On Some Irish Adverbs

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MISCELLANEA

“On some Irish adverbs”

Father Walsh's notes on some Irish adverbs, *supra* pp. 132 ff., call for some remarks, though the discussion does not properly belong to Modern-Irish studies.

It is very unlikely that Mid. Ir. *sell* is the same word as the modern dialectic *sall*, for *sell* is not found alone in the sense of 'over.' It occurs several times in the phrases *sell sechtair* and *sell sis*, in which, as Windisch remarks, TBC. p. 84, its precise meaning has not yet been made out. But the correlative of *thall*, and *anall* is *innunn* or *innonn* (later *anonn*) or *de siu*¹ *sall*, which does not seem to have been noted before the present generation, is easily explained as an analogical form.

The explanation of the first syllable of *anuas* etc. as the neuter article is unconvincing. It is incredible that it could have been felt as the article in the O. Ir. period. That is shown by the form *antuaid*. And syntactically the construction with the article is impossible, for though the accusative is used after verbs of motion, it represents the *terminus ad quem*. If we had such a case here, we should expect some trace of phrases like *luid anair*, 'he went to the eastern part.' No such phrase occurs. It is always *táinic anair*, 'he came from the east.' As far back as these adverbs can be traced they signify motion from, never motion to. Thus the opposite of *anall* is *de siu* in Sg. 71b 1, 2; *frie anall—frie de siu*, 'on yonder side of it—on this side of it,' lit. 'towards it from yonder—towards it from this.'

The use of *-úd -ód* with *anall* proves nothing as to the origin of *an-*, for these are not uncommonly added to *thall*, which has no article. Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn has *thallód a ttús aimseire*, 'away in the beginning of time,' R.I.A. 23 L 17, 66b. Eochaidh Ó Heoghusa has *tallód a ttosaiugh dhomhain*, ib. 94b; another copy, quoted ZCP. ii. 360, reads *thallúd a ttosach dhomhuinn*. *hallód* occurs in the volume of Irish Sermons printed in London in 1711, p. 130a. And *thallad*, with the usual shortening of the unaccented syllable, is still used in Scotland. In fact *-úd* or *-ód* (the latter form is common even after nouns in poetry) is only one of the demonstrative particles which made be added to adverbs of place whether they express rest or motion; cf. *siar-ain*, *thiar-ain*, *aniar-ana*, *sios-ana* etc. I hope to deal with these forms on another occasion.

As for *alla*, it is only necessary to point out that if it began with the article the stress would be on the second syllable, and if Father Walsh's etymology were sound we should have a *lle* (like *i lle*).² But the accent is not on the second syllable. Apparently this is the word used in Hy. I 51 (Thes. ii. 306) *connoebaib Alban alla* 'with the saints of Alba on the other side,' where it rhymes with *clanna*. If so, its final *a* may be of the same origin as that of O. and Mid. Ir. *sunda*, *sunna* beside *sund*, *sunna*, 'here.'

Father Walsh's objection to the equation of *an* with Welsh *han* is not stated. There is no phonetic difficulty. Both would come from **san-*, cf. the O. Ir. adj. *sain* 'separate,' 'different.' In Ir. the initial *s* of proclitics commonly disappears, as in the definite article. Thurneysen, Handb. p. 274, finds the same *an*, 'from,' in *can*, 'whence.'

OSBORN BERGIN.

¹Thurneysen finds a trace in O. Ir. of a form *inn-all*, 'thither,' Zu ir. Handsch. u. Litt. p. 41 n.

²Cf. however *alla anair*, 'on the east,' Bodl. Corm. s.v. *Mugeme*.