VIII.—ETYMOLOGIES. By J. STRACHAN.

1. Ir. *tallaim* 'fit in, find room' agrees well in meaning with Lith. *titpti* 'fit in, find room,' as a couple of examples will show. Compare, for instance, *méit gamlias hi tallait trichait*¹ *n-gamna*, "as large as a winter fold into which go thirty yearlings" (Feast of Bricciu, § 91), with *suvdré i tvártą, alė dá i tą tvártą netilpo*, "he drove them (the swine) together into the pen, but they could not get into the pen" (Leskien und Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen, p. 200). One might render *i tą tvártą netilpo* in Middle Irish by *ní rothallsat isin chró*. Kurschat, in his Lithuanian dictionary, furnishes a couple of additional examples—*tøj bažnyčioj totpa tūkstantis žmoniū* "in this church a thousand men find room," *tøj plecškøj stopa netelpa* "into this bottle a *stopa* (a certain measure) does not go." Compare with these Irish examples like *a toill ind ina seasam ní toilet ina suide* "the number which fit in it standing, would not (lit. do not) if sitting," *dotallfasu indi* "thou wouldst fit in it," and the like (Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, 910; Windisch, Wörterbuch, 807). Formally *tallaim* might be connected with *titpti* by assuming that the Irish verb started from a present in *-nā*; *tallaim* might come from **talpnāmi*=Idg. **tolpnāmi* or the like. Instances like *dundalla*, Milan Glosses, 31^e 17, where *tallaim* is treated as though it were a compound=*to-allaim* do not prove that *tallaim* is in its origin a compound verb. Other verbs beginning with *t*, which are certainly simple verbs, are found treated in the same way. Thus *tongim*, W. *tyngu* 'swear' is treated as though it were for *do-fongim*, *intē do-d-fongad*=is qui id iuravit, Ml. 36^a. W. *tyngu* shows conclusively that

¹ The acc. *trichait-n* must be a blunder for nom. *tricha*, MS. xxx. So also *méit lias* for *méit léis*. ait

tongim cannot have come from *to-fongim*. In verbs compounded with *to-fo-*, *tó-* alternates with *do-fo-*, and it is to the analogy of such compounds that we owe *dodfongad*.¹

2. Ir. *gemel* 'fetter' < **gemlo-*: Old Slav. *žma* 'press,' Gr. *γέντο* = **γεμ-το*, ὕγγεμος συλλαβή. Σαλαμίνιοι.²

3. Ir. *rói* 'planities' < **rovesiā*: Lat. *rus*, Zend *ravanh*. Different from this is Ir. *roe* 'battle' = W. *rhae*, which is probably cognate with *inmídrói* i. *robriss* 'broke,' Leabhar na h-Uidhri, 85^b 20, and further with *roen* 'victory,' *roenaim* 'break, defeat.' Cf. *ερείπω*, Old Norse *rífa* 'break,' *rífna* 'rumpi'?

4. Lat. *harena*, Sabine *fasena*, 'sand' is commonly connected with Skr. *bhásman* 'ashes' and its cognates, cf. Ascoli, KZ. 17 347, Fick I.³ 160, Bersu, Die Gutturalen 131, Johansson KZ. 30 432. The difficulty in this etymology is the representation of initial *bh* by *h* in Latin. There are certainly instances where *h* varies with *f*=*bh*, *dh*, *haba*, *faba*, *hordus*, *fordus*, *hebris*, *febris*, etc. But Von Planta, Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte 463 is doubtless right in regarding this change as dialectical; these cases could then be quoted in support of the above etymology of *harena* only if we suppose that *harena* came from this dialectical area, and of this there is no further evidence. Of the above change in common Latin words I know no certain instance. The connexion of *horreum* with *far* (Ascoli, KZ. 17 338) is exceedingly improbable; the vocalism is difficult as well as the initial consonant. *Herba* has been compared with Gr. *φέρβομαι*, *φορβή*, but the connexion is by no means certain (von Sabler, KZ. 31 278, compares *herba* for **gherdhā* with *κρίθη* which again is improbable). There remains *harena*, and for it another etymology is possible.³ It may come from **ghasēnā* and be connected with Irish *ganem* 'sand' < **ghasnimā* or **ghasnemā*. The former is the more probable. The root is in all probability *ghas*, from this might come **ghasni-*, whence, with secondary suffix *mā* as in Lat. *lacruma*, would come **ghasnimā*. As to

¹ *doiagat* LU. 60^a 30, 65^b 11, might at first sight seem to be a similar analogical breaking up of the simple verb *doiagaim* 'I go,' but Zimmer KZ. 30 25 is right in regarding *doiagat* as standing for *dothiagat*. Another old instance of *th* unexpressed between vowels is *adronceestar* gl. *sustinui* Wb. 4^c 35. This is evidently for *adronethestar*—a compound of the same verb as is seen in *arnethim* gl. *sustineo*, *expecto*, ML. 46^b 20, 46^d 14, 50^b 8, 9, etc.

² Stokes, Sprachschatz 111, adds O.H.G. *uoquemilo* 'racemus.'

³ Dr. Whitley Stokes informs me that he had previously arrived at the same conclusion.

**ghasni-* it might come from an *n*-stem **ghasen-*, cf. Lat. *collis* < **colnis* by *κολωνός*,¹ and to **ghasen-* there may have been a parallel *-es-* stem **ghases-* whence might be derived *karena* < **ghaseenā*. Further cognates are uncertain. Do these words go with Skr. *ghas* 'verzehren, essen,' as *ψῆφος*, *ψαμμός* with Skr. *bhas*?

4. Ir. *dalta* 'fosterling' < **daltaios*, or the like. *Dal-* may come from *dhal-* *dhāl-* and be connected with Lat. *fēlare*, Gr. *θήσατο*, *√dhē*, whence, with strong grade of root, Irish *dínu* 'agna.'

5. Ir. *truit*, *druit* 'starling' < **trozdis*: Lith. *strūzdas* 'thrush,' Lat. *turdus* for **torzdos*. The words in the Brythonic group of Celtic dialects, Welsh *drudwy*, Corn. *troden*, Bret. *tret*, *dret*, *dred* cannot have been regularly developed from **trozdis*—*zd* in this group of dialects gives *th*; if there is any connexion it must be one of borrowing, and that seems not unlikely for the Cornish and Breton words; the relation of the Welsh word to the others is not clear to me. As to *truit*, *druit*, the sinking of the tenuis to the media finds a parallel in Irish *géc* 'branch' compared with Welsh *cang*. Under what conditions the weakening took place it is not easy to determine. The tenuis would become a media after a preceding closely connected word originally ending in a nasal; thus **inna n- cé* in the gen. pl. would have given *inna géc*, and the media may have spread from such cases. Quite distinct from this is the sinking of a tenuis to a media in pretonic words as *gach* 'every' from *cach*, *do* 'thine' from *to*=**tovo* or **tove*, cf. Skr. *táva*, Lat. *tuus*.

6. W. *troeth* 'wash, lye, urine,' < **troctā*: Gr. *τάρταρον* 'vinegar' (with different grade of vowel *τάρτ*=**trg-*), with which Prellwitz, Etym. Wb. d. Griech. Spr. compares O.N. *prekkr*, O.H.G. *dreech*, N.H.G. *dreck*. Another form *trwyth* is given, which would come from some form like **troctī*, *wy* for *oe* being due to the nature of the following vowel, cf. *wyn* 'lambs' < **ognī* with *oen* 'lamb' < **ognos*.

7. W. *gwywo* 'withered, faded' < **vi-vo-s*: Lat. *vietus* 'withered,' Lith. *vįstu* 'wither.' The suffix *-uo-* may have a participial force as in Ir. *marb* 'dead' < **marvos*; other examples are given by Johansson, KZ. 30, 443 note.

8. Lat. *ligula*. G. Meyer, Indo-Germanische Forschungen II. 368, rejects the derivation of *ligula* from *√leigh* 'lick,' and

¹ Cf. Johansson BB. xviii. 13.

postulates as the original Latin form **lugula*. His reason for rejecting the derivation from *leigh* is the Old Slav. *lŭžica* 'spoon'; according to him *ligula* and *lŭžica* are diminutives of a **luga* 'spoon.' In this he has overlooked some Celtic words which, from the close connexion between Latin and Celtic, have more weight in determining the original form of the Latin word, and which Stokes, Kuhn u. Schleichers Beiträge VIII. 323, has already brought into connexion with *ligula*. Ir. *liag* 'ladle,' W. *llwy*, Corn. *lo*, Bret. *loa* 'spoon,' point to a Celtic word **leigā* 'spoon,' of which, with a different grade of vowel Lat. *ligula* is evidently a diminutive. The connexion of *ligula* with *√leigh* may then be maintained. With regard to Slav. *lŭžica* I do not venture to express any opinion.

9. Ir. *fúar* 'I found,' *frith* 'was found.' These words have been discussed in Curtius' Grundzüge,⁵ 742, with no satisfactory result. It is remarked there: "Zu *fúar* gehört als praet. pass. *frith* *fofrith* inventum est. Daraus lässt sich im günstigsten falle eine irische wurzel *far*, d. i. *var*, erschliessen, mit *fo* (sub) zusammengesetzte *fo-far*, im perfektum zu *fúar* verschmolzen; das praet. pass. *frith* ohne die präposition, *fofrith* mit derselben, enthält die geschwächte wurzelform, deren *ri* einem skr. *ṛ* entsprechen würde, obwohl man hierbei nach dem muster von *breth* (vgl. skr. *bhṛta*), praet. pass. von *berim* ich trage, eigentlich **freth* erwarten sollte." It seems to me that *fúar* and *frith* might formally be explained as follows. We may postulate a root *ure-* with another form *urē-*; compare the variation in *ἐρέω*, *ῥηθῆναι*. The strong stem of the perfect from this root would be *ueur-*, the weak *neur-*. Thus we may suppose that there was at one time an Irish paradigm 1 sg. **vevora*, 3 sg. **vevore*, 3 pl. **veurontor*. These forms would become in the first instance **vovora*, **vovore*, **vourontor*. The last would give regularly the historical *fuaratar* 'they found.' Can **vovora* have given regularly **fór*, *fúar*? This sound-change seems to me to be established by the contraction of the combination of particles *to-vor-* to *túar-* as in *túar-asbat* 'proferunt' < **to-for-ex-gabanto*, *to-vo-* to *túa-* in *tualang* 'aptus, peritus,' < **to-fo-lang-*. We may then look upon *fúar* as coming from **vovora*, *fúair* from **vovore*, without calling in the analogy of the plural or dwelling on the fact that the 3 sg. *fúair* might also represent the middle form **ueurai*. A parallel to *fúair* 'he found' is met with in *forúair* 'he caused' > **fo-ro-fúair* pret. of *fo-feraim*. As for *frith*, unless we are to believe that it differs in formation from

other preterites passive, it must be supposed to have come from **vrīto-*. In that case the *i* cannot be short, as **vrīto-* would have given **frēth*. It is true that for the most part the *i* of this word has no mark of lengthening over it, but the long mark is occasionally found, and the length of the vowel is sufficiently guaranteed by the absence of inflection. In some other words ending in *th* the long mark is found very sporadically. If then the *i* of *frīth* is long, the form may be explained very simply: it comes from **vrētos*, which stands in the same relation to **vere-* as Gr. *ρήτός* to *ἐρέω* or *τηγ-τός* to *τέρε-τρον*. That, as Mr. Stokes long ago suggested, *fúar* is etymologically connected with *εὐρίσκω* is very probable, but the formation of the Greek word is not clear. From a disyllabic root *uer-* (for examples of such roots see Persson, *Zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung* 227 sq.) might come on the one hand *uer-*, on the other *eur-*, but how then is the rough breathing to be explained? Can analogy of some kind have been at work? That must remain a mere guess until some word is pointed out near enough in meaning to *εὐρίσκω* to have influenced its form. There are other possibilities, but all too uncertain to be mentioned. Whether there is further connexion with Skr. *várate* 'shuts in,' Old Bulg. *vrēti* 'claudere,' Lith. *suvérti* 'close,' must be left an open question. For the development of meaning might be compared perhaps Gr. *περιβάλλεσθαι* 'to bring into one's power.'

10. Ir. *bras*, W., Corn., Bret. *bras* 'great, big' may come from **brattos*, and this from **mrattos*, **mṛadh-tos*: Gr. *βλωθρός* for **βρωθρός*, Skr. *mūrdhan* 'head,' Old Bulg. *brūdo* 'height,' etc., cf. Johansson, *KZ.* xxx. 449. There is also an Irish word *brēs* 'great,' which might be derived from **brittos*, **mṛdh-tos*.

11. Ir. *medar* 'mirth' < **medro-*, *medraim* 'disturb, confuse' (*cīd notmedrasu* 'what disturbs thee,' LL. 57^b 27, *rotmedair* 'has confused thee,' LL. 308^a 36) < **medrāiō*: Skr. *mad* 'glücklich sein, sich beräuschen,' cf. Fick, *Wb.* 105.

12. Ir. *taiġm* 'sling,' Bret. *talm* 'sling' (in dial. of Vannes 'coup de tonnerre'), may stand for **talksmi-*, cognate perhaps with Old Bulg. *tlāka* 'schlage' √*telk-*, though the meanings differ considerably. Closer in meaning to the Slavonic words are W. *taleh* 'grist, or coarse meal,' Corn. *taleh* 'bran,' W. *taleh* 'broken, bruised,' cf. Russ. *tolokno* 'gedörrtes hafermehl.' *Taleh* might come from *talko-*: it might also by Stokes' law come from *talkko*, *talknó-*, -no- part. from *telk-*, and so=Russ. *tolokno*.

13. Ir. *toisc* 'wish' < **to-vēsci*-, **to-venski*-: Germ. *wunsch* < **wunskó*, Skr. *vāñchā* 'wish.'¹ As Irish *en* may come from *n*, *to-venski*- may contain the same grade of vowel as **wunskó*, *uenski*- is a -*sko*- formation from *uen*-, Skr. *vānati* 'desire,' Goth. *vunan* 'sich freuen,' etc., which appears perhaps in Celtic in W. *gwenu* 'to smile, to look pleasantly.'

14. Ir. *dássaím* in pass. with prep. *imm* 'to rage,' Windisch Wb. 407, LL. 69^a 8, 256^b 8, 258^a 11, *dásacht* 'insania,' *dásachtach* 'insanus.' *Dássaím* may come from **dhuōstāiō*, and we may compare Lith. *dvēsti* 'breathe,' *dvasė* 'breath, ghost,' *dusmas* 'anger,' Ags. *dvas*² 'hebes, fatuus,' Dutch *dwaas* 'thöricht,' Persson, Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 81 sq. The Irish *ss* is ambiguous, but if the word is rightly derived from *dhuēs*, it is simplest to suppose that it is based on a stem **dhuōsto*-. Cf. similar Lat. formations, Brugmann, Grundriss II. 11. 26.

15. Ir. *fuinim* 'set' of the sun might be derived from **vo-nesō*, Gr. *véουαι*; *fuinid* in *grian* literally 'die sonne geht unter.' The explanation of the cognate *fuin* 'sunset' is not quite clear. I have examples only of the acc. *fuin*.³ A nom. *fuin* might come from **vo-nes-s* a radical noun, which may have fallen together with *i*-stems, and so have acc. *fuin*⁴ (for **fuine*=**vonesen*). It is, however, possible that it may be a late deverbative from *fuinim*, of the same kind as Lat. *pugna* from *pugnare*.

16. Ir. *ness* 'blow, wound,' < **necso*- or **necsa*-: Old Bulg. *nǫza* 'infigo,' *pronoziti* 'perforare,' Gr. *νύσσω*. The Irish word may be based on a neut. stem *neġhes*-. From *ness* seems to come the verb *fo-nessaím*, LL. 74^b 40 *fosnessa sleig culind ina bond traiged* 'he drives a spear of holly into the sole of his foot' (the LU. version 73^b 15 has *fornessa*). Another form of the root appears in Gr. *ἐγχεος*, cf. Prellwitz Et. Wb. s.v. The two forms *neġh*, *enġh* may

¹ Mr. Stokes informs me that he had previously compared with *vāñchā*, *wunsch*, Ir. *dufoscaiget*, Ml. 33^b 3, *toisc*. *Toisc* may then, as he suggests, very well come from **to-vonski*-.

² With Ags. *dwaes*, Dutch *dwaas* Ir. *dássaím* goes very well in meaning, Ml. 50^d 2, in a gloss on *non nisi mentis incompetem dicit providentie negatorem*. The gloss runs *nech lasnabí ciall 7 immandaister ishe asber nad fil dleget re(medeiscen) dæ diadulaib*, 'he who has no understanding and is out of his senses (*mentis incompetens*), he it is who says that there is no law of providence of God to his creatures.'

³ Windisch, Wb. s.v. *fuin*, *siar co fuin* 'westward to sunset,' LL. 10^b 4 = Book of Ballymote 33^a 44.

⁴ If we could assume a radical neut. noun **vo-nes fuin* would be the regular acc., but I can find no instance of such a formation.

best be explained from a disyllabic *enēgh* which became differentiated into *negh*, *engh*, under different accentual conditions. This form of the root is also found in Irish in composition.¹ The oldest instance is Wb. 4^d 13 *adcomcisset ilbéim friiss* 'they struck many blows against him': *adcomcisset*=**aith-com-ang-isset*. For the phonetic change cf. *ní chumcaim*² 'I am not able'= *ní com-angaim*. The corresponding 1 sg. *atacomcus* (= *aith-da-comangus*) 'I struck them' is found LU. 114^b 11 *atacomcussa com láu* 'I struck them (the doors) with my heel.' Cf. also LL. 107^a 14 *atacomaing na teora formacla Mide* 'who smote (i.e. cut off the tops of) the three Bald Hills of Meath.' The enclitic form of *aith-comaing* is *écomaing*, *écomaing* 'he struck, cut,' Windisch Wb. 517–518. The simple *comang* is found LL. 90^a 21 *cumaingis in m-birsa trisindara n-ai dib sium* 'I drove this spear through one of the two,' the 3 sg. *cumaing* in the same passage. As to the Irish vocalism I have with great hesitation written *ang*: *a*, however it is to be explained, is undoubtedly found in Celtic in the *e-o* series. But it is possible that the Irish forms are based on a perfect—**onga*, **onge* with regular ablaut. Such perfect forms are *cumang*, *cumaing*, which might come from **comonga*, **comonge*, but also from **comanga*, **comange*.

17. W. *breuan* 'carriage-crow.' As W. *breuan* 'handmill,' Ir. *bró* comes from **brāvon-*, **zrāvon-*, Skr. *grāvan*, 'stone for pressing the Soma,' so *breuan* 'carriage-crow' may be derived from **brāvon-*, **zrōvon-*: Gr. βιβρώσκω 'eat.' We have a cognate formation in W. *brenad* 'a grave-worm, a worm that eats the bodies of the dead' < **zrō-uo-*.

18. Ir. *dabach* 'cask' < **dabakā*, **dhabhakā*: Gr. τάφος, τάφος, θάπτω, and cognates.

19. Ir. *derg* 'red.' So far as I know no cognates have yet been discovered for this word. May it not be possibly connected with Ags. *deore*, Eng. 'dark' < **dhergos*? For the two meanings cf. Skr. *raj* 'colour, be red,' *raktas* 'coloured, red,' *rājas* 'dunst-kreis, nebel, dunkel,' Gr. ἔρεβος, Goth. *rigis* 'darkness.'

20. Ir. **di-nessim* 'despicio': Gr. ὀνόσσομαι, ὀνοστός, etc., Zd. *nad* 'schmähen,' cf. Osthoff, Perfekt 394 n., Persson, Zur

¹ Cf. Zimmer, Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum xxxii, 253.

² Graphic for *cumgaim* which is also found, *c* representing the explosive *g*.

³ Old-Irish examples are *codunessa* gl. ut dispiciat ML. 36^a 12, *andarunesus* gl. spernens (=when I despised them) 36^c 1, *donesbe* gl. dispicies 112^c 3, *odernessa* gl. donec dispiciat 129^a 14. A compound with *com* is also found: *connessat* 'they condemn' Wb. 1^d 7, *cia connesfea tuicsiu dé* gl. quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? 4^b 15.

Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 198. The formation of *nessim* is uncertain; it might come from **netteiō* or **nettiō*, or **netseiō* or **netsiō*. If this connexion is to be maintained, the Irish word points to an Idg. root **ned*, to which Gr. *ὀνοδ-* would stand in ablaut.

21. Ir. ipv. *tairg* 'offer' points to a compound *to-arg-*. This *arg-* is found with *com-* LL. 65^a 48, *coropé in laech conairr comrac dar cend in choicid ali* "so that he is the warrior who shall offer battle on behalf of the whole province," 65^b 1, *coropé conairr séta* "so that he shall offer treasures": *conairr* < **com-arcset*, subj. of *s-* aorist. We may perhaps compare Gr. *ὀρέγω* and its cognates so that the primary meaning would be 'to stretch out,' whence comes easily the meaning of 'offer,' cf. *ὀπποτέροισι πατήρ Ζεὺς κῶδος ὀρέξῃ* and the like. Root *oreg-*, *reg-* *org-* (*ὀργυιά*), Persson, Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 225. The form *reg-* is also found in Irish, Ascoli, *Lexicon Palæo-Hibernicum*, cxvii.