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Study in Red

Abstract: 1. OIr. *rúam* 'red dye' is explained as continuing PIE **h₁reyd^h-smon-* 'having reddening, reddener.' 2. A list of Celtic derivatives of the root **h₁reyd^h-* 'to make red'¹ is given. 3. An etymology of a possible Celtic word for 'rust' is attempted.

OIr. *rúam* 'red dye'²

Joseph VENDRYES concludes his article in *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* on Old Irish *rúam* 'red dye or colouring matter' and its derivatives³ with the statement that 'toute étymologie en est fantaisiste. [...] Il ne semble pas possible de rattacher ces mots à la racine de *ruad* « rouge »' (LEIA R-48). An etymological connection between semantically

¹ LIV 460 sets up the root as **h₁reyd^h* 'rot machen.' In view of Greek ἐρυθρός etc., and as the presence or absence of the initial laryngeal has no bearing whatsoever on my arguments, I will stick to the 'traditional' reconstruction **h₁reyd^h*.

² I originally published a basic outline of this article in a discussion of the Old Irish story *Immacallam in dá Thúarad* 'The Colloquy of the two Sages' on the Old-Irish-List at: <http://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0105&L=old-irish-l&F=&S=&P=1099>.

³ In *Sanas Cormaic* 1094 the word is thus glossed: *ruam .i. luss dosber dath no cucht in faciem co mbi derg* '*rúam*: a plant that gives colour or good appearance (?) to a face, so that it becomes red' (quoted after DIL R 108.18-19). The following list of derivatives has been compiled from DIL: 1. '*rúam* 'red dye or colouring matter,' 2. *rúamaid* 'reddens, colours red' (maybe only a spelling mistake for *rúamnaid*), 3. *rúamanta* 'reddened, red,' 4. *rúamantacht* 'redness, flush,' 5. *rúamda* 'ruddy' (?), 6. *rúamna*, *rómna* 'name of some colour or colouring matter, a reddish, crimson (?) or russet hue,' 7. *rúamnad*, *rómnad* 'the act or process of colouring, (esp.) reddening, making or becoming red,' 8. *rúamnaid*, *rómnaid*, later *rúaimnid* 'a) grows red; b) colours; reddens, makes red,' 9. *rúamnaide* 'reddened,' 10. *rúamnaigid*, later *rúaimnigid* 'a) grows red, flushes; b) reddens, makes red.' Especially notable in this context is the use of these words with respect to the reddening of the face through shame.

Eugene O'CURRY (1873, iii 119 f.) described the act of dyeing as a two-step process in the 19th century. First, a reddish-brown colour was effected with the twigs and brushwood of the alder tree (*ruaim*). This was the ground for further colours. According to O'CURRY 'in ancient Erin' a plant 'called *Rudh* and *Roidh*' was used for a 'splendid crimson red.' This plant was not known any more at his time. Judging by what Vernam HULL (1951) writes, Modern Irish *ruaim* could refer to just any dye-stuff.

related and superficially similar words, however, would not seem to be so utterly bizarre, as to immediately convince everybody of VENDRYES' apodictic opinion, even more so as VENDRYES does not even attempt to discuss, let alone provide an etymological explanation for this word. I want to show in this article that far from being 'phantastic' or 'not possible,' a neat and satisfying connection between *rúam* and *rúad* can be established, which furthermore has important repercussions on Indo-European nominal morphology.

In her master thesis Ulla REMMER (1997, 88-89) has recently proposed with some caution to analyse *rúam* as a formation with the agentive, resp. instrumental suffix *-am/-em*, built on the word *rú* 'red colour, a red dye plant?'. But this explanation faces two objections. First, the stem of *rú* was **rod-*, as is shown by its prepositional⁴ singular *roid* and the analogical genitive *roide* (GOI 207 and WATKINS 1978, 156). Although *rú* and *roid* are listed as two separate words in DIL, there is no reason to assume that such a distinction was felt to exist by the speakers of Old Irish – the two are simply different case forms within a single paradigm. Accordingly a derivative of *rú* would be expected to build on its stem **rod-*. Perceiving this difficulty, REMMER evades it by suggesting '[...]daß eine etwaige Ableitung *rúam* von *rú* nicht alt sein kann.' Yet the considerable number of its derivatives (see footnote 3) makes a relatively young age of formation for *rúam* unlikely. Second, the suffix *-am/-em* < **(i)amon-* has lenited *m* = /μ/. Although the *m* of *rúam* etc. is always spelled with a single letter, it is clear that it represents unlenited *m* = /m/. Its continuants in the modern Gaelic languages invariably show unlenited *m*: e.g. Modern Irish *ruaim* 'red, russet; red dye stuff,' *ruamanta* 'dyed; reddened, flushed' (Ó DÓNAILL 1977) or Scottish Gaelic *ruam* 'kind of plant used in dyeing red,' *ruamnadh* 'reproof; reprehension' (DWELLY 1911). Furthermore in the Middle Irish poem *Carn hÚi Néit* (*Met. Dinds.* iii 220.68) *rúamda* 'ruddy' (?), which may belong here, rhymes with *grúamda* 'gloomy,' whose unlenited *m* is also well established from Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic. Other, less clear rhymes of derivatives of *rúam*, occur internally: *rúamna* : *cúan-bla* (*Met. Dinds.* ii 22.61), *ruamna* : *búana* (? *Met. Dinds.* iii 450.7), *ruamna* : *uarda* (SR 7339). The sole instance of orthographically indicated lenition cited in DIL R 109.61 *ruamhnaigedh* finds no support in Cecile O'RAHILLY's edition of the manuscript (*ruamnaigedh* at *TBC-Stowe* 3216 and 3239) and is probably due to an error by

⁴ In Old Irish grammar I prefer to use the term *prepositional case* for the case which is traditionally called *dative*.

the compilers of DIL. For these two reasons I do not subscribe to REMMER's etymology of *rúam*.⁵

Nevertheless I agree with her that we are dealing with a *mon*-stem here, though of a different type as she thought. The various derivatives like *rúamna*, *rúamanta* etc. suggest that the derivational basis inflected as a nasal stem. A neuter *men*-stem is excluded as that would entail palatalisation of the final *m*, resp. of the *-mn*-cluster resulting from syncope of the original *men*-suffix. One example of many which show that behaviour is *ainm* 'name' < PC **anmæn*, *ainmnigidir* 'names' < just as if PC **anmænosagje/o*. *Rúam* etc., however, unambiguously show non-palatalised *m* and *mn* in the Old and Middle Irish attestations, and occasional palatalised spellings in Modern Irish only give evidence of the on-going spread of palatalisation beyond its original confines, rather than continuing anything archaic.

The unlenited *m* of *rúam*, synchronically standing after a vowel in Old Irish, can only be explained by the assumption that the *m* was diachronically preceded by an *s*. This *s* could have belonged to the root of the word, but it seems better to assume that it formed part of the suffix. It is a long-established fact that the neuter *men*-suffix had a doublet in **-smen-* already in PIE; in Celtic the latter is even more frequently attested than the *s*-less variant (see STÜBER 1998, 52-53 and 83, and SCHUMACHER 2000, 113-115 for further literature). It is not particularly daring to claim that in Celtic a variant **-smen-*, so far unrecognised, existed alongside **-mon-* as well (see BRUGMANN 1906, 242-243 for examples from Greek and Germanic). A suffix **-smen-* immediately allows us to connect *rúam* with OIr. *rúad* 'red' and the PIE root $\sqrt{h_1reyd}^h$ 'to make red.' A PIE/PC cluster of dental or guttural stop followed by **-sm-* ultimately resulted in a single unlenited *m* in the attested Insular Celtic languages (VGK i, 87; see STÜBER 1998, 62-78 for numerous examples). The preform of OIr. *rúam*, which incidentally is only attested in the nominative singular, can thus easily be reconstructed as PIE amphikinetic $\sqrt{h_1reyd}^hsmen-$ > PC **roudsmon-*. Semantically the earliest function of amphikinetic *mon*-stems in Proto-Indo-European seems to have been to form possessive adjectives to proterokinetic neuter action nouns in **-men-*. Already in Proto-Indo-European, however, these formations could secondarily take on the meaning of agent nouns (see STÜBER 1998, 144-146 for further literature and examples). Postulating a neuter action noun $\sqrt{h_1reyd}^h(s)men-$ 'redden-

⁵ This word has not been included by Karin STÜBER into her monograph on Celtic *n*-stems (STÜBER 1998).

ing,' perhaps especially referring to the 'reddening of the face,' we thus arrive at an original meaning 'having reddening; reddener' for *rúam* – indeed a fitting designation for a word synchronically meaning 'red dye or colouring matter.' PIE $\sqrt{h_1reyd}^hsmen-$ could be one of those cases which show the transition from primary possessive to secondary agentive meaning of *mon*-formations.

The type of derivation outlined above does not belong to a productive morphological category within Irish. In her study Ulla REMMER (1997, 21-93) discusses 17 certain and 31 uncertain *mon*-stems in Irish; Karin STÜBER lists 23 words in chapter 3.6. of her monograph on *The Historical Morphology of n-Stems in Celtic*, only two of which, OIr. *talam* 'earth' < PIE $\sqrt{telh_2mon-}$ and MBr. *eneff* 'soul' < PIE $\sqrt{h_2enh_1mon-}$, can arguably go back to anything old (STÜBER 1998, 148-168). All other cases are purely agentive formations coined within Irish itself by the productive complex suffixes *-am/-em* < CC **-amon-* and **-ijamon-*, where the enlargement *a* is the generalised reflex of a laryngeal originally preceding the suffix (see STÜBER 1998, 147). So far no other examples of *mon*-stems comparable to *rúam*, that means without a laryngeal reflex, but with an *s* before the suffix, have been identified in Celtic.⁶ Therefore I assume that the preform of *rúam* must at least go back directly to Proto-Celtic, or rather to Proto-Indo-European, even more so in view of the arguably possessive meaning of the formation, as opposed to the synchronically purely agentive meaning of *-am/-em* in Irish.⁷

⁶ Another example may be found in Old Irish *femm*, *femmain* 'some kind of edible sea-weed,' its derivative *femnach* 'sea-weed or edible water-weed,' OBr. *gueimmonou*, *gumouo* 'sea-weeds,' ModBr. *goumon* 'sea-weed,' Cymr. *gwymon*, *gwmon*, *gwimon*, Corn. *gumman*, *gubman* 'id.' < CC $\sqrt{\mu immon-}$, if the word goes back either to PC $\sqrt{\mu ip-smen-}$ 'swayer' (to $\sqrt{\mu eip}$ 'in schwingende/zitternde Bewegung geraten' LIV 612) or $\sqrt{\mu is-mon-}$ 'flourishing' (to $\sqrt{\mu ejs}$ 'sprießen, gedeihen' LIV 613). A similar analysis seems to be intended by SCHRIJVER 1995, 154. Other etymologies can be found in VGK i, 87 and 93; THURNEISEN 1918, 67; O'RAHILLY 1942, 162-163; QUENTEL 1960, 550-551 and DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 1987, 61¹⁰² and 1999, 134 and 139. About sea-weed in Celtic culture generally see NYBERG/AR GALL 1996. (Add.: I note, that Eric HAMP (1979 and 1988) proposed a similar explanation for these words as I.)

⁷ In a paper on 'Nasal Dissimilation in Celtiberian' I gave at the XI. *Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft* in Halle/Saale (September 2000) I argued that the so-called participles in *-auno-*, *-ouno-* of Gaulish, British and perhaps Celtiberian are to be explained as thematised agent nouns in **-mon-*. If this idea is correct, this would be another argument that within Celtic *mon*-stems had synchronically acquired a purely agentive meaning.

The assumed neuter action noun **h₁reud^h(s)men-* 'reddening,' presupposed by the possessive derivative **h₁reud^hsmon-*, seems indeed also to be attested in Germanic: OHG *rotamo* m. 'redness, flush of shame' and ON *roðmi* m. 'redness' continue PIE **h₁rud^hmen-*, OHG *rosamo* 'redness, freckle' < PIE **h₁rud^hsmen-* (cf. KRAHE/MEID 1969, 127). Note that in OHG both variants of the suffix with and without *s* exist side by side. Since neuter abstracts in **-men-* inherited from PIE were morphologically reshaped to masculines in Germanic (KRAHE/MEID 1967, 127), it is ultimately impossible to decide on formal grounds alone whether the Germanic forms continue the proterokinetic neuter or the amphikinetic masculine formation. The abstract semantics 'redness' in Germanic as against possessive/agentive 'having/making redness' in Irish, however, speaks for the first alternative. The apparent full grade of the root in *rúam* < **h₁reud^hsmon-*, contrasting with the zero grade presupposed by OHG *rosamo*, *rotamo* < **h₁rud^h(s)men-*, may either be a reflex of the original *ablaut* alternation (as remarked by STÜBER 1998, 148, the two inherited examples of **-mon-* in Celtic, OIr. *talam* 'earth' and MBr. *eneff* 'soul,' both show the full grade of the root), or may show influence of the vocalism of *rúad* 'red' < CC **roudo-* < PIE **h₁roud^ho-*.

Neuter nouns in **-men-* were overwhelmingly derived directly from verbal roots in Proto-Indo-European, in order to form abstract action nouns to the corresponding verbs. For our word at hand this means $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$ 'to make red' (LIV 460) + **-men-* > deverbal **h₁reud^hmen-* 'the act of making red, reddening.' The variant with *s* could be explained by invoking the suffix variant **-smen-*. Yet the latter's provenance is far from clear, and a different explanation suggests itself.⁸ Apart from the deverbal function just outlined there existed, as MELCHERT 1983 and PLATH 1994 have independently shown, the possibility of adding the suffix **-men-/mon-* to nominal stems in order to form denominal derivatives. Now Proto-Indo-European had a neuter abstract *s*-stem **h₁reud^hes-* 'redness,' as can be seen directly from Greek $\epsilon\rho\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'redness,' Latin *rubor* 'id.,' and indirectly from various derivatives in a couple of languages, e.g. Latin *russus* 'red; red-haired' < **h₁rud^hso-*, ORuss. *rusb* 'reddish, blond' < **h₁roud^hso-* (NUSSBAUM 1976, 91); the same *ablaut* variation can be observed in Lith. *rùsvas* 'reddish brown' < **h₁rud^hsuo-* vs. *raùsvas* 'reddish' < **h₁roud^hsuo-*. Accordingly a possessive denominal adjective **h₁reud^hsmon-* of the $\delta\alpha\iota\tau\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ -type with the meaning 'having redness' could be built to the *s*-stem, the neuter of which for what reason ever could have

⁸ I owe this suggestion to Martin PETERS.

functioned as its own abstract noun (see NUSSBAUM 1998, 148 f., and the continuants of denominal neuter *men*-stems collected by MELCHERT 1983), which again could then be referred directly to the verbal root $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$ via metanalysis as **h₁reud^h-* + suffix **-smen-*. With two neuter abstract formations existing side by side, an original deverbal **h₁reud^hmen-* and a denominal **h₁reud^hsmen-*, both meaning approximately the same thing 'redness; reddening,' obviously a starting point for the subsequent spread of the suffix variants in **-smen-* and **-smon-* to other words would be given. I don't want to claim that exactly this word triggered off the alternation **-men-/smen-* in Indo-European, but the development may have proceeded along a model like it.

The PIE root $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$ 'to make red' in Celtic

I. Irish has a large number of different formations from the root $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$ 'to make red,' which attest to a high degree of suffixal variation inherited into the Celtic branch of Indo-European:

1. *rú* 'red colour, a red dye plant?,' *roid* 'name of some plant cultivated for dye?' < root noun PIE **h₁rud^h-*.

Though treated as two different words in DIL, *rú* and *roid* are most certainly only different paradigmatical forms of one another (GOI 207 and WATKINS 1978, 156). The vowel *o* of the prepositional *roid* < PC **rudl* or **rudej* and of the analogical genitive *roide* is unexpected. WATKINS (1978, 156) assumes that the vocalism repeats that of the genitive OIr. **rod* < PC **rudos*. Alternatively the *o*-vocalism may be ascribed to the influence of the pattern in other monosyllabic nouns like *cú*, oblique stem *con-* 'dog.' Confer also the late oblique stems *bronn-* and *don-* of *brú* 'belly, womb' resp. *dú* 'place.'

Fergus KELLY believes *roid* to be the dye-plant *madder* (*Rubia tinctorum*) (KELLY 1997, 267-269). See also SULLIVAN in O'CURRY (1873, i cccci ff.).

2. *rúad*, *ród* (o, a) 'red' < PIE **h₁roud^ho-*.

The derivatives *rúadaid* (W1) 'makes red, reddens,' *rúadaigid* (W2) 'id.,' diminutive *rúadán* (o, m) 'some kind of grain: buck-wheat,' abstract *rúaide*, *ródae* (jā, f) 'redness' may all have been formed by productive processes within Irish. The Prim. Ir. preform of *rúadán* is attested as *RODAGNI* on two Ogam-inscriptions [CIIC 75 and 87]. A peculiar variant *RODDOS*, genitive singular either of a Prim. Ir. *u*-stem **rōdu-* or of an *i*-stem **rōdi-*, which has no correspondence in Old Irish, is found on the Ogam-stone CIIC 171.

This word has direct correspondences in Gaulish, British (see below), and in Latin *rūfus*, Goth. *rauþs*, ON. *rauðr*, Lit *raūdas*, OCS *rudb*, all 'red.'

3. *rúam* 'red dye or colouring matter' < possessive adjective PIE $*h_1reud^hsmn-$.

The derivatives may all have been formed by productive processes within Irish: *rúamnaid*, *rómnaid*, later *rúaimnid* (W1) 'a) grows red; b) colours; reddens, makes red' < Prim. Ir. $*rōmovāθi$; its verbal noun is regularly *rúamnad*, *rómnad* (u, m) 'the act or process of colouring, (esp.) reddening, making or becoming red' < $*rúam'nad$ < Prim. Ir. $*rōmovāθu-$. *Rúamnaide* (jo, jā) 'reddened' < $*rúam'naithe$ < Prim. Ir. $*rōmovāθijo-$ is the past participle of W1 *rúamnaid*. The 'wrong' syncope pattern of *rúamanta* (jo, jā) 'reddened, red' < $*rúamn'the$ from a stem $*rúamna-$ instead of historically correct $*rúam'naithe$ from a stem $*rúamVna-$ reveals its late formation as a participle of *rúamnaid*; *rúamantacht* (ā, f) 'redness, flush' is an abstract of *rúamanta*. *Rúamda* (jo, jā), if it indeed means 'ruddy,' has been built on *rúam* interpreted as an *o*-stem. *Rúamna*, *rómna* (jo or jā, m or f) 'name of some colour or colouring matter, a reddish, crimson (?) or russet hue' < Prim. Ir. $*rōmovijo/ā-$. *Rúamnaigid*, later *rúaimnigid* 'a) grows red, flushes; b) reddens, makes red' is a late formation with the productive Irish denominal suffix $*-aig-$. *Rúamaid* (W1) 'reddens, colours red' may either be a denominal \bar{a} -verb built on *rúam* interpreted as an *o*-stem, or perhaps it does not exist: of its two attestations cited in DIL, one, the verbal noun *ruamadh* (*Lebor Gabála* i. 176.10), is a *varia lectio* for *ruadad* (ZCPH 13, 364.1) and can easily have slipped into the manuscript through influence of *rúam* etc.; in the other attestation, the imperfect 3rd pl. *rúamdais* (*Met. Dinds.* iv 284), the *n* of $*rúamntais$ may have been dropped in the cluster $*-mnt-$ - in that case this would just be another instance of W1 *rúamnaid*. OHG *rosamo* 'redness, freckle' and with a different suffix-variant OHG *rotamo* 'redness, flush,' ON *roðmi* 'redness' are related. For the dyeing technique associated with *ruaim* in the modern period see O'CURRY (1873, iii 119 f.) and HULL (1951).

4. *rúan* 'a plant producing red colouring matter.'

This word appears mainly in glossaries that have some relation to *Sanas Cormaic* 1094 and its entry on *rúam* (quoted in footnote 4). This may just be a copying mistake, with one of the minims of the final *m* lost. On the other hand, a derivational basis $*rúan$ is presupposed by the adjective *rúanaid* (see below), and this may just be it. The membership of $*h_1reud^h$ to the so-called Caland-system is well known (NUSSBAUM 1976, 13-14; see also NUSSBAUM 1999, 404). One of the more marginal suffixes within the Caland-system is $*-no-$ (NUSSBAUM 1976, 60); to the few examples mentioned by NUSSBAUM, ($*rúan$ < PIE $*h_1reud^hno-$ (or rather < $*h_1rud^hno-$, with $-úa-$ again having spread from *rúad*) might be added.

5. *rúana* 'powerful.'

This is only attested once (see DIL R 109.71), where it is clearly a copying mistake for *rúanaid*.

6. *rúanaid* (i) 'red (? blushing); strong, powerful' < Prim. Ir. $*rōdvaθi-$?

This formation with the complex Celtic agentive/appertinative suffix $*-ati-$ < $*-Hti-$ (McCONE 1995, 6-7) presupposes a basis $*rúan$ (see above). The meaning 'red' for this adjective is only given in various glossaries. But it is easily conceivable that the more frequent meaning 'strong, powerful' developed from 'red' along the lines of 'bloody' > 'valiant in bloody contests.'

7. *rucae*, later *ruicce* 'blushing, turning or making red; shame, disgrace' < PIE $*h_1rud^hk(i)jo-$?

This word seems to be masculine or neuter in the *Würzburg Glosses*, but the inflection in *Milan* rather points to feminine. It is the abstract to a Celtic stem $*rukko-$, which seems to be attested in various Old Celtic personal names (see below). The other derivatives of this word may all have been formed by productive processes within Irish: *ruccad* (u, m) 'putting to shame, shame, disgrace' is the regular verbal noun to a denominal \bar{a} -verb $*ruccaid$; *ruccaigidir* (W2) 'puts to shame, confutes, confounds' is a formation with the productive Irish denominal suffix $-aig-$ (see JOSEPH 1987).

No other IE languages show formations from the root $*h_1reud^h$ with a guttural suffix.

8. *ruide* 'ruddy; strong, powerful' < PIE $*h_1rud^h(i)jo-$?

For the semantic development see *rúanaid* above. Within Celtic, a similar formation may underlie Gaulish dat. *Rudiano* (see below). Outside Celtic, compare OCS *rbžda* 'rust' < $*h_1rud^hjá-$ with the abstract suffix $*-jah_2$.

9. *ruis* (f) 'the letter R in the Ogam-alphabet' < PC $*ruds-$ oder PC $*rudt-$?

In the grammatical treatise *Auraicept na nÉces* *ruis* is once glossed *trom* 'elder-tree.' Additionally the following interesting example for its use is given, involving three different derivatives of $*h_1reud^h$: *ruamna ruice ruis* .i. *trom* 'the redness of shame is *ruis*, that is the elder-tree' (Aur. 1193).

10. *ruisse* (jo, jā) 'red.'

See *rondid*.

⁹ PIE $*h_1rud^hjo-$, if a $*-jo-$ -extension of PIE $*h_1rud^ho-$ 'red,' $*oijjo-$, if an $*-ijjo-$ -derivative of the root noun $*h_1rud^h-$ and belonging to the Rg-Vedic *pús,ya*-type discussed by FORSSMAN 1968, 52 (pers. comm. Martin PETERS).

11. *rus* (u, m) 'the face or countenance, esp. the cheeks; a blush, blushing; shame.'

This word is frequently written *rús* with length-mark, but the genitive *rosa* unambiguously points to short *u*. It can either continue an abstract *tu*-stem **h₁rud^htu-* 'reddening; redness,' perhaps originally the verbal noun to *rondid* (see below), or a *u*-stem **h₁rud^hsu-* of the $\delta\xi\upsilon\varsigma$ -type built on the *s*-stem **h₁reud^hes-*. The latter could be analysed as a complex of the two Caland-suffixes **-es-* and **-u-*. Lithuanian *rúsvas* 'reddish brown' and *raūsvas* 'reddish' do not necessarily presuppose a *u*-stem **h₁r(o)ud^hsu-*, as the formation of adjectives in *-va-* is a productive process in Lithuanian and as *yo*-derivatives from neuter *s*-stems are met frequently in the various branches of Indo-European (cf. RIX, 1981). The frequent collocation *romna rosa* 'reddening of the face = shaming' combines two derivatives of the root $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$. The derivative *rusa* (jā, f ?) 'modesty, chastity' must have been formed relatively late in Irish, as the missing palatalisation of *s* indicates.

12. *rondid* (S1) 'colours, dyes, reddens,' *fo-roind* 'darkens, stain, reddens' < nasal infix present CC **rundeti* < PIE **h₁ru-n-d^h-e/o-*.

From the semantical side, this verb may belong to the group of IE nasal present with the meaning 'handwerklich bearbeiten' collected by MEISER (1993, 297). The *o* of the present stem instead of expected *u* can be explained by a rule formulated by Karin STÜBER, by which *u* fell together with *o* in front of a group of nasal plus stop or in front of an unlenited nasal (STÜBER 1998, 87). The attested inflectional forms (quoted from DIL) are those typical of strong verbs: preterite *rerid* < CC **reroude* « PIE **h₁reh₁roud^he*, passive preterite *·ros* < CC **ruto-* < PIE **h₁rud^hto-*, subjunctive *·furastar* < PC **uorudsetor*. *Ruisse* (jo, jā) 'red' is the regular past participle of *rondid* < Prim. Ir. **rusijo-* « CC **ruto-* < PIE **h₁rud^hto-*. *Ruisid* (W2) 'reddens, stains red' is a young denominal formation from *ruisse*, the past participle of which is *ruiste* (jo, jā) 'reddened, stained red.' For the possibility that *rus* (u, m) could be the original verbal noun of *rondid*, see above. A nasal formation from 'red,' though not directly comparable to that in the Old Irish verb, can be found in ON *rođna* 'to become red' (MEISER 1993, 291). See also HULL 1949, 134 f.

13. *ruidid* (W2) 'turns red; flushes, blushes' < stative PIE **h₁rud^heh₁ti*.

This verb has the notable relatives Latin *rubeō*, OHG *rotēn* 'to be red', Pr.-Slav. **rōdēti* 'to become red,' Lith. *rudėti* 'to turn reddish' (WATKINS 1971, 64). The attested inflectional forms are those typical for a W2 verb within Irish. *Ruidid*, *ruidiud* (u, m) 'the act of turning red, flushing, blushing' is the synchronically regular verbal noun to this verb < Prim. Ir. **ruidiθu-*.

II. British basically continues a single certain derivative of $\sqrt{h_1reud^h}$. PIE **h₁roud^ho-* underlies OCymr. *rud*, ModCymr. *rhudd*, OCorn. *rud*, MCorn. *ruth*, *ruyth*, Late Corn. *rydh*, OBret. *rud*, *rudd*, ModBret. *ruz*. Joseph LOTH (1925, 63 f.) proposed a different etymology for Cymr. *rhuddion* 'bran, husks, shells, groats, coarse meal, granules, sediment' and Mlr. *rúad* 'destroyed,' but see LEIA R-47.

III. Continental Celtic

1. PIE **h₁roud^ho-* 'red' is continued in a number of personal names like dat. sg. *Anderoudo* [CIL V 2911, Padua] and *Roudio* [CIL VI 25494, Rome]. The name of the plant *rodarum*, probably *Filipendula ulmaria* (English *queen of the meadow*, German *Wiesen-Geißbart*) is apparently derived from this. PLINIUS says in Nat. Hist. 24, 112, that 'iuxta hanc [...] nascitur herba quam Galli rodarum uocant [...] folia urticae in medio exalbida, eadem procedente tempore tota rubentia' 'beside this [i.e. vine-supporting tree called *rumpotinus*] grows a plant called *rodarum* by the Gauls ... nettle-like leaves, whitish in the center, but becoming red in the course of time.' The first part of **rōdāro-* continues PIE **h₁roud^ho-*, the second part must contain a complex suffix *-āro-* < **-H-ro-* or *-āro-* < **-ah₂-ro-*. The same or a similar suffix has been claimed by Nicholas WILLIAMS for OIr. *lúachair* 'rush, rushes,' which he analysed as presupposing a *-ro*-adjective built on an *ā*-stem **loukā* 'act of illuminating, shining.' Incidentally, in modern North Donegal *luachair* exactly means *Filipendula ulmaria* (WILLIAMS 1989, 454-456).

2. Names like dat. sg. *Rudiano* [CIL XII 1566, St.-Etienne; 2204, St.-Genis] and TN dat. sg. *Rudiobo* [CIL XIII 3071; Neuvy-en-Sullias] probably underlies a form **h₁rud^h(i)jo-* with zero grade in the root, cognate with Irish *ruide* (see above). It seems very unlikely to me that these names represent derivatives of **h₁roud^ho-* with PIE/CC **ou* > Gaul. *ū*, as DLG 223 suggests. The best example for CC **ou* > *ū* seems to be dat. *Tutati* [CIL VII 335; Old Carlisle], but the reading of that inscription is very doubtful and if the *u* is correct, it could be an early attestation of the specifically British change of CC **ou* > PBr. **ū*.

3. A derivation with a guttural suffix PIE **h₁rud^hko-* > CC **rukko-*, underlies various names like *Ruccus* [CIL VII 1334, 44, London], gen. *Senorucci* [CIL XIII 685, Bordeaux] or *Ruccon* [CIL III 11463, Šćitarjevo, Croatia] (cf. OSTHOFF 1908, 398). Perhaps acc. pl. *ruccas*, the name of a fish [AcS ii 1239.12], is to be adduced here as well. See also DLG 223.

'Rust' ?

Finally I want to discuss a number of words in the Celtic languages which may go back to a Common Celtic word for 'rust,' which in turn may be derived from the root $\sqrt{h_1reud}^h$.

The connection of OBret. *rod* /rod/, glossing Latin *eruginem uitalium* 'rust (= rusty colour/redness?) of the vital parts' (said of meat), with the word for 'red' has been hinted at by FLEURIOT (1964, 298), but as far as I can see it has not been worked out in detail so far. This word obviously corresponds to Cymr. *rhwd* (m) 'rust, corrosion, canker; filth, dirt, mud, sediment' and *rhydu* 'to rust, oxidize, corrode,' the Cornish placename *Polroad*, *Polrode* 'mudhole (?)' could be related as well (GPC 3107). The late Cymr. derivative *rhwdog* 'sparrow; hedge sparrow, dunnock; robin (red-breast); red, rust-coloured' gives evidence of the association of *rhwd* with 'redness' in Cymric. As a common preform for these words Proto-British **rud-* can be reconstructed; the stem-class can not be determined (-i-, -o-, -u- are possible, -ā- is excluded by the lack of ā-effectation in Cymric). PBr. **rud-* directly gives Cymr. *rhwd*; OBret. *rod* seems to be one of those cases mentioned by JACKSON (1967, 116-117 and 125-127) where PBr. *u* unexpectedly appears as Bret. *o*.

From this one will hardly want to separate various words in the Gaelic languages which presuppose OIr. **rot-* 'bog (?)' as their derivational basis. This word itself seems not to be attested. It is far from clear if all of the words below, which I collected from various dictionaries, belong here:¹⁰

OIr. *rait* 'name of a shrub, bog-myrtle,' *raite* (jā, f) 'common or unenclosed land? (a road or path?)' (< unclaimed bog-land?), *rota*¹¹ (jo, m) 'bog-water, bog-stuff; a bog, marsh,' *rotaide* (jo, jā) 'reddish brown; a bog,' *rotan* 'something reddish or red-brown' (all from DIL).

ModIr. *rod* (m) 'iron ore, purple colour,' *rod* (m) '[...]¹²; pith of the elderberry tree,' *roid* (f) '[...] applied to bog-myrtle, also bog-poppy; gall; see *roide*,' *roide* (f) 'red water (from admixture of mud, bog-stuff or mineral), bog-stuff, mire, refuse, any soft plashy substance; [...]' *na roide* 'turned red,' *roideadh* (m) 'ruddiness, blush,' *roideog*

¹⁰ If and how the adjective OIr. *rot* (o, ā) 'strong, impetuous, spirited; red (?)', quoted by DINNEEN as *rod* 'red, spirited, furious,' belongs here is unclear. I will not take it into account in this article.

¹¹ The obvious connection of OIr. *rota* 'bog-stuff, bog-water' with Cymr. *rhwd* 'mud' has not been noted in LEIA R-45.

¹² ModIr. *rod* (m) 'a variety of seaweed thrown up on the sand' (DINNEEN 907)

(f) 'myrtle, esp. bog-myrtle (also called sweet-willow or -gale) [...]' (cp. *raidleog* (f) 'bog-myrtle' in DIL), *roideogach* (f) 'coll. bog- or wild-myrtle, a thick growth or bush thereof' (all from DINNEEN¹³); *rod* (v. i.) 'to rot, become stale,' *roide*, *ruide* (f) 'reddish mud, bog-mire; muck, dirt. *uisce roide*, reddish bog-water. [...] *roide bhuf*, slime (on walls, etc.),' *roideog*, *raideog*, *ruideog* (f) 'bog-myrtle, gale' (all from Ó DÓNAILL); *roide bhuf* (f) 'rust' (i.e. on plants; FT 45). ScG. *raideag* (f) 'myrtle,' *rodaidh* 'coarse-featured; ruddy; darkish; rotten [...];' *rodaidheachd* (f) 'coarseness of features; ruddiness,' *roid* (f) 'bog-myrtle, sweet-gale [...]' (all from DWELLY).

The words listed above look enticingly similar to Cymr. *rhwd* and its relatives, yet at the same time neither the semantics, nor the phonology coincide absolutely with the British words. On the following pages I will discuss the equation of the British and the Irish forms in some detail, first presenting arguments that may speak in favour of it, then objections to it.

The meaning 'rust' is not present in the Irish words, but the sporadic meaning 'reddish, redness' of some of the words makes it at least possible that such a meaning historically underlies the derivational basis. In view of the meanings of Cymr. *rhwd* one could surmise that the semantical development went from 'rust' > 'corrosion' > 'decay' > 'filth' > 'mud, bog.' The Cymr. word would then preserve the original semantical range, whereas in Irish the former meaning had been ousted by *meirg* 'rust,' and **rot-* developed further to 'rottenness, bog.'

Another problem is posed by the phonological side of the equation: Irish internal /d/ usually continues CC **nt*, whereas British internal /d/ usually goes back to CC **t*. Apart from the assumption of a loan from one language to the other, the only way of linking Irish and British word internal *d* is to assume a geminate CC **dd* as the immediate predecessor of both. CC

does not belong here, but is a loan from English *sea-rods* = *Laminaria hyperborea* (information from James CLANCY; at: <http://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0105&L=old-irish-l&F=&S=&P=11151>). See also NYBERG/AR GALL (1996, 152). Neither is it to be connected with ModBr. *reud*, pl. *reujou* (m) 'heap of sea-weed collected at sea' in use in Bro-Leon Uhel (GIB 2726; QUENTEL 1960, 562), which must be a correspondence to Cymr. *rhawd* (f), pl. *rhawd(i)au* 'host, crowd; swarm, herd, drove; large number, abundance' < CC **rāta*.

¹³ As DINNEEN often relies on old material, it is not always clear whether the words cited by him are from modern sources, or whether they simply repeat material belonging to DIL. I have left away the more obvious of the latter. In fact *roid* 'a dye-plant cut into bundles [...]' might be a case, where DINNEEN misunderstood OIr. *roid* /roδ'/ as ModIr. /rod'/.

geminate **dd* continues a sequence of two voiced PIE dentals. Apparently, such a cluster did not result in PC/CC ***zd*, as might be expected in parallel to PIE **T^ht* > *PC **st* > CC **ts/ss* (see GOI 96 and VKG i, 136 for examples), nor did it eventually fall together with CC **zd* < PIE **sd^(h)*, as can be seen from the different treatment in British. CC **zd* ultimately fell together with the outcome of geminate **tt* > **th* in Proto-British (see recently WATKINS 1999, 542), e.g. PIE **nizdos* 'nest' (< **ni-sd-o*) > PBr. **nitho*- > Cymr. *nyth*, MCor. *neid*, Late Corn. *nyth*, MBret. *nez*, ModBret. *neizh*, whereas CC **dd* yielded PBr. **d*, the clearest example supplied by PIE **kred d^heh₁-* 'to put one's heart = to believe' > PBr. **kredi-* > Cymr. *credu*, Corn. *cresy*, cregy, OBret. *critim*, MBret. *crediff*, ModBret. *krediñ*. In OIr. the outcome of both CC **zd* and **dd* is the same, namely /d/, e.g. *net* /n'ed/ 'nest' and *creitid* /k'r'ed'əd'/ 'believes' (differently SZEMERÉNYI 1952, 404). The superficial retention of PIE **d^(h)d^(h)* in Celtic can be reconciled with the expected assibilation of dental clusters in PIE (cf. MAYRHOFER 1986, 110 f.) by setting up a sound law by which in the PC cluster **d^zd* < PIE **d^{(h)z}d^(h)* the interdental voiced sibilant **z* was lost between two stops, maybe because of its marginal allophone status within the PIE/PC sound inventories, as compared to the central one of the phoneme **s*, also developed in PIE **T^ht*.

Bearing this sound law in mind and trying to avoid the frequent strategy of invoking 'expressiveness' as the motivation for geminate sounds in Celtic (a typical example is DE BERNARDO STEMPER 1999, 519), I want to suggest to see in CC **ruddo-* 'rust' a thematic compound built from the roots *√h₁reyd^h* and *√d^heh₁* 'to put.' Semantically a connection between 'red' and 'rust' is very satisfying, as the frequent association of the two in many languages shows. Two reconstructions suggest themselves as preforms for CC **ruddo-*: PIE **h₁rud^hd^hh₁ó-* or PIE **h₁rud^hsd^hh₁ó-* 'putter of redness; he who puts red (on iron).' In **h₁rud^hd^hh₁ó-* the root noun **h₁rud^h* would be the first member of the compound, in **h₁rud^hsd^hh₁ó-* on the other hand we would have a compound with the *s*-stem **h₁reyd^hes-* with zero grade both in root and suffix, showing a development to PC **rudzdo-* > **ruddo-*, with voice assimilation of PIE **s* > **z* between the two voiced dentals and the subsequent interconsonantal loss of it as described above. To decide between these two equally possible preforms we will have to turn to another word.

Formally this type of thematic compound formation with two compound members in the zero grade finds its parallel in the suggested etymology of CC **bardo-* 'bard' < **g^hrHd^hh₁ó-* 'he who gives songs of praise' from the roots *√g^herH* 'to sing, praise' and *√d^heh₁* 'to put' (originally CAMPANILE 1973; further literature in DE BERNARDO STEMPER 1987, 81; the latest discussion

in DLG 57 f.). Yet this etymology faces certain phonological problems. A PIE group **RHC* ought to give **RāC* or arguably **RaC* in Proto-Celtic. To evade this problem, but to maintain at the same time the convincing connection of **bardo-* with R̥g-Vedic *gīro dhā-*, Gāth.-Av. *garō dā* 'to supply/make/accept songs of praise,' various solutions have been proposed. Eric HAMP invoked a present suffix *-*s-* for the root *√g^hr* 'to sing,' from which **bardo-* < **barsdo-* < **g^hrsdo-* was formed with an 'ancient participle' in *-*do-* (HAMP 1980, 268; 1992, 14); more recently, HAMP (apud SCHRIJVER 1995, 143²) seems to operate with a root *√g^hrs* 'to speak, sing,' the main evidence for which comes from Albanian. Patrizia DE BERNARDO STEMPER (1987, 81) suggested to see in the first compound member **bar-* the reflex of the oblique stem **g^hrHV-* of the root noun seen in R̥g-Vedic *gīr-* and Avestan *gar-* 'song of praise.' But if this compound was indeed formed within Celtic, as DE BERNARDO STEMPER argues, it is not clear why the plain oblique stem should have been utilised as compositional form of the first member; rather it would be expected that **g^hrH-* had been thematised to **baro-* (*uel sim.*), as this is the only productive strategy to form compounds with consonantal stems as first members in Celtic (see UHLICH 1993, 121-124). Peter SCHRIJVER (1995, 144) thought that in some rare instances PIE **R̥H* could become **ar* before a stop in Italic and Celtic. Although all of the suggestions just mentioned may be correct with varying degrees of probability, I want to advance yet another explanation. If the first compound member of CC **bardo-* was not the root noun **g^herH*, but rather an *s*-stem **g^herHes-* 'praising, praise,'^{13a} the laryngeal would have been lost prevocally in this word¹⁴, so that a double zero grade in root and suffix in the first member of a compound could be

^{13a} Avestan inst. pl. *garōbiš* 'songs of praise' (Y. 34.2) is no evidence for an *s*-stem, as a disyllabic form /garbiš/ is metrically underlying. The *ō* is an anaptyctic vowel as in *θbarōzδum* ← /θvarzδvəm/ (pers. comm. Chlodwig H. WERBA).

¹⁴ The same reinterpretation as laryngeal-less may have occurred in the *s*-stem PIE **pleth₂es-* 'breadth, extension' (OIr. *leth*, Cymr. *lled*, Corn. *les*, Bret. *led*): LN *Lissos*, OIr. *les* 'farmyard,' Cymr. *llys* 'court, palace,' MCor. *Lysnewyth*, OBret. *lis*, ModBret. *lez* 'court' < CC **litso-* < Pre-Celtic *(p)ltsō- 'having extension,' apparently showing no reflex of the laryngeal. For the *realia* behind OIr. *les* see KELLY (1997, 363-367). This reinterpretation is also required for the etymology of the OIr. preposition *le^h* 'with' < CC **lets*. DLG's suggestion that Celtic **lisso-* < **p^hltsō-* (DLG 172) is less probable, as in front of consonantally *anlauting* suffixes the vocalised laryngeal of the root *√pleth₂-* is retained in Celtic, cf. PIE **p^hlth₂no-* > CC **litano-* 'broad' > Gaul. *Litana*, OIr. *lethan*, Cymr. *llydan*, MCor. *ledan*, OBret. *litan*, MBret. *ledan*; or PIE **p^hlth₂uih₂-* 'the broad earth' > Lep. *UULTIAUIOPOS* = /ϕlitauiobos/? 'dwellers of the earth?,' Gaul. TN *Litau*, *Letauia*, OIr. *Letha*, OCymr. *Litau*, Cymr. *Llydaw* 'Bretagne.'

realised as *gʷrsdʰh₁ó-, which would regularly develop to PC *barsdo-/ *barzdo- > CC *bardō-. If this is the strategy to explain CC *bardō-, this would furnish an argument to see in CC *ruddō- a continuant of a compound with the *s*-stem *h₁reudʰes- as its first member.¹⁵ Having now brought arguments in favour of the derivation of Cymr. *rhwd* and Irish *rot- from CC *ruddō-, I can not let the deficiencies of my proposal go unnoted. There remain at least two severe objections to my etymology.

First of all, it is far from clear that the predecessor of Cymr. *rhwd* 'rust; filth' must have meant 'rust.' The word has frequently been brought together with the Romano-British place-name *Rutupiae*, a port north of Dover, today Castle Richborough, and a few related forms in Continental Celtic (HAMP 1965; 1973, 79 f.; 1976; 1979; RIVET and SMITH 1979, 450). This name has been explained as meaning something like 'muddy waters or muddy (place)' and containing a *u*-stem *rutu- 'mud' and a suffix *-(h₃)kʷ- (HAMP 1965). I do not know if the spelling *t* of *Rutupiae* can reflect a geminate CC *dd, but it seems unlikely to me. If this etymological connection is correct and the *d* in *rhwd* goes back to earlier *t, the equation between the British and the Irish forms can not be maintained, apart from assuming a loan from the former into the latter. Furthermore such a place-name would point to an original meaning 'mud' of *rutu-, and the semantical development from 'mud' to 'rust' would have gone exactly the opposite direction as outlined and presupposed above. Apart from the uncertainty as to a preform *rutu- or *ruddō-, another argument speaks for an early meaning 'mud, bog.' There is in the Gaelic languages a group of words for the plant *Myrica gale* (English: *bog-myrtle*, *sweet gale*; German: *Gagelstrauch*): OIr. *rait*, ModIr. *roid*, *roideog*, *raideog*, ScG. *raideag*, *roid*, all feminine. LEIA's assertion that *rait* is a 'forme de *roid* [i.e. the dye-plant]' (LEIA R-5) is evidently nonsense in view of its modern continuants. This word can at least claim Insular Celtic descent, as MBret. *red* (m) 'myrtle, gale' (GIB 2696) can hardly be separated from the Gaelic words. In view of the different gender it will not be possible to establish an exactly matching preform. Irish *roit (attested *rait* shows *o* > *a* before palatalised consonants, cf. GOI 53) superficially belongs to the *i*- or *i*-inflection, but in view of the lowering of *u, not to be expected if < **ruddʰ- (?), one could surmise that *roit is a Middle Irish replacement for an original OIr. *rot with *a*-inflexion (cf. GOI 164 f.; the development described there is in fact not restricted to verbal nouns; note, however, that the *o* of

¹⁵ No evidence is known to me which would suggest the possibility of seeing in CC *ruddō- a compound of an abstr. noun *h₁rudʰi- 'redness' and the root *dʰeh₁- (cf. NUSSBAUM 1999, 404), by assuming a syncope of the *i* between two dentals.

the prepositional *roit instead of *ruit would still have to be analogous within the paradigm). Breton *e* in *red* on the other hand can either continue unaffected *e* - then a preform *redd/to- has to be reconstructed, which makes a connection with the Irish words impossible. Or *e* can be the reflex of final *i*-affection of CC *u, *o, *e and *a (SCHRIJVER 1995, 258). As *i*-affection is excluded (Bret. *red* is masculine, but *-i- is typically a feminine suffix), the remaining alternative is a reconstruction PBr. *ruddjō-, beside *ruddā- underlying the Irish forms. The bog-myrtle is a woody shrub characteristic of marshy grounds. It is a rather inconspicuous plant with green leaves; in flowering time small orange catkins appear on male plants¹⁶. It is used as a spice and for various medical purposes. Moreover it yields a yellow dye.¹⁷ In an OIr. legal tree-list it is one of the *losa fedo* 'bushes of the wood' (KELLY 1997, 381). Bearing these pieces of factual information in mind, it seems more reasonable to assume that in Celtic *Myrica gale* was named 'bog-plant' from its natural habitat, than to suppose it was called 'rusty plant' from its small and transient orange buds. Still, an early piece of evidence for the meaning 'bog' does not automatically imply that this must have been the most ancient meaning. The semantic development from 'rust' > 'bog' outlined above may have taken place at any time during the Celtic language history.

The second objection to my etymology CC *ruddō- is raised by the vocalism of the Irish forms. While the British words are straightforwardly accounted for by a preform *ruddō-, in Old Irish this should appear with a lowered vowel *o* only in a limited number of case-forms and derivatives that entail lowering due to the historically following vowel, e.g. nom. sg. *rot < *ruddos, rotan 'something red, reddish' < *ruddono- (?)¹⁸. But outside

¹⁶ Information from *British Wildlife Guide - Trees, Bog Myrtle* at http://www.lineone.net/wildlife/trees_bog_myrtle.html (28th May 2001). A picture of the buds of *Myrica gale* L. (*Bog Myrtle*) can be found at <http://www.bioimages.org.uk/HTML/P132699.HTM> (28th May 2001).

¹⁷ Information from *Gernot Katzer's Spice Pages* at: <http://www-ang.kfunigraz.ac.at/~katzer/engl/index.html> (24th May 2001); and *Scottish plant uses* at: http://www.rbge.org.uk/search-bin/nph-readbtrees.pl/usedata/maxvals=10/firstval=1?UNIQUE_COMMON_NAME=Bog+Myrtle (28th May 2001).

¹⁸ The plural *ruddon or a *jō*-formation *ruddonjō- of this could explain MCymr. *rydein*, ModCymr. *rhydain* '(young) deer, fawn.' It could then be surmised that *rotan* 'red (animal?)' is the OIr. word for this animal. Cp. also ModCymr. *rhydol* 'young deer, fawn, doe' < *rhyd(ain)* + *-ol* (? GPC 3127). In ScG. the 'deer' is also named from its colour: *ruadh* 'deer, hind, roe; red-deer,' *ruadhag* 'young deer, hind or roe.'

of these cases, the root vowel should be represented by OIr. *u*. Although the missing *u* in the apparently irregular forms of the Gaelic name for *Myrica gale* has been sort of disposed of above, there remain cases like *rota* 'bog-water, bog-stuff' where *o* instead of **u*, if from < **ruddiō-* (?), must stay mysterious. I can only invoke an early generalisation of the lowered vowel *o* in the whole paradigm and in all derivatives to account for these forms. But this is a rather unsatisfying solution in view of the synchronically well-established alternation of *o* and *u* for example within the paradigm of the formally comparable word *bot*, gen. *buit* 'tail, penis' < CC **bozdo-* < PIE **gʷozdo-* (WATKINS 1999, 543).

It must, however, be noted that it will not do to simply do without **ruddo-* and to accept CC **rutu-* 'mud' as the sole preform for all the attested words, by explaining the Irish forms as loans from British. Although the internal /d/ of Irish could thus be accounted for, the generalised *o* would be even worse motivated in this case. CC **rutu-* seems to have been a *u*-stem, and probably would have been taken over as such into Irish. Within a *u*-stem paradigm and its derivatives the number of cases where lowering of *u* to *o* would form a justified basis for the spread of *o* is even more restricted. Maybe in the end no straightforward solution can be reached. Perhaps we are dealing with originally separate words that meant 'rust' (CC **ruddo-*?) and 'bog' (CC **rutu-*?) respectively, but mutually influenced each other due to their similar shapes and their related semantics, i.e. 'decay.'

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