MAYNOOTH STUDIES IN CELTIC LINGUISTICS VI Series Editor: Kim McCone

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSULAR CELTIC VERBAL COMPLEX

by Kim McCone

The Department of Old Irish National University of Ireland, Maynooth 2006

© Kim McCone 2006

ISBN 0 901519 46 4 ISSN 1393 3395

Printed by THE LEINSTER LEADER, NAAS To my former teacher Anna Morpurgo Davies

Foreword.

A period of six years from 1979 to 1985 saw the production of a doctoral thesis (McCone, 1979; see bibliography) and several articles (McCone, 1979c, 1980, 1982 and 1985b) on topics relating to the main concerns of the present volume. The two decades or so that have elapsed since have been a period of comparative reticence on these issues broken only by a restatement as well as some elaboration of my basic position in Irish (McCone, 1994, 140-143, 176-180 and 196-8), by further development of my views on the personal and relative endings of the verb in a contribution in German (McCone, 1995) to the *Festschrift für Klaus Strunk*, and finally by a paper in English (McCone, 1997) given to the Delbrück Colloquium of the *Indogermanische Gesellschaft* in Madrid at the kind invitation of the organisers.

A central theme of several of the aforementioned investigations has been the contention that a particle **es* or the like held by a number of scholars, most notably the late Warren Cowgill (1975) in an epoch making contribution, to have been generalised in Insular Celtic main clauses is both unviable and unnecessary. A new variant of this hypothetical element has since reared its mischievous head in a detailed study by Peter Schrijver (1997) published as volume II of the present series and has now been incorporated into the reconstruction of a whole range of verbal inflections by my former Ph.D. student Stefan Schumacher (2004) in his important recent book on Celtic primary verbs. Lest it be thought that *qui tacet consentit*, I have decided after a period of comparative quiescence to gird up my loins once again in the probably vain hope of laying this phantom menace to rest once and for all as part of an overall attempt to trace the evolution of the verbal complex from its Proto-Indo-European antecedents via Proto-Celtic, Gallo-Insular and Insular Celtic to the fully developed end product in Old Irish.

The bulk of this book was written during a year's sabbatical leave (2004-5) from NUI Maynooth, for which I am duly grateful, but some parts of it are more or less modified versions of accounts already published or due to be published elsewhere. The final section (3.1-9) of chapter I is basically an English translation of the second half of a plenary paper (McCone, forthcoming) given in German to the *Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft* in Halle in 2001 and due to appear in the *Akten* thereof. The first two sections (1.1-2.4) of chapter II are a somewhat expanded version of the already mentioned paper presented to the Madrid Colloquium and subsequently published in its proceedings. The last section (3.1-3) of chapter III is largely drawn from a recent article in *Celtica* (McCone, 2003), while some parts of chapter IV (notably 1.1 and 2.1-4) have been taken over with certain changes from my book on *The Early Irish Verb* (see *EIV* in the bibliography). It remains to note that much of chapter V is a reworking of the text and handout of a hitherto unpublished lecture given in Cambridge at the kind invitation of Professor Geoff Horrocks a few years ago.

The D. Phil. thesis referred to at the beginning of this foreword as lying at the root of my subsequent endeavours in this area was supervised by Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies (and in its later stages co-supervised with equal attention and erudition by the late Professor David Green of the Celtic School of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies). To her I owe not only invaluable criticism and discussion of my postgraduate research but also my induction into comparative Indo-European linguistics as an undergraduate. Chapter VI of the present volume started life as a study intended for a recently published *Festschrift* to mark her retirement from a long and distinguished tenure of the Oxford Chair of Comparative Philology. When, however,

it became obvious that it was going to exceed the upper limit on the size of contributions considerably, it seemed best to build it into a larger book. It is a pleasure to dedicate this to Anna with affection and gratitude.

Kim McCone, Department of Old Irish, National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: The Old Irish Verbal Complex, its Insular Celtic and Alleged Non-Indo-European Antecedents

1. Old Irish

- 1.1. Basic word order
- 1.2. Independent and dependent verb forms
- 1.3. Absolute and conjunct endings of simple verbs
- 1.4. Deuterotonic and prototonic forms of compound verbs
- 1.5. The basic verbal complex and the augment
- 1.6. Enclitic object pronouns and the particle no
- 1.7. Relative markers
- 1.8. Independent prototonic forms of compounds with to/ro/fo plus vowel
- 1.9. Emphatic pronominal particles and the complex as a whole
- 1.10. Hanging nominatives and clefting for emphasis
- 2. British
 - 2.1. Word order and survivals of parallels to Irish usage
 - 2.2. Hanging nominative and cleft constructions
- 3. Possible substrate influences on Insular Celtic
 - 3.1. Pre-Celtic insular language(s)
 - 3.2. Variations on the theme of an Afro-Asiatic substrate
 - 3.3. Genitive constructions and verbal concord
 - 3.4. The main areas of alleged Afro-Asiatic influence
 - 3.5. VSO word order and arguable correlates
 - 3.6. Clitic pronouns attached to verbs, prepositions etc.
 - 3.7. Prepositional and other relative constructions
 - 3.8. Verbal nouns and periphrasis
 - 3.9. Mixed languages and basic conclusions

CHAPTER TWO: The Verb and its Satellites in Proto-Indo-European, the Rise of VSO Patterns in Insular Celtic and the Supposed Development of a Near-general Particle in Main Clauses

- 1. Basic PIE word order patterns
 - 1.1. Delbrück's rules for neutral SOV word order in Old Indic and PIE
 - 1.2. Delbrück's fronting rule for topic/focus and its relevance to Old Irish
 - 1.3. The evidential value of prose and poetry regarding word order

1.4. Wackernagel's Law on enclitic placement, and the position of unaccented main-clause verbs in PIE

- 1.5. Initial position for topic focus and post-initial placement of enclitics
- 1.6. Post-verbal amplification according to Delbrück and Gonda

1.7. Retrospect and the fronting of preverbs and negatives in tmesis

1.8. Fronting of a finite verb, preverb and/or negative

1.9. Mechanically conditioned initial position, and univerbation

- 1.10. Multiple preverbs
- 1.11. Doubts about the PIE antiquity of combinations of different preverbs
- 2. Word order in Celtic
 - 2.1. Allegedly archaic deviations from standard Old Irish VSO patterns
 - 2.2. Basic SOV patterns in Celtiberian
 - 2.3. Word order in Gaulish and British
 - 2.4. The Proto-Celtic situation and subsequent developments

3. VSO, absolute versus conjunct inflection and certain historically irregular features of compound verbs in Insular Celtic

3.1. The main problems and their solution by means of an enclitic particle **es* or the like allegedly generalised in Insular Celtic main clauses

3.2. Problems relating to the identity and behaviour of the proposed particle

- 3.3. Various subsequent reactions to Cowgill's *es
- 3.4.1. The problem of main-clause *tic* 'comes' for *do:ic* etc.
- 3.4.2. Lenition of the verb's object (or subject) in Insular Celtic
- 3.4.3. Thurneysen's *-s generated and spread by analogy
- 3.4.4. Objections to the views of Koch and Isaac

CHAPTER THREE: Absolute and Conjunct Inflection

- 1. From PIE primary/secondary to Insular Celtic absolute/conjunct
 - 1.1. The fundamental problem
 - 1.2.1. The formal difficulties raised by Cowgill
 - 1.2.2. The case for Proto-Celtic 1pl. *-mosi/*-mos and 2pl. *-tesi/*-tes
 - 1.3.1. The Proto-Celtic primary and secondary endings
 - 1.3.2. The case for thematic primary 2sg. *-e-si and 3sg. *-e-ti in Celtic

1.4. The consequences of Insular Celtic apocope of *-i except where followed by an enclitic

- 1.5.1. The resultant Insular Celtic absolute/conjunct paradigms
- 1.5.2. The apocope's range and preceding Insular Celtic -es-V(-) > *-is-V(-)
- 1.5.3. Some remaining issues
- 1.5.4. OIr. abs./conj. 1sg. -(a)im(m) and 2sg. -(a)i
- 1.5.5. OIr. 2pl.abs. *a-di(b)* in the copula and *-the* elsewhere
- 1.6.1. Retrospect
- 1.6.2. Sims-Williams' approach and some objections
- 1.6.3. Doubts about Isaac's Ancient Egyptian parallels
- 1.6.4. The attractions of Isaac's postulate of 'emphatic' absolute forms
- 1.7. Objections to Kortlandt's views

1.8.1. The PIE mediopassive endings and the formal differentiation of passive from deponent inflection in Insular Celtic

1.8.2. The inapplicability of a particle to the OIr. deponent absolute

1.8.3. The problem of the OIr. 3sg., 1pl. and 3pl. deponent absolute

1.8.4. A proposed solution to the difficulties presented by deponent absolutes

- 1.8.5. The passive absolute and conjunct endings
- 1.9.1. The lack of an absolute/conjunct distinction in the imperative
- 1.9.2. The personal endings of the PIE perfect and the OIr. suffixless preterite

1.9.3. Eradication of paradigmatic ablaut in the perfect stem and the problem of the 2sg. ending of the OIr. suffixless preterite

1.9.4. The issue of whether the 1 and 3pl. suffixless preterite originally had an absolute/conjunct distinction or not

1.9.5. Further Old Irish evidence on this point and a conclusion

2. The central issues revisited

2.1. A review of the basic formal developments envisaged

2.2. The generalisation of an initial verbal complex in Insular Celtic

2.3. A summary of the advantages of the present hypothesis over alternatives invoking a general main-clause particle

- 3. The case for Insular Celtic as against Gallo-British or the like
 - 3.1. The Celtic family tree
 - 3.2. The dating of loss of *-d and loss of *-i
 - 3.3. Conclusions and further points in favour of Insular Celtic

CHAPTER FOUR: Compound Verbs, the Augment and Enclitic Pronouns

1. Lexical verbal composition in Celtic

1.1. The postulate of primary versus secondary composition in Old Irish

1.2. The role of gradual accretion in the formation of Old Irish multi-preverb compounds

1.3. The mains exceptions (ne, uss, to) to the principle of reducibility

1.4. A comparison of British with Old Irish verbal composition, and the question of Insular Celtic foundations

1.5. Verbal composition in Continental Celtic and Proto-Celtic

2. The grammicalisation of *ro* and some other preverbs as augments

- 2.1. The Old Irish augment and vestiges of the augment in British
- 2.2. The aspectual origin's of the augment's resultative/potential function
- 2.3. Formal aspects of the augment's behaviour
- 2.4. Changes in the placement of ro before and during the Old Irish period
- 2.5. The augment's position in lexical compounds and its origins

3. Pretonic preverbs and historically irregular mutation patterns

3.1. The origins of the opposition between deuterotonic and prototonic forms

- х
- 3.2. The origins and consequences of the non-lenition of infixed pronouns
- 3.3. The restored final consonant of some preverbs, and the prototonic imperative forms of Old Irish compound verbs
- 4. Emphasising pronominal particles or *notae augentes*
 - 4.1. The Old Irish forms, their function and possible origins
 - 4.2. Stressed personal pronouns in Insular Celtic
 - 4.3. The PIE system and its basic retention in Proto-Celtic
 - 4.4. Reduplicated forms and the prehistoric Irish cliticisation of originally stressed pronouns after stressed elements such as a noun or verb
 - 4.5. The Primitive Irish verbal complex with a single main stress

CHAPTER FIVE: Eti and Pseudo-eti

- 1. Stressed and allegedly enclitic *eti
 - 1.1. The pros and cons of Schrijver's particle *eti
 - 1.2. Initial eti and alleged reflexes of enclitic *eti in Gaulish
 - 1.3. The lack of positive evidence for *eti in Irish
 - 1.4. Leniting Middle Welsh *yt* or *yd* < non-enclitic initial **eti*
- 2. Old/Middle Welsh -t/-d as an alleged reflex of enclitic *eti
 - 2.1. Reflexes of *et-/*it- before forms of the copula in British
 - 2.2. British negative nyt corresponding to OIr. nid- with the copula
 - 2.3. Affirmative and negative paradigms of the copula in Insular Celtic and the spread of neg. cop. $*n\bar{i}t$ from 2pl. $*n\bar{i}tis < *ne$ -etesi
 - 2.4. The further spread of reflexes of $*n\bar{i}t$ and *et-/*it- in British
 - 2.5. The similar origins of infixed -t/-d in British
 - 2.6. The inconclusive nature of Schumacher's objections to the foregoing
- 3. Retrospect
 - 3.1. Main-clause negation in Insular Celtic
 - 3.2. A brief summary of the case against enclitic *eti

CHAPTER SIX: Relative Marking

1. Stressed inflected *yó- and uninflected enclitic *-yo

1.1. The relative pronoun $*y\dot{o}$ - in PIE, Proto-Celtic and Celtiberian versus *-yo in Gaulish and Insular Celtic

- 1.2. Suffixed and infixed reflexes of enclitic *-yo in Old Irish
- 1.3. The analogical origins of relative nasalisation in Old Irish
- 1.4. Various approaches to the origins of enclitic relative *-yo
- 1.5. The use of the relative in Insular Celtic and a Basque parallel
- 2. Possible relative *-so(m), *-e(m) or the like in addition to or instead of *-yo
 - 2.1. The case for and against relative *-so(-)
 - 2.2.1. Difficulties confronting Sims-Williams' relative subject *-yo/*-so versus

object *-e(n)

2.2.2. Objections to Schrijver's relative subject *-yo versus object *-e(n)

2.2.3. Problems confronting further aspects of Schrijver's explanation

3. The case for *-yo as the sole relative marker in Insular Celtic affirmative relative clauses

3.1. The feasibility of deriving all Old Irish active relative endings, including those with 3sg. -e/as, from forms with suffixed *-ya < *-yo

3.2. The phonetic plausibility of *-syo/a > *-so/a

3.3. The compatibility of the relative forms of consonant-final preverbs and of the deponent/passive relative endings in Old Irish with *-yo/a

3.4. Conclusions

4. The use of relative *-de and *- $k^w e$ with the negative

- 4.1. Preliminaries
- 4.2. Enclitic connectives in Celtic
- 4.3. The acquisition of relative function by connective *-*de* and *- $k^w e$
- 4.4. A brief summary

CHAPTER SEVEN: Summary

- 1. The Celtic family tree
- 2. The Proto-Indo-European starting point
- 3. Probable and possible Proto-Celtic developments
- 4. The rise of enclitic relative *-yo in Gallo-Insular-Celtic
- 5. Insular Celtic developments
 - 5.1. The case against a generalised main-clause particle

5.2. Apocope of *-*i* except before an enclitic and its effect upon the system of personal endings

5.3. The homogenisation of probably 'emphatic' initial simple and compound verb forms with and without and attached enclitic

- 5.4. Pretonic preverbs resulting from the proclisis rule
- 5.5. The generalisation of an initial verbal complex
- 5.6. The loss of non-sentential enclitics

5.7. The increasing use of verbal composition, including the full development of a grammaticalised augment

6. The prehistoric Irish cliticisation of various stressed pronominal forms

DEPARTMENT OF OLD IRISH, NUI MAYNOOTH PUBLICATIONS

The following title are available from Leonie.Duignan@nuim.ie.

Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta ed. Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó Háinle, Nicholas Williams and Liam Breatnach.
(1994, reprinted 1996; xxiv + 905 pp. hardback, €35, ISBN 0 901519 90 1)
Progress in Medieval Irish Studies ed. Kim McCone and Katharine Simms.
(1996, 275 pp. paperback, €10, ISBN 0 901519 35 9).

Maynooth Monographs (ISSN 0790-8806)

I. The Early Irish Verb by Kim McCone

(1987; revised 2nd ed. 1997, xviii + 291 pp. paperback, $\in 15$, ISBN 1 870684 76 1). **III. Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature** by Kim McCone (1990, 286 pp. paperback reprint, $\in 15$, ISBN 1 870684 10 9).

Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor (ISSN 1393 368X)

III. Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies 1840-80 by Damien Murray (145 pp. paperback, €10, ISBN 0 901519 73 1)

Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics (ISSN 1393 3393; all paperback)

I. Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change by Kim McCone (1996, 195pp., ISBN 0 901519 40 5; *out of print but available free as pdf file with original pagination from above address*).

II. Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles by Peter Schrijver (1997, 199pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 59 6).

III. The Historical Morphology of *n***-Stems in Celtic** by Karin Stüber (1998, 238 pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 54 5).

IV. The Historical Morphology of the Welsh Verbal Noun by Stefan Schumacher (2000, 288 pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 68 5).

V. Modality and Grammar: A History of the Irish Subjunctive by Peter McQuillan (2002, 308 pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 92 8).

VI. The Origins and Development of the Insular Celtic Verbal Complex by Kim McCone (2006, 300 pp., €15, ISBN 0 901519 46 4; *table of contents, chapters 1-3 and bibliography available free as pdf file from above address*).

Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts (ISSN 1393-970X; all paperbacks)

I. *Echtrae Chonnlae* and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary by Kim McCone (2000, 222 pp.,€10, ISBN 0 901519 78 2).

II. *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait* and its Place in the Irish Literary and Oral Narrative Traditions: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary by Kaarina Hollo (2005, 149 pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 31 6).

III. A First Old Irish Grammar and Reader with an Introduction to Middle Irish by Kim

xii

McCone (2005, 275 pp., ISBN 0 901519 367; *out of print but available free as pdf file from above address*, *revised 2nd. ed. due in 2011*).

IV. *Talland Étair*: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary by Caoimhín Ó Domhnaill (2005, 190 pp., €10, ISBN 0 901519 41 3).

V. Compert Mongáin and Three Other Early Mongán Tales: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Textual Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary by Nora White (2006, 227 pp., €10, ISBN 0 90159 66 9).

VI. The Death of Cú Chulainn: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Version of *Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemni* with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary by Bettina Kimpton (2009, 120 pp., €10, ISBN 13 9780901519474).