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# Keltische Forschungen

# Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee)

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This short note[1] deals with the marginal gloss Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee)[2], which forms a comment on the following passage in the main text of Book 12, *De pronomine*, of Priscian's grammar. The passage's text is cited according to Moran's online database (= Moran 2009–present) of the St Gall Priscian glosses:

> interest autem inter demonstrationem et relationem hoc, quod demonstratio interrogationi reddita primam cognitionem ostendit (quis fecit? ego), relatio uero secundam cognitionem significat: is, de quo iam dixi.

> 'However, demonstrative and relative differ in that a demonstrative caused by a question shows a first knowledge: 'who has done it?' 'I', a relative, however, signifies a second knowledge: 'he, of whom I have already spoken'.'[3]

The following reading of the gloss by glossator A is also taken from Moran's database:

> q*uod* demonst*r*atio/ .i. ishe i*n*foilsi/gud frecre do/ neoch im*m*echom/arcar duit ⁊/ ni ern etargnu/ riam indainm/nigthe innap*er*/sine acht is cét/na netargna/ dondí im*m*edcho/mairc ar ni/ etargeiuin si/de riam/ *con*foilsi/ged do..,

Since Hofman's 1996 edition and translation deals only with books 1–5 of

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2   The first number is the one according to *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*; the one in parenthesis is the one established by Hofman 1996, also used in Moran's online database.
3   My translation takes into account the German translation of the passage presented by Hülsen (1994: 37).

Priscian's Grammar, the only available full translation of the gloss, apart from the one offered in the *Dictionary of the Old Irish Priscian Glosses* database (Bauer 2015–present), is the one by Stokes and Strachan (Thes. II: 189):

> 'i.e. this is the demonstration, an answer to what is asked of thee, and not after previous knowledge of the naming of the person, but it is the first knowledge to him that asks it, for he knew not till it was manifested to him.'

Already Stokes and Strachan seem to have noticed the unusual shape of the last letter of the sixth line of the gloss (*etargnu* in Moran's database), transcribing it as *etargnv*. Although they do not give a footnote to this effect, they read it as a final *u*. After checking the high-resolution scan (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/197) as well as the manuscript itself, I suggest that their transcription is inaccurate (see Ill. 1).
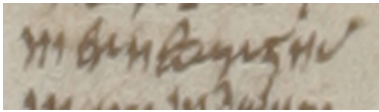


Ill. 1: *ni ern etargnu*
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904, f. 197 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/197)

The last letter, rather than a final *u*, looks more like a roundish check mark. I have not come across an exact match of this letter shape in other glosses added by glossator A. There are, however, instances resembling it, and in each case the letter represents final *a* at a line-break: i.e. Sg. 39ᵇ17 (= 39ᵇ26 k), 191ª2 (= 191ª6 h), 202ª5 (= 202ª14 m), and 215ª9 (= 215ª20 p). The letter in question in Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee) looks similar to the final *a* found, e.g., in Sg. 191ª2 (= 191ª6 h): *persana* (see Ill. 2).
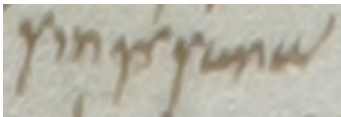


Ill. 2: *sin persana*
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904, f. 191 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/191)

In 197ᵇ10, the glossator seems to have written the passage in haste, which would explain why the putative *a* is missing one down-stroke. This interpretation is further supported by the way glossator A normally represents a final *u*. Until fol. 163 he writes a normal Irish minuscule *u* (see Ill. 3).
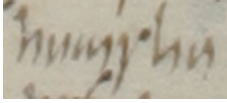
Ill. 3: *huaisliu*
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904, f. 161 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/161)

From fol. 164 onwards, however, he uses a second variant, which resembles modern *v*, with a pointed angle at the bottom. This latter spelling is used mainly in the sequence *-siu*, e.g., Sg. 197ᵃ8 (= 197ᵃ26 u) *intisiv* [leg. *intisiu*] 'this' glossing Lat. *iste*, 'id.', which is found in the immediate vicinity of Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee; see Ill. 4).
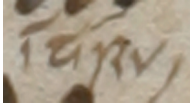


Ill. 4: *intisiv* [leg. *intisiu*]
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904, f. 197 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/197)

Nine other examples of this letter-shape occur between fol. 166 and 217, as opposed to three in which the glossator uses a normal Irish minuscule *u* in a similar sequence (see Ill. 5). Moreover, none of the spellings of final *u* at the end of a gloss, or at a line-breaks, resemble the last letter of alleged *etargnu* in the gloss in question.
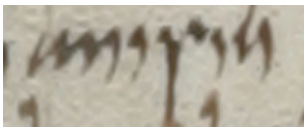


Ill. 5: *anisiu*
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904, f. 149 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/149)

Therefore, I suggest reading *etargna*, most likely a nominative/accusative singular of OIr. *etargne* (nt., *i̯o*-st.), i.e. 'knowledge of, acquaintance with; the faculty of understanding or cognition', further support for which will be given below. My interpretation differs from that offered by Stokes and Strachan (Thes. II: 189), as well as from the partial translation of the gloss offered by Stüber (2015: 310 & 672). Although Stokes and Strachan do not say so explicitly, it is quite clear that they take the preceding form *ern* to be an archaic

variant of the preposition OIr. *íar* 'after', followed by the nasalisation *n*, which allows them to read the dative *etargnu*, governed by the preposition *íar*.

However, the occurrence of such an archaic form of the preposition *íar* in the Priscian glosses, and particularly in this gloss, is unexpected. Most of the forms of chronological relevance in gloss 197[b]10 (= 197[b]31 ee) show more progressive rather than older features. Firstly, in the phrase *is cétna n-etargna* a younger spelling[4] is found for the expected nominative singular *cétnae n-etargnae* 'first knowledge'. Secondly, the genitive singular *ainmnigthe* of the masculine u-stem *ainmmnigud* 'act of naming' has the younger ending *-e* for the expected *-o*. Another example is *do neoch*, rather than older *do neuch*[5] 'to anything'. On the other hand, in the nominative singular *frecre* 'the act of answering or responding; answer', the ending *-e* is still retained, and it even contains an older spelling without an orthographic *a* (*frecrae*).

With respect to the assumed spelling *er* of the preposition OIr. *íar*, as noted already by STRACHAN (1903: 477), the Priscian glosses usually have *ia* for *ē* before a non-palatalised consonant, with the following exceptions. The borrowing *séns* 'sense, meaning, signification' (< Lat. *sēnsus* 'the faculty or power of perceiving, perception, feeling, sensation, sense, etc.') occurs four times, spelt *sens*: Sg. 39[a]29 (= 39[a]27 gg), 149[b]2 (= 149[b]13 c), 221[b]1 (= 221[b]01 a), and 221[b]3 (= 221[b]02 c); also *best* (< Lat. *bēstia* 'beast, animal') in gloss 37[b]6 (= 37[b]10" g) (if not a spelling for *béist*), and the preposition *ré* 'before, in front of', is always attested as *ré* (14 times), as it is in the other big glossed corpora. Apart from the supposed occurrence in gloss 197[b]10 (= 197[b]31 ee), our preposition is attested 31 times in the Priscian glosses (30 times in Sg. and once in Karlsruhe), and is always spelt *iar* without a lengthmark on the *i*. This is precisely the same form in which it is attested in the Würzburg and Milan glosses, as well as in the Poems of Blathmac.

A query on eDIL returns only two examples of the preposition spelt with *e*. The first is from an inscription found on a pillar stone at Kilnasaggart (Co. Antrim): IN LOC SO TANIMMAIRNI TERNOHC MAC CERAN BIC ER CUL PE-

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4   For a detailed discussion of the distribution of the final vowels *-ae* vs. *-a*, as well as of the final vowels of the genitive singular of *i*- and *u*-stems in the Priscian glosses, I refer to STRACHAN (1903), and ROOST (2013).

5   Although *neoch* appears already three times in the Würzburg glosses (Wb. 4c19, 6c16, 6c19) as the dative singular of *nech* 'someone, anyone', it seems that the more frequently attested *neuch* is the chronological older form. This is supported by the Milan glosses that only have the latter spelling, and by the Priscian glosses in which this spelling appears in nine out of eleven attestations.

TER APSTEL (CIIC 946, Thes. II: 289), translated by MACALISTER (1949: 115) as 'This place did Ternóc (PN) son of Cíaran (PN) the Little bequeath under the protection of Peter the Apostle'. On account of the death of Ternóc, son of Cíaran the Little, recorded in the *Annals of Tigernach* in AD 716, and at AD 714 in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the *terminus ad quem* for the inscription is 714–716. Hence it is nearly 150 years older than the St Gall Priscian manuscript. Considering the early date of the inscription, its *e* may well represent an /ē/ that was not yet diphthongised.

The second example is in the Old Irish glosses on the Psalms in the Southampton Codex, Cambridge, St John's College, Ms. C.9.[6] Ó NÉILL (2012: LXX) states that, overall, the "linguistic profile [of these glosses] closely matches that of the Milan and St Gall glosses", suggesting a date in the first half of the ninth century. He arrives at this conclusion despite the fact that these glosses also feature two forms of "high antiquity" (Thes. I: xvi). One of these is the supposedly archaic form of the preposition *íar*. On fol. 57r *ersna suthaib* 'after the offspring' is found glossing *de post fetantes accepit eum* (Ps. 77:70). The second one is found in the immediate vicinity: *.i. an ærmesuthigetar*[7]; *ocus is oendlum de ind randgabal* 'that is, when they afterwards produce; and the participle is consequently a compound' (fol. 57r). The second gloss, preserving the putative old spelling of the preverb *íarmi·*, is doubly interesting in that it also shows its relative form, *ærme·*. Thurneysen (GOI 314) mentions only *íarma·* as a form of *íarmi·* in relative clauses, which is attested in Sg. 198ᵇ3 (= 198ᵇ4 d) *nied iarma/ḟoichsom híc* 'it is not this that he asks here'. The attestation in the Southampton Codex shows that *íarme·* is also a possible variant, thus adding another example of a preposition with the more archaic vowel *-e* in relative forms of compound verbs to those given by GOI §493 and BREATNACH (1994: 197–198).

Although the forms in these two glosses seem to be old, Ó NÉILL (2012: LXIX) argues that this is not necessarily the case. He states that the second example is problematic because "it represents an editorial emendation" and, furthermore, because the "spelling *æ* for *é*, if genuine, would be rare." However, a simple search for *æ* in the databases of the Milan glosses (GRIFFITH 2013) and the St

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6 Edited and translated in Thes. I: 4–8 and more recently in Ó NÉILL 2012: LXII–LXVII.
7 The manuscript has *ancesmesuthigetar*, which Strachan (Thes. I: 5) reasonably emended to *an ærmesuthigetar*. The verbal form would be the "3ʳᵈ plural present indicative of an otherwise unattested compound verb, *\*íarmi-suthidigir*" (Ó NÉILL 2012: LXVI). The citation form of the verb should rather be *\*íarmi·suthigedar*.

Gall glosses yields numerous examples where *æ* stands for /ē/ (Ml. 21ᶜ3, 23ᵈ6, Sg. 4ᵃ6, etc.). This means that Strachan's emendation of *ancesmesuthigetar* to *an ærmesuthigetar* seems justified. Ó Neill, however, offers an alternative explanation for *ærme·* and *er-* by referring to GOI 516. Thurneysen argues there that *ærme·* and *er-* are possibly shortened forms of our preposition, found in pretonic position, similar to "later expressions like *arn-a bárach* (beside *íarn-a*) 'on the next day'." As a possible example he also cites the ER CUL of the Kilnasaggart inscription, "unless e here = ē". This seems to be the case. It is therefore very likely that the ER represents the archaic form of the prepostion *íar* rather than a shortened form of it.

Another peculiarity of the gloss *ersna suthaib* has also been addressed by Ó Néill (2012: LXIX), i.e. the lack of the final *-b* of the dative plural of the article. Accordingly, he calls the form "in any case […] highly suspect", because examples of the dative plural of the article without the final *-b*, although occasionally found, are uncommon in the Old Irish period and occur only later (cf. GOI §468). There are, however, already a number of examples of this in the Milan glosses (Ml. 34ᶜ1, 38ᵇ2, 41ᵃ7, 46ᶜ7, 46ᶜ10–11, 54ᵃ18, 54ᵇ25, 57ᶜ1, 69ᶜ5, 74ᵈ5, 122ᵃ3) and in the St Gall glosses (Sg. 212ᵃ13, 217ᵃ4). Taking all this into consideration, the evidence of the Southampton Codex does nonetheless very likely represent attestations of the archaic form of the preposition *íar*. This means that these glosses may be older than Ó Neill suggested.

Although there are attestations of archaic forms of the preposition, the alleged occurrence of such an early spelling in the St Gall glosses is still doubtful. In paragraph C on page 516 Thurneysen also mentions the passage in Sg. 197ᵇ10 as an example[8] of the spelling *ier* for *íar*. He reads *nier n-etargnu* and interprets *nier* as an elision of *ni* plus *ier* (for *íar*) 'it is not after'. However, this would be the only instance of elision in this context in the St Gall glosses, cf. the cases of non-elision in Sg. 75ᵃ4 *ní immedon* 'it is not in the middle' or in Sg. 139ᵃ1 *ní hiforgnúis* 'it is not in form'. Elision after the negative form of the copula *ní* is also not common in the Milan glosses; just like in Sg. 139ᵃ1, non-elision, frequently with prefixed *h-*, is predominant. The sole example for elision in Milan is *nínanenech* (Ml. 100ᵇ2 ) 'it is not in their faces'. The Würzburg glosses feature a few more examples of elision (Wb. 2ᶜ6a, 17ᵈ2, 26ᵇ13, 3ᶜ17, 13ᶜ21), but also have non-elision. Another point is that Thurneysen's reading

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8    His other examples are found in the Book of Armagh: *iersuidiu* (Thes. II. 240, 20) and *iersin* (Thes. II. 240, 24).

*nier netargnu* is misleading, because the manuscript has *ni ern etargna*, with a wordbreak before and after *ern*. The interpretation of the passage as an early spelling of the preposition *íar* is even more unlikely if we consider the immediately following gloss Sg. 197ᵇ11 (= 197ᵇ33 ff) *.i. íar n-etargnu riam* 'i.e. after knowledge beforehand' gl. *cognitionem secundam* 'second knowledge', in which the preposition occurs in the expected spelling.

A possible solution for the problem lies in the new reading of the crucial part of gloss Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee) proposed above. As argued, I suggest reading the "roundish check mark" of *etargnu* as <a>, hence *ni ern etargna*. Moreover, the accusative singular of the verbal noun *etargne* would not go together with the preposition *íar*, which otherwise consistently governs the dative case. Therefore, I propose that *ern* is not the archaic form *er* plus nasalisation *n* of this preposition at all, but that it represents instead the 3rd singular present conjunct form of the verb *ernaid* 'bestows, grants' forming together with the negative particle *ní* the verbal complex of the clause, i.e. *ní·ern* 'it does not bestow'. The direct object of *ní·ern* is the accusative singular *etargna*. The spelling of the final vowel as *-a* is matched by the already mentioned *cétna n-etargna* following later in the gloss. Apart from eliminating the need for a very archaic form in an otherwise rather late-looking Old Irish gloss, reading *ni·ern* also offers the first attestation of the Old Irish 3rd singular present conjunct form *·ern* of *ernaid*. This primary verb goes back to Proto Celtic *\*φer-na-* (Hɪʟʟ 2010–12: 160) or *\*φar-na-* (KP 508–510) 'to grant, to bestow something on someone', from the Proto Indo European root *\*perh₃-* (LIV² 474–5, Kümmeʟ 2015). This is exactly the expected form, which is labelled as being unattested in KP 508.

The foregoing paper has weighed probabilites and extra assumptions against each other. The interpretations offered by Stokes and Strachan, Stüber, and Thurneysen require several extra assumptions: a) the occurrence of an archaic form of the preposition *íar* in the Priscian glosses, b) the interpretation of the final letter as <u>, for which there are no parallels in the manuscript, and c) the nasalisation *n* is indicated at the end of the preposition and not at the initial of the following word in the manuscript. Thurneysen furthermore needs to assume an unusual word division which is not supported by the evidence either. He interprets the preposition as enclitic and that it causes elision of one *i*. In the manuscript, however, the two words appear separately. In contrast to all this my offered interpretation only needs one palaeographic assumption, i.e. to read the final letter as <a>.

The crucial part of the gloss, *.i. is he in foilsigud frecre do neoch imme·comarcar duit ⁊ ni·ern etargna riam ind ainmnigthe inna persine acht is cétna n-etargna*

*dondí immed·chomairc*, can therefore be translated as 'i.e. this is the demons-
trative, an answer to what is asked of you, and it does not grant knowledge
beforehand of the naming of the person, but it is a first knowledge to him that
asks it'. As stated already by Stüber (2015: 311), *cétna n-etargna* reflects Lat.
*prima cognitio* 'first knowledge'. The Irish phrase is also used correspondingly
in gloss 198ᵃ2 (= 198ᵃ1 d). Lat. *demonstratio* 'demonstrative' is translated by
OIr. *foilsigud* 'act of manifesting; demonstrating', which occurs eleven times
in the St Gall glosses. Gloss 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee) corresponds directly to the
main text *demonstratio interrogationi reddita primam cognitionem ostendit*
'a demonstrative caused by a question shows a first knowledge', by defining
*foilsigud as frecre do neoch imme·comarcar duit* […] *is cétna n-etargna* 'an
answer to what is asked of you […] it is a first knowledge'. Initially, the mea-
ning of the part between ⁊ and *acht* remains puzzling. However, by considering
the main text and comparing the passage with other glosses, an explanation
may be found. In the main text, Lat. *relatio* 'relative' is defined by *secundam
cognitionem significat* 'it signifies a second knowledge'. Lat. *secunda cogni-
tio* 'second knowledge' is translated once with *etargnae tanaise* 'id.' in gloss
198ᵃ3 (= 198ᵃ8 e). However, in the already mentioned gloss on *cognitionem
secundam* Sg. 197ᵇ11 (= 197ᵇ33 ff), it is reflected by *etargnu riam* 'knowledge
beforehand' – the 'second knowledge' therefore, being perhaps the 'knowledge
one had already had before'. Taking this into account, the *etargna riam* could
then be interpreted to reflect *secunda cognitio* in Sg. 197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee) as
well. Hence, *ni·ern etargna riam* may be translated as 'it [i.e. *in foilsigud* 'the
demonstrative'] does not grant knowledge beforehand [i.e. *secunda cognitio*
'second knowledge']'. The gloss therefore rephrases the distinction between
*demonstratio* and *relatio* given in the main text: the *demonstratio* is an answer
to that which is asked, so it is the *prima cognitio*, because it was not known be-
fore, but it does not signify the *secunda cognitio* – this is what the *relatio* does.
Based on the foregoing discussion, the updated reading and translation of Sg.
197ᵇ10 (= 197ᵇ31 ee) is therefore as follows:

> q*uod* demonst*ra*tio/ .i. ishe i*n*foilsi/gud frecre do/ neoch im*me*·chom/arcar duit ⁊/ ni·ern
> etargna/ riam indainm/nigthe innap*er*/sine acht is cét/na netargna/ dondí im*med*·cho/mairc
> ar ni/ etargeiuin si/de riam/ *con*·foilsi/ged do..,

> 'i.e. this is the demonstrative, an answer to what is asked of you, and it does not grant know-
> ledge beforehand of the naming of the person, but it is a first knowledge to him that asks it,
> for he knew (it) not beforehand till it was manifested to him.'

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