicles are of no importance for the problems under consideration:

> Year 6367 (CE 859). The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves', and the Krivichians. But the Khazars imposed it upon the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians, and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth.
> Years 6368–6370 (CE 860–862). The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us and judge us according to Justice (Rus. *po pravu*)." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian, to the Rus'... The Chuds, the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Ves' then said to the people of Rus', 'Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us.'

> Three brothers were selected, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Rus' and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, settled in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, at Beloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. ... After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority...

In the analysis of this episode two approaches were current. One of them may be roughly labeled as 'historical' and the other as 'philological'. The historical approach to this legend – which is the traditional one but which now seems to be rejected by most modern scholars – is to treat the tale of Rurik and his brothers as the genuine truth. The most important question therefrom is to decide either the Varangians were the people who laid the cornerstone of the Russian state or they were merely the invited managers who took places in the already established hierarchy (hence the so-called split between the Normanist vs. the anti-Normanist approaches to the Russian historiography, see Duczko 2004). This problem was hotly debated for nearly two hundred years. However, it partly lost its appeal when the scholars turned to the philological investigation of the chronicles. Soon it became evident that the reconstructed eldest Russian chronicle, the *Tale of the Bygone Years*, is a conscious literary composition with discernible narrative patterns and political agenda. Therefore, the focus of the recent 'philological' approach was on finding a literary or a folkloric source for the Varangian legend and on explaining its function in the Primary Chronicle.

This quest for the proto-text of the Varangian legend was not altogether successful. The best parallel version found was the story of the summoning of Anglo-Saxons to Great Britain by Vortigern. Here we see invited brothers, only two of them, though, who establish a new royal dynasty, that of the Kingdom of Kent. However, the overall plot is strikingly different, and this story would hardly have been proclaimed the parallel version of the Varangian legend if not for the words of the Saxon chronicler Widukind of Corvey. This author retold the episode of the summoning of Anglo-Saxon war bands to Great Britain basing largely on the work of Bede but infused it with some rhetorical embellishment. Thus, the ambassadors of the Britons not only invite the Saxons, but tell them, '**Terram latam et spatiosam et omnium rerum copia refertam** vestrae mandant ditioni parere' ('[Our people] offer you **the land which is great and rich**', Kehr 1904: 8, my emphasis). This seeming parallel to the words of the Chuds, the Slavs, the Krivichians and the Ves' forced some scholars to conclude that the text of Widukind became via some missing link the source for the Russian Primary Chronicle (Stender-Petersen 1953). Yet this missing link was nearly impossible to establish, and Rurik did not look much like Hengest. Note also the complete absence of any personage similar to Vortigern in the Varangian legend.

The other way to treat this problem, proposed in the middle nineties by the Russian scholars Vladimir Petrukhin and Yelena Mel'nikova was by means of the genre theory. In their paper on the source of the Varangian legend (Mel'nikova, Petrukhin 1995), the scholars state that the Russian Primary Chronicle is an instance of a medieval pseudo-historical narrative focused on the dynastic history and the aetiology of state as a concept. The demands of the genre cause such narrative patterns as the invitation of a ruler, or his magical birth, or his finding following some wondrous signs to appear. In the authors' view, such narratives were propagated not as a result of textual influence but rather as the workings of literary typology. That starting point enabled Mel'nikova and Petrukhin to adduce quite a few parallels including the legend of Romulus and Remus, the Bohemian tale of Přemysl the Ploughman and some others. Unfortunately, all these texts have so few discernible motifs in common that the comparison becomes nearly pointless and brings us no closer to the understanding of the particular combination of motifs that underlies the Varangian legend. The aim of the present paper is to propose a new parallel text to the Varangian legend until now overlooked by other researchers.

2. The structure of *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile*

This text is the medieval Irish tale of the revolt of the *aithechthúatha*, the 'vassal tribes', who decided to kill all the noble lineages of Ireland in order to rule for themselves. For the present analysi, it is important to note that this tale often serves as a prefatory matter to the famous *speculum regum Audacht Morainn*. The short version of the tale which forms part of the B Recension of *Audacht Morainn* runs as follows:

> *Incipit Audacht Morainn maic Moín do Fheradach Fhind Fhechtnach mac Craumthainn Niath Náir. Mac side ingine Lóith maic Deleraith di Chruthentúaith. Bert a máthair ass ina brú íar ndílgund tigernae n-Érenn dona haithechthúathaib acht Feradach namá i mbrú a máthar. Do-luid side íarum taris co slógaib ₇ foídis Morann in n-audacht-so cucci.*

> Here begins the Testament of Morann son of Móen to Feradach Find Fechtnach son of Craumthann Nia Nár. He was the son of the daughter of Lóth son of Delerath of the Picts. His mother brought him away in her womb after the vassal tribes had destroyed the nobles of Ireland except for Feradach in his mother's womb. He came over afterwards with hosts and Morann sent this Testament to him (Kelly 1976: 2-3).

Here we see virtually nothing that can provoke comparison with the Varangian legend. However, quite a few relevant motifs are contained in the longer version of this prologue, which was edited by Rudolf Thurneysen (1917) with the A Recension of *Audacht Morainn*.

This longer version belongs to the Middle Irish period and is apparently of a much later date than *Audacht Morainn* itself. It is also later than the short introduction in Recension B. It consists of two parts: a lengthy historical poem *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* and a prose elaboration on the material of this poem. The relevant sections of the poem go as follows:

> 1. The noble lineages of the whole of Ireland / they were all killed by one man / except for three sons... they escaped Cairpre.
> 2. The pregnant ones fled from him to the East... so they were born there in the Eastern country / after they came to Scotland...
> 7. They made a fair counsel / the vassal tribes of Ireland at that time / because it was a deprivation for them of all kinds: / of grain, milk, tree mast and other plants.
> 8. On this counsel they decided — / they had repentance of what they performed — / to send a call to the sons — the clear deed — / in order to proclaim them the high-kings.
> 9. They gave a firm pledge / the vassal tribes of Ireland / according to the will of the sons who were in the East / to make them return from Scotland.
> 10. These are the pledges that they gave then: / the sky, the earth, the beautiful sun, / that everything would be according to their will from one mountain to the other / until there is the sea around Ireland.
> 11. Conn, Eogan, noble Arade / they are the descendants of the three rulers / Arade — in Emain without blemish, / Conn Cetchatach — in Temair.
> 12. Eogan on the Caisil of kings / there his lineage established itself. / So its with these dynasties, here and there, / that every historian should correlate every noble lineage.[1]

The prose text of the prologue follows the sequence of events as presented in the poem but adds some additional detail.

Unfortunately, we cannot be sure that these facts formed part of the original revolt legend, which underlies *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile*. We read:

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[1] The English translation is my own based on Thurneysen 1917: 56-7; see full text and translation in the Appendix.

Bai fodord mor ic athechthuathaib Erenn i n-aimsir tri rig n-Erenn .i. Fiacho Findolaig ⁊ Feic mac Fideic Caich ⁊ Bres mac Firb. <...> Ba hadbal tra ⁊ ba dírím truma in chísa ⁊ met na cana ⁊ fortamlaighe in fhlaithiusa laisna tri ríghaibh sin for aitheachaib Erend. <...> Ba sí iarom comairle ro-chinnset ann sin .i. fledh do thargud do thig Cairpri Chinn Chait .i. co Bruidin Maic Da-Réo i mBreifne ⁊ a tigernadhu do thochuiriudh chuici do shaighidh na fleidhe ⁊ bás do immbeirt forro ⁊ in ríge do beith acu fein. <...> Fuair Corpre bás iar tain ⁊ tarcatur fir Erenn righe do Morann dia mac. Ro-ráidh immurro Morann na-gebadh hí, ar nírbo toich dó í. 'Ceist cidh do-genam diu' ar iat. 'Ro-fetur sa' ar Morann 'aní as coir ann .i. tri comarbai Erenn filet a nAlbain .i. Feradhach Find Fechtnach ⁊ Corb Aulom ⁊ Tipraite Tireach, ⁊ tiagar ara cenn da ríghadh uainde, air is dóibh as toich'. - 'Is maith amhlaidh' or cach (Thurneysen 1917: 60-9).

There was a great murmur among the vassal tribes of Ireland in the time of the three kings: Fiachu Finnolach, Feig son of Fideg Caich, and Bress son of Ferb... The burden of tax, and the amount of tribute, and the hardness of the rule of these three kings were great and unbearable for the vassal tribes of Ireland... This was the project that they invented at that time: to arrange a feast at the house of Cairpre Cindchat, that is in the hostel of Da-Réo in Breifne, and to invite the lords to partake of it, and to kill them in order to have all the authority to themselves... Afterwards Coirpre died, and the men of Ireland proposed Morann, his son, to take the kingdom. Morann, however, said that he cannot accept it since it is not his by right. "What should we do then?" they asked. "I know," said Morann. "Those who have the right, they are the three heirs of Ireland who dwell in Scotland: Feredach Find Fechtnach, Corb Aulomm, and Tipraide Tirech. You should send to them in order to place the kingdom in their hands, since it is theirs by right." "That would be right," said everybody (the English translation is my own).

The heirs return and make the same pact with the vassal tribes as the one described in the poem. In the introduction as it stands, the poem is attached at the end of the prose text to corroborate the information contained in it.

3. Comparison of *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* with the Varangian legend in Russian Primary Chronicle and some preliminary conclusions

It seems that the tale of the rebellion of the vassal tribes and of the subsequent return of the rulers can be schematised as follows:

1. A group of tribes is in a state of dependence towards some ruling class, which is not of the same stock as themselves. That is, the noble lineages of Ireland are not the noble lineages of the vassal tribes: for some reason the vassal tribes had lost their own ruling dynasties and afterwards were obliged to pay tribute to kings of other *túatha*.

2. Being dissatisfied with the state of affairs, the vassal tribes overthrow the ruling class which is massacred except for three pregnant women who flee from Ireland overseas to Scotland.

3. The vassal tribes left with no proper ruler try to govern themselves, but they suffer hardships on account of their crime ('it was a deprivation for them of all kinds: of grain, milk, tree mast and other plants').

4. After having lived for some time in these circumstances, the vassal tribes are overcome with repentance for what they had done and decide to install proper rulers who can be accepted by the land of Ireland.

5. The envoys sent overseas ask the princes to return to Ireland.

6. The three princes and the vassal tribes constitute a pact.

7. The new kings divide Ireland among themselves and become the ancestors of the Irish ruling dynasties.

It appears that the legend of the summoning of the Varangians can be schematised in the same way without losing its any essential constituent parts:

1. *A group of tribes is in a state of dependence towards some ruling class, which is not of the same stock as themselves:*
'The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves', and the Krivichians.'

2. *Being dissatisfied with the state of affairs, the vassal tribes overthrow the ruling class which is forced to flee overseas:*
'The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea...'

3. *The vassal tribes left with no proper ruler try to govern themselves, but are unsuccessful:* '...refusing them further tribute, [they] set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another.'

4. *The vassal tribes have repentance for what they had done and decide to find a proper ruler:* 'They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us and judge us according to the Justice."'

5–6. *The envoys sent overseas ask the rulers to come to Rus'*:
'They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian to the Rus'... "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us."'

It is to be noted that for Mel'nikova and Petrukhin (1995: 54) this episode is also the moment of the establishment of a pact. They see Russian equivalents of the verbs 'rule' and 'reign' (Rus. *knyazhit'*; *volodet'*) as legal terms which point to the fact that this pact was not an invention of the chronicler but a genuine historical fact. It seems, however, that this is not a conclusive argument. In the Irish text, the vassal tribes give pledges (OI *rátha*) to the new rulers. The word *ráth* is a well-established legal term in the Old Irish legal tradition, and still this does not render the episode all the more historical. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to stress the importance of the motif of a treaty in this text. Apparently, it is significant that in the beginning of the summoning tale the Varangians merely exacted tribute from Slavic tribes. This does not suggest a state of chaos, but we may speak of a substitution of a new and better treaty for the old state of affairs.

7. *The new kings divide the land in three parts among themselves, and one of them becomes the ancestor of the Russian ruling dynasty:* 'The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, at Beloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. ... After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority.'

These apparent and strong similarities between the two tales of overthrowing and re-establishing of ruling elite induce us to consider three different questions:

(a) First, how this similarity is to be explained?

(b) Secondly, does it shed any light on the Irish text?

(c) Thirdly, should we not reconsider the meaning of the relevant episode in the Russian Primary Chronicle?

In discussing the origin of this similarity, it is important to note that the two texts are representatives of roughly the same genre: the aetiology of the ruling dynasty and of the political system as a whole. Here I follow the typological hypothesis of Mel'nikova and Petrukhin. Also, if we wish to follow the typological line we can notice that the tale of Feradach as contained in the prologue to Recension A of *Audacht Morainn* is only one of the two versions of the tale of the vassal tribes. Accordingly, we can suppose that it was an instance of recombination of a set of motifs that produced these two versions, and, consequently, that they both have nothing in common with the Russian chronicle except for those motifs.

However, it is hardly possible from a purely statistical point of view for an instance of free recombination of not less than *seven* motifs to produce two structurally identical texts in two different traditions. Additionally, we can take into consideration the fact that the notion of the law of the ruler, the *fír flathemon* concept which plays central part in *Audacht Morainn*, *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (Knott 1936), and in some later texts such as the saga about the king Niall Frossach from the Book of Leinster (Wiley 2005), has some peculiar characteristics in the Irish tale of the vassal tribes. There it has nothing to do with justice or judgments and is simply a property of royal succession or stable political system. Unfortunately, the number of missing links between the Irish and the Russian texts is too overwhelming to make any plausible suggestions as to the origin and the dissemination of the tale of overthrowing and summoning of a ruler.[2]

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[2] Cf. an ideologically analogous though structurally different episode from *The Life of Apollonius* (between 217 and 238 AD) by Flavius Philostratus: "'There was then," [Apollonius] said, "a time when the Ethiopians, an Indian race, dwelt in this country, and when Ethiopia as yet was not; but Egypt stretched its borders beyond Meroe and the cataracts, and on the one side included in itself the fountains of the Nile, and on the other was only bounded by the mouths of the river.

Well, at that time of which I speak, the Ethiopians lived here, and were subject to King Ganges, and the land was sufficient for their sustenance, and the gods watched over them; but when they slew this king, neither did the rest of the Indians regard them as pure, nor did the land permit them to remain upon it; for it spoiled the seed which they sowed in it before it came into ear, and it inflicted miscarriages on their women, and it gave a miserable feed to their flocks; and

Turning to the analysis of the Irish text we see that the narrative device of 'natural punishment' turned from an unjust king to his felonious people seems to be one of the means of resolving the problem of regicide, which was widely discussed in the Middle Irish period (see O'Connor 2006). Thus, as Ralph O'Connor shows (2006: 142), in *Immram Snégdusa ocus Maic Riagla* written not long after 1090, the same crime is not actually punished: sixty couples of Fir Rois tribe who had killed their oppressive king Fíachu were set adrift in the sea and eventually received by God in the blessed isles where Enoch and Elijah live.

Finally, I suppose that the traditional interpretation of the tale of the summoning of the Varangians as a simple exposition of the beginnings of the Russian state can be corrected. Perhaps, it is not only an aetiological tale, but also a moral tale: the established political order cannot be changed by force, and the ruler cannot be chosen from among the base unruly people themselves. The tale of the origin of the ruling dynasty, which was to thrive in Russia up to the times of the political turmoil at the beginning of the seventeenth century, also had a legitimising aspect to it: the dynasty did not simply appear, but it was the only rightful one, and its claim on the peoples of Rus' was supported not only by the traditional, but also by the supernatural sanction.

Russian State University for the Humanities,
Moscow

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wherever they tried to found a city, it would give way sink down under their feet. Nay more, the ghost of Ganges drove them forward on their path, a haunting terror to their multitude, and it did not quit them until they atoned to earth by sacrificing the murderers who had shed the king's blood with their hands.

Now this Ganges it seems, was ten cubits high, and in personal beauty excelled any man the world had yet seen, and he was the son of the river Ganges; and when his own father inundated India, he himself turned the flood into the Red Sea, and effected a reconciliation between his father and the land, with the result that the latter brought forth fruits in abundance for him when living, and also avenged him after death..."' (Conybeare 1912, vol I: 271–273).

Appendix

1. Full Old Russian text of the summoning legend from the Laurentian chronicle (Karsky 1926):

Въ лѣт . ҂ѕ҃ . т . ѯ҃ . з҃ ⁖ [6367 (859)] [И]маху дань Варѧзи изъ заморьꙗ . на Чюди и на Словѣнех . на Мери . и на всѣхъ Кривичѣхъ . а Козари имаху на Полѧнѣх̂ . и на Сѣверѣх̂ . и на Вѧтичѣхъ . имаху по бѣлѣи вѣверицѣ ѿ дъıма <...> [В лѣт . ҂ѕ҃ . т҃ . о҃ .] [6370 (862)] Изъгнаша Варѧги за море и не даша имъ дани . и почаша сами в собѣ володѣти . и не бѣ в нихъ правдъı . и въста родъ на родъ . [и] бъıша в них̂ усобицѣ . и воєвати почаша сами на сѧ [и] рѣша сами в себѣ . поищемъ собѣ кнѧзѧ . иже бъı володѣлъ нами . и судилъ по праву . [и] идаша за море къ Варѧгомъ к Руси . сице бо сѧ звахуть и . варѧзи суть . ꙗко се друзии зъвутсѧ Свое . друзии же Оурмане . Анъглане друзи Гъте . тако и си рѣша . Русь . Чюдь [и] Словѣни . и Кривичи. всѧ землѧ наша велика и ѡбилна . а нарѧда в неи нѣтъ . да поидѣте кнѧжитъ и володѣти нами . и изъбрашасѧ . г҃ . братьꙗ . с родъı своими. [и] поꙗша по собѣ всю Русь . и придоша старѣишии Рюрикъ [сѣде Новѣгородѣ] . а другии Синеоусъ на Бѣлѣѡзерѣ . а третии Изборьстѣ . Труворъ . [и] ѿ тѣхъ [Варѧгъ] прозвасѧ Рускаꙗ землѧ Новугородьци ти суть людьє Нооугородьци ѿ рода Варѧжьска . преже бо бѣша Словѣни . по дву же лѣту . Синеоусъ оумре . а брать єго Труворъ . и приꙗ власть Рюрикъ . и раздаꙗ мужемъ своимъ грады . ѡвому Полотескъ ѡвому Ростовъ другому Бѣлоѡзеро . и по тѣмъ городомъ суть находници Варѧзи а перьвии насельници в Новѣгородѣ Словѣне . [въ] Полотьски Кривичи . в Ростовѣ Мерѧ . в Бѣлѣѡзерѣ Весь . в Муромѣ Мурома . и тѣми всѣми ѡбладаше Рюрикъ.

2. English translation (following Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953):
Year 6367 (859). The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves', and the Krivichians. But the Khazars imposed it upon the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians, and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth.
6368–6370 (860–862). The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us and judge us according to the Justice." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian, to the Rus': because they were called so and they were Varangians, just as some are called Swedes, and others Normans, English, and Gotlanders. The Chuds, the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Ves' then said to the people of Rus', "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it.

Come to rule and reign over us." Three brothers were selected, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Rus' and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, at Beloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of Rus'. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforetime they were Slavs. After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority.

He assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves', in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts.

3. *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* (Thurneysen 1917: 56-7):

1. Soerchlanda Erenn uile
ro-marbtha la oenduine
acht na tri maic monar ngle
at-rullatar o Choirpre.

2. Torrcha at-rullatar uadh sair
a maithrecha na mac sin
conid and ructha is tír thair
íar ríachtain doib i n-Albain.

3. Feradach Find Fechtnach Fail
Corb Aúlom a Mumain mair
is Tipraite Tírech thall
it é sin a comanmann.

4. Ingen ríg Alban cen ail
ba sí mathair Feradaig
Bane ba hed ainm na mna
ingen Luaith meic Darera.

5. Crufe ingen Gartníat gluair
ro-gab Bretnu cosin mbuaid
maithir Coirb Auloim cen ail
as a sil fil i Mumain.

6. Ingen rig Saxan ní sneid
maithir in Tipraiti thréin
Ane a ainm oca a taig
ingen cuinde Cainídail.

7. Do-ronsat comairli cain
athig Erenn in tan sin
uair tallad forro as cach mud
ith blicht mes ocus torud.

8. ’Sí comairle ro-chinnset
aithrech léo aní ro-millset
togairm na mac monar nglé
dia n-oirdned i n-airdrige.

9. Do-ratsat ratha co tenn
athechthúatha na hÉrenn
im réir na mac batar tair
acht co-tístais a hAlbain.

10. It é ratha tucsat ind
nem talam ésca grian grind
immo reir a beinn i mbeinn
cein maras muir im Erinn.

11. Cond Eogan Araide an
it é ciniud na tri mál
Araide i n-Emain cen ail
Cond Cétchthach i Temair.

12. Eogan i Caisiul na rig
is and tarastar a shil
conid fríu sin síu is tall
samlas in suí cach soerchland.

4. English translation:

1. The noble lineages of the whole of Ireland / they were all killed by one man / except for three sons ― the clear deed ―/ they escaped Cairpre.

2. The pregnant ones fled from him to the East / these mothers of these sons / so they were born there in the Eastern country / after they came to Scotland.

3. Feredach Find Fechtnach of Ireland / Cord Aulomm from great Munster / and Tipraide Tirech there / These are their nicknames.

4. The daughter of the king of Scotland without blemish / she was the mother of Feredach / Baine, that was the name of the woman / the daughter of Luath son of Darera.

5. Cruibe, the daughter of the splendid Gartnia, / she captured the Britons with this victory, / the mother of Corb Aulomm without blemish / her descendants live in Munster.

6. The daughter of the king of the Saxons ─ that is not insignificant ─ / the mother of the strong Tipraide / Aine was her name when she fled / surrounded by maidservants daughter of Camdal.

7. They made a fair counsel / the vassal tribes of Ireland at that time / because it was a deprivation for them of all kinds: / of grain, milk, tree mast and other plants.

8. On this counsel they decided ─ / they had repentance of what they performed ─ / to send a call to the sons ─ the clear deed ─ / in order to proclaim them the high-kings.

9. They gave a firm pledge / the vassal tribes of Ireland / according to the will of the sons who were in the East / to make them return from Scotland.

10. These are the pledges that they gave then: / the sky, the earth, the beautiful sun, / that everything would be according to their will from one mountain to the other / until there is the sea around Ireland.

11. Conn, Eogan, noble Arade / they are the descendants of the three rulers / Arade ─ in Emain without blemish, / Conn Cetchatach ─ in Temair.

12. Eogan on the Caisil of kings / there his lineage established itself. / So its with these dynasties, here and there, / that every historian should correlate every noble lineage.

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Part II:
Invited Papers

FINTAN MAC BÓCHRA:
IRISH SYNTHETIC HISTORY REVISITED[1]

GRIGORY BONDARENKO

0. Introduction. Fintan's name and his role in *Airne Fíngein*

Fintan mac Bóchra is one of the characters in Early Irish tradition who act as the self-sufficient centre of their own mythological situation. He figures prominently as a plot-making protagonist in a number of Irish texts serving as a main character of a particular tale or a plot. Celtic scholars have extensively discussed Fintan, and have expressed many opposing views concerning him. Starting with the most influential opinions: he has been taken to be 'the Otherworld god' (not surprisingly: O'Rahilly 1946: 319), as a primordial human being of Irish tradition (Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux 2005: 322)[2] or as a synthetic apocryphal being, the product of monastic learning (McCone 1991: 199). In my view it would not be sufficient merely to say that he combines all these features before a proper reassessment of this character.

Let us start with the name the meaning of which was possibly significant for the audience at a certain period. T. F. O'Rahilly in his stimulating discussion of Fintan and related matters gives two etymologies of his name — one K. Meyer's and one of his own. K. Meyer suggested that the name *Finten* (later *Fintan*) is derived from common Celtic **Vindo-senos* 'weiss(haarig) und alt' (through *Find-shen*) (Meyer 1912: 791)[3] ('the white ancient' in O'Rahilly's interpretation). Meyer considered this name to be a dvandva compound. I have to note that to my knowledge the early Old Irish form *Finten* does not occur in connection with the character discussed (it also has to be stressed that Finten/Fintan is

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[1] I am grateful to John Carey and Iwan Wmffre for their suggestions and corrections to this article, and especially to Dr Carey's convincing and strong arguments in favour of Fintan's synthetic and complex nature. Nevertheless I am solely responsible for all misrepresentations and faults left in the text.

[2] Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux's definition of a 'primordial man' is important for our subsequent discussion: 'l'expression s'applique à un ancêtre ou un archetype qui, analogue en cela aux patriarches bibliques, est le premier représentant d'une race, d'un peuple ou d'une classe sociale. Les hommes primordiaux… ont permis la transmission du savoir originel' (2005: 398).

[3] The name is likely to be attested in inverted form in the name of the great sow of Welsh tradition, *Henwen* < *Senuvindá*. The same name occurs several times as that of a man in the form *Henwyn* (Bromwich 2006: n. 26, 398).

a well-known personal name in early Christian Ireland). Fintan's old age (*-*senos*) semantically corresponds to his function as the oldest man in Ireland. This etymology is widely accepted by Celtic scholars. Nevertheless O'Rahilly gives his own variant, noting that *Vindo-* + *sh* gives *Find* in *Findabair* and **Vindo-senos* might have given **Findan* (**Finnan*) rather than *Fintan.* He derives the name from **Vindo-tenos*, "of which the second component may be a form of *tene* or *ten,* 'fire'" (O'Rahilly 1946: 319). O'Rahilly's arguments were followed by H. Meroney's remark in his review of J. Vendryes' edition of *Airne Fíngein*, when he proposed to view the second element of the name as *tan* 'time' (Meroney 1953-58: 247; Meroney here followed D'Arbois de Jubainville's hypothesis who suggested a meaning 'white time', Mac Neill 1981: 33). The white colour of Fintan's name has strong association with the priestly, sacred class in many Indo-European traditions and is associated with druids' and *filid'*s names in Irish material, see for example: *Find Fili*, *Finnachta mac Ollamon*, *Findoll*, *Laidcenn* ('snow-head') (Kalygin 2003: 94-95; DIL s.v. *ladg*). Moreover the colour has certain associations with vision and knowledge as the Common Celtic nominal base **vindo-* 'white' derives from the IE root **u̯eid-* 'to see (clearly), to know' with nasal infix (Delamarre 2003: 321; Kalygin 2002: 110). On the basis of these associations V. Kalygin takes Fintan to be one of the numerous personifications and late transformations of an archaic deity *Find* who possesses and imposes hidden knowledge (Kalygin 2002: 110). We shall try to show that the nature of Fintan mac Bóchra is more complex.

Material concerning Fintan in Early Irish literature appears to be divided into several compact sub-stories; although belonging to the same tradition, each of these is self-sufficient and functions as a plot on its own. The earliest surviving variant of his story occurs in the Old Irish tale *Airne Fíngein* ('Fíngen's Night-Watch'), assigned by Vendryes to the ninth or tenth century. Here Fintan figures as one of the *búada* ('wonders, gifts') attending the birth of the future king Conn Cétchathach; even if these two mythological characters are not otherwise associated with each other, all of Fintan's qualities as a renowned sage and a keeper of tradition are somehow dependant on this event. The tale of Fintan's wonderful 'transformation' is related to Fíngen by the fairy woman Rothníam:

'Ocus cid búaid n-aile, a ben ?' or Fingen. 'Ní *hansa*,' or in ben, '.i. Finntan mac Bochra **maic Ethiar maic Ruaill maic Amda maic Caim maic Nóe** ro ír **Día dó**, in Rí úasal, conid ard-brithem in chentair im ecna. ⁊ atá i n-amlabrai (**.i. nírbó maith a erlabra ce ro boí oca**) ón uair ro cúala tonngar na díle*nn* fri tóib slébe Oilifet, ⁊

sé for Tul Tunne i n-íarthardeisciurt Éir*enn*. Arróegraind a urlabra
⅂ f*or*rálaig co r-rabi i n-a chotlud céin boí in díliu forsin bith, ⅂ atá
cen sholabra ó sin ille cosinnocht ; ⅂ forralgadh fírinne Éirenn ⅂ a
coimhghne ⅂ a fáitsine ⅂ a senchus ⅂ a dligeda córa cusanocht. Fo
dháigh is é óenfher ***fírén*** forfhácaib in díliu dia héis. Is innocht
dorroíded (.i. ro foíded) ón Choimdid spirut saineamail faitsine i r-
richt ***máeth***-óclaíg, co n-ecmaing builliu i n-a béolu di gaí gréine,
co r-raibe tria chlais a dá chúlad, co fil ***secht slabraid nó*** secht
solabra ***filed*** for a t[h]engaid iar sin. ***Corub anocht ra foillsiged***
senchus ⅂ ***coimgne. Conid de asbreth "ferr tuí báethlabrai"'***
(Vendryes 1953: 5-7).[4]

"And what other gift, o woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard," said the
woman. "i.e. Finntan, son of Bochra, ***son of Ethiar, son of Ruall,***
son of Amda, son of Ham, son of Noah, God, the High King
granted him that he became a chief judge in this world as for his
wisdom. And he is mute (***i.e. his speech was not good although he***
could speak) from the time that he heard the wave-roar of the Flood
against the side of Mt. Olivet, while he was on Tul Tuinde in the
Southwest of Ireland. His speech was taken away from him and he
has hidden himself and was asleep as long as the Flood was upon
the world, and he was without good speech from that time onward
until tonight; and the truth of Ireland, her inherited knowledge, her
prophecy, her tradition, her just laws were hidden until tonight. For
he is the only ***righteous*** man that the Flood left behind it. Tonight a
beautiful spirit of prophecy in the shape of a ***gentle*** youth has been
sent from the Lord, and a ray of the sun hits Fintan in his lips and it
has extended through the trench of the back of his neck so that there
are ***seven chains or*** seven good speeches ***of filid*** on his tongue
since that time. ***And tonight the tradition and inherited knowledge***
was revealed. So that it was told 'silence is better than foolish
speech'".

Before commenting on this passage from *AF* it is worth mentioning H.
Meroney's suggestions in his review of J. Vendryes' edition of the text.
Meroney seems to take Fíngen and Fintan as functionally one and the
same character and derives Fíngen's name from **Vindo-genos* (Meroney
1953-58: 247). A more reliable basis for associating these characters,

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[4] I established my edition of the passage on the basis of the four MSS in which the tale is
contained (Book of Fermoy (A), Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (B), D IV 2 (D), and Book of
Lismore (L)) and thus it differs from the Vendryes's edition. For *variae lectiones*, see
Appendix. Emphasis in original text and in translation is mine.

apart from a presumed onomastic similarity, is that it is Fintan who enumerates the wonders of Conn's birth in the *Dinnshenchas* of Temair Lúachra (Gwynn 1991: 238). These associations seem to be too far fetched, effective only at the level of *AF* and its plot, given that different etymologies as well as different roles played by these two protagonists are rather obvious. Note also a consistency in spelling of Fintan's name in *AF* – *Findtan* (D), *Finntan* (L), *Findtan* (A), *Finntán* (B) – which seems to point to a formation different from O.Ir. *Finten*.

Fintan's genealogy from Ethiar to Noah is omitted in D and L. If we accept the original form *mac Bochra*, we can take his genealogy as the interpolation intended to link antediluvian Fintan with Noah and Old Testament tradition. The late nature of this interpolation where Bochra is taken as Fintan's father's name is supported by the fact that Bochra is attested as a female name applied to a mother of three saints in the genealogies (Ó Riain 1985: 722.36).

It is significant that Fintan is called here a 'chief judge' (*ard-brithem*), which corresponds to the highest known status of judges in Ireland (Kelly 1991: 52). Fintan's acquired status seems to be even more important when we meet Samuel the prophet – the last of the judges of Israel – giving Fintan his speech and memory (?) a few lines below.

1. Mount Olivet and Samuel the prophet

In the passage discussed we encounter a unique account of Fintan's escape from the Flood, which corresponds to the *LG* version only insofar as it makes the old sage the only person in Ireland to have survived the Deluge. Fintan became mute from the shock he experienced at hearing the wave-roar of the Flood at the side of what is called mount *Oilifet*. J. Vendryes, Ch.-J. Guyonvarc'h, and S. Shkunaev left the meaning and significance of this place-name unexplained in their commentaries on the passage (Vendryes 1953: 36-37; Guyonvarc'h 1980: 197 ; Shkunaev 1991: 146). It is only in T. P. Cross and A. C. L. Brown's translation of *AF* that they have rendered this place name correctly as Mount Olivet (Mount of Olives), although they did not comment on this rather strange location (Cross & Brown 1918: 36). *Slíab Oilifet* is definitely the same as 'Mount Olivet' from King James Bible, in later translations of the Bible called the Mount of Olives. Mount of Olives is situated on the heights east of Jerusalem and is separated from the Temple Mountain by the Kidron Valley. It is rarely mentioned in the Old Testament and is mostly associated with the closing years of the life of Jesus Christ. Both Old Irish

Oilifet and English *Olivet* derive from Latin *Olivetum* 'olive grove' (Hastings 1963: 711).[5]

What is the significance of Mount Olivet here, if any? It has evidently no connotations with the Flood in the Bible and could have been introduced just due to its New Testament role. Nevertheless we note that the Mount of Olives first appears in the Old Testament in II Samuel (II Reg.) 15.30 when King David, anointed by Samuel, went up the mountain symbolising his descendant's future ascension. The action takes place after the death of Samuel the prophet, who also appears in our passage; but still its account is given in the Second Book of Samuel and is associated with the king chosen by Samuel. This is probably the reason for Mount Olivet and Samuel the prophet figuring in the same account.

Another possible clue to the role of the Mount of Olives in our passage, its association with the Deluge and the universal catastrophe, lies in Old Testament eschatology (Zechariah 14.4-21). According to Zechariah it is from Mount Olivet that Doomsday shall begin: 'And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley'. Especially important is the description of an eschatological flood when 'living waters shall go out from Jerusalem' (sic!) (Zech. 14.8; *et erit in die illa exibunt aquae vivae de Hierusalem*, Vulgate). It seems that in the Irish text, evidently much influenced by the Old Testament, time is concatenated, and the primordial Deluge shows qualities of the eschatological one.

There are further Old Testament motifs and borrowings in our passage. According to A and B the spirit of Samuel the prophet makes his appearance before Fintan in the shape of a gentle youth. The image of Samuel's spirit is taken from a well-known episode in I Samuel (I Reg.) 28.11-13 when the spirit of Samuel appears before King Saul and denies God's help to him. The author/redactor of *AF* obviously has not meant this episode when introducing Samuel's spirit in his account. It is just the idea that Samuel's spirit is known from the scriptures, which made the plot to take this form. The image of Samuel's spirit was well known among early Irish monastic *literati*. One early example of this image's use as a topos is found in the work of Augustinus Hibernicus 'On the Miracles of the Holy Scripture' (*De mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*) written in the year 655 in the monastery of Lismore. The author compares Elijah's appearance beside Christ on the Mount of Olives to the apparition of Samuel and ponders on the nature of this vision: 'or did he (Elijah —

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[5] Cf. *eclas na fresgabála* ('church of Ascension') on top of *Sliabh n-Olifet* (*Leabhar Brecc* 158).

G.B.) put on an illusory semblance taken from the air, as Samuel was seen?' (*an ex aere simulatum, sicut Samuel visus est, habitum fingebat?*, Migne 1841: 2198; Carey 1998: 71). This gives us an idea how Samuel's spirit was perceived and what functions it might acquire in Early Irish monastic circles.

Nevertheless a reading peculiar to A and B cannot be part of the original text, a principle which I have followed above when treating words and phrases found only in those two MSS as later insertions. Also neither L nor D with their different readings can preserve the original reading here. We only tentatively reconstruct *saineamail faitsine* based on *saineamail faisdine* in D. As advised by J. Carey it seems that the AB reading goes back to an incorrect expansion, with minim confusion, of *sain- fáth-*. The spirit of prophecy possibly represents here a more native phenomenon, similar to 'the spirit of wisdom/poetry' attested also in Cormac's Glossary and in *Cóir Anmann* (Meyer 1912: 94). Samuel's introduction on the whole still seems to be justified by the pre-existing exegetical tradition.

2. The spear of the sun

After Samuel's spirit had descended in the shape of the youth the narrative of *AF* turns to another feature and describes as if it were the revelation proper. Fintan's lips are hit by a ray of the sun (*co n-ecmaing builliu i n-a béolu di gaí gréine, co r-raibe tria chlais a dá chúlad*, lit. 'so that a blow from a ray of the sun strikes into his mouth and it (a ray – G.B.) was through the trench of his neck'). The expression *gáe gréine* deserves further discussion. It is obviously a fixed expression meaning 'a ray of the sun'. At the same time one has to stress that it literally means 'a spear of the sun'. I cannot find any other example in Early Irish literature where the literal meaning is so close to the semantics of the expression as in our example from *AF*. It looks as if the spear of the solar substance has extended from Fintan's mouth to the back part of his neck. And then speech, memory, and knowledge are manifested.

The notion of knowledge revealed by the sun is a common feature for early Irish thought and seems to have certain native elements in its origin. Nevertheless, as noticed by J. Carey (1999: 34), this image appears also in the hagiography evidently borrowed from the Continental ecclesiastical sources. In his Life of St. Columba, Adomnán ascribes to the saint thoughts on the nature of revelation to the chosen ones:

> *Totum totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu ociani et caeli, uno eodemque momento quasi* **sub uno solis radio**, *mirabiliter* **laxato mentis sinu**, *clare et manifestissime speculentur*,

The mind's limits being miraculously loosened, they clearly and most plainly behold the whole of the earth, together with the circuit of the ocean and the heavens, in one single moment, as if beneath a single **ray of the sun**.

(Anderson 1991: I.43, 78)[6]

The immediate source of this image is to be found in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (540?-604) as first shown by G. Brüning (1917: 250). Almost identical expressions deal here with the same matter of revelation to the chosen ones and their universal perception afterwards: *omnis etiam mundus velut **sub uno solis radio** collectus, ante oculos eius adductus est…quia ipse luce visionis intimae **mentis laxatur sinus**…* (II.35); *Qui…, **mentis laxato sinu**, quasi **sub uno solis radio** cunctum in suis oculis collectum mundum vidit* (IV.8) (De Vogüé & Antin 1979: 238, 240; 1980: 42).

Here we encounter a notion of revelation of the transcendent knowledge in a single moment which is familiar to the both Insular Celtic medieval literatures (cf. the story how Taliesin acquired his superior knowledge from the three drops of the marvellous cauldron (Ford 1992: 65-67)). This notion implies the potential existence of eternity in any single moment or place in the world, which needs only a special circumstance to become manifest (Carey 1999: 34-35).[7] One has to be aware of the influence of Continental European Christian thought here, although there is probably not enough evidence that the meaning of *gáe gréine* has been borrowed. Semantic connotations attached to *gáe gréine* as a set phrase and its widespread use in Old and Middle Irish sources implies native origin. Cf. as Iwan Wmffre suggests, W. *paladr* 'spear, spear shaft' also meant '(sun's) ray', later, by the seventeenth century, in the same meaning of 'ray' the original pl. form *pelydr* became a singular and a new plural *pelydrau* emerged.

It seems also that the revelation experienced after the influence of the *gáe gréine* is similar in nature to the phenomenon of *imbus gréine* 'the great knowledge of the sun' referring mostly to poetical inspiration and described in O'Davoren's glossary in the article on *tascar* (the language is late Middle Irish):

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[6] The same description is found in the opening chapter of *Vita Columbae*: *in aliquantis dialis gratiae speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur* (I, 1).

[7] J. Carey ponders here on the similar nature of the Irish Otherworld, the very title of his collection of essays *A single ray of the sun* owes to the above-mentioned quotation from Adomnán.

> *imbus gréine .i. bolg greine imfuilnges in grian for na luibhibh ┐ cidh be caithis iat bidh dan aigi* (Stokes & Meyer 1904: 477 § 1569).
>
> Great knowledge of the sun i.e. the bubble of the sun which the sun produces on the herbs, and who consumes them will have a poetic gift.

The expression *gáe gréine* from our passage in its turn is used as a legal term in Irish laws. It is for some reason mentioned in the 'sequel' to *Críth Gablach* as a term for one of the lower classes in Early Irish society, *aithech baitse*, who is called *gáe gréine* because of his light legal rights (Laws IV 352).[8]

As J. Carey informs me, the ray that goes to the back of Fintan's head may be connected with the statement in *Cath Maighe Rath* that it was specifically the loss of his *inchinn cúil* 'back brain' which gave Cenn Faelad his powers of heightened remembrance (O'Donovan 1842: 282.6). This in turn is probably to be associated with the view in traditional psychology/physiology that memory is located at the back of the head (see also a passage from *Bretha Déin Chécht* in the section below).

3. Seven chains, seven eloquences

The gift was revealed and Fintan received seven chains on his tongue. Only two manuscripts speak of *secht slabraid* (A and B); D and L mention only *secht solabra* 'seven eloquences'. Taking stemmatic considerations into account only it may seem that *secht slabraid* is a later explanation of *secht solabra*, which has appeared due to phonetic resemblance. The image of the seven chains, notwithstanding their apparent later insertion, was commented upon by J. Vendryes and Ch.-J. Guyonvarc'h, who recalled the description of Celtic Hercules, or Ogmios, in the short text by Lucian 'Heracles', which was probably written down on the basis of recollections of his visit to the Rhône valley (Vendryes 1953: 39; Guyonvarc'h 1980: 198). There are several striking features that remind us of Lucian's description (second century AD) and not only the chains. Lucian starts with a Celtic (Gaulish) name for Heracles, Ogmios, and describes his appearance on a certain painting (which would be quite unusual for a Celtic image): 'he is extremely old, bald-headed, except for a few lingering hairs which are quite grey,… and he is burned as black as can be' (cf. **Vindo-senos* 'weiss(haarig) und alt'). Then follows a description of golden and amber chains attached to the tip of his tongue, it is with these chains that Ogmios drags a great crowd of men 'who are all

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[8] I mean here only that the ray of the sun is a very light and subtle substance.

tethered by the ears'. Somehow unnaturally a Celt at Lucian's elbow explains to him the meaning of the image (F. Le Roux (1960: 211) has argued that this Celt might have been a druid, as he is called by Lucian a φιλόσοφος). Ogmios, he says, is represented as an old man, 'for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its full vigour in old age' (Harmon 1991: 62, 64, 66).

A rational explanation by a Celt might be no more than Lucian's own speculation, especially as Gaulish *Ogmios* is likely to be derived from *ogmos 'way', cognate with Greek ὄγμος 'chemin, sentier, orbite', Skr. *ájmaḥ*, and Ogmios seems to have the qualities of a 'leader' rather than an 'orator' (Delamarre 2003: 238; Kalygin 2006: 127). At the same time the image of eloquence connected with chains and old age seems to be relevant to Fintan's description. One of course cannot equate Fintan with Gaulish Ogmios or Irish Ogma (especially given that these theonyms have different linguistic and mythological background). On the one hand, Fintan might have acquired here some features of a different mythological character, on the other as a primordial man he has to show features of a cultural hero, as a man first in eloquence and persuasion (although we are not sure whether Fintan's chains were tied to any human beings).

Early Irish literature supplies another parallel both to Lucian's Ogmios and to Fintan's image in *AF*. The Stowe version of the *Táin* preserved a remarkable passage describing a black-haired man with chains from the troops of the Ulaid:

> *Fer dub dian temhnighe temerdha i n-airenach na buidhne sin. Seacd slabhradha ima braghait, moirseser i ccin cacha slabhraidh. Do srenga-som na secht moirseser sin co m-benann a srubha fri talmain, co tabrait athais fair, co fostann… Ercenn tri m-brugaid is é fil is na slabradaibh* (Windisch 1905: 799, 801 (l. 5524-5531)).

> A black, swift, dark man is in front of the host. There are seven chains around his neck and seven men at the end of each chain. He drags those seven times seven men so that their noses strike the earth, and they made reproaches to him, and he stops... Ercenn [son] of three hospitallers is the man with the chains.

This character possesses certain qualities similar to Ogmios (Heracles) such as his black colour, chains attached to him and his strength. At the same time the black man has seven chains around his neck and is surrounded by sevens, in a manner recalling Fintan. Ercenn might be seen as a figure comprising features of Ogmios and Fintan, as a necessary bridge between them, supporting Ogmios' relevance in the analysis of the

Fintan material (as discussed with I. Wmffre, there is also a possibility that Ercenn derives from Heracles; for weakening of suffix consonantism, cf. Sechnall from Secundinus). One important feature though is missing, namely eloquence. Ercenn is shown as a conductor, perhaps as a psychopomp dragging suffering souls to the abode of the dead? Fintan's image lacks these connotations, and one has to stress that both *AF* and *TBC* accounts represent mere distorted reminiscences of the former relevant religious idea (in case we assume that this idea existed in an unique and canonical form).

One has to bear in mind when encountering the sevens in Fintan's passage from *AF* that the importance of this number here may be due both to native and ecclesiastical sources. There is no need further to underline the significance of the number seven in Insular Celtic traditions; it is sufficient to mention the Rees brothers' statement that this odd number makes the even number (six) full as in *mórseser* 'great hexad' (Rees 1973: 201). A specific example of this Irish preoccupation with sevens is found in the eighth century Irish 'Chant of long life' (*Cétnad n-Aíse*), where we encounter 'seven daughters of the sea', 'seven waves', 'seven ages', 'seven candles'. At the same time commenting on this syncretic composition J. Carey suggests an implicit association between the sevens in the poem and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit 'derived by the Fathers of the Church' from the Vulgate text of Isaiah 11:2, while other Irish texts speak of the 'seven-formed Spirit' (*Spirut sechtndelbach*) (Carey 1998: 138).[9] It seems likely that along with native element in the story of Fintan's revelation one can allow Christian reading of the same text. The seven chains then can be explained as seven gifts from the Holy Spirit (the same qualities mentioned in Isaiah), especially when Samuel's spirit (or *spirut saineamail* 'excellent spirit' in D and L) plays an important role in the revelation. There might have been associations with Pentecost as well in terms of acquiring eloquence as a gift from the Holy Spirit. Moreover the theme of a divine gift is expressed in the beginning of the passage (*ro ír in Rí úasal*).

secht solabra (*filed* — D) 'seven eloquences (of poets)' is supported by the testimony of other traditional Irish texts. Caílte, one of the main characters and storytellers in the twelfth century *Acallam na Senórach* ('The Colloquy of the Elders'), exaggerates and expresses his wish operating with the same heptads: 'were there seven tongues in my head, and seven eloquences of the sages in each tongue' (*uair da mbeitís secht*

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[9] Isaiah 11:2: 'And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord'.

tengtha im cind ⊣ *secht solabarta súadh cecha tengad dib*) (Stokes & Windisch 1900: l. 7551).

The most archaic level of the passage from *AF* together with the *LG* evidence of Fintan's sleep in the cave on Tul Tuinde is likely, as will be shown below, to be linked to a pre-Christian initiation ritual. The hollow of the neck (*clais da chulad*) is mentioned among the 'twelve doors of the soul (or of life)' (*da dorus .x. anma*) in the eighth-century law tract *Bretha Déin Chécht* (Binchy 1966: §2A). Physiologically the back of the neck is a fragile spot: a severe blow on which might break the first two bones of the neck and cause death. It is not surprising that this spot is specifically mentioned in Fintan's account.

A striking parallel (and such remote parallels are always striking for a modern scholar) to this type of ritual is found among the Aranda (Arunta) of Central Australia. This people knew one particular way of making a professional medicine man by the *Iruntarinia*, or 'spirits'. The candidate goes to the mouth of a cave and falls asleep. At the break of day (at the sunrise), one of the *Iruntarinia* comes and throws an invisible lance at him, which pierces the neck from behind, passes through the tongue, making a large hole in it, and then comes out through the mouth. The candidate's tongue remains perforated; one can easily put one's little finger through it (Spencer & Gillen 1969: 522-524). It is in a similar way that Fintan of our story becomes a professional judge.

4. The keeper of tradition

Fintan's revelation as described in *AF* is closely connected with the manifestation of the history (*coimgne* 'synchronism'), laws and 'truth' of Ireland. Ireland as it were comes into history from the primordial chaos thanks to Fintan's memory. The ages of her settlers, rulers and warriors appear at once at the birth of the great king and at the time of the revelation to an ancient dumb witness (which is not a contradiction in itself). This cosmological myth refers to a transition from pre-written traditional culture to a new written Christian culture with its deep Classical roots and historical consciousness: from the time when the tradition was hidden to the period of its revelation and fixation. This is another function, which is very important for the understanding of Fintan and his myth in early Irish literature.

The manuscript tradition differs as to what disciplines were manifested within Fintan: the tradition here seems to be less sure (Vendryes 1953: 38). The Book of Lismore gives the reading: *forralgadh fírinne Éirenn* ⊣ *a coimhghne* ⊣ *a fáitsine* ⊣ *a senchus* ⊣ *a dligeda córa cusanocht* ('the truth of Ireland, her history, her prophecy, her tradition, her just laws were hidden until tonight (the night of Conn's birth)'). This

phrase is found only in one manuscript containing *AF* (L, fo. 138a, ll. 29-31). As J. Vendryes (1953: 38) has pointed out, this can be regarded as a secondary addition to the original text, while the earlier version of D IV 2 merely underlines the fact that the *senchus* of Ireland was revealed. On the one hand this addition aims to confirm Conn's position as a *fírfhlaith* and develops the cosmogonic qualities of his birth up to the highest level – the truth is manifested only with the birth of an ideal 'true king'. On the other hand, these disciplines/qualities correspond to Fintan's role as a keeper of historical, legal and moral (*fírinne*) tradition, no matter how recent or synthetic this role might have been.

In this capacity Fintan is known to an early Middle Irish text contained in *Lebor na hUidre* – an apocryphal unfinished account entitled *Cethri arda in domain* ('Four cardinal points of the world') on the four wise men who kept historical knowledge after the Flood in the four quarters of the world; its variant of Fintan's story is later than *AF*'s (pf. 3 sg. *ro chomét* of Mid. Ir. *coimétaid* 'keeps' instead of OIr. pf. 3 sg. *con·roíter* of *con-oí*) , and it is evidently more 'learned' and also pays much attention to Fintan's historical knowledge. I supply here a text from *LU* with my translation:

> *CETHRI arda in domain .i. tair ⁊ tíar tess ⁊ túaid. Bátar dano cethror intib .i. fer cech arda ⁊ is do mórad adamra ⁊ mírbaili dorigni Dia sin .i. d'innisin senchasa ⁊ inganta in betha so síl Ádaim.*
> *Fintan mac Bócra meic Lamíach (ł Fintan mac Libi meic Lamiach)[10] (ł Fintan mac Bóchrai meic Ethiair meic Púail meic Airrda meic Caim meic Noe) [11] is é in tres fer tánic i nErind ría ndilind is eside ro chomét senchasa íarthair in betha .i. i nEspáin ⁊ i nErind ⁊ in cach conair dodeochatár Góedil archena .l. bliadna re ndílind ⁊ .u. c. ⁊ u. m bliadna íar ndilind a aes co n-erbailt ac Dún Tulcha* (LU 10063-10071).

> FOUR cardinal points of the world i.e. East and West, South and North. There were four men in them; i.e. a man in each cardinal point and it is to magnify wonders and miracles that God did that, i.e. to tell the traditions and wonders of the world to the seed of Adam.
> Fintan, son of Bócra, son of Lamech or Fintan, son of Libi, son of Lamech or Fintan, son of Bóchra, son of Ethiair, son of Púal, son of Airrda, son of Ham, son of Noah. He is one of the three men who

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[10] M = Mael Muire.
[11] Interpolator H.

came to Ireland before the Flood, it is he who kept the traditions of the West of the world i.e. in Spain and in Ireland and in every way that the Gaels went besides that. Fifty years before the Flood and five hundred and five thousand years after the Flood: that was his age when he died at Dún Tulcha.

Then follows a short account of three other keepers of tradition in the other cardinal points of the world. The LU version of Fintan's story supports LG's account of the three first men in Ireland before the Flood (in the legends of both of Banba and Cessair). In a characteristic learned manner *Cethri arda in domain* extends Fintan's prerogatives to the whole West. A specific feature is also the inclusion of Gaels into Fintan's myth although Fintan is never associated with this group in other sources. LU's account is evidently a learned apocryphal composition created in monastic circles. Nevertheless, Fintan's figure implies that the whole composition might have been written in order to justify Fintan's unique role in Irish tradition, to make his mission universal. Fintan is counted among the divine *mirabilia*. His supernaturally long life is mentioned in the text but the shape-shifting motif is left untouched (as well as in *AF*). We have traces of Fintan's shape-shifting motif attested in the early Irish poem 'The Colloquy between Fintan and the Hawk of Achill' written by an unknown cleric (Meyer 1907: 24-39). The dialogue is taken place between two most ancient creatures in Ireland (and consequently in the world). They relate to each other histories of their lives and the chronology of events in Ireland. It is significant that this poem mentions Fintan's transformations (or rebirths?) first into salmon, and then into eagle (*ilar*) and hawk (*sebac*) (*Suidigid Teglach Temra* also admits his transformations). The latter two birds are often interchangeable in Irish accounts on the most ancient creatures and consequently we are left with the same pair: the salmon and the hawk – the fish and the bird. In this way one can read the poem as a dialogue of Fintan with himself or with his other shape. Fintan is called here by the hawk 'the poet, and the prophet' (*in fili 'san fáidh*), which reminds Tuán's characteristic as *fáith* and is later supported by other sources. The text gives another version of Fintan's fate after the Deluge and the death of Cessair, Bith, Ladra, and Illann, son of Fintan (thus the author is well aware of Cessair's legend). This version does not include any apocryphal biblical narrative unlike *AF* and is based upon some well-known archaic (local?) beliefs. The Hawk of Achill asks Fintan: 'Tell us now without delay/ The evils and wonders that befell you' (*innis dúinn gan chairde anuis/ na h-uilc is aidhble fúaruis*). Fintan answers: 'At the black out-pouring of the Flood, /The Lord put me, to my misery/ Into the shape of a salmon at every spring' (*ar n-*

dubhdortadh don dílinn/ rom-chuir in Coimdhe dom chrádh/ h-i richt égne ar gach n-úaran) (Meyer 1907: 26). Thus Fintan here escapes the Flood by transformation into a water creature rather than by surviving under ground. The poem 'Temair I' from the metrical *Dindshenchas* is attributed to Fintan, who concludes verses calling himself 'a salmon not of one stream' (*Is mise Fintan fili, nirsam écne óen-lindi*) (Gwynn 1903: 4.41). Rather than taking *écne* symbolically as E. Gwynn one has to reconsider this image in the broader context of the myths discussed.

Finally, *Cethri arda in domain* is the first early Irish text that mentions his death at Dún Tulcha at Kenmare Bay in the Southwest of co. Kerry and correspondingly in the Southwest of Ireland. This direction corresponds to *AF*'s account of Fintan's whereabouts after the Flood (*sé for Tul Tunne i n-íarthardeisciurt Éirenn*). The close correspondence between *Dún Tulcha* and *Tul Tuinde* seems evident enough, although if we follow Vendryes' reading of *for tul* as a complex preposition it makes *Dún Tulcha* attached to our protagonist at a much later date. The Rees brothers have discussed the quality of West Munster in early Irish *imago mundi* and pointed out to its significance as the primeval world, the place of origin (Rees 1973: 135). Fintan's example (of the flood-myth hero and the keeper of tradition) fits in their scheme as well especially bearing in mind that Tul Tuinde also belonged to West Munster, according to the Fir Bolg division of Ireland.

It is to keep the tradition or ancient lore (*senchas*) that Fintan is left alive by God. The D IV 2 variant of *AF* also makes *senchas* the only important matter or discipline to be guarded by the antediluvian wise man. The specific Irish term *senchas* can hardly be translated as a mere 'history'; it is rather connected with the ancient sacred events, laws (*Senchas Már*) or institutions given once and for ages (see Mac Cana 2011: 54-55). Thus the situation described both in *Cethri arda in domain* and in D IV 2 reflects a transitional stage between pre-written culture with its revered and eternal *senchas* and new Christian historical consciousness with its sacred history and linear concept of time. The method of the "restoration" of ancient historical knowledge by revelation can be easily demonstrated in the legends of "finding" such as the *Dindshenchas* (place-lore) found by Amorgen the *fili* or the *Táin* ("The Cattle-Raid of Cuailnge") found by Muirgen the *fili* (Stokes 1894: 277; Best & O'Brien 1967: 1119 (f. 245b)). It is also important with regard to the *Dindshenchas* that it is Fintan mac Bóchra who reveals the hidden place-lore of Ireland to Amorgen, Diarmait's chief poet.

The early Modern Irish tale 'The adventures of Léithin' influenced by earlier 'Fintan and the Hawk of Achill' is another Irish text, which reproduces the scheme of *Cethri arda in domain*. The magic one-eyed

salmon (*Goll*) tells the story of the four men who survived the Flood, one of whom was Fintan. He ascribes this story to wise men (*áirmhíd eoluigh*) and makes Fintan the keeper of kin-group descent (*cineól*) and genealogies (Hyde 1914-1916: 141). Nevertheless this late account proves that LU tradition of Fintan retained its relevance in the learned Irish milieu through the centuries.

It is interesting that the notes by Meredith Hanmer, the late sixteenth century antiquary, give a later and distinct variant of the story of the four antediluvians. In these notes Fintan is said to have been transformed into different forms and shapes (but only the salmon's shape is alluded to). Then we are told: 'The … fower were transformed in fishes that could liue under the water, by the providence of God in the west, north, east, & south' (Smith 1953-58: 212). This fish-transformation motif does not appear in any other Irish text on the four antediluvians and one might ascribe it to the influence of a well-known story about Fintan; on the other hand, given that the variant of *Cethri arda in domain* in LU, the earliest manuscript, has lost its ending, one cannot be sure concerning its fuller content.

G. Keating, writing even later than M. Hanmer, is well aware of the four antediluvians but as a scholar familiar with modern historiographic methods is very sceptical about them. He cites a poem on this matter but stresses that their existence contradicts the Old Testament and the story of Noah (Keating 1902: 148).

Early Irish literati were less preoccupied with such contradictions, especially if they placed their country outside of the confines of the outer world. The Edinburgh *Dindshenchas* of Slíab Betha contain another possible explanation to the story of the four antediluvians from LU. It refers to four protagonists (Bith, Cessair, Ladru and Fintan) only without any mention of Cessair's women. The Flood drowned these four 'as it overtook them at each point' (*ros-baidh in dili amail dos-tarraidh in gach aird*). Now the action takes place in Ireland and these 'heights' or 'points' correspond to the well-known heights in different provinces of Ireland, the island being a world on its own (macrocosm, see Mac Cana 2011: 70). Then follows the standard information that Fintan survived the Flood and delivered knowledge to the following generations: 'he was for a whole year drowned, so that it was he then who entrusted us (?) again' (*robi bliadan lan i mbadhud conid iarum ron-athnai arisi*) (Stokes 1893: 59). It is tempting to see traces of a native myth in this story from the *Dindshenchas*, a myth of the four Irish antediluvians surviving at four cardinal points of Ireland that gave grounds for a learned universal version of the same myth.

It seems that the four antediluvians fitted well into the archaic scheme of the world division. The four quarters of the world are important directions both in medieval European cosmography and in the Irish perception of space. One might assume that the whole story in LU was invented in order to fit the myth of the four antediluvians' wonderful survival into the framework of Biblical and universal history.

Queen's University Belfast

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Appendix

I established my edition of the passage on the basis of the four mss. containing the tale: Book of Fermoy (A), Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (B), D IV 2 (D), and Book of Lismore (L). The established text above is given by me on the basis of these variants and thus differ from Vendryes's edition.

    Variae lectiones: 1. *cid,* ca D; cidh L. *búaid*, buaidh D; .b. L. *n-aile*, .ii. D; naili L. *a ben,* om. ABL. *or Fingen*, or Fingein D; f*or* .f. L; for Fingin A; f*or* Fingin B. *or in ben*, f*or* in ben L; f*or* in b*en* A; f*or* in bean B. *.i. Finntan*, Findtan D; Finntan L; .i. Findtan A; .i. Finntán B. *mac Bochra,* mac Bochrai D; m*ac* Bochru B. 2. *maic Ethiar . . . maic Nóe,* om. DL. *Nóe*, Noe A. *ro ír,* ro ir D; ro fir AB. *diá dó,* om. LAB. *Rí*, ri LB. *uasal,* huasal A; huasul B. *conid,* om. D ; conadh L. *ard-brithem*, airdbreath*em* D; airdbreithemh L; ardbrithemh B. 3. *in chentair im ecna,* eccna in chentair D; an cenntair im ecna L; in centar im ecna A ; ín cenntar im ecna B. ⅂ *ata,* ⅂ ita D ; ata AB ; ár L. *i n-amlabrai*, i n-amlabra D; om. L; ind amlabrai A. *.i. nírbó ... oca,* om. BD. *nírbó,* nir A. *erlabra*, herlabra A. *ce ro*, gia ro L. ita a n-amlabra, add. L. *on uair*, ond uair B. 4. *ro cuala*, rochuala BL ; atchualaidh D. *tonngar,* tondgur A ; todgur B. *na dilenn,* nan dileind B ; na dilind D ; na dilinn L. *toib*, taebh DL; toeb A. *slébe,* slebhe A; slebe B ; sleibi D ; sl-i L. *Oilifet,* Oilefet D ; Olofet AB. *se,* seissium fein D. *for tul,* ic tul AB. *tunne,* tuinne L; tunnei B ; tuindi D. *i n-iarthardeisciurt,* i nd-iarthardeisci*ur*t A ; a n-

iarthardeiscert D ; i nd-iarthar thuaiscirt L; i n-iarthardesciurt B. *Eirenn,* na Herenn DA; na Herend B. 5. *arroegraind . . . rabi,* is annsin bui D. *arroegraind a urlabra,* arroegl- in tonngharnadh L. *forralaig,* forral- L. *co r-rabi*, co raibhi L. *i n-a chotlud,* ina chodlud D; na codl- L; ina cotlud A; ina codlud B. *cein,* cen AB. *boi,* bui L ; bói B. *in diliu,* in dile D, in dili L; ín diliu A; in dilíu B. *forsin bith,* for bith D ; forsin mbith AL. *ata cen sholabra . . . córa cosinnocht,* ata sin a socht o sin i leith ⊣ anocht ro hirslaicedh a irlabra dho do shlun[d]ud shenchusa Erenn, ar roboi a ndobur ⊣ i ndorcha in senchus sin gusanocht D. *cen,* gen L. 6. *sin,* sein A. *ille,* allé B. *cosinnocht,* cusanocht A; cusinnocht L. ⊣ *forralgadh... córa cusanocht* om. AB. 7. *fo dhaigh,* fo diaid AB. *is e,* iss e sin D; iss e A. *oenfher*, enfher D; æinfher L; oenfer A; oenfear B. *firen,* add. D. *forfhacaib*, forfaccaib D; forfacuib L; forfhacuib A; foracaib B. *in diliu,* in dile D ; dili L. *dia heis,* i n-Erinn D; dia hes A. *is innocht,* cona[d] innocht D; is anocht LA. 8. *dorroided .i. ro foided,* rofuidhedh L ; rofaidhedh D; dorroided .i. dofufed A; dorroided .i. ro foideid B. *on C[h]oimdid*, om. D; on Coimd*id* L; on Coimdedh A. *spirut,* sbirut D; spir*ut* L; in spirat A; in spirut B. *saineamail faitsine,* Samueil fatha AB, shaineam- fhathacda L ; saineamail faisdine D. *i r-richt máethóclaig,* i richt mhaethoglaidh D; i r-richt oclaig A ; i r-richt oclaid B ; i richd oclaigh L.9. *n-ecmaing*, n-eacmuing D; n-ecmoing B; n-ecmhoing A. *builliu,* buliu B; builli L; om. D. *i n-a beolu*, i n-a bheolu LA. *di gai,* dia gai AB ; di ghai DL. *corraibe*, corraba AB; curaibhi L. *tría chlais,* tre chlais D; tria clais LAB. *a da chúlad,* a chúlad A; a da cula B ; a chuil D; a dha chuladh L. *fil*, fuil A; fail B. *secht slabraid nó om.* DL. 10. *secht solabra*,.uii. solab*ra* L; secht solabrai A. fil*ed* add. D. *t[h]engaid,* teangaid B. *iar sin,* fri slonnudh tshenchusa ⊣ comgne Erenn D. *corub anocht . . . baethlabrai* om. D. *corub anocht... coimgne* om. AB. 11. *conid de*, conid e B. *de asbreth,* de sin L. *ferr tuí*, is ferr toi L; ferr tui A. *baethlabrai,* boethlabrai A ; baethlabra L; boethlobrai B.

MIGRATION THROUGH GAELIC AND RUSSIAN PROVERBS

MARIA KOROLEVA

'All I ask, the heaven above
And the road below me.'
R.L.S.
"Why to travel far away, while it's good at home to stay,"
A Russian Proverb

0. Introduction[1]

A framework that cuts across disciplines is a characteristic feature of modern research process. The present comparative research based largely on Scottish Gaelic and Russian material was carried out especially for the *Celto-Slavica* forum as a part of a long-term project of constructing a *Corpus of Proverbs on Demographic Issues*.

A proverb reflects different aspects of social and economic life of people and forms a perfect subject for demographic research due to a number of its specific qualities. It voices various aspects of prevalent public opinion; presents solutions based on collective experience; serves as a representative model of behaviour of a person within a society; may also serve as a unique source when the required data is lacking. Besides, such characteristics as its conciseness and capaciousness allow to promptly analyse a bulk of material concerning various issues, such as migration, for example. No other folk genre rivals proverb in its observation and objectivity.

The aim of the paper is to reveal what is seen of migration through Gaelic and Russian proverbs and how does it fit into the wider international proverbial context. Since a proverb crystallises the most common of human judgements and experiences, it is no wonder that the same proverb can be encountered in many different languages and essentially provide the same opinions.

1. Sources and methodology

From a bulk of more than 4,000 of original Gaelic, 50,000 of Russian and more than 40,000 proverbs collected in different regions of Europe, Asia and Africa, about 90 Gaelic, 180 Russian and 300 other proverbs[2] on

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[1] The author acknowledges assistance and advice received from Arseniy Sinitsa in the preparation of the selection of Russian proverbs used throughout this paper.

[2] For selection of appropriate comparanda see Abbreviations section below.

migration were selected for our research, then carefully analysed and compared by the author.

It is obvious that the Russian sources on average provide a huge bulk of such material, since the Russians can boast having the unsurpassed collection of proverbs by Vladimir Dahl, the largest and the richest in the world, and other large collections, while for Scottish Gaelic one obtains far less extensive sources, relying mainly upon the material compiled by Alexander Nicolson.[3] To eliminate these differences the Gaelic and Russian proverbs are compared within a wider international context of proverbial lore.

The general methodology for selection and comparison and rationale for using non-demographic data for demographic purposes was amply described in the previous research on proverb as a subject for socio-demographic research (Koroleva & Sinitsa 2008).

2. Migration as defined by proverbs

History reminds us that Scots have always been notorious for their migration to other countries of the world, frequently a forced one, for the lack of space or constant trouble at home, they even got the name 'a nation of emigrants' (Devine 2004: 1-25). Many a good Gaelic name left its trace in the history of Europe and Americas, as well as Australia, indeed even in Russia every single Scottish clan name happen to be somehow mentioned in her history.[4] The Russians, on the contrary, at least until the twentieth century, were rather reluctant to leave their motherland, for in case of trouble there was plenty of room for them to move to.

So, how do these two peoples so different in their migration behaviour, the Gaels and the Russians, perceive the migration process? The proverbs give no single answer to that question.

The international proverbs say migration is a complex issue of sublime nature. First, it is a cognition process, a way to find out about the world one lives in, a way to know a man and oneself: *A man is known while on the move* (PE: 207),[5] but any travel implies throes compared to those of dying: *Road throes are death throes* (PE: 572), not an easy way

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[3] Though if we look at the amount of Gaelic proverbs on migration in relation to the bulk of all Gaelic proverbs, it will be more numerous than the same ratio for the Russian material, which indicates that the issue of migration was of more importance for the Gaelic Scotland, which corresponds well with historic data.

[4] The research to prove the fact was undertaken by D. Fedosov, O. Nozdrin and P. Dukes (University of Aberdeen) and will be available in a forthcoming prosopography publication.

[5] All the given examples of international proverbs were translated by the author.

of cognition. The second answer is even more philosophic in nature, proverbs say our whole life is migration to destination unknown, the world is just a hotel, we all pass and go: *World is an inn, those who come are to depart* (TP: 38). No line is drawn between those departed on a trip and those dead, both lose all their social links: *Those who died or went away have no friends* (TP: 78). It is interesting the way the *movement of population* is viewed, what the demographers separate into *spatial* (migration) and *natural* (birth, marriage, death) movement is interwoven in human experience into *one constant process*.

Russian proverbs firmly stand within the general proverbial context (10, 13, 34, 43, 59, 60, 70, 78, 91, 105, 151, 159).[6] While on the road you get to know a man and the world better (86, 159, 176), travelling is shown as a very difficult undertaking (28, 29, 157, 161, 171) and one is even allowed to break some religious principles while away from home (42, 95). Birth and death, or the *natural movement*, is also established in terms of travel (147), and there is a comparison drawn between a travelling man and a dead one (46).[7] The Gaelic proverbs tend to differ in the latter where a man on the move and a dead man are contrasted rather than compared (233)[8] which slightly stands out of the general context, but the rest follows the world tradition (185, 196, 197, 207, 208, 219, 234, 240, 252, 253, 264, 266).

3. Native vs foreign

The majority of international proverbs bring to the surface the *binary opposition* of *native* vs *foreign* land. They claim that one's native land is the best place to live in: *Homeland is mother, foreign land is stepmother* (PE: 346), one cannot live without one or s/he may lose his most impressive part, or, in terms of modern cultural approach, his or her own *identity*: *A man without homeland is a nightingale without its song* (PE: 495), the voluntary rejection of native land eventually leads to solitude and complete seclusion: *He that forsakes his motherland dies a lonely man* (SP: 90). Exile or forced migration has always been amongst

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[6] Parentheses contain the numbered Russian and Gaelic examples for which we refer the reader to the Appendix.

[7] This notion was so deeply rooted in the Russian culture that we find M.V. Lomonosov talking about emigrants to Poland and other foreign parts as *zhivyye pokoyniki* or "live deadmen" (Lomonosov 1952: 401).

[8] Though if we look at the tradition of keening in Ireland, those who migrated were lamented as if they were dying, it is a rough guess the same tradition existed in Gaelic Scotland, though I was not able to find any reference to that. The Scottish Gaelic language, however, is active in employing such image, in many areas (e.g. Islay) the verb employed when expressing the concept of 'dying' is *siubhal* (lit. 'travelling') (Grannd 2000: 15, 76).

punishments for most serious crimes in many cultures and seldom was it voluntary.

In Russian and Gaelic proverbs alike, this opposition is perfectly clear. The Russian proverbs show the natural relation of a person to his native place (3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 51, 61, 64, 66, 71, 74, 80, 82, 93, 101, 107, 118, 122, 123, 125, 128, 129, 132, 142-144, 148, 154, 172, 177, 179) and the loss of identity in a foreign land (75, 88, 158, 164). The Gaelic proverbs bring together the land and the people that live there (183, 201, 204, 231, 235, 236, 243, 246, 251, 256), and the idea of identity is closely connected with the idea of one's language (198).

4. *Pro et contra* migration

4.1. Adventurous or conservative?

But there exists a group of international proverbs which say one's homeland is any place where life is easy: *Where it's best for me, there's home for me* (SP: 190). This attitude, *encouraging* migration, is closely linked in the popular opinion with envy for things that seem better at a distance (248). Other proverbs warn that at a closer look life in a foreign land will turn out very difficult: *He who lives in a foreign land is like a loaded donkey or a bridled horse* (PE: 43) and nothing awaits a man once he gets to that country: *There's gold promised in a strange land, you come and see not even copper there* (PE: 572). There is also a series of such proverbs aimed at *preventing* people from migration.

It is worth noting that, though there exist – well within the international context – a series of Russian proverbs saying any place where life is easy is good enough to live in (50, 152, 178), we find no proverb of the kind in Gaeic sources.

In Russian culture the amount of proverbs warning that life abroad is harder (7-9, 14, 37, 48, 54, 56, 89, 102-104, 106, 116, 126, 139, 140, 141, 174) well overweighs the opposite ones (4, 39, 40, 44, 58, 65, 73, 76, 84, 100, 117, 124, 137, 138, 146, 150, 163, 168). These two 'voices' – we will call them *conservative* and *adventurous* – are distinct for the Gaelic proverbial lore (the adventurous one being louder in Scotland than in Russia (182, 222, 224, 238, 239, 248, 257, 259, 261)), the conservative voice prevailing though (181, 186, 228, 230, 237).

4.2. Qualities that help to migrate

Still that conservative voice did not stop all the migrants for obvious reasons. And many proverbs from all over the world bring out some peculiar features that one is required to obtain when moving places. The most widespread requirements are cautious actions: *Finding a bride and finding a new dwelling site needs caution* (SP: 102); one has to be really

persistent or be ready to wait (187); and ask many questions: *Ask and you'll get to Kars* (PE: 338).

Russian proverbs list the following features one needs to exhibit while migrating or travelling: unsleeping vigilance (110), foresight and forethought (30, 45, 57, 92, 109 162), persistance (53, 63) and trust in God (94, 96). In Gaelic ones (220, 249) the features are different: prudence (184, 255), patience (187), caution (188), modesty (217), common sense (194, 242) and determination (189, 232), which is more in accord with the world lore.

4.3. Homesickness
While in a foreign land a man starts to experience homesickness which may last for one's whole life: *Lose a friend and you'll cry for seven years, leave your motherland and you'll cry for the rest of your life* (PE: 490), it is true even if the new land is sweet: *Though sweet is the foreign land, a man will always be homesick* (PE: 482).

One finds such proverbs in Russia and those of great lyrical force (41, 47, 67-69, 72, 77, 79, 120), proverbs found in Gaelic editions are not that straightforward (193, 198, 258).

4.4. Choice or no choice
One's native land is generally seen through proverbs as a goldmine in every sense: *Native land is a land of gold!* (PE: 440). And to stay is a more decent decision than to migrate for a richer life: *Better being a shoe sole in one's native land than a sultan in a foreign land* (UP: 98).

Russian material provides a bouquet of proverbs stating that to stay at home is a better choice (15, 16, 31, 81, 83, 99, 108, 119, 127, 130, 133, 136), Gaelic proverbs do not raise the question of choice at all, which is true for many Gaels who never made a choice for themselves while leaving the place but were forced to.[9]

5. Socially approved reasons for migration
Despite widespread *negative* attitude to migration on the whole there are still several reasons to migrate which are socially justified and approved in any culture, i.e. marriage, paying a visit, travel for travel's sake

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[9] This raises the issue of forced migration and exile, which is too complex a question to deal with in this brief paper, but it is curious to note how the Gaelic language treats it. While a student at SMO on the Isle of Skye, the author was taught three terms, the explanation and usage of which was a great surprise: for people moving inside the country – *imrich* ('migration'), for forced migration – *fuadach* ('clearance'), for migration upon free will, emigration inclusive, – *eilthireachd* ('exile'). That implies that one migrates only while inside the country, but if you leave it at will, it will still be called *an exile* in Gaelic!

(modernist *cultural* and *educational tourism*), labour migration and pilgrimage.

5.1. Marriage and visiting

5.1.1. Marriage

First, let us have a look at marriage. The selected international proverbs denounce matrilocal unions: *Three follies: to mount a mountain and smoke, to start a journey when it's dark, to leave one's native home to live in a wife's house* (KP: 253); it seems wiser for a man to bring his wife from a distant place, the farther the better: *Take a horse from a nearby place, take your wife from afar* (UP: 73). In order to do that one has to go a long way, but, surprisingly, the road in this case seems short and easy: *A thousand ri will be as one to a man in love* (PE: 619).

Russian proverbs don't denounce matrilocal unions, they also advice upon one's wife coming not from afar (112). Gaelic proverbs in their majority are in favour of finding a wife from the neighbourhood as well (215, 260, 262, 263, 265).

5.1.2. Paying a visit

Within the world tradition such unions brought guests, usually the relatives on the wife's side: *Guests come from the place you took your wife* (PE: 563); *Kinship ties are kept by legs* (PE: 593). No visits meant weaker social links: *Far from eyesight – far from heart* (PE: 55), it appeared that a neighbour was considered closer than any relative in this case, due to a shorter distance and ready ability to help: *Better a neighbour nearby than a relative far away* (PE: 46).

Russian proverbs on visiting and keeping up the kinship ties are scanty (134), neighbour's help is more appreciated (55). Gaelic proverbs follow the same pattern (225, 241, 244, 245).

5.1.3. 'Hospitality Club'

Hospitality is perhaps a universal law found in all proverbs of the world. Many would claim this duty is *sacred*: *A guest is God's guest* (KP: 12). Nevertheless, the patience of the host is not endless and the proverbs say it ends in two or three days: *Even the eldest brother won't receive the best of treatment after three days* (PE: 126). If one is on the move he should go on and lose no time sitting in comfort as a guest: *A traveller should be walking* (PE: 39).

Russian proverbs say a guest is pleasing to a host (17, 18, 23, 24, 27, 98, 165). In Gaelic culture hospitality may go to an extreme as here: *I would give him a night's quarters though he had a man's head under his*

arm, and the general lore shows an especial chivalrous attitude to guests (191, 202, 205, 206, 212, 213, 226, 227, 229, 254, 265).

5.1.4. Insolent guest

There is an equal share of international proverbs showing that despite the law of hospitality people are not ready to spend their resources (time, food or shelter) on each and every stranger: *If you stick a sheep every time a guest comes there will be nothing left of the flock* (PE: 247). Perhaps, some of them doubt if they get their own back some day as the proverb promises: *We to strangers, and strangers to us* (DMGP: 51). Or, perhaps, they have met with a special kind of an *insolent guest*: *He ate plenty, he drank much and insisted on a night's quarters* (PE: 131). But to treat even an insolent guest in that manner is to ruin one's reputation forever: *Old man departed and sin remained, guest left and shame remained* (PE: 613).

Both Russian (19-22, 25, 26, 49, 121, 166) and Gaelic proverbs (192, 195, 203, 209, 223, 247) are familiar with the above-mentioned *insolent guest* type.

5.2. Travel for education

Second, let us explore travel or tourism. The traditional culture pays great respect to any learned man, the knowledge does not necessarily come with age but with experience and travel: *He knows more who travelled farther not who lived longer* (PE: 81). The proverbs thus show that travel was a great *investment into human capital*.

There is only one Russian proverb which indeed says that knowledge does not necessarily come with age (62), and no Gaelic proverb was found at all to correspond to this group of international proverbs.

5.3. Pilgrimage

Third comes pilgrimage. Strangely enough, the proverbs from different corners of the world reflect dubious attitude towards pilgrims, perhaps because of diverse *fake pilgrims*: *Pretending to be a pilgrim, to put in root and to vomit with rats* (PE: 403), the pilgrimage in proverbs is often a dream but anyone is free to have or to fulfill it: *Even a cripple dares to dream of Jerusalem* (PE: 44).

Again, as in case with travel for education, here we find only a couple of proverbs in Russian (87, 160, 169), and not a single one in Gaelic.

5.4. *Labour migration*

Fourth is labour migration (military and missionary inclusive). The world proverbial lore proves that regional occupation or temporary work was regular and people used to return to their families during the festive season: *A strange land is the best place to make money, home is best to celebrate the New Year* (PE: 282). The adaptation to city life is shown as a slow process: *It's quick to put on city cloths, but it takes time to become a citisen* (SP: 179).

The Russian proverbs reveal a strong opposition between *city vs village* (1, 2, 85, 90, 97, 111, 113-115 131, 135, 145, 149, 153, 155, 156, 167, 170, 173), the Gaelic ones show more of the traditional occupations, such as fishing (180, 190, 199, 200, 210, 211, 214, 218, 250).

6. Connection between migration and life-expectancy

Finally, it should be noted, that a connection between *life-expectancy* and migration is curiously estimated, and this could be seen only in Gaelic proverbs, both Scottish and Irish, there is no Russian proverb on the matter out of the whole selected lot. The proverb has it that: *A man lives long in his native place* (ABCP: 35), but: *Remove an old man from his native place, and he will leave you his skin* (DSP: 29).

7. Conclusions

'A proverb cannot be contradicted', they say, it is a collective experience just too firmly rooted in our mind. Proverbs allow a novel look at migration, they remind the demographers that people tend to perceive things by employing binary oppositions. As a result there is no "native" without "foreign". And those two "voices" are always there – the *conservative* one, connecting one to the past, and the *adventurous* one, which is active in exploring the yet unknown future possibilities. The proverbs grouped that way allow us to consider the problem of migration in a way different to the usual demographic approach – that is in all its complex duality.

Proverbs embrace the majority of migration-related questions; in this paper, I was able to describe just two or three general issues, but there are many more specific themes which would cover almost any situation. Only several specific problems the selected proverbs face not, for example 'brain drain'.

The comparison of Russian and Gaelic material shown as two distinct strands within the general fabric of the international proverbial lore provides the answers to the questions asked in the very beginning of the paper: the majority of migration patterns we know from Russian and Scottish history are well reflected in the proverbs, exposing a lot of the

national character and identity along with the general reflections, while the international context exposed the points of similar migration behaviour and attitudes which unexpectedly proved to be more alike than different.

The general wisdom of all proverbs is quite simple and easy to follow: a man should not migrate at all. If one wants to live a happy, long and fruitful life, he should stay in his native land, at home. In wider philosophical sense migration is viewed as something inevitable, all the people are migrants on the Earth. But here too, proverbs look at the bright side. Though inevitable and our destination we know not, any movement is a great opportunity for cognition and development, they claim; and this is, perhaps, the greatest wisdom passed on to us from the generations of our ancestors. The adventurous voice proves stronger in the end.

Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia

Abbreviations

ABCP – O'Donnel, J., 1996, *The Appletree Book of Celtic Proverbs in Irish and English*, Belfast: Appletree Press.

DMGP – Negris, A., 1831, *A Dictionary of Modern Greek Proverbs, with an English translation, explanatory remarks, and philological illustrations*, Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.

DSP – Collins, J., 1823, *A Dictionary of Spanish Proverbs, compiled from the best authorities in the Spanish Language, translated into English; with explanatory illustrations from the Latin, Spanish, and English authors*, London: S. Brooke.

KP – Dzhalil, O., & Dzhalil, Dzh., 1972, *The Kurdish Proverbs and Sayings in Kurdish and Russian* (In Russian: *Kurdskiye poslovitsy i pogovorki na kurdskom i russkom yazykakh*), Moscow: Nauka.

PE – Braginskiy, I. S., 1961, *Proverbs and Sayings of the Peoples of the East* (In Russian: *Poslotitsy i pogovorki narodov Vostoka*), Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury.

SP – Kapchitsa, G. L., ed. & trans., 2009, *Somali Proverbs and Sayings: in Somali and Russian, with the Russian Equivalents* (In Russian: *Somaliyskiye poslovitsy i pogovorki: Na somaliyskom i russkom yazykakh s russkimi sootvetstviyami*), Moscow: Librokom.

TP – Mansurova, O. Yu., 2005, *The Turkish-Russian Dictionary of Proverbs: 1111 sayings taken from everyday speech* (In Russian:

Turetsko-russkiy slovar' poslovits: 1111 izrecheniy, ispol'zuemykh v povsednevnom obshchenii), Moscow: AST Vostok-Zapad.

UP – Khamraev, M.K., 1981, *The Uyghur Proverbs and Sayings. In the Uyghur and Russian languages with the Russian Parallels* (In Russian: *Uygurskiye poslovitsy i pogovorki. Na uygurskom i russkom yazykakh i s russkimi parallelyami*), Moscow: Glavnaya redactsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1981.

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Appendix

A List of Russian Proverbs on Migration[10]

1. "A calf in the city is wiser than an acolyte in the countryside," *Gorodskoye telya mudreney derevenskogo ponomarya* (Dahl 1879: 403).
2. "A city is like a kingdom, but a village is a paradise," *Gorod – tsarstvo, a derevnya - ray* (Dahl 1879: 403).
3. "A cuckoo cuckoos, over her homeless fate she broods," *Kukushka kukuyet, po bezdom'yu goryuyet (O tom kukushka i kukuyet, chto svoyego gnezda net)*[11] (Dahl 1879: 401).
4. "A falcon lingers not in one place, when it sees a bird it follows it," *Sokol na odnom meste ne sidit, a gde ptitsu vidit, tuda i letit* (Dahl 1879: 403).
5. "A foreign land is kept by praise, but ours stands firmer from ill speech," *Chuzhaya storonushka nakhvalom zhivyot, a nasha haykoyu stoit* (Dahl 1879: 400).
6. "A foreign land is a stepmother," *Chuzhaya storona – machekha* (Dahl 1879: 402).
7. "A foreign land is a thief (a robber)," *Chuzhaya storona – vor (razboynik)* (Dahl 1879: 402).
8. "A foreign land isn't swayed by tears," *Chuzhbina slezam ne verit* (Dahl 1879: 402).
9. "A foreign land isn't sweet," *Chuzhbina ne potachliva* (Dahl 1879: 402).
10. "A foreign land makes a man wise," *Chuzhaya storona pribavit uma* (Dahl 1879: 402).
11. "A foreign land rubs a man up the wrong way," *Chuzhbinka ne po shersti gladit* (Dahl 1879: 402).
12. "A foreign land will make even a crow from your parts your very best friend," *Na chuzhoy storonushke rad svoyey voronushke* (Dahl 1879: 401).
13. "A foreign land will teach a misfortunate lad (will torture and teach)," *Nauchit goryuna chuzhaya storona (i vymuchit i vyuchit)* (Dahl 1879: 402).
14. "A foreign place is a wild wood," *Chuzhaya storona – dremuch bor* (Dahl 1879: 402).
15. "A foreign place is highly praised (by a matchmaker) but she herself will never set her foot there," *Chuzhuyu storonu khvalit (svakha), a sama ni nogoy (a sama tuda ni po nogu)* (Dahl 1879: 401).

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[10] Compiled by A. Sinitsa. Translation and footnotes by M. Koroleva.
[11] The explanations and variants given in parentheses were supplied by Vladimir Dahl to his original edition.

16. "A foreign-foreigner will praise his foreign land and we'll keep listening while on *polaty*[12] we lie," *Khvalit chuzh-chuzhenin chuzhu storonu, a my slushayem, na polatyakh lezhuchi* (Dahl 1879: 400).

17. "A good guest makes the host pleased," *Gost' dobroy vsegda khozyainu priyaten* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

18. "A guest came to stay, and a host feels happy and gay," *Gost' prishel, hozyainu khorosho* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

19. "A guest has come and a trouble has come," *Gost' na dvor – i beda na dvor* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

20. "A guest hasn't come, God delivered from harm," *Gost' ne prishel, Bog ubytka izbavil* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

21. "A guest is small until he has eaten all," *Gost' potuda mal, poka ne poyedal* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

22. "A guest stays not long but sees a lot," *Gost' nemnogo gostit, da mnogo vidit* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

23. "A guest that came unasked is better than the asked one," *Nezvan gost' luchshe zvanogo* (Snegirev 1999: 186).

24. "A guest that comes in time brings no waste," *Ko vremyu gost' ne v ubytok* (Snegirev 1999: 134).

25. "A guest who gets up early, wants to stay overnight," *Gost' koli rano podymayetsya, tot nochevat' khochet (Kotoryy gost' rano podymayetsya, tot nochevat' khochet)* (Snegirev 1999: 139).

26. "A guest will stay, and hurry his way," *Gost' pogostit, da i domoy pospeshit* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

27. "A hard choice: the guest is dear and a fast day is right here," *Gost' dorogoy, a den' serednoy*[13] (Snegirev 1999: 85).

28. "A man who never went to sea knows not, what it means to pray, and pray a lot," *Kto v more ne byval, tot dosyta Bogu ne malivalsya* (Dahl 1879: 332).

29. "A man who never went to sea, a sorrow has never seen," *Kto v more ne byval, tot gorya ne vidal* (Dahl 1879: 332).

30. "A man who step on road dares should take his *lapti*[14], all five pairs," *V dorogu idti – pyatery lapti spliesti* (Dahl 1879: 330).

31. "A matchmaker doesn't come with the truth," *Svat s pravdoy ne ezdit* (Illustrov 1904: 102).

32. "A native land is a mother, a foreign land is a stepmother," *Rodimaya storona – mat', chuzhaya – machekha* (Dahl 1879: 402).

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[12] Russian *polati* is a traditional plank bed in a cosy place between the hot Russian *pechka* and a thick wooden wall.

[13] Wednesday (*den' serednoy*) according to the Orthodox practice is a fasting day.

[14] *Lapti* (pl) are a traditional footwear made of bast.

33. "A native land will stroke you gently, a foreign land will stroke you the wrong way," *Svoya storona po sherstke gladit,chuzhaya nasuprotiv* (Dahl 1879: 402).

34. "A *pechka*[15] pampers, a road teaches," *Pechka drochit (nezhit), a dorozhka uchit* (Dahl 1879: 330).

35. "A pine has grown far from it's own forest, but keeps waving to it (singing to it, talking to it)," *Daleko sosna stoit, a svoyemu lesu veyet (shumit, govorit)* (Dahl 1879: 403).

36. "A pine is fine in the soil where it has grown," *Gde sosna vzrosla, tam ona i krasna* (Dahl 1879: 403).

37. "A place which isn't far away, but still is so sad to stay," *Storonushka i ne dal'nyaya, da pechal'naya* (Dahl 1879: 402).

38. "A place you were born in, there you'll fit in," *Gde kto roditsya, tam i prigoditsya (Chto gde roditsya, to tam i goditsya. Chto gde rozhdaetsya, to tam i prigozhdayetsya.)* (Dahl 1879: 401).

39. "A settled stone gathers moss," *Na odnom meste i kamen'mokhom obrastayet* (Dahl 1879: 403).

40. "A sly sparrow, though at home he sits, gathers no compliments," *Vor vorobey domosed, a lyudi ne khvalyat* (Dahl 1879: 405).

41. "A stable stops not a steed of the Steppes," *Stepnogo konya na konyushne ne uderzhish'* (Dahl 1879: 402).

42. "A traveller may fast not," *Putniku posty razresheny* (Dahl 1879: 330).

43. "A visit pays back," *K nam lyudi ezdyat – k sebe v gosti zovut* (Dahl 1879: 404).

44. "A wild goose has flown to *Rus'*,[16] here he'll stay and then fly away," *Priletel gus' na Rus' – pogostit da uletit* (Dahl 1879: 405).

45. "A wise companion halves the road," *Umnyi tovarishch – polovina dorogi*[17] (Dahl 1879: 330).

46. "Abroad to stay is like in a casket to be lain (it's lonely and silent there)," *Na chuzhbinke – slovno v domovinke (i odinoko, i nemo)* (Dahl 1879: 402).

47. "*Afonyushka*[18] feels sad in a foreign land," *Skuchno Afonyushke na chuzhoy storonushke* (Dahl 1879: 401).

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[15] A Russian oven used for cooking, heating and sleeping on its top in winter.

[16] *Rus'* is a poetic and historic word for Russia. It is interesting to note, that the Gaelic name for Russia – *an Ruis* – seems almost identical to this older name where in both cases the final "s" is palatalized, but in Gaelic it would change the quality of the sound while in Russian it remains just soft.

[17] Compare: "Two shorten the road" (Ir.).

[18] *Afonyushka* is a familiar name to call *Afanasiy*. *Afanasiy* is the Russian form of *Athanasios*, a Greek name meaning "immortal".

48. "All the world is home for a lonely man," *Odinokomu – vezde dom* (Dahl 1879: 405).

49. "An insolent guest likes to stay long," *Gost' besstuzh posidet' lyubit* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

50. "Any place is good enough, when your belly is full enough," *Gde ni zhit', tol'ko by sytu byt'* (Dahl 1879: 405).

51. "As it is at home, so it is at *Don*," *Kakovo na domu, takovo i na Donu* (Dahl 1879: 401).

52. "Ask a fine lad woo for you, and the girl will see him too; there'll be no guilty part if she gives away her heart," *Molodtsu sebya ne spryatat', bude poshliut devku svatat'; a polyubit devka svata – nikomu ne vinovata* (Illustrov 1904: 102).

53. "Ask and you'll get as far as *Kiev*,"[19] *Yazyk do Kieva dovedet* (Snegirev 1999: 294; Dahl 1879: 330).

54. "At home everything is quick and easy, in a foreign land everything turns out bad," *Doma vse sporo, a v chuzhe zhit'e khuzhe* (Dahl 1879: 401).

55. "Better a neigbour at hand than a kinsman far away," *Blizhniy sosed luchshe dal'ney rodni* (Snegirev 1999: 392).

56. "Boast not when you are leaving home, boast on your return home," *Ne khvalis' ot''yezdom, khvalis' priyezdom* (Dahl 1879: 333).

57. "Bread won't make your bag too heavy," *Khleb v puti ne v tyagost'* (Dahl 1879: 330).

58. "Brew, do sour on *kvass*[20] that is your own!" *Kisni, opara, na svoyem kvasu!* (Dahl 1879: 403).

59. "Charity is half the road to God: fasting leads you to the gates of Heaven, and the charity opens them," *Milostynya – polovina dorogi k Bogu: post vedet k vratam raya, a milostynya otvoryayet ikh* (Snegirev 1999: 404).

60. "Charity on earth is food for a long journey," *Milostynya – sukhari na dal'nyuyu dorogu* (Snegirev 1999: 303).

61. "*Don*, *Don*,[21] but it's better at home," *Don, Don, a luchshe dom* (Dahl 1879: 401).

62. "Don't ask the aged, ask the experienced," *Ne sprashivay u starogo, sprashivay u byvalogo* (Snegirev 1999: 193).

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[19] In folk literature, *Kiev* was represented as a famous city in Russia (present day Ukraine). The proverb means: ask and you'll find anything.

[20] *Kvass* is a fermented beverage made from black or regular rye bread; it is enjoyed in almost all corners of Russia.

[21] *Don* is a big river in the south of Russia. In folk and literary works it often stood for the idea of Freedom.

63. "Don't seek for the way, ask," *Ne ishchut dorogi, a sprashivayut* (Dahl 1879: 330).

64. "Even a beggar keeps his clobber dear," *Lyubit i nishchiy svoye khlamovishche* (Dahl 1879: 401).

65. "Even a crane flies to seek warm lands," *I zhuravl' tepla ishchet* (Dahl 1879: 404).

66. "Even a crow (a doggie) from your land looks sweet," *S rodnoy storonki i vorona (i sobachka) mila* (Dahl 1879: 401).

67. "Even a dog knows its corner," *I sobaka svoyu storonu znayet* (Dahl 1879: 403).

68. "Even a dog likes its own corner," *Svoya storonushka i sobake mila* (Dahl 1879: 403).

69. "Even a dog misses its home," *Na chuzhbine i sobaka toskuyet* (Dahl 1879: 402).

70. "Even a father is a roadmate to his son," *V doroge i otets synu tovarishch* (Dahl 1879: 330).

71. "Even a handful of earth from your native land is dear to the heart," *Svoya zemlya i v gorsti mila* (Dahl 1879: 401).

72. "Even a horse longs to run back to its native land, even a dog gnaws its leash to return," *I kon' na svoyu storonu rvetsya, a sobaka otgryzetsya da uydet* (Dahl 1879: 402).

73. "Even a snipe saw foreign lands," *I kulik chuzhu storonu znayet* (Dahl 1879: 404).

74. "Even a wee pebble is dear in a native land," *Na rodnoy storone i kameshek znakom* (Dahl 1879: 401).

75. "Even a wormwood won't grow without any root," *Bez kornya i polyn' ne rastet* (Dahl 1879: 401).

76. "Even beyond the mountains there are people," *I za gorami lyudi* (Dahl 1879: 404).

77. "Even bread misses the land it grew in,"[22] *I khleb po svoyey storone skuchayet* (Dahl 1879: 401).

78. "Even one's own father becomes a roadmate (should help)," *V doroge i rodnoy otets tovarishch (dolzhen pomogat')* (Dahl 1879: 330).

79. "Even the bones weep for their motherland,"[23] *I kosti po rodine plachut* (Dahl 1879: 401).

80. "Even the *Penza*[24] guests were happy to discover their own crow in Moscow," *I penzentsy v Moskve svoyu voronu uznali* (Dahl 1879: 401).

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[22] Vladimir Dahl explains that the imported bread gets spoiled.

[23] Vladimir Dahl refers to the belief that weeping and howling of the bones could be heard from some graves.

[24] *Penza* is a city that stands on the banks of the river *Sura*.

81. "Every bird praises its own nest," *Vsyakaya ptitsa svoye gnezdo khvalit* (Snegirev 1999: 68).

82. "Every pine sings for its own wood (speaks to its own forest)," *Vsyakaya sosna svoyemu boru shumit (svoyemu lesu vest' podayet)* (Dahl 1879: 403).

83. "Every snipe praises its own bog," *Vsyak kulik svoye boloto khvalit* (Dahl 1879: 401).

84. "Fare thee well, my Mother *Rus'*, it's the warmth I now choose,"[25] *Proshchay, matushka Rus': ya k teplu potyanus'* (Dahl 1879: 404).

85. "Find anything in Moscow but pigeon's milk, father and mother," *V Moskve tol'ko net ptich'yego moloka, da ottsa i materi* (Snegirev 1999: 72).

86. "Find yourself under a host's roof sleeping, and you'll see where yours is leaking," *Poka pod chuzhoy kryshey ne pobyvayesh', svoya, gde techet, ne uznayesh'* (Dahl 1879: 404).

87. "First in *Sudogda* fast, then in *Suzdal* pray, and to *Yuriyev* you come for a merry day," *V Sudogde postit'sya, v Suzdale molit'sya, v Yur'yeve poveselit'sya* (Snegirev 1999: 298).

88. "Follow the custom of the people you live with," *V kakom narode zhivesh', togo i obych'ya derzhis'* (Dahl 1879: 400).

89. "For a man who leads a lonely life, a roof is where he finds bread," *Odinkú – gde khleb, tam i ugol* (Dahl 1879: 405).

90. "For some Moscow is like mother, and for some it's like stepmother," *Moskva – komu mat', komu machekha* (Dahl 1879: 410).

91. "From overseas with the news, from the backyard with the guests," *Iz zamorya s vest'mi, a iz zadvorya s gost'mi* (Snegirev 1999: 124).

92. "Go for a day, take bread for a week," *Yedesh' na den' – khleba beri na nedelyu* (Dahl 1879: 330).

93. "God is gracious to you in your homeland too," *Miluyet Bog i na svoyey storone* (Dahl 1879: 400).

94. "God shows the right ways," *Bog puti kazhet* (Dahl 1879: 330).

95. "God will forgive it to a traveller,"[26] *Dorozhnomu Bog prostit* (Dahl 1879: 330).

96. "God will guide you on the way you need," *Nuzhnyy put' Bog pravit* (Dahl 1879: 330).

97. "He is staying on Don, left his wife at home alone," *Zhivet na Donu, ostavya doma zhenu* (Snegirev 1999: 109).

98. "He let me eat, he let me drink, he let me sleep," *Napoil, nakormil i spat' ulozhil* (Dahl, 2: 365).[27]

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[25] These words are meant to be said by a crane ready to fly away, Vladimir Dahl explains.

[26] If a person is not keeping his or her religious fasting.

[27] Compare 254.

99. "He that keeps praising a foreign land to a friend, but sets no foot upon its soil," *Khvalit drugu chuzhuyu storonu, a sam v neyo ni po nogu* (Snegirev 1999: 267).

100. "He who seeks distinction, fame, shouldn't at one place remain," *Kto khochet iskat' chesti, tot ne zhivi na odnom meste* (Snegirev 1999: 146).

101. "In a foreign land even the slightest help is a gift of God (anything is a gift of God)," *Na chuzhbinke – i to Bozhiy dar (vse Bozhiy dar)* (Dahl 1879: 402).

102. "In a foreign place even a child is your foe," *Na chuzhoy storone i rebenok vorog* (Dahl 1879: 402).

103. "In a foreign place even Spring loses its grace," *Na chuzhoy storone i vesna ne krasna* (Dahl 1879: 402).

104. "In a foreign place like in a forest," *V chuzhom meste, chto v lesu* (Dahl 1879: 402).

105. "In a game and on the road men are known," *V igre da v poput'ye lyudey uznayut* (Dahl 1879: 330).

106. "In a new place they will teach you some good sense," *Na storone obtolkut boka* (Dahl 1879: 402).

107. "In foreign parts even an old hag is sent by God," *Na chuzhoy storone i starushka Bozhiy dar* (Dahl 1879: 402).

108. "Keep praising overseas while on the *pechka* you sit," *Khvali zamor'ye, na pechi sidyuchi* (Snegirev 1999: 578).

109. "Leave your home concerns at home," *Domashnyaya duma v dorogu ne goditsya* (Dahl 1879: 330).

110. "Let your arm and leg sleep while at home, but keep your head awake while on the road," *Doma ruka i noga spit, v doroge i golovushka ne dremli* (Dahl 1879: 330).

111. "Live in a village and see no merriment," *Zhit' v derevne – ne vidat' vesel'ya* (Dahl 1879: 403).

112. "Marry not the praised girl that's far away, choose the simple one that's nearest to stay!" *Ne beri dal'nyuyu khválenku, beri blizhnyuyu khayanku!* (Dahl 1879: 404).

113. "More honour dying far away than on a woman's lap to stay," *Luchshe umirat' v pole, chem v bab'yem podole* (Dahl 1879: 321).

114. "Moscow is a kingdom, but our village is a paradise," *Moskva – tsarstvo, a nasha derevnya - ray* (Dahl 1879: 403).

115. "Moscow is good to stay, but still not like home," *Khorosha Moskva, da ne doma* (Dahl 1879: 403).

116. "No comfort for a stranger but a joke," *Chuzhoy chelovek ne na utekhu, na prosmekh* (Dahl 1879: 402).

117. "No man is a prophet in his own country," *V svoyey zemle nikto prorokom ne byvayet (ne byval)* (Dahl 1879: 405).

118. "No need to travel far away to find it's good at home to stay," *Nezachem daleko, i zdes' khorosho* (Dahl 1879: 400).

119. "No one can praise foreign parts so well but a matchmaker," *Chuzhuyu storonu nikto protiv svakhi ne nakhvalit* (Illustrov 1904: 102).

120. "No relatives left, but the heart can't forget its native place," *Rodnykh net, a po rodimoy storonke serdtse noyet* (Dahl 1879: 402).

121. "Not like mother, not like father, but rather like a stranger, a nameless ranger," *Ni v mat', ni v ottsa, a v proyezzhego molodtsa* (Snegirev 1999: 198).

122. "Not much food (at home) but the bed is good," *Khot' ne uyedno (doma), tak ulezhno* (Dahl 1879: 400).

123. "On fathers' land you firmly stand and better die than leave this land!" *S rodnoy (roditel'skoy) zemli – umri, ne skhodi!* (Dahl 1879: 403).

124. "On the other side of the river they can live as well," *I za rekoy lyudi zhivut* (Dahl 1879: 404).

125. "On the road I go, tears do flow; remember my dears and burst into tears," *Vyydu na put' – slezki tekut'; vspomnyu svoikh – i toshno po nikh* (Dahl 1879: 401).

126. "Once upon a time there lived a fine lad, he saw no happiness in his native village, but as he left it, he burst into tears," *Zhil-byl molodets; v svoyey derevne ne vidal vesel'ya, na chuzhbinu vyshel – zaplakal* (Dahl 1879: 402).

127. "One sharp match-maker keeps praising a foreign place (but she herself at home does sit)," *Odna svakha chuzhu storonu nakhvalivayet (a sama doma sidit)* (Dahl 1879: 401).

128. "One's own custom is always dearer," *Svoy byt mileye* (Dahl 1879: 401).

129. "One's own place is the dearest," *Vsyakomu mila svoya storona* (Dahl 1879: 401).

130. "Only unworthy bird will soil its nest," *Khudaya ta ptitsa, kotoraya gnezdo svoye marayet* (Dahl 1879: 401).

131. "Out to Moscow you set, nothing but money to get," *V Moskvu idtit' – tol'ko den'gu dobyt'* (Dahl 1879: 410).

132. "Overseas is warmer but here it's merrier," *Za morem tepleye, a u nas svetleye (veseleye)* (Dahl 1879: 400).

133. "Praise the land beyond the sea, but stay at home!" *Khvali zamor'ye (chuzhuyu storonu), a sidi doma!* (Snegirev 1999: 578; Dahl 1879: 400).

134. "Rare to see, dearer to be," *Rezhe vidish' – mileye budesh'* (Snegirev 1999: 232).

135. "Seek your fortune far from home but love the place where you were born," *Ishchi dobra na storone, a dom lyubi po starine* (Dahl 1879: 405).

136. "Silly is the bird that isn't pleased with its nest," *Glupa ta ptitsa, kotoroy gnezdo svoye nemilo* (Dahl 1879: 401).

137. "Sit and sour like mead!" *Sidi, kak med kisni!* (Dahl 1879: 403).

138. "Sit at home and get nothing," *Doma sidet' – nichego ne vysidet'* (Dahl 1879: 403).

139. "Tamburines are held in high repute across the mountains, but when they reach us they are like *lukoshkos*[28]," *Slavny bubny za gorami, a k nam pridut, chto lukoshko* (Dahl 1879: 400).

140. "Tears will not pay in Moscow," *Moskva slezam ne verit (ne potakayet)*[29] (Dahl 1879: 405).

141. "The first time you move (to a new place) is like fighting out half a fire, the second time you move is like fighting out the whole fire," *Odin raz (Odnova) perevozit'sya (domom) – polpozhara vystoyat'; dva raza (dvoyu) perevozit'sya – ves' pozhar vystoyat'* (Dahl 1879: 333).

142. "The millstones say: it's better in Kiev to stay, the mortar answers: like here, like there," *Zhernova govoryat: v Kieve luchshe, a stupa govorit: chto tut, chto tam* (Dahl 1879: 401).

143. "The place where you were taken out of your mother's belly (i.e. motherland) is the dearest (the place you will never forget)," *Mila ta storona (ne zabudesh' tu storonu), gde pupok rezan (t.e. rodina)* (Dahl 1879: 400).

144. "The sea is for the fishes, the sky is for the birds, the motherland is the circle of universe for the men," *Rybam more, ptitsam vozdukh, a cheloveku otchizna vselennoy krug* (Snegirev 1999: 231).

145. "The town has its point, everywhere there is an eating-joint or a creep-joint," *Gorod zateynyy: chto ni shag, to s"yestnoy da piteynyy* (Dahl 1879: 403).

146. "The water that runs not, gets spoilt," *Stoyachaya voda gniyet (kisnet)* (Dahl 1879: 333).

147. "There is only one road to the afterworld," *Mertvym na tot svet otovsyudu doroga odna* (Snegirev 1999: 303).

148. "There's merry life beyond the sea, but not ours, and here's all grief, but our own," *Za morem vesel'ye, da chuzhoye, a u nas i gore, da svoye* (Dahl 1879: 400).

149. "They don't thresh rye on Moscow land, for city on the bog does stand, but still they eat more than in the countryside," *Moskva stoit na*

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[28] Russian *lukoshko* is a traditional bast basket, here the proverb hints at tamburines being of a very low quality.

[29] Dahl explains that if you are a stranger, people will not be sympathetic to you.

bolote, rzhi v ney ne molotyat, a bol'she derevenskogo edyat (Snegirev 1999: 165).

150. "They flew overseas as geese, they returned as no swans,"[30] *Poleteli zá morie gusi, prileteli tozh ne lebedi* (Dahl 1879: 405).

151. "This world is home for all the people," *Sey svet dom vsekh lyudey* (Snegirev 1999: 235).

152. "Though in the Golden Horde, but rich," *Hot' v Orde, da v dobre (tol'ko by v dobre)* (Dahl 1879: 405).

153. "Though mushrooms grow in the countryside they are known in towns too," *Griby rastut v derevne, a ikh i v gorode znayut* (Dahl 1879: 403).

154. "Though Paris is so nice to stay, *Kurmysh*[31] is decent anyway," *Khorosh Parizh, a zhivet i Kurmysh* (Dahl 1879: 401).

155. "To be in heavy debt on Don, and nothing but a wife for pawn," *Dolgovat' na Donu, zakladyvat' pridetsya zhenu* (Snegirev 1999: 397).

156. "To earn for poll-tax you leave home, to eat bread you return," *Podushnoye na storone, a khleb dóma (ishchi)* (Dahl 1879: 405).

157. "To go by sea all night and day, 's like with a widow to stay," *Vodoyu plyvuchi, chto so vdovoyu zhivuchi* (Dahl 1879: 332).

158. "To live in a place means to follow its ways," *Gde zhit', tem i slyt'* (Dahl 1879: 400).

159. "To see others, to show oneself," *Liudey (Na liudey) poglyadet' i sebya pokazat'* (Dahl 1879: 404).

160. "To *Suzdal* and *Murom* you come to pray, to *Vyazniki* for merry time and in *Shuya* for a drink you stay," *V Suzdale i Murome Bogu pomolit'sya, v Vyaznikakh pogulyat', v Shuye napit'sya* (Snegirev 1999: 74).

161. "To travel by sea as if by land," *Po moryu, yako po sukhu*[32] (Dahl 1879: 331).

162. "Travel alone and the road is longer," *Odnomu ekhat' – i doroga dolga* (Dahl 1879: 330).

163. "Water never flows under settled stones," *Pod lezhach kamen' i voda ne techet* (Dahl 1879: 333).

164. "Wear the hat of the people you join," *V kakoy narod pridesh', taku i shapku nadenesh'* (Dahl 1879: 400).

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[30] Vladimir Dahl adds they did not return worse by any means.

[31] *Kurmysh* used to be a centre of trade, a busy town in pre-revolutionary *Nizhegorodskiy* Governorate, but then gradually lost its influence and became an ordinary out-of-the-way place.

[32] Vladimir Dahl adds that about the dirty road they would change the saying to: "To travel by land as if by sea".

165. "Welcome the guest, welcome his horse," *Gostyam stol, a konyam stolb* (Snegirev 1999: 85).

166. "When a visit is rare a guest is pleasant," *Redkoye svidan'ye – priyatnyy gost'* (Snegirev 1999: 232).

167. "When you run into a debt, *Volga* is the place your earnings to get," *Kogda nechem zaplatit' dolgu, ekhat' budet na Volgu* (Snegirev 1999: 135).

168. "Whichever place you are to stay you'll serve the same *tzar* anyway," *Gde ni zhit', a odnomu tsaryu sluzhit'* (Dahl 1879: 403).

169. "While in a monastery follow its rules,"[33] *V chuzhoy monastyr' so svoim ustavom ne khodyat* (Snegirev 1999: 75).

170. "While in a town you eat – pay whole rouble for each wee bit, and you'll fast get into debt for each larger meal you ate," *V gorode kus khvatish' – rubl' platish', a dosyta nayesh'sya, i ne razdelayeshsya* (Snegirev 1999: 71).

171. "While on the road, even your foe you'll call: "my father!"," *V doroge i voroga nazovesh' rodnym ottsom* (Dahl 1879: 330).

172. "Why to travel far away, while it's good at home to stay," *Zachem daleko, i zdes' khorosho* (Dahl 1879: 400).

173. "Without money come to a city (to a marketplace) is like being an enemy to yourself," *Bez deneg v gorod (na torg), sam sebe vorog* (Snegirev 1999: 47; Dahl 1879: 403).

174. "Woe to him who knows not a language of the land he came to," *Gore v chuzhoy zemle bezyazykomu* (Dahl 1879: 402).

175. "Woo yourself and ask no one, be it *Fedul* or *Foma*," *Nevestu dostavay soboyu, a ne Fedulom da Fomoyu* (Illustrov 1904: 101).

176. "Worth not in town, worth not on the road, worth not in a village," *Ni v gorode poruka, ni v doroge tovarishch, ni v derevne sosed* (Snegirev 1999: 198).

177. "You won't miss a place you know nothing about," *Chego ne znayesh', tuda i ne tyanet* (Dahl 1879: 401).

178. "Your mother land is not where your mother bore you, but a real paradise is where it's good to stay," *Ne tam rodina, gde mat' rodila; a tam ray, gde dobryy kray* (Snegirev 1999: 194).

179. "Your own land, your own dust," *Svoya zemlya – svoy prakh* (Dahl 1879: 401).

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[33] A visitor must follow all the host's regulations and customs and must not interfere with other people's affairs, the nearest equivalent is: "When (while) in Rome, do as the Romans do".

A List of Scottish Gaelic Proverbs on Migration

180. *A chur a ruith na cuthaig*, "Sending him to chase the cuckoo"[34] (Nicolson 2003: 4).

181. *A h-uile cù air a' chù choimheach*, "All the dogs down on the strange dog" (Nicolson 2003: 5).

182. *A' chùil a bhios fosgailte, thèid na coin innte*, "The dogs will go into the corner that's open" (Nicolson 2003: 4).

183. *A' cur a' bhodaich às a thaigh fhèin,* "Putting the old man out of his own house" (Nicolson 2003: 4).

184. *Air fhad 's ge 'n tèid thu mach, na toir droch sgeul dhachaigh ort fhèin*, "However far you go abroad, bring home no ill tale of yourself" (Nicolson 2003: 8).

185. *Aithghearr an tàilleir dhuibh do Ghleann Cuaich, mun cuairt an saoghal*, "The black tailor's short cut to Glen Quoich - round the world" (Nicolson 2003: 9).

186. *Aitneachadh bò badhail, no fàilt' a' chruidh*, "The wandering cow's welcome, or the kine's salute"[35] (Nicolson 2003: 9).

187. *Am fear a bhios fad' aig an aiseag, gheibh e thairis uaireigin*, "He that waits long at the ferry will get over some time" (Nicolson 2003: 13).

188. *Am fear a cheanglas, 's e shiùbhlas*, "He that ties best travels best"[36] (Nicolson 2003: 14).

189. *Am fear a dh'imich an cruinne, cha d'fhiosraich co-dhiù b'fheàrr luathas no maille; ach thug e 'n t-urram do dh'fhear na moch-èirigh*, "He who went round the globe couldn't tell which was best, speed or slowness; but he gave the palm to the early riser" (Nicolson 2003: 14).

190. *Am fear a thèid don taigh mhòr gun ghnothach, bheir e gnothach às* (*Am fear nach toir gnothach a-mach, bheir e gnothach dhachaigh. Am fear nach toir gnothach don bhaile mhòr, bheir e gnothach às)*, "He that goes without business to the great house will get something there to do" (Nicolson 2003: 19).

191. *Am fear a thig anmoch Disathairne 's a dh'fhalbhas moch Diluain - b'fheàrr leam airson a chuideachaidh an duine sin a dh'fhuireach bhuam*, "Who comes late on Saturday night and early on Monday goes away, for any help I get from him, I'd rather like him at home to stay" (Nicolson 2003: 19).

192. *Am fear a thig gun chuireadh, suidhidh e gun iarraidh*, "He that comes unbidden will sit down unasked" (Nicolson 2003: 19).

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[34] Literally, a gowk's errand (All the commentaries to the Gaelic proverbs are from their Scottish editions).

[35] When a strange beast joins a herd, the rest attack it.

[36] He that fastens his knapsack or bundle most carefully will go with least interruption.

193. *Am fear as fhaide chaidh on taigh, 's e 'n ceòl bu bhinne chual' e riamh 'Tiugainn dachaigh'*, "To him that farthest went away the sweetest music he ever heard was 'Come home'"[37] (Nicolson 2003: 17).

194. *Am fear as fhaide chaidh riamh on taigh, bha cho fad' aige ri tighinn dachaigh*, "The man that went farthest from home had as far to come back" (Nicolson 2003: 17).

195. *Am fear nach eil math air aoigheachd na h-oidhche thoirt seachad, tha e math air saodachadh an rathaid*, "He that is not good at giving a bed is good at showing the road" (Nicolson 2003: 23).

196. *Am fear nach treabh aig a' bhaile, cha treabh e às*, "He that won't plough at home won't plough abroad" (Nicolson 2003: 25).

197. *An cleachdadh a bhios aig duine staigh, bidh e aig' air chèilidh*, "As his habits are at home, so they are with strangers" (Nicolson 2003: 28).

198. *An cnocan, an crocan,' ars a' chailleach gu leòdach, 'far an do chaill mi mo Ghàidhlig, ''s nach d'fhuair mi mo Bheurla*, "'The hillock, the hillock,' said the old woman, lisping, 'where I lost my Gaelic, and didn't find my English.'"[38] (Nicolson 2003: 29).

199. *An uair a bhios an sgadan mu thuath, bidh Murchadh Ruadh mu dheas*, "When the herring is in the north, Red Murdoch is in the south"[39] (Nicolson 2003: 42).

200. *An uair a bhios càch air an eathar, bidh siubhal nan taighean aig Loiream*, "While the rest are with the boat, Trifler goes from house to house"[40] (Nicolson 2003: 41).

201. *An uair a thrèigeas na dùthchasaich Ìle, beannachd le sìth Alba!* "When the natives forsake Islay, farewell the peace of Scotland!" (Nicolson 2003: 46).

202. *Beannachd a shaoid 's a shiubhail leis! Biodh e nochd far an robh e raoir*, "The blessing of his state and his journey be with him! Let him be tonight where he was last night"[41] (Nicolson 2003: 56).

203. *Beannachd Chaluim Ghobha: 'Mo thogair ged nach till'*, "Smith Malcolm's blessing: 'I care not if he come not back'" (Nicolson 2003: 56).

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[37] East or West, home is best. (Eng.) *East or West, hame is best*. (Scot.) *Ost und West, daheim das Best*. (Germ.) *Oost, West, t'huis best.* (Dutch.) *Casa mia, casa mia, per piccina que tu sia, tu mi sembri una badia./ Casa mia, mamma mia*. (Ital.)

[38] No man had a keener appreciaton of the absurd conceit which leads some weak-minded Celts to affect ignorance of their mother-tongue a few months' absence in the Lowlands, from which they bring home a kind of English so fine as to be unintelligible.

[39] The restless, unlucky man.

[40] This is a Lewis saying applied to contemptible fellows who stay at home while proper men go hazarding their lives at sea.

[41] This is like an Oriental expression of hospitality.

204. *Beus na tuath far am bìtear, is e a nìtear*, "The manners of the folk one lives among will be followed"[42] (Nicolson 2003: 58).

205. *Bha doras Fhinn don ànrach fial*, "Fingal's door was free to the needy" (Nicolson 2003: 61).

206. *Bheirinn cuid oidhche dh aged a bhiodh ceann fir fo achlais*, "I would give him a night's quarters though he had a man's head under his arm" (Nicolson 2003: 65).

207. *Bidh dùil ri fear-fairge, ach cha bhi ri fear-reilige*, "There is hope of the man at sea, but none of the man in the churchyard" (Nicolson 2003: 70).

208. *Bidh dùil ri fear-feachda, ach cha bhi ri fear-lice*, "The man of war may return, but not the buried man" (Nicolson 2003: 71).

209. *Ceilidh nam ban Slèibhteach*, "The visiting of Sleat women"[43] (Nicolson 2003: 87).

210. *Cha bhi dùthchas aig mnaoi no aig sagart*, "Women and priests have no birth-tie" (Nicolson 2003: 91).

211. *Cha bhi saoithreach gun siubhal*, "The industrious must be on the move" (Nicolson 2003: 93).

212. *Cha chreach e dùthaich*, "He won't ruin the countryside"[44] (Nicolson 2003: 98).

213. *Cha chumar taigh le beul dùinte*, "House with closed door can't be kept"[45] (Nicolson 2003: 100).

214. *Cha duine glic a thèid tric don bhaile mhòr*, "He is not a wise man who goes often to the city" (Nicolson 2003: 111).

215. *Cha tèid pòsadh thar muir*, "Marriage goes not beyond sea" (Nicolson 2003: 141).

216. *Chaidh tu gu Dùn Bheagain orm*, "You went to the extreme with me" (Nicolson 2003: 148).

217. *Chan eil àit' am bi meall nach bi fasgadh mu bhonn*, "Wherever a height is, there is shelter below" (Nicolson 2003: 120).

218. *Chan eil fèill no faidhir air nach faighear Maol Ruainidh*, "There's no holiday nor fair but Mulrony will be there"[46] (Nicolson 2003: 124).

219. *Chan ionann iùl do dhithis no slighe do thriùir*, "Two men will take diverse roads, and three will go different ways" (Nicolson 2003: 132).

220. *Chan ionann sgeul a' dol don bhaile mhòr 's a' tighinn dachaigh*, "It's a different story, going to town and coming back" (Nicolson 2003: 132).

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[42] When you are in Rome, do as Romans do. (Eng.)

[43] Their visits were prolonged till next morning.

[44] An expression of hospitality in reference to a guest.

[45] A very hospitable saying.

[46] A silly woman who frequents fairs too much.

221. *Chan ionann togradh do dhuine, a' dol a dh'iarraidh mnatha 's ga cur dhachaigh*, "Very different is a man's desire, going for his wife and sending her home" (Nicolson 2003: 132).

222. *Duine còir an rathaid mhòir 's bèist mhòr a-staigh*, "A fine man abroad, and a great beast at home" (Nicolson 2003: 190).

223. *Easgaidh mun rathad mhòr seach a dhoras fhèin*, "More quick to show the high road than his own door" (Nicolson 2003: 192).

224. *Euchdach a-muigh, is brèineach a-staigh*, "Distinguished abroad, disgusting at home" (Nicolson 2003: 193).

225. *Fada bhon t-sùil, fada bhon chridhe*, "Far from the eye, far from the heart" (Nicolson 2003: 194).

226. *Fàg cuid dithis a' feitheamh an fhir a bhios a-muigh*, "Leave the share of two for him that is away" (Nicolson 2003: 195).

227. *Faodaidh sinn eag a chur san ursainn*, "We may cut a notch in the doorpost"[47] (Nicolson 2003: 198).

228. *Faoileag an droch chladaich*, "The seagull of a bad shore"[48] (Nicolson 2003: 198).

229. *Furain an t-aoigh a thig, greas an t-aoigh tha falbh*, "Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest" (Nicolson 2003: 209).

230. *Gach olc an tòin a' choimhich*, "Let the blame of every ill be on the stranger" (Nicolson 2003: 212).

231. *Ged is e 'n taigh, chan e mhuinntir*, "Though it be the house, these are not its people"[49] (Nicolson 2003: 223).

232. *Ged is fhad' a-mach Barraigh, ruigear e*, "Though Barra be far out, it can be reached" (Nicolson 2003: 223).

233. *Gheibh rìgh feachd, 's gheibh domhan daoine*, "Kings will find armies, and the world men" (Nicolson 2003: 227).

234. *Is anfhann a thig, 's làidir a thèid*, "Weak they come, and strong depart"[50] (Nicolson 2003: 237).

235. *Is aobhach duine an taice ri chuid*, "A man is cheerful near his own" (Nicolson 2003: 241).

236. *Is binn gach ian 'n a dhoire fhéin* "Sweet sings each bird in his own grove"[51] (MacGillivray: 15).

237. *Is diombuan gach cas air tìr gun eòlas*, "Fleeting is the foot in a strange land" (Nicolson 2003: 253).

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[47] Said on occasion of a long expected or unexpected visit - marking the day with a white stone.
[48] Applied to poor creatures still preferring their wretched home.
[49] Said when an old house is tenanted by new people, a common thing in the Highlands.
[50] Refers to infants.
[51] There's no place like home.

238.   *Is e miann na lach an loch air nach bi i*, "The duck's desire is the water where she's not" (Nicolson 2003: 260).

239.   *Is èasgaidh an droch ghille air chuairt*, "The bad servant is brisk abroad" (Nicolson 2003: 261).

240.   *Is éigin dol far am bi 'n fhoid,* "One must go where his grave awaits him" (MacGillivray: 8).

241.   *Is fada cobhair o mhnaoi 's a muinntir an Eirinn*, "Far is aid from her whose folk are in Ireland" (Nicolson 2003: 263).

242.   *Is fhada Dùn Eideann bhon fhear tha 'g èirigh san Stòr*, "Edinburgh is far from the man who rises at Stoer"[52] (Nicolson 2003: 264).

243.   *Is fheàirrd' an luch sàmhchair, mar a thuirt luch a' mhonaidh ri luch a' bhaile*, "The mouse is the better of quietness, as the moor-mouse said to the town-mouse" (Nicolson 2003: 265).

244.   *Is fheàrr coimhearsnach am fagas na bràthair fad' o làimh,* "Better a neighbour at hand than a brother far away" (Nicolson 2003: 273).

245.   *Is fheàrr coimhearsnach math sa bhaile seo na caraid anns a' bhail' ud thall*, "Better a good neighbour in this town than a kinsman in yon town"[53] (Nicolson 2003: 273).

246.   *Is fhurasd' a chur a-mach, fear gun an teach aige fhèin*, "'Tis easy to put out a man whose own the house is not"[54] (Nicolson 2003: 281).

247.   *Is fhusa duine chumail a-muigh na chur a-mach nuair thig e staigh*, "It's easier to keep a man out than to put him out when in" (Nicolson 2003: 282).

248.   *Is gorm na cnuic the fada uainn*, "Green are the hills that are far from us"[55] (Nicolson 2003: 285).

249.   *Is ioma rud a thachras ris an fhear a bhios a-muigh*, "Many things happen to him who goes abroad" (Nicolson 2003: 290).

250.   *Is làidir a thèid, is anfhann a thig*, "Strong they go, and weak return" (Nicolson 2003: 292).

251.   *Is miann le triubhas a bhith measg aodaich, is miann leam fhèin a bhith measg mo dhaoine*, "Trews like to be among clothes; I like to be among my people" (Nicolson 2003: 308).

252.   *Is treasa dithis san àtha gun bhith fada bho chèile*, "Two crossing the ford are best near each other" (Nicolson 2003: 322).

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[52] Stoer is a parish in the west of Sutherland.

[53] *Eun amezek mad (math) a zo gwell, evit na e kerent (na caraid) a-bell* (Bret.). *God nabo er bedre end Broder i anden By* (Dan.). *E meglio un prossimo vicino che un lontano cugino* (Ital.).

[54] Referring to the ejection of poor tenants in the Highlands.

[55] The distant is most admired, and green grass was considered the best thing that could be on a hill. *Is glas iad na conic i bhfad uainn* (Ir.).

253. *Is uasal a bhith 'nad shuidhe, 'nad ruith*, "It's noble to be sitting and running"[56] (Nicolson 2003: 328).

254. *Itheam, òlam, caidileam*, "Let me eat, let me drink, let me sleep" (Nicolson 2003: 329).

255. *Leig do cheann far am faigh thus a mhadainn e*, "Lay your head where you'll find it in the morning" (Nicolson 2003: 334).

256. *Ma bheir thu Muile dhiom, cha toir thu muir is tìr dhiom*, "You may take Mull from me, but you can't take sea and land from me" (Nicolson 2003: 338).

257. *Mar a bha gille mòr nam bram - chan fhuirich e thall no bhos*, "Like the great windy lad - he won't stay there or here" (Nicolson 2003: 346).

258. *Mo chuid fhèin, mo bhean fhèin is 'Tiugainn dachaigh,' trì faclan as blaisde th' ann (Na trì rudan as mìlse th' ann - mo chuid fhèin...)*, "My own property, my own wife and 'Come home,' three of the sweetest of words" (Nicolson 2003: 354).

259. *Mòr a-muigh, 's beag a-staigh,* "Great abroad, small at home" (Nicolson 2003: 356).

260. *Na toir bò à Paibil, 's na toir bean à Boighreigh,* "Don't take a cow from Paible, or a wife from Borerary"[57] (Nicolson 2003: 369).

261. *Olc mun fhàrdaich, is math mun rathad mhòr,* "Bad at home, good abroad" (Nicolson 2003: 374).

262. *Suirghe air na h-aonaichean, is pòsadh aig a' bhaile,* "Wooing o'er the moor, and marrying at home" (Nicolson 2003: 392).

263. *Suirghe fada bhon taigh, 's pòsadh am bun an dorais,* "Courting far from home, and marrying next door" (Nicolson 2003: 392).

264. *Thiginn gu d'choimhead ged bhiodh tu a' còmhnaidh an còs creige,* "I would come to see you, though you lived in a rock-cave" (Nicolson 2003: 409).

265. *Thoir bean à Ifrinn, 's bheir i dha taigh fhèin thu (bheir i rithist ann thu),* "If you take a wife from Hell, she'll take you home with her (she'll bring you back there)" (Nicolson 2003: 410).

266. *Treubhach a-muigh agus meadhrach a-staigh,* "Brave abroad and cheery at home" (Nicolson 2003: 414). [58]

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[56] Said of driving in a carriage.

[57] Paible is a farm and village in North Uist, Borerary another island near it.

[58] The Highland type of a man of the right sort.

CELTIC MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE: TOWARDS A NEW WARRIOR IDENTITY IN THE PRE-ROMAN EASTERN EUROPE[1]

GENNADIY KAZAKEVICH

1. Introduction

The lands of present day Ukraine are stretched across the distinct periphery of the 'Celtic world'. From the midfirst millennium BC the cultural background of this part of Eastern Europe was defined mainly by the Scythian culture of North Pontic steppes as well as by Hellenistic influences from the Greek colonies of the Black sea littoral zone and the kingdom of Bospor in the Crimea. However, starting from the early third century BC, the influence of the Central European La Tène culture extended to a much degree. This process was traditionally viewed as a result of either Celtic invasion (Machinskij 1974) or indirect trade contacts with the La Tène zone of Central Europe (Maksymov 1999).

Currently both 'migration-focused' and 'autochthon-based' approaches seem to be out of date. In recent studies, the Latènisation of Southern and Eastern Europe is interpreted as a culture-restructuring process affecting indigenous communities similar in many aspects to the Hellenisation of the Mediterranean region (see Džino 2007). The adaptation of La Tène cultural aesthetics and technical achievements, as well as Celtic linguistic elements caused the emergence of new ways of expressing identity. However, in some cases the traditional colonization paradigm still cannot be totally rejected. The aim of this paper is to show the finds of Celtic and related military equipment from the territory of

Ukraine in the broad context of 'Latènisation' of Eastern Europe in the third – first centuries BC period.

2. The weapons, horse and chariot gear from the Upper Tisza area

The only region of present day Ukraine where La Tène sites are sufficiently widespread is the Upper Tisza basin (see Map 1).

Map 1. The Upper Tisza basin

Between the seventh and the fourth centuries BC, the territory which lays south-westwards of the Carpathian mountains was occupied by the Kushtanovycya[2] culture primarily associated with the Northern Thracians. In the early third century BC the cultural situation in the region seemed to change radically. New technologies of the house building, pottery making and metal-working were introduced in the Upper Tisza area and new centers of economical and political activity emerged. The most important one was the settlement on Galish and Lovachka hills near the modern town of Mukacheve (fig. A). The Galish-Lovachka site had been unsystematically excavated by a number of amateur archaeologists between 1844 and 1930. About a thousand items were found in the twenty four half-dugout dwellings and the occupation layer of the site (Bidzilya 1971: 30-8). Two inhumation graves with Celtic coins from Galish hill are the only known La Tène burials from this part of the Upper Tisza area. It is likely that the local La Tène group used a burial rite that left no archaeologically detectable traces (such situation was typical of many Eastern Celtic regions). Several cremation graves found in the region containing mixed Kushtanovycya and La Tène inventory seem to show not the indigenous influence on the local Celtic inhabitants

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[2] Note that all modern place-names from the territory of Ukraine mentioned in both the paper and in the appendix are given according to the up-to-date Ukrainian spelling. The transliteration standard used is GOST 7.79 system B (the exception is Cyrillic letter "ы" ("и" in Ukrainian) which is transliterated as "y" instead of "y`"). If necessary, the regional distribution of the sites, including their districts and regions is pointed out to simplify the verification of the data. It has to be taken into account that some Ukrainian towns and villages were renamed in the last two decades, and to avoid the confusion the older names are given in brackets.

(Eremenko 1997: 36), but rather the adaptation of the La Tène fashion by either neighbouring or subdued Thracian population which at least partly preserved its cultural distinction.

The collection of Celtic military equipment from Galish-Lovachka consisted of a short sword with an X-shaped handle (l = 41 cm) (fig. 2); two middle La Tène swords (72,5 and 75 cm), 12 large curved knives, 27 spearheads, 2 javelin heads and 14 arrow heads (fig. 1.1), 9 iron chain belts for hanging a sword (fig. 1.2). The finds of horse gear and chariot fittings (Bidzilya 1971: 72-6, 80, fig. 17, 28-30) demonstrate that such an important element of the Celtic warfare as the use of cavalry and chariots was employed by the local population (fig. 1.4). In the early twentieth century, the cultural layer of the Galish-Lovachka site was mostly destroyed by the plantage ploughing. Additional research conducted in 1962 and 1964 was unsuccessful.

In 1988-1989, the archaeologists of Uzhgorod State University excavated several storage pits and a half-dugout dwelling (4.1 x 2.4 m) on the Lovachka hill. The cultural layer contained the fragments of pottery (mostly wheel-made) and several metal goods, including the iron tip of the scabbard (Kotygoroshko 1988/150: 17-20, fig. 3; Balaguri, Kotygoroshko 1989/197, p. 19-21, fig. 21). V. Kotygoroshko who conducted the research states that during the excavations a dry stone wall was revealed along the crest of the Galish hill (2008: 126).

Apart from the Galish-Lovachka site, there are about two dozen La Tène sites in the Ukrainian part of the Upper Tisza basin. Most of them are the settlements that consisted of a few half-dugout dwellings of rectangular or improper form with the pillar structure of walls and storage pits. The fragments of pottery, both hand and wheel made, clay spindle whorls and rare metal goods are the typical items representing the material culture of those complexes. The military equipment is almost unknown and the fragment of an iron chain belt from Oleshnyk settlement (fig. 4) is the only exception (Penyak, Popovich, Potushnyak, 1977/18: 33-6, fig. 76). Only a few sites contained the remains of iron working which are known from the settlements of Bakta, Dyjda, Oleshnyk and Uzhgorod (see Appendix). The finds of glass slag from Dyjda prove the existence of at least one glass making workshop. Along with the small *vici*, there were highly specialised centers of metallurgy which consisted of working grounds where the remains of forges, slag and iron aggregations can be found (fig. 5). Nove Klynove, the largest of them, comprised about 200 forges (Bidzilya 1971: 21-30).

Almost all La Tène sites in the area contained fragments of Kushtanovycya culture hand-made pottery. However, the settlement structures, the technologies of iron and glass working, wheel-made pottery making, the art style and other aspects of material culture of the La Tène sites of the region were unfamiliar to the local population before the early third century BC. The style of combat in which the long slashing swords, iron chain belts and chariots were used may also be considered as foreign to the indigenous population. Such rapid and radical changes cannot be explained in terms of cultural diffusion. It seems that the La Tène group of the Upper Tisza area demonstrates the classical pattern of migration and acculturation.

It is not clear when the La Tène sites of the Upper Tisza area were abandoned. Most scholars believe that the decline of the local Celtic settlements was caused by the military activity of the Dacians in the middle of the first centry BC, attested in the classical sources (Eremenko 1997: 35; Kotygoroshko 2008: 168). However, it should be emphasized that almost all La Tène objects with more or less precise dating may belong to LT C1-C2 period. In this regard, it is highly probable that the Celtic settlements of the Ukrainian part of the Upper Tisza area ceased to exist at least in the late second century BC. The La Tène artifacts dating to LT D period come exclusively from the Dacian sites of the region. Considering the fact that seven ritually bent late La Tène swords were excavated in the Dacian cemetery near the Mala Kopania hill-fort (Kotigorosko 2009: 36-7, fig. 29), it is possible to suggest that the Dacians adopted the elements of the Celtic weaponry.

3. The La Tènised communities eastward of the Carpathians

In contrast, the links between the Celtic mainland and the lands eastward of the Carpathian mountains which comprised the *Scythia Magna* for a long period of time were rather indirect. Some forms of La Tène jewellery were adopted by the North Pontic population as early as the fourth century BC. The early La Tène ribbed arm-rings are reported from various Getic, Scythian and Hellenistic sites within the territory of Ukraine, although most of them were produced locally (e.g., fig. 16.1, 3). The casting-form for the production of such arm-rings comes from the Greek colony Olbia in the Southern Bug firth (see Shchukin 1994: 96-101; Eremenko 1997: 202-9). There are about a dozen of the Duchcov fibulae (Ambroz 1966: 12) and a few La Tène neck-rings found in the lands of present day Ukraine (fig. 13-14).

Fig. A. The modern town of Mukacheve
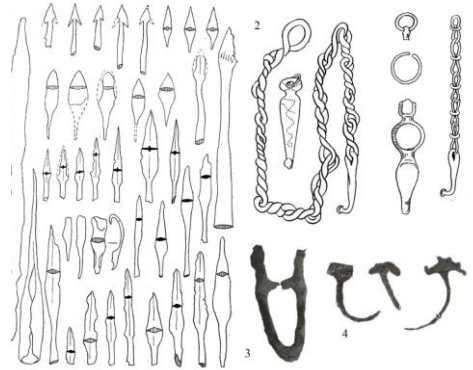
Figs. 1.1-1.4. Galish-Lovachka

Fig. 2. Galish-Lovachka sword

Fig. 4. Oleshnyk iron chain belt: fragment

Fig. 5. Excavations at Nove Klynove in 1966

However, most of them may be regarded as imports, perhaps with the exception of the Duchcov brooch from the cremation burial of Zalissya which also contained the clay La Tène-like urn (Belyashevskij 1904). The burial from Zalissya and the pottery-making workshop from Bovshiv in the Upper Dniester area (Krushelnitskaya 1965) are currently the only known 'pure' La Tène sites eastward of the Carpathians.

In the early second century BC, the Poieneşti-Lukashevka and Zarubynci cultures emerged in the lands of Eastern Europe. The La Tène traditions of Temperate and South-Eastern Europe influenced both cultures to a great extent, but this was especially true in the case of the Zarubynci one. The bearers of the Poieneşti-Lukashevka and Zarubynci cultures adopted the wire middle La Tène brooches which are among the most widespread findings of the third-first centuries BC metalwork in the Eastern Europe. The Zarubynci culture bearers used to wear the middle La Tène fibulae with the triangular ending of stem (the so-called "fibula of the Zarubynci type"). Outside of the Zarybynci culture area such fibulae are known only in the lands of Scordisci in Middle Danube area. The La Tène influence is also evident in the funeral rite and pottery-making of the Zarubynci culture (see Pachkova 2006: 340-47). Hardly anything could be said about the military traditions of those cultures as the findings of weapons are scarce.

Some linguistic evidence reflecting the 'Celticisation' of the Eastern European cultural milieu is known as well. The Greek epigraphic decree in honour of Protogenes mentions the Γαλαται threatening Olbia and the nearby Scythian tribes (Latyshev 1885: 37-40). The precise dating of the decree is unknown, although it may describe the events of either the late third century BC (Vinogradov 1989, p. 181-3) or the early second century BC (Andreeva 2004: 102). A. Falileyev notes an ethnic name Ὀλατικου from the Greek inscription found in the Bukovyna region which to his view may be reconstructed as [Γα]λατικου (Falileyev 2007: 7). Some Celtic-like place and ethnic names were mentioned by Greek authors. Strabo (VI. 2. 3) and Plutarch (Mar. 11. 12) who used the records of Posidonius (late second century BC) noted a pseudo-ethnic entity Κελτοσκύθαι, stating that the Celtic lands were stretching down to the Moeotis littoral zone (the Azov sea). Claudius Ptolemy who used the sources dating to the turn of the eras mentions several place- and ethnic names on the lands of the Scythia Magna which currently are considered to be undoubtedly Celtic (Sims-Williams 2006: 218-19; Falileyev 2005; Falileyev 2007: 4-9). Among them are Καρρόδουνον, Μαιτώνιον and Ἡρακτον in the Upper Dniester basin (Claud. Ptol. III. 5. 15). The Greek geographer also mentions the ethnicon Βριτολάγαι as well as the place

names Νουϊόδουνον and Ἁλιόβριξ on the banks of the Lower Danube firth (*ibid*. III. 10. 7). In the year 63 BC the Celtic mercenaries of Mithridates VI Eupatoros lead by their chieftain Βιτοιτος are mentioned on the territory of the Bospor kingdom by Appian (Mithr. 111).[3]

4. The La Tène swords from Scythia

Probably, the most notable La Tène site in the North Pontic area is

Fig. 7. The Vyshhetarasivka metal goods

the inhumation burial from Vyshhetarasivka (also known as Verkhniaya Tarasovka) which contained a LT B2/C1-C2 sword (*l* = 83 cm), a head piece of a spear (*l* = 40 cm) and a fragmented brooch of an uncertain type. A. Bodiansky who excavated the grave in the late 1958 reported that its inventory contained also a Scythian "knife", 27 head pieces of arrows, a clay pot and a bead (Bodyanskij 1962). As a result, for a long time it was believed that Vyshhetarasivka grave reflected the contacts between Scythian and Celtic military elites. On the other hand, the arrow heads from the grave date back to the fifth century BC and, as K. Bunatyan informed me,

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[3] Some Celtic-like toponyms are attested among the modern river-names of Ukraine in the area of the Zarubynci culture as well. For example, A. Falileyev supports the earlier O. Trubachov's view regarding the probable Celtic origin of the river-names *Otavin* (Отавин), *Tynya* (Тиня) and *Tnya* (Тня) in the Horyn' river basin. In his point of view, those river-names are comparable with the Celtic stem *tauo* < *tauso-* 'silencieux, tranquille' (Falileyev 2006: 72-73). Thus, A. Falileyev notes that no hydronym of Celtic provenance has been securely attested in the territories of the "eastern Celts", including the Balkans and North Western Dacia (*ibid*. 74). It is intriguing that not far from the *Tnya* river (in the distance of about 40 km) there is a river *Myka* (Мика). While the Slavic etymology of this hydronym is problematic, it is comparable with Celtic *moch* 'boar, pig' (Old Irish *mucc*). It is known that until the mid-nineteenth century the alternative name for the *Myka* river was *Svynoluzhka* that may be roughly translated as 'a swine's rivulet' (currently the hydronym *Svynoluzhka* survived in the name of one of the *Myka* tributaries). However, one must note that the river-names mentioned above were documented as late as the twelfth century AD, so that their 'Celticity' shall always be doubtful.

the iron "knife" is indeed the Scythian short sword which dates back to the sixth-fifth centuries BC. So, it is most likely that A. Bodyanskij, who was not a professional archaeologist, excavated two different graves. Unfortunately, all the findings from the Vyshhetarasivka site are now lost. If one were to judge by the only preserved photograph (fig. 7) the lower part of both the sword and scabbard was sufficiently damaged by corrosion which was the cause of A. Bodyanskij's misleading graphic reconstruction (see Shaposhnikova, Bodyanskij, Shchepinskij 1957/10b: 34-5; Bodyanskij 1962).

The items from Vyshhetarasivka are the only middle La Tène sword and scabbard found in the North Pontic region. However, some swords of this type also come from the North-Western littoral zone of the Black sea (Pavolche, Kalnovo, Kazanlak in Eastern Bulgaria). They were found in the warrior graves of a mixed La Tène, Thracian and Hellenistic inventory (Emilov 2007: 65-66; Emilov 2010: 76-77; Theodossiev 2005: 89-90).

It is also possible that the sword from Vyshhetarasivka belongs to either a gift or booty category. Furthermore, the burial could reflect the penetration of some Celticised warrior bands, possibly from Thrace. This suggestion may be proved by the findings of several double-spring La Tène brooches from the Panticapaeum and Lower Dnipro area (Shchukin 1994: 98-100, fig. 34.12, 15) which were widespread in Thrace in the third century BC. While the form of brooch was 'Celtic', some of the double-spring fibulae were produced in the Hellenistic settlements (Seuthopolis, Sboryanovo) (see Emilov 2010: 17-21; Lazarov 2010: 121, fig. 2.4). The findings of the double-spring fibulae are known from the Getic sites in Romania and Moldova. Some double-spring brooches along with middle La Tène wire fibulae with 8-like loops were found in the mound burials near Tiraspol in the Lower Dniester area (Pachkova 2006: 284, fig. 141.2). The cultural attribution of those mounds is unclear, however it is most probably that they were left by the ethnically heterogeneous population.

Two late La Tène swords come from the rich burials of the late Scythian kingdom in the Crimea. Both were found in the mausoleum in Neapolis which was used by the Scythian nobility from the late second century BC to the first century AD. It may be supposed that those artifacts attest the presence of some Celtic mercenaries in the Crimean Scythia during the Mithridatic wars. One of the swords was found in the burial of Skilurus (the king of Scythia Minor in the late second century BC) along with a large quantity of military equipment of Hellenistic and Scythian types (Zaycev 2003: 54-5, fig. 76). It is notable that the sword was

previously broken – this may reflect a well-attested La Tène tradition to damage weapons before putting them into the grave. Another fine example of a long slashing sword from the mausoleum of Scythian Neapolis (fig. 8) was found in the grave of a Scythian warlord and his family members along with a late Etruscan bronze mirror (Treister 1993, fig. 4). The sword dates back to the La Tène D_1 period, having close parallels with the finds of Celtic weapons from Switzerland (Müller 2001: 529). It is important that some other graves of the Neapolis mausoleum contained the middle La Tène brooches of the so-called "Neapolis type".

Fig. 8. The Scythian Neapolis La Tène D1 sword

Being widely distributed in both the Eastern Europe and Galatia in Asia Minor such brooches are almost unknown in the Celtic West.

5. Bosporan oval shield depictions

The North-Eastern part of the Black sea littoral zone contains further evidence of the Celtic warfare influence, most of which are various examples of the 'Celtic' oval shield from the Hellenistic Bospor kingdom (fig. 10). In the Hellenistic art, the oval shield (*thureos*) was the most
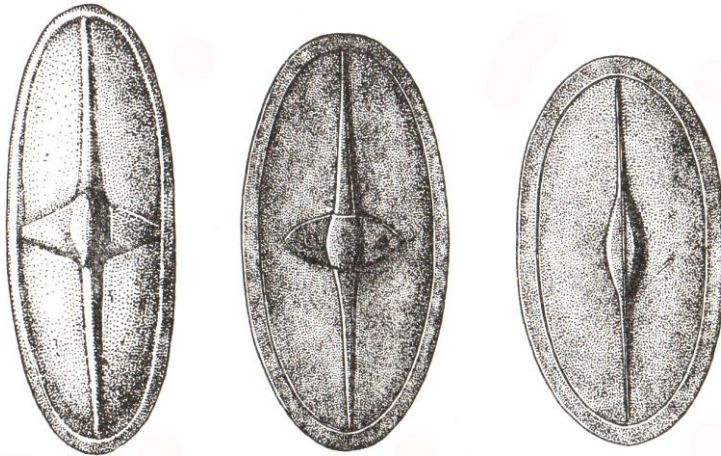
Fig. 10. The Bospor kingdom Hellenistic oval shield representations

frequently used iconographic marker of a Celtic warrior (Bienkowski 1927). At least partly, this stereotype was based on Celtic beliefs. It is known that the Celts believed that the oval shield obtained some apotropaic potential (Polyaen. IV. 6. 17; Athenaeus, IV, 40.154 a-c). Taking such facts into consideration, some scholars concluded that the appearance of an oval shield on the Bosporan works of art reflects the presence of Celtic mercenaries in the Bospor kingdom (Pruglo 1966: 205-13).

Recently it was proved that the oval shield and its various modifications were widely distributed among the non-Celtic peoples as well; in this regard, a direct association of the Bosporan artefacts with the Celts is questionable (Gunby 2002). Although the discussion concerning the Bosporan oval shields is far from being certain, it must be noted that their origin may have a different explanation in every individual case and the indirect Celtic influence is one of them.

Fig. 11. Statuettes of Celtic mercenaries

The earliest Bosporan depiction of the oval shield comes from a fresco showing the Egyptian 'Isis' battleship (the mid-third century BC) in Nyphaeum. Four shields of almost rectangular form are depicted standing on board the ship (see Vinogradov 1999). It was suggested that those depictions may be interpreted as either a Ptolemaic dynastical emblem (Eichberg 1987: 193) or a typical element of the third century BC battleship equipment (Höckmann 1999: 318-19). Although it is still possible to suggest that the Ptolemaic diplomatic mission had been accompanied by some Celtic guardians who played an important role in Egyptian military forces. In the late third century BC, the bronze coins of Leucon II containing symbols of 'short sword/oval shield' were minted in Bospor kingdom. The historical context of their emergence is unclear, however in the late third century BC similar coins were minted in Thrace by Kavaros, the ruler of the Celtic kingdom Tylis and Hellenistic towns Apros and Mesambria (both likely to have been satellitic to the state of Kavaros at the time, Lazarov 2010: 113-121). Considering the Thracian origin of the Bospor ruling dynasty and close connections between the

Bospor kingdom and the North-Western Pontic area it may be suggested that the oval shield representation was adopted by Leucon II as a symbol of political and military power in the region. The representations of the oval shield were frequently used in producing small terracotta statuettes of the 'warriors' (datable to the late third – first centuries BC; see fig. 11). Many of them have close parallels in Hellenistic art of the Mediterranean basin, e.g. the statuette of a Celtic mercenary commemorating the Egyptian victory in the Battle of Raphia c. 217 BC (Cunliffe 2000: 181). Let us bear in mind that diplomatic contacts between Egypt and the Bospor kingdom during the third century BC were particularly close and many Egyptian works of art arrived to the Bospor territory at that time (see Treister 1985). In this regard, it may be suggested that the majority of Bosporan oval shield depictions was influenced by the Ptolemaic art. Finally, it must be said that the oval shield (whether it was of Celtic origin or not) was adopted as a main defensive weapon of the Bosporan infantry in the last centuries BC.

6. Montefortino type helmets from the North Pontic area

Of other categories of military equipment once associated with the Celts are the helmets of Montefortino type. There are about twenty of such bronze helmets found in the North Pontic and Azov area. Usually they were interpreted either as a trace of Celtic mercenary and military activity in the region or as the booty taken by Sarmatian warriors in Galatia during the Mithridatic wars (see Raev, Simonenko, Treister 1990; Treister 1993: 791-98). Currently, the Celtic attribution of the majority of the Montefortino type helmets seems doubtful. Although the introduction of Montefortino type helmets must be accredited to the

Fig. 9. The Bilen`ke Montefortino type helmet, Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj Regional Museum

Celts, only the items made of iron may be attributed to the production of Celtic armourers. Throughout Europe, the bronze Montefortino helmets were widespread mainly due to the Roman troops while among the Celts such helmets were only in limited use (Paddock 1993: 469-71).

Two of the Montefortino type helmets from Mar'yivka Domanivs`kyj district of Mykolayivska region and Vesela Dolyna Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj district of Odes`ka region come from the votive hoards which contained also Scythian and Sarmatian jewellery and horse gear as well as Mediterranean bronze vessels. The votive hoards are attributed to the local nomadic population (either Scythian or Sarmatian). However, as Yu. Zaycev pointed out, the funeral rite exhibited in such complexes owes its origin to the Balkan and Danubian region (Zaycev 2007: 266). Other three helmets were found in Bilen`ke Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj district of Odes`ka region (fig. 9), Pryvillya Lysychans`kyj district of Lugans`ka region and Tokmak-Mogyla mound near Novopoltavka Chernigivs`kyj district of Zaporiz`ka region. It is quite significant that the fragments of Montefortino helmet were found in the Tauri sanctuary Gurzufs`ke Sidlo near Yalta in the Crimea along with a large number of items of Roman military equipment of the first century AD dating (Novichenkova 1998: 56). In this regard, it is most likely that the majority of Montefortino helmets penetrated into the Eastern Europe due to the Sarmatian contacts with Rome in the time of Mithridatic and Bosporan wars (first century BC – first century AD).

Some of them, however, (e.g. the helmet from Bilen`ke, datable to the late fourth – early third century BC) could reflect the Celtic military or mercenary activity in the North-Western Pontic area. In this connection, it is quite important that the Celtic context of the finds of the early Montefortino helmets from Athens and Thesprotia (Paddock 1993: 499, 501, fig. 133: 23, 146: 61) should also be invoked.

7. The late La Tène weapons from the Gryniv and Mutyn sites

The latest cultural impact from the La Tène zone reached the lands of Eastern Europe due to the Przeworsk culture widespread on the territory of present day Poland. According to the widely accepted point of view this culture emerged under the influence of the Northern European Jastorf culture and La Tène traditions of temperate Europe. Their funeral rite shows that at least the warrior elite of the Przeworsk culture bearers seems to have been 'Celticised'. The excavated warrior graves usually contain a full set of La Tène-like military equipment or even a double set of weapons. Most of the swords and spearheads had been bent or broken according to the already mentioned custom (see the end of section 2

above), well-attested in the La Tène zone (see Czarnecka 1997; 2007). In last decades of the first century BC, the Przeworsk burials containing a large number of objects of La Tène military equipment emerged in the area of the Upper Dniester basin. Among the most notable finds are the five late La Tène swords from the burial ground Gryniv (Kozak 2008: 120, fig. 42.1-43.8). The grave no. 3 contained a unique scabbard with an open work decoration which in many ways is similar to the images of the Gundestrup cauldron. Its anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures demonstrate a mixture of Celtic and Thracian art practices and religious beliefs (see Kazakevich 2010).

A late La Tène burial ground excavated at Mutyn gives another intriguing example of the penetration of a certain 'Celticised' war-band to the East. The Mutyn burial ground is located on the banks of the river Seim which is in the Middle Dnieper basin. To the present day, this is the furthest site to the East where the large quantities of the late La Tène military equipment had been revealed. The site was excavated in 2009-2010 and the outcome of the findings has not yet been published (see Terpilovskiy 2010). The cultural attribution of the Mutyn burial ground is not clear. R. V. Terpylovs`kyj suggests that it may probably belong to the local cultural group of Har'yivka which presents a distinct combination of Zarubynci culture elements and late features of Jastorf and Przeworsk cultures.

R.V. Terpylovs`kyj who conducted the research of Mutyn site generously informed me of a dozen of exceptionally rich warrior graves excavated there. All the burials date back to the late first century BC. The graves contained 13 late La Tène swords, scabbards, spearheads, fragmented chain mails, round shield bosses etc. The most impressive are the finds of five late La Tène helmets. At least two of them belong to the Novo Mesto type similar to the helmets from Bela Cerkva and Stara Gradiška in Slavonia which were produced during the first century BC by the Celtic Taurisci (Božič 2001: 475, 477; Mikhaljević, Dizdar 2007: 125-126). The finds of such helmets from outside the Middle Danube region are few, however one was found in the Przeworsk grave from Siemiechów (Poland) and the other two come from the Sarmatian burials from Boiko-Ponura and Yashkul (Russian Federation).

8. Conclusion

The finds of the La Tène and related military equipment from the territory of Ukraine may be viewed from the perspective of a very complicated and disputable process of the 'Celticisation'of Eastern Europe.

From the early third century BC, the 'La Tène impact' transformed the cultural situation in the lands of present day Ukraine to a large degree. The subsequent changes led to the emergence of a new economical and social situation on the large territory from the Carpathian Mountains to the Middle Dnieper basin.

The archaeological situation in the Upper Tisza region demonstrates the colonisation carried out by the Celts from Central Europe in so far as their way of life differed from the indigenous population. They brought a new complex of weapons and introduced a previously unknown style of combat which included the use of war chariots, long slashing swords and chain belts.

The situation was completely different on the lands eastward of the Carpathians. Isolated 'Celtic' or 'Celticised' groups from temperate Europe penetrated into the region in the third-first centuries BC.

However, the indigenous warrior elite adopted the La Tène swords and helmets as symbolic objects reflecting a high social rank of their possessors. New ritual practices, styles of combat and loanwords (e.g. ethnic and place names containing Celtic elements) may have also been subsequently introduced in the region.

The emergence of the La Tène weaponry in the North Pontic steppes, Dniester and Dnieper basins therefore reflects a process of the new warrior identity formation in the local cultural milieu.

Taras Shevchenko National University of Ukraine,
Kiev, Ukraine

Appendix

The Catalogue of the La Tène Sites, Imports and Stray Finds from the Territory of Ukraine

1. Preliminary remarks

From the early twentieth century several attempts to complete an inventory of the La Tène findings from the territory of Ukraine were made. The majority of the finds from the Upper Tisza area (Zakarpats`ka obl.) was surveyed by V. Bidzilya (1971; supplemented by Bidzilya, Shchukin 1993). The results of the excavations carried out at the La Tène sites in the recent decades remained mostly unpublished (with some exception, e.g. Kotygoroshko 2008). The only available sources of more or less complete information on the La Tène sites of Upper Tisza area which were excavated since 1970 are the typewritten reports from the Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The La Tène finds from the rest of the regions of present day Ukraine were overviewed in some papers devoted to the 'Celtic' artifacts from the Eastern Europe (e.g. Kuharenko 1959; Woźniak 1974; Shchukin 1994; Eremenko 1997). However, the methodology used in the publications mentioned above is questionable in many aspects. The main problem is the tendency to include the artifacts which are neither Celtic nor La Tène into the catalogues of the 'Celtic (La Tène) imports'. The indiscrete use of this information may to a large extent cause the overestimation of the total amount of the La Tène sites and finds from the territory of Ukraine. As an example of such approach one can allude to the paper by J. Clerc (2009) in which 556 objects from the territory of Ukraine are classified as 'Celtic'. In fact, the number of the Central European artifacts that can plausibly be classified as La Tène would seem to be at least ten times less. Let us mention in passing that the methodological approach which involves a direct association of 'La Tène' goods with the 'Celtic population' is simply out of date.

To avoid such misleading conclusions, some categories of finds which were previously considered to be 'La Tène' or 'Celtic' are omitted here. Among them are Italian bronze vessels and almost all of the Montefortino type bronze helmets, Hellenistic oval shield depictions, iron and golden boar figurines (as their attribution to the Scythian art seems doubtless), the indigenous replicas of the La Tène B ribbed arm-rings and most of the fibulae datable to the middle and late La Tène which were produced mostly by the local smiths (with the exception of several brooches of the

rare types which may be considered as evident La Tène imports from the Temperate or Southern Europe).

2. The La Tène sites of the Upper Tisza area (Zakarpats`ka region, Ukraine)

Bakta (Beregivs`kyj district): Three half-dugout dwellings (4.4 x 3.5 m; 4.5 x 3.3 m; 4.7 x 3.3 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; spindle whorls (4 in dwelling №1 and 3 in dwelling №2); fragment of a glass arm-ring (dwelling №1); a wire bronze fibula (fragment); an iron finger-ring; an iron buckle; an amber bead; some pieces of iron slag; large quantity of animal bones (small cattle, cows, wild boars) (Kotygoroshko 1982/109: 9; Balaguri 1986/57: 14-9, fig. 2.5-6, 2.8-10). Map 1.1.

Brid (Irshavs`kyj district): Working ground with slag and iron aggregations; cultural layer damaged; excavated in 1982 (Bidzilya 1982/157: 9). Map 1.2.

Dercen (Drisine) (Mukachivs`kyj district; Mala Gora stove): A damaged half-dugout dwelling with scattered hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments was found in 1973. Two years later another half-dugout dwelling with a storage pit of hand-made and wheel-made pottery was found (Penyak 1975/105: 2, 23-27, fig. 55, 56). In 1982, a damaged storage pit with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments was revealed. The cultural layer of the settlement was badly damaged by construction and agricultural works (Balaguri, Kotygoroshko 1983/152: 13, 21-22). Map 1.3.

Dyjda (Didove) (Beregivs`kyj district): Excavations of 1984 revealed a half-dugout dwelling and some pottery fragments, mostly wheel-made (Penyak, Popovich 1984/14: 27-30, fig. 41-42; Balaguri, Kotygoroshko 1984/59: 20). The excavations of 1985 revealed three half-dugout dwellings, hand-made and wheel-made pottery, two spindle whorls made of wheel-made pottery fragments, some iron goods of uncertain form, glass fragments, an iron and a glass slag (Kotygoroshko 1985/59, 11-6, fig. 2.1-4). Map 1.4.

Galish-Lovachka: Settlement on the Galish (204 m) and Lovachka (306 m) hills near Mukacheve. The Celtic settlement (S = 15 ha) had been unsystematically excavated by amateur archaeologists between 1844 and 1930. Three inhumation burials were revealed. One of them was made in a pit rounded by stones with the inventory of more than 30 Celtic derivations of Philip II and Alexander the Great coins. In the early twentieth century, the occupation layer was mostly destroyed by the agricultural works. In 1988-89, a half-dugout dwelling (4.1 x 2.4 m), several storage pits with small quantity of metal goods and lots of wheel-made and hand-made pottery fragments were excavated. The total amount

of metal goods found in dwellings and occupation layer of the site reaches a thousand of items. Currently they are preserved in the State Museum of Uzhgorod. Among the goods are:

a) *Iron tools*: opener tips (32), reaping-hoops (22), scythes (18), anvils (7), sledge-hammers (2), hammers (6), pincers (1), rasp, drill tool, axes (55), chisels (30), gouges (13), adzes (10), hack-saw, knives (11), clippers (8) etc.;

b) *Jewellery*: 2 chain belts and lots of fragments, including five bronze and three iron arm-rings, bronze finger-rings, bronze leg-ring, one Duchcov fibula and 8 wire middle La Tène brooches;

c) *Military equipment*: short sword with X-shaped handle ($l = 41$ cm); two middle La Tène swords (72,5 and 75 cm), 12 large curved knives, 27 spearheads, 2 javelin heads, 14 arrow heads, iron tip of the scabbard;

d) *Horse gear*: bits (6), chariot fittings (3); e) *Household goods*: padlock, iron chain for hanging a cauldron; grain bruisers; hayforks etc.;

f) *Pottery*: 36 hand-made and wheel-made vessels, lots of fragments. The wheel-made ceramics amounts to appr. 30% of the pottery finds;

g) *Smelting* pots (2) and moulds (6) (Bidzilya 1971: 30-3; Kotygorohko 1988/150: 17-20, fig. 3; Balaguri, Kotygoroshko 1989/197, p. 19-21, fig. 21);

h) *Coins*: tetradrachmas (18), didrachm, drachmas (3) of nine types (Kopf ohne Kinn/Rad, W-Reiter, Vogel auf Zweig, Vogel auf Helm, Schnurrbart/Rosette, Audoleontyp, Audoleonmonogramm 1, Reiter mit kurzen Armen, Armloser Reiter, Schild + Kranz, Schild + Schwert) (Kolniková 2002). Map 1.5.

Gorbok (Irshavs`kyj district): Dwelling of uncertain construction; occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (Bidzilya 1971: 41). Map 1.6.

Gut (Garazdivka) (Beregivs`kyj district): Occupation layer with traces of dwellings and fireplaces, fragments of hand-made and wheel-made vessels. The most interesting find is a hoard of more than a hundred of silver derivations of Philipp II coins in the hand-made vessel (Bidzilya 1971: 47). According to E. Kolniková the coins are of Huşi-Vovrieşti and Südostdakien types (2002: 109). Map 1.7.

Holmok (Uzhgorods`kyj district): A half-dugout dwelling (4.1 x 2.8 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (third-second centuries BC); an iron chisel; a fragment of a grain bruiser (Balaguri, Kotigoroshko 1989/197; 6-8). Map 1.8.

Klyachanove (Mukachivs`kyj district): Occupation layer ($S = 2$ ha) with a large quantity of pottery fragments. Wheel-made La Tène ceramics make

up about 30% of the total amount of the pottery finds. In 1954, the hoard of the La Tène iron tools (four axes, opener tip, chisel and cylindrical hand-punch) had been found on the Obuch ridge near Klyachanove village by the farmers. All the items are currently on display at the State Museum of Uzhgorod (Bidzilya 1971: 46). Map 1.9.

*Mala Bigan`* (Beregivs`kyj district): The pottery vessel of uncertain form containing small figurines of a boar and a human, a fragmented glass arm-ring (LT C1), a fragment of a bronze leg-ring found by farmers in 1952. The figurines and the glass arm-ring are now in possession of the State Museum of Uzhgorod (Bidzilya 1971: 46). Map 1.10 (fig. 3).

Midyanytsya (Irshavs`kyj district): Two working grounds with slag and iron aggregations. Excavated in 1983 and 1987 (Penyak, Popovich, Potushniak 1983/5: 2; Kotigoroshko 1987/143: 8-9). Map 1.11.

Mukacheve: Occupation level with a large quantity of wheel-made pottery revealed during the water pipe construction on the Zamkova street (Bidzilya 1971: 41-42; Kotygoroshko 2008: 126). Map 1.12.

Muzhyeve (Beregivs`kyj district): Two half-dugout dwellings; fragments of 25 wheel-made and 35 to 40 hand-made pottery vessels. Excavated in 1982 (Balaguri, Kotigoroshko 1983/152: 20-21). Map 1.13.

Nevetlenfolu (Dyakove) (Vynogradivs`kyj district): A damaged pit and cultural layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery which was revealed in 1970 in the Nad` Eger stove (Balaguri 1970/50: 2-3). In 1972, at the Tekerev stove the working ground with 97 forges, 10 fireplaces, 4 storage pits had been excavated (Balaguri, Potushnyak, Penyak 1972/97: 87-88). Map 1.14.

Nove Klynove (Vynogradivs`kyj district): 15 working grounds with slag agglomerations and more than 130 forges occupying a territory of approximately 50 ha on the left bank of the Botar river. Few fragments of hand-made and wheel-made pottery. The remains of forges and iron slag are known from nearby villages Yulivci, Volchans`ke and Chepe (Bidzilya, Shhukin 1993: 70-71). Map 1.15.

Oleshnyk (Vynogradivs`kyj district): Two half-dugout dwellings (4.8x5.7 m; 4.8x3.6 m); wheel-made (22%) and hand-made (78%) pottery; a small curved knife (l = 11 cm); fragment of a chain belt (fig. 4); a chisel; two iron goods of uncertain form and iron slag in dwelling no. 24; fragment of a wire fibula (?); three spindle whorls. Excavated in 1977 (Penjak, Popovich, Potushnyak, 1977/18: 33-6, fig. 76). A. Ostroverhov with reference to V. Kotygoroshko mentions the find of a glass arm-ring fragment (2007: 142-143). Map 1.16.

Osiy (Irshavs`kyj district): Several dwellings; occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; three spearheads (Bidzilya 1971: 41). Map 1.17.

Rativci (Uzhgorods`kyj district): Five dwellings; storage pits. Ceramic findings are represented mostly by fragments of hand-made vessels and to a lesser degree by wheel-made pottery fragments (Bidzilya 1971: 39). Map 1.18.

Uzhgorod: Three to five settlements in different districts of the city; stray finds: a) On the territory of the modern brickyard two dug-out dwellings with wheel-made pottery fragments were excavated. Several bronze finger-rings and arm-ring with knobs were found also.

b) The second settlement represented by the occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments on the Uzhgorod's castle hill.

c) The third settlement revealed during the excavations of the Slavic site Radvanka (eastern suburb of Uzhgorod). Occupation layer is represented by hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (Bidzilya 1971: 40-41). In 1976 iron slag pieces and some wheel-made pottery fragments were revealed.

d) Lysa Gora stove (northern suburb of Uzhgorod). Cultural layer with small pottery fragments (mostly hand-made). One fragment contained traces of iron slag. Excavated in 1976.

e) Mlaki stove (northern suburb of Uzhgorod). Damaged cultural layer with wheel-made La Tène pottery fragments and iron slag. Excavated in 1976 (Medvedev 1976/115: 2-10). Map 1.19.

*Velyka Bigan`* (Beregivs`kyj district): 1986 excavations revealed three dwellings; hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (Balaguri 1986/57: 7-8). 1987 excavations: two half-dugout dwellings (S = 11.7 and 15.6 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (Kotigoroshko 1987/143: 10-11). A. Ostroverhov citing V. Kotygoroshko mentions the fragment of a glass arm-ring found in dwelling 1 of the settlement (2007: 142-143). Map 1.20.

Verhni Remety (Irshavs`kyj district): Dwelling with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; fragment of a spindle whorl (Bidzilya 1971: 41). Map 1.21.

3. The La Tène goods from the Kushtanovycya and Dacian burials of the Upper Tisza area (Zakarpats`ka region, Ukraine)

Bobove (Vynogradivs`kyj district): Cremation burial under the mound. The grave contained 16 black glass beads, fragment of a wire fibula, some fragments of a chain belt, three hand-made vessels of the Kushtanovycya

type, two wheel-made La Tène vessels. The late La Tène painted vase is of particular interest (Bidzilya 1971: 44).

Kushtanovycya (Mukachivski district): The burial ground of the Kushtanovycya culture. The cremation grave in the burial mound no. 11 contained an inventory of items (wheel-made urn, three bronze fibulae, fragments of a bronze chain belt), all exclusively La Tène. Excavated in 1931 (Bidzilya 1971: 44).

Kolodne (Irshavs`kyj district): The burial ground of the Kushtanovycya culture. Among the grave goods of the Kushtanovycya types, a wheel-made La Tène vessel (mound no. XV) and some fragments (mounds nos. IX, XI) were excavated by G.I. Smirnova in 1958 (Bidzilya 1971: 45).

Machola (Beregivs`kyj district): The burial ground with badly damaged cremation graves unsystematically excavated in 1932. Most of the grave goods are now lost. The glass arm-ring and the wheel-made La Tène urn are currently kept in the State Museum of Uzhgorod (Bidzilya 1971: 45).

Onokivci (Uzhgorods`kyj district): A wheel-made La Tène urn from the burial ground of the Kushtanovycya culture (Bidzilya 1971: 45-46).

Mala Kopanya (Vynogradivs`kyj district): Seven ritually bent late La Tène swords from Dacian burial ground near the Mala Kopanya hill-fort; fragmented glass arm-rings (Kotigorosko 2009: 36-7: fig. 29).

4. The La Tène sites and stray finds from the lands eastward of the Carpathians

Berezhanka (Chemerovec`kyj district, Hmelnyc`ka region): Fragments of golden torques of possible La Tène origin in the hoard of uncertain cultural attribution (Vynokur 1969; Shhukin 1994: 99). In spite of the finds' similarity to the goods made by the Celtic craftsmen, it must be said that one of the fragments is close to the Havor type of torques which are known from the Baltic (Havor in Jutland, isle of Gotland, Trollhättan in Sweden) and the North Pontic (Olbia and Zalevki in Ukraine) regions. It is likely that the fragmented torque from the Dacian cemetery in Mala Kopanya belongs to the same type (Kotigoroshko 2009: fig. 40). Although the style of the torques had been inspired by the Celtic art; it is most likely that all of them were produced in the first-second century AD (Shchukin 2005: 73-81). The fact that the fragments of a hand-made pottery vessel found along with the golden torques from Berezhanka dates back possibly to the Roman period makes the Celtic attribution of the hoard even more problematic. Currently, the goods from the Berezhanka hoard are kept in the Kam'yanec`-Podil`s`kyj Museum. Map 2.1.

*Bilen`ke* (Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj district, Odes`ka region): An early Montefortino type bronze helmet. Stray find (Brujako, Rossokhatskiy 1993). The early date of the helmet (the late fourth – early third century

BC) as well as other La Tène finds from the nearby area of Tyras make an attribution of the helmet to a Celtic mercenary possible. Currently, the helmet is kept in the Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj Regional Museum. Map 2.2 (fig. 9).

Biyivci (Boguslavs`kyj district, Kyivs`ka region): A double-spring fibula (La Tène B2/C1). A stray find (Bidzilya, Shhukin 1993: 74, 82, tab. XVIII.6). Map 2.3 (fig. 14.6).

Borodyanka (Kyivs`ka region): A La Tène C fibula. A stray find (Pachkova 2006: 223, fig. 26). Map 2.4 (fig. 15.3).

Bovshiv (Galyc`kyj district, Ivano-Frankivs`ka region): A half-dugout dwelling (2.4 x 2.4m); a pit with a pottery stove; fragmented La Tène pottery of the second-first centuries BC; fragmented hand-made pottery of the Pomorsk or Poieneşti-Lukashevka culture (Krushelnitskaya 1965; Maksimov 1999: 146). Map 2.5 (fig. 17).

Chersk (Manevyc`kyj district, Volyns`ka region): An iron Duchcov fibula (La Tène B – C1) (Kukharenko 1961: 68, tab. 9.2). Map 2.6.

Dniester estuary: Seven derivations of the Hellenistic coins found in different locations. Among them are: a golden 1/8 stater with Heracles head on obverse and a horse head on reverse; a silver didrachm; a silver drachma; four lead drachmas. Silver and lead coins are supposed to be derivations of the Philip II minting (Alekseev, Loboda 2004: 91-94). The coins are currently in the possession of the Odesa Numismatics Museum. Map 2.7 (fig. 12).

Dublyany (Lvivs`kyj district, Lvivs`ka region): An iron Duchcov fibula (La Tène B – C1) in the Pomorsk culture burial (Ambroz 1966: 12, tab. 2.1). Map 2.8 (fig. 14.2).

Galych (Ivano-Frankivska region): A La Tène C fibula (fragment). A stray find (Ambroz 1966: 19). Map 2.9 (fig. 15.5).

Golovne (Lubomls`kyj district, Volyns`ka region): A bronze Duchcov fibula (La Tène B – C1) in the Pomorsk culture burial (Kukharenko 1961: 62, 64, tab. 5.13). Map 2.10 (fig. 14.3).

Gorodnycya (Gorodenkivs`kyj district, Ivano-Frankivs`ka region): A La Tène C fibula of a rare type; stray find. The Celtic attribution of the fibula is questionable. M. Babeş supposes the Baltic origin of the brooch (2005: 122-125, fig. 1, 2). Map 2.11 (fig. 15.1).

Grygorivka (Mohyliv-Podils`kyj district, Vynnyts`ka region): A bronze La Tène C fibula; stray find (Artamonov 1955: ris. 41.2.3). Map 2.12 (fig. 14.2).

Gryniv (Pustomytivs`kyj district, Lvivs`ka region): Four late La Tène swords (some of them seem to be of local production), all ritually bent; scabbard with cut-out anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures (Kazakevich 2010). Map 2.13.
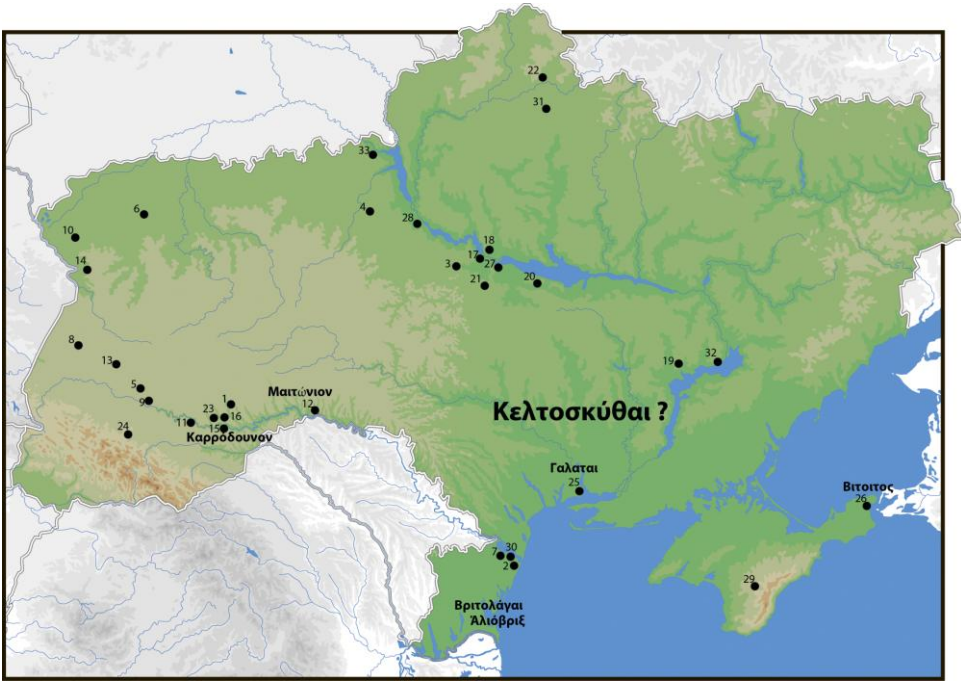
Map 2. The La Tène sites, imports and stray finds eastward of the Carpathians

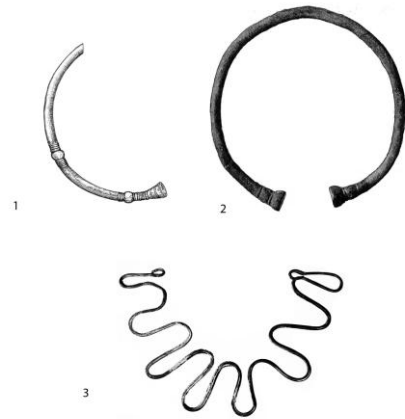*Fig. 12. The Dniester estuary coins,*
Odesa Numismatics Museum

Fig. 13. Bronze La Tène neck-rings

 Holodne (Volodymyr-Volyns`kyj district, Volyns`ka region): An iron early La Tène fibula of the unknown type; stray find (Kukharenko 1959: 45). Map 2.14.

Horoshove (Zalishchyc`kyj district, Ternopils'ka region): Fragments of the second-first century BC La Tène pottery along with the fragments of sapropelite arm-rings in two dwellings of the Poieneşti-Lukashevka culture settlement (Pachkova 1983: 45, fig. 10.6). Map 2.15.

Ivane Puste (Borshivs`kyj district, Ternopils'ka region): An early La Tène arm-ring from the Getic settlement (Ganina 1965, fig. 2.4). Map 2.16 (fig. 16.3).

Kaniv (Cherkas'ka region): An early La Tène arm-ring from the Scythian settlement (Khanenko, Khanenko 1899: tab. XI. 62, 67). Map 2.17 (fig. 16.4).

Liplyave (Kanivs`kyj district, Cherkas`ka region): Two bronze Duchcov fibulae (La Tène B – C1) on the territory of a Scythian hill-fort (Ambroz 1966: 12; Petrov 1961: tab. III.8). Map 2.18 (fig. 14.4-5).

Lower Dnipro area: Two double-spring fibulae (La Tène B2/C1). Stray finds made by A. Bodiansky; cultural context is unknown (Bidzilya, Shchukin 1993: 74, tab. XXVII.10, 11; Shchukin 1994: 99). Map 2.19 (fig. 14.7).

Makariv ostriv (the stove (?) near Cherneche Chygyryns`kyj district, Cherkas`ka region): A bronze La Tène (?) neck-ring (fragment); stray find from the excavation of the early medieval Slavic settlement (Prykhodniuk 1980: fig. 45.2; Shchukin 1994: 99). Map 2.20 (fig. 13.1).
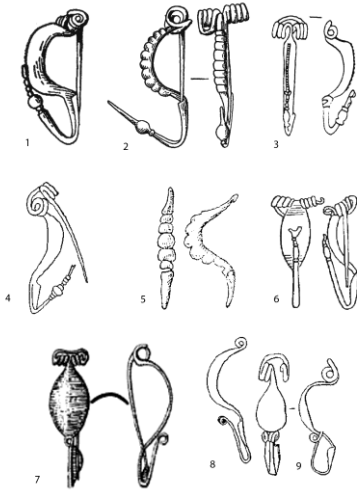
*Mel`nykivka* (Smilyans`kyj district, Cherkas`ka region): A bronze La Tène (?) neck-ring; stray find (Bobrinsky 1910: fig. 38; Shchukin 1994: 99). Map 2.21 (fig. 13.2).

Dublyany (Lvivs`kyj district, Lvivs`ka region): An iron Duchcov fibula (La Tène B – C1) in the Pomorsk culture burial (Ambroz 1966: 12, tab. 2.1). Map 2.8 (fig. 14.2).

Galych (Ivano-Frankivska region): A La Tène C fibula (fragment). A stray find (Ambroz 1966: 19). Map 2.9 (fig. 15.5).

Golovne (Lubomls`kyj district, Volyns`ka region): A bronze Duchcov fibula (La Tène B – C1) in the Pomorsk culture burial (Kukharenko 1961: 62, 64, tab. 5.13). Map 2.10 (fig. 14.3).
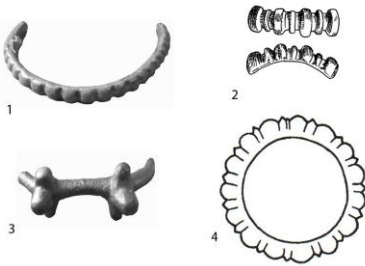
Gorodnycya (Gorodenkivs`kyj district, Ivano-Frankivs`ka region): A La Tène C fibula of a rare type; stray find. The Celtic attribution of the fibula is questionable. M. Babeş supposes the Baltic origin of the brooch (2005: 122-125, fig. 1, 2). Map 2.11 (fig. 15.1).
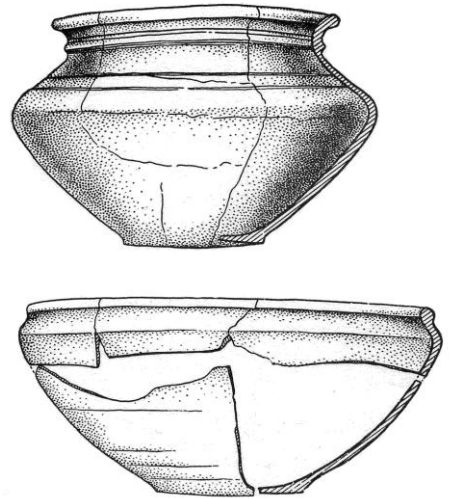
Fig. 14. Early La Tène fibulae
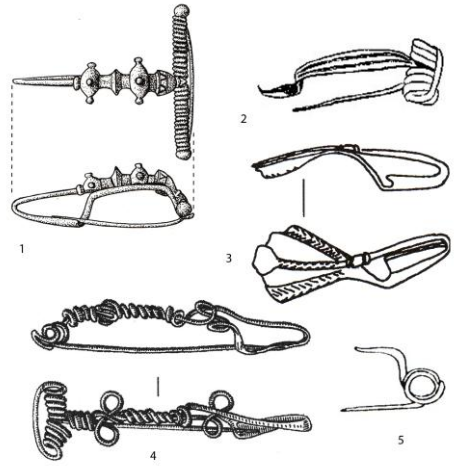
Fig. 15. Middle La Tène fibulae

Fig. 16. Early La Tène arm-rings

Fig. 17. Bovshiv La Tène wheel-made pottery

Grygorivka (Mohyliv-Podils`kyj district, Vynnyts`ka region): A bronze La Tène C fibula; stray find (Artamonov 1955: ris. 41.2.3). Map 2.12 (fig. 14.2).

Mutyn (Krolevetsky district, Sumska region): About a dozen of late La Tène swords, 5 Novo Mesto type helmets and other military equipment from the La Tènized Khar'yevka type graves (see Terpilovsky 2010). Excavations carried out between 2009-2010; most of the outcomes are not yet published. Map 2.22.

Novosilka (Zalishchyc`kyj district, Ternopils`ka region): Fragments of painted late La Tène pottery on the Lypytsya culture settlement (Kukharenko 1959: 45; Bandrivskiy, Josypyshyn 1997: 10). Map 2.23.

Nyzhnya Stynava (Stryjs`kyj district, Lvivs`ka region): Late La Tène sword, fragment of another sword along with horse gear and pottery in the burial of uncertain cultural attribution (Bandrivsky, Yosepyshyn 1997: 9-10). Map 2.24.

Olbia (Greek colony near the village of Parutyne Ochakivs`kyj district, Mykolayivs`ka region): There are no objects found in Olbia which may be evidently considered as imports from the Celtic lands. However, the Greek colony played a role of a production centre for the local La Tène-like goods. The casting-form for the La Tène B-C bronze arm-rings production came from Olbia as well as a comparably large quantity of the middle La Tène wire brooches, including the fibulae of the so-called 'Olbian type' (see Vinogradov 1989: 182). Map 2.25.

Panticapaeum (today's Kerch in the Crimea): Two double-spring fibulae (La Tène B2/C1); stray finds (Ambroz 1966: 12, 14, tab. 1.8, 9). Map 2.26 (fig. 14.8-9).

Pekari (Kanivs`kyj district, Cherkas'ka region): A wire neck-ring (fig. 13.3), a bronze "mask" (h = 3 cm; fig. 6), early La Tène arm-rings (fig. 16.1, 16.2); stray finds (Kukharenko 1959: 49). All the items (with exception of a neck-ring) are currently in possession of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in Kyiv. Map 2.27.

Pyrogiv (currently a southern suburb of Kyiv): La Tène C fibula in the Zarubynci culture burial (Pachkova 2006: fig. 25.1). Map 2.28 (fig. 15.4).

Scythian Neapolis (present day Simferopol in the Crimea): Two late La Tène swords along with several La Tène C fibulae of the Neapolis type. Found in the mausoleum of Skilurus, the king of little Scythia (late second century BC). One of the swords (l = 102 cm, fig. 8) comes from a rich grave of a Scythian warlord (box 2). Another burial in the grave contained a late Etruscan mirror. The sword is currently kept in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Treister 1993: 792-793, fig. 4). The

second sword comes from the tomb of Skilurus that contained a large quantity of military equipment. The sword had previously been broken before it was deposited into the grave (Zaycev 2003: 55, fig. 79.1). Map 2.29.

Tyras (Greek colony on the territory of today's Bilgorod-Dniestrovs`kyj town): M. Karwowski called my attention to the find of Eastern Celtic glass arm-ring from Tyras which belongs to group 15 according to the Haevernick's classification (Ostroverhov 2007: fig. 3). Currently, the arm-ring is preserved in the Bilgorod-Dnistrovs`kyj Regional Museum. Another glass bracelet possibly belongs to the group 6b; however, the quality of its drawing (*ibid*., fig. 1.5) does not permit making any plausible conclusions. According to A. Ostroverhov, the arm-rings are dated to the La Tène C1b-C2 period (*ibid*., 143). Map 2.30.

Vovkivci (Romens`kyj district, Sums`ka region): Two La Tène C fibulae in the burial of uncertain cultural attribution. Found along with glass beads, a golden finger-ring, a bronze mirror and various items of pottery (Khanenko, Khanenko 1900: 8-9, tab. XLIV.355-356, 462). Map 2.31.

Vyshhetarasivka (Tomakivs`kyj district, Dnipropetrovs`ka region; other names of the site, e.g. Verkhniaja Tarasovka and Skel`ki, are incorrect): An inhumation burial which contained the La Tène B2/C1-C2 sword ($l = 83$ cm), a head piece of the spear ($l = 40$ cm) and a fragmented brooch of the uncertain type. The drawing of the sword from the A. Bodyanskyj's paper (1962) is approximate (see Shaposhnikova, Bodyanskij, Shchepinskij 1958; Bodyanskij 1962). Map 2.32 (fig. 7).

Zalissya (Chernobyl`s`kyj district, Kyivs'ka region): A cremation burial unsystematically excavated in 1900. A hand-made clay urn of the form similar to La Tène wheel-made pottery containing a bronze Duchcov fibula. On the same site the fragments of the early La Tène arm-rings were found. All the items are currently lost (see Belyashevskiy 1904). Map 2.33 (fig. 14.1).

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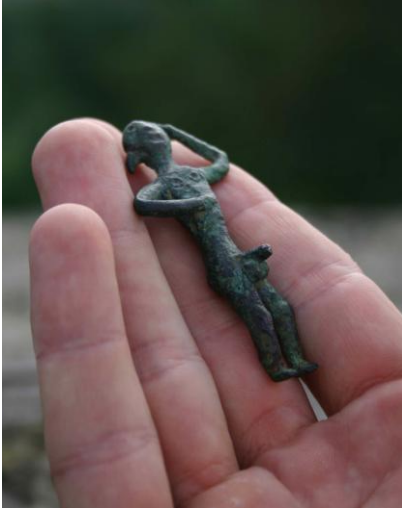
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