Revisiting *TBC I*, ll. 659–661

Zusammenfassung

Wegen eines unerwarteten, durch ein infigiertes Pronomen signalisierten Wechsels zu direkter Rede verdient die alte Interpretation von TBC I, *659–61, insbesondere die Verbalform* condam bennachtaís, *erneute Aufmerksamkeit. Dieser Beitrag untersucht sowohl den Wechsel zu direkter Rede als auch die Form infigierter Pronomina nach der Konjunktion* co^N, *um eine neue Interpretation dieser Passage, derer Übersetzung bisher als unproblematisch galt, anzubieten.*

Lines 659–661 of *TBC I* are well-known to scholars of Early Irish, since they are part of the *Macgnímrada* 'Boyhood deeds' of Cú Chulainn and appear in the standard learners' text *Stories from the Táin* (Strachan 1903–4, Strachan & Bergin 1944). The text as given there reads (Strachan & Bergin 1944: 13):

(1)   *cotn-éicnigedar Cú Chulainn íar suidiu co táirled forsin sligid do chelebrad donaib maccaib,* '7 **condom bendachtais in maicc**'.

   'Cú Chulainn compels him (Ibar) then that he (Cú Chulainn) should go on the road in order to bid farewell to the boys, **"and so the boys might greet me"**'   [my translation].

Since *Stories from the Táin* was intended as a text for learners, it is necessary to look at O'Rahilly's (1976: 21, ll. 659–61) authoritative text of *TBC I*. She gives the same passage as:

(2)   *cotnéicnigidar Cú Chulaind iar sudiu* co *dáirled forsin slige do chelebrad dona maccaib,* "**ocus condam bennachtaís in meic**".

   'Cú Chulainn made him go along the road that he might greet the boys, **"and so that the boys may wish me well"**'.

The editorial changes of Strachan & Bergin's 'textbook for beginners of Old-Irish' (1944: v) generally consist of replacing later forms with earlier ones (earlier dat.pl. of the article in *donaib* for *dona*, historically correct *-nd-* for attested *-nn-* in *bennachtais*, *maicc* for later *meic*), removing the graphical

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indication of the nasalization caused by *co*[N] on *dáirled* / *táirled*, and giving the assumed Old Irish inflection of *slige* 'road, path, way'.[1] Of these changes, at least some (*sligid* and *maicc*)[2] are attested in the YBL version of Recension I (Strachan & O'Keeffe 1912: 23, ll. 585–7) and the Egerton 1782 version of the same (Windisch 1913: 136, ll. 5–7) and can thus be said to be justified by a manuscript version of the text. Regardless of whether the small changes introduced by Strachan can be traced back to a manuscript witness or not, the variants are, in the end, merely cosmetic. In all aspects important for our purposes here, Strachan's text is exactly the same as that of LU (ll. 5073–4) as slightly adapted by O'Rahilly.[3] In what follows, O'Rahilly's text will be used unless otherwise specified.

There are two problems apparent in the passage, specifically in the part printed in bold above. The first problem is that there is an awkward change of person. The switch into direct discourse for the second half of the sentence is jarring and seems out of place. The second problem concerns the fact that the verb, *bennachtais*, is a past subjunctive. In direct discourse we would expect a present subjunctive 3pl. abs. *bennachait*, conj. ·*bennachat* or an imperative 3pl. *bennachat*. It is striking that no edition mentions either of these problems at all. The rest of this paper is dedicated to a detailed examination of the problems and the offering of a minimally invasive solution to this unstudied crux.

Before going further, it should be noted that the form in question is found in all three of the four manuscripts of Recension I that contain this passage and reads con*dam* ben*nach*taís in LU 61b, ll. 21–2, con*damb*en*dach*tais in YBL 21a, col. 581.28, and con*amb*en*nach*tais in Eg. 95vb10. The three manuscripts agree with one another, and O'Rahilly's text can stand as printed. It should, however, be noted that in LU alone of the three manuscripts, the verbal complex is divided into two parts by a line break, with the proclitic part ending not with a full *m* but rather an *m*-stroke, as can be seen in Figure 1. On the possible significance of this fact, see further note 20 below.

Given that the text of the edition is correct, we must see whether it is possible to defend that reading. The first step in that defense involves examining the unexpected switch into direct discourse, which is another way of saying that the third person narrative shows an unexpected switch to first- and/or second-person forms. As it happens, there is precedent for such switching. It can occur in both poetry and prose and in both Irish and Welsh. The phenomenon has

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[1] *eDIL s.v. slige* gives the dental inflection as regular in meaning II 'road, path, way', but it should be noted that there are no truly Old Irish attestations of the word in this meaning. The dental inflection could therefore be a Middle Irish innovation.

[2] As for *bendachtais* in YBL, a spelling <nd> in a post-OIr. MS does not attest to original OIr. <nd> = /Nd/, since by then, <nn> and <nd> had become freely interchangeable regardless of etymology – cf., a few lines up in the same text here, *Coïnculaind* (Strachan & O'Keeffe 1912: 23, l. 566).

[3] The text of the same passage in Meid 2018: 55, ll. 434–6, the most recent edition of parts of *TBC I*, is also essentially identical.
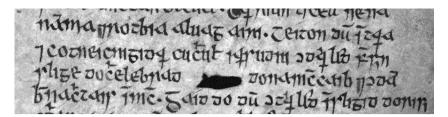
Figure 1: Lebor na hUidre 61b, ll. 19–22 (= Royal Irish Academy MS 23 E 25). By permission of the Royal Irish Academy. © RIA

been examined within Early Irish and Welsh poetry by Patrick Sims-Williams (2010: Chapter 13, a reworked and updated version of Sims-Williams 2005), for Early Irish prose by Mac Gearailt (2005) and for Early Welsh prose by Poppe (2005).

Sims-Williams, building on work by Ó Baoill (1990) among others, shows that person-switching, which is by different medieval authorities regarded as a grammatical fault or not, was current in Irish poetry at least by the tenth century (2010: 327). Possibly earlier and reliable examples (*pace* Ó Baoill 1990: 388 for the first of these) are found in 'The lament of the old woman of Beare' (Ó hAodha 1989: stanza 24) and in line 4 to the introductory prayer to the *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Bisagni 2009: 6). It is thus nearly certain that person-switching is found early enough in Old Irish to make an appearance in *TBC I*. It is notable, however, that all the cases of person-switching in Early Irish poetry discussed by Ó Baoill and Sims-Williams involve switches between third and second person. Seen in this light, the switch to direct speech with a first person form in the *TBC I* passage appears quite different from the poetic convention being discussed. Stronger still, because the lines in question in *TBC* are prose, not poetry, it is *a priori* unlikely that the poetic convention or device is relevant here. It appears improbable that the author of *TBC* (or the copyist) would have had in mind a poetic device of person-switching which he then had to adapt in order to implement a switch from indirect to direct speech in the prose passage of *TBC I* under discussion.

Since switches to direct speech are also found in Irish prose, where it is referred to as "slipping" in the linguistic literature (Schwyter *et al.* 2005: 1), it makes much more sense in the context of this *TBC* passage to investigate person-switching in prose. As noted by Schwyter *et al.*, "slipping" is frequently accompanied by grammatical shifts 'affecting person, demonstratives and other deictics as well as tense, mood and word-order', though only a subset of these features are present in many cases (2005: 1).[4] Mac Gearailt notes that slipping is 'relatively uncommon in early Irish' (2005: 153). He shows (2005: 154–5) that the switch from indirect to direct speech, which frequently follows

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[4] I would like to thank Liam Breatnach for bringing this important reference to my attention.

a *verbum dicendi*, is often accompanied by the quotative *ol sé* 'said he' (with its many variant forms), by causal *úair* or *ar* or by *ocus*/*agus* 'and'. Combinations of the above features are also not infrequent.

While Mac Gearailt modestly refers to a 'brief survey' and to a 'sample of instances' (2005: 153), his collection is made up of examples gleaned from an impressive array of texts covering a wide span of time and genre, and I view it as complete for those texts investigated. It is notable, though not surprising in comparison with other Indo-European languages sampled (Schwyter *et al.* 2005: 3) that there are in general few examples of slipping in Irish. In fact, the only case in *TBC I* at all is the passage under investigation here. Mac Gearailt's comments on the passage are interesting, and of immediate interest is that he comments on the frequency of slipping being 'remarkably low' in *TBC I*, noting that this passage 'may not qualify as an example of slipping' (Mac Gearailt 2005: 156). His hesitation to classify this passage as slipping may result from the fact that it contains only one general characteristic of the phenomenon (a first-person pronoun following general narration) and one Irish-specific feature (introductory *ocus*). He further observes that the parallel passages in *TBC-LL* and the Stowe MS do involve direct speech here, as the entire anecdote is told in dialogue between Cú Chulainn and Ibar (2005: 156). He does not make a firm pronouncement on whether the direct speech underlay the *TBC I* version of this passage or not, but given what we know about slipping in general and in Irish, it can be said that this passage is not a particularly good example of the phenomenon. If there is no other explanation available, then scholars will probably have to be content with a slightly odd and awkward transition to direct speech.

Before we accept this as a (perhaps poor) example of slipping, however, we must examine the second oddity in this passage which was noted above: the verb *bennachtais* is a past subjunctive. McQuillan (2002: 98–9) has argued that there should be no subjunctive at all after verbs of 'successful causation' like *con·éicnigedar*, but rather a verbal noun construction. For this passage in particular, he suggests that the archetype of *TBC I* rather had a verbal noun, which is indeed found in the Eg. version of the line: *cotnéignigh*estar *Cu*chulaind *iarsudiu im dula lais* con*darleath* for*sin slig*id *do chelibrad*h *dona macaib* ... (Windisch 1913: 136.5–7). The past subjunctive would then have been taken over from the following sentence *Gaid dó da*no con*táirled* (Windisch 1913: 136.7–8), where it is expected (McQuillan 2002: 99). The scenario that McQuillan sketches is possible, but an alternative seems more plausible to me. The use of the subjunctive as complement to a variety of predicate types is more common in Old Irish than in Middle Irish, while the verbal noun complement, already frequent in Old Irish, becomes even more so in Middle Irish, sometimes ousting the subjunctive as a possible complement.[5] This development suggests that *con·éicnigider*, though seemingly restricted to verbal noun

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[5] McQuillan notes this movement away from subjunctives as complements for some

complements in Middle Irish, very plausibly could have had a finite verb in the subjunctive as well. In that case, *im dula lais* in Eg. may be an insertion rather than a retention from the archetype. It appears, after all, in only one of the three mss. containing the passage, and, as noted above, the construction with the verbal noun is regular in Middle Irish, meaning that such an insertion would be fairly straightforward in a Middle Irish manuscript copy. The upshot of this discussion is that the subjunctive construction (here with final *co^N*; *GOI* p. 555, §896) is plausible (and indeed attested) after *cot n-éicnigedar* 'he compels him'. A second point to note in the *TBC I* passage is that both verbs in the subordinate clauses are past subjunctives following a present tense main clause verb. Probably the most straightforward explanation of the past subjunctives is via an Old Irish *consecutio temporum* / sequence-of-tenses rule (see *GOI* p. 333, §520.2 (a) and Stifter 2006: 296). That is, while *cot·n-éicnigedar* is formally a present tense, it is actually a historical present with preterital force (see *GOI* p. 331, §519.1 on such usage), and as such the past subjunctive is expected in the purpose clause rather than a present subjunctive. A second possible means of explaining the past subjunctive is in its use 'without temporal limitation', mostly 'in order to qualify an act or state as hypothetical, doubtful, improbable, or unreal' but also of especial interest is its use in final clauses after a present tense main clause verb (*GOI* p. 334–5, §520.2 (b)). In such final clauses, as Thurneysen notes, the past subjunctive functions essentially as an optative. This would appear to be appropriate in this present context.

Regardless of which explanation one adopts for the past subjunctive, it appears that that explanation will work well for *co dáirled* but less well for *condam bennachtais*. A common indicator of a switch from indirect speech to direct speech is a change in tense or mood. That is, while the action may occur in the narrative past, direct speech will use the present tense or the imperative mood. A good example of the switch to the present tense, as pointed out by Mac Gearailt (2005: 157) comes from *TBC-LL* (O'Rahilly 1967):

(3)   & *atbertsat combad é Fergus, ar bíth ba slúagad bága dó in slúagad ... '*
        7 atá sec[h]t ṁblíadna déc fri Ultu ammuig ar loṅgais 7 bidbanas'. Is aire
        sin bad chomadas ...,

        'And they said that it should be Fergus, because the hosting was a hostile hosting for him ... "and he has been in exile and enmity for seventeen years away from Ulster". Therefore it would be fitting ...',

                                                    TBC-LL, ll. 361–5

While the entire narration is preterital here (e.g. *atbertsat*, *ba*), direct speech is in part indicated through a switch to the present (*atá*). It might be objected

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categories, e.g. 'manipulative utterance predicates' like *guidid* 'prays' and *ad-teich* 'entreats' (2002: 96) and obligatives like *éicen* 'necessity' (1999: 98). He does not note such a shift for 'successful causation', since he finds no definite examples of subjunctives, but he admits (2002: 99, n. 44) that a subjunctive is possible.

that the *LL* passage only indicates a tense switch in a main clause, not in a dependent clause with dependent subjunctives. I have not been able to find a precisely parallel case, but the following, also from *TBC-LL*, comes close:

(4) & *rádis Fergus fri Fiachu mac Fir Aba ar co ndigsed do acallaim Con Cu-laind. 'Ocus ráid-siu friss …,*

‘And Fergus told Fiacha mac Fir Aba to go and speak with Cú Chulainn. ‘And tell him …’,   TBC-LL, ll. 1718–9

Here, the first verb is a past subjunctive following *ar co^N*, while the second shows the switch to direct speech via an imperative. One might also expect to find a present subjunctive to indicate direct speech, but no such cases are found among the examples of slipping collected by MAC GEARAILT 2005, though since slipping is relatively uncommon, the lack of examples could simply be accidental. Although neither of these two passages is exactly parallel to the *TBC I* passage under discussion, they suggest that what might have been expected instead of *condam bennachtais* to indicate direct speech is an imperative (attested in other similar examples) or a present subjunctive (accidentally (?) unattested).

If we grant that a present subjunctive would have been possible here, we can argue that the use of the past subjunctive for present is simply a scribal or speech error. A possible motivation for such an error would be attraction of tenses, i.e. that the past subjunctive *co dáirled* attracted *condam bennachtais* into the past subjunctive as well. A comparable case of attraction can be found in the following example, where the imperative in the embedded clause (not allowed as per *GOI* p. 329, §516) was taken over from the imperative in the main clause:[6]

(5) *Apair   fris   táet*
     ask.2SG.IMPV   towards.3SG.M   come.3SG.IMPV

‘ask him to come!’,   *TBC I*, l. 1768

One can imagine that the embedded verb *táet* was attracted to the preceding imperative in form, but also in sense, because the request to come, when relayed to the one who is to come (Fer Báeth in this case), would also likely be an imperative (2sg.impv. *tair*). An explanation via attraction thus seems quite likely for the embedded imperative in (5), but it is not as likely to be correct for the past subjunctive *bennachtaís* in (2), since the formal criterion for attraction (a similar neighboring form) is met but the sense criterion is not met, i.e. the past subjunctive could not be used in direct speech in this case if Cú Chulainn speaks to Ibar saying ‘I compel you to go on the road in order for me to say farewell to the boys; let the boys greet me’.

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[6] I thank Jürgen Uhlich for this suggestion and this example. See UHLICH 2006: 53 for the context.

In the end, the argument for a switch to direct speech involves a number of assumptions that are possible but which, when taken together, make the case for a switch to direct speech an argument of last resort. The three unlikely events are: slipping is uncommon generally, but especially in *TBC I*; if this is slipping, it shows few hallmarks of the phenomenon; if it is slipping, we must further assume that the "slipped" verb was not adjusted to either the imperative or the present subjunctive. Given the difficulties with assuming a switch to direct speech, it seems justified to ask whether a better explanation can be found.

Infixed pronouns in *TBC I*

Given that the main reason to assume a switch to direct speech in the passage under discussion is the fact that the infixed object pronoun seems to demand it, it makes sense to look more closely at the infixed pronouns in *TBC I*. The infixed pronouns in question are those of class C, which are expected after co^N 'until, (so) that, in order that' (*GOI* p. 258, §413). Table 1 presents the conjunction co^N together with the infixed object pronouns in their Classical Old Irish forms.

Table 1: Infixed pronouns with co^N, the Classical Old Irish situation

1SG.	$condam^L$	1PL.	*condan*
2SG.	$condat^L$	2PL.	*condob*
3SG.M.	$condid^N$		
3SG.F.	*conda*	3PL.	*conda*
3SG.N.	$condid^L$		

An electronic search of *TBC I* reveals that this system is fairly well-maintained in the tale.[7] Regular forms are, for example:

(6) a. *tíagom **conda** rísam*
   'Let us go to meet **them**',   *TBC I*, l. 707

   b. ***conda** rala nech úaib*
   'unless one of you … has cast **it** [fem.]',   *TBC I*, l. 344

   c. ***condon**tísat a ndá tríchaid cét sin*
   'until the two companies come to join **us**',   *TBC I*, l. 3509

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[7] The electronic search was conducted on the digital version of *TBC I* available on the CELT website (celt.ucc.ie). The method involved searching for every thinkable spelling variation of co^N + infixed pronoun, e.g. for 1sg. *condam, connam, conam, condom, connom, conom, condum*, etc. This method cannot catch unexpected spelling errors, but I would argue that it nonetheless gives an accurate view of the infixed pronouns found in *TBC I* after co^N.

A few minor deviations from the Old Irish standard are found, but none is particularly surprising:

(7) a. **conom** *raib cairte lat frim budin*
    '**I** want a truce from you for my company',   *TBC I*, l. 1186

  b. **conos** *gabad a tindorcain doridisi*
     'until **they** were once more smitten by their affliction',
     [literally: 'until their affliction might take **them** again']   *TBC I*, l. 1630

Example (7a) shows the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-* (to *-n-* pretonically; see BREATNACH 1994: §10.8), while (7b) shows the use of a Class A infixed pronoun following the expected Class C form (i.e. *conda-* + *-s-*; see BREATNACH 1994: §10.6–7 on such forms), in addition to the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-* and pretonic change of this to *-n-*. It should be noted that since the assimilation was fully accomplished already in later Old Irish in stressed position but even earlier in proclitics (see *GOI* p. 93, §151 (c)), no importance can be attached to the spelling variants in this Middle Irish copy. The full collection of examples from *TBC I* is represented in Table 2.[8]

Table 2: Infixed pronouns with *co^N* in TBC I.

1SG.	*condam* (1x) *conom^L* (2x)	1PL.	*conda[n]* (1x) *condon* (1x)
2SG.	*condit* (1x)	2PL.	no examples
3SG.M.	*conid^N* (16x) *conda^N* (2x) *cona* (1x?) *condo* (1x?)	3PL.	*conda* (6x) *conos* (1x)
3SG.F.	*conda* (6x)		
3SG.N.	*conid* (8x)		

Most of the forms in the table above require no comment. The non-standard forms of the 3sg.m., however, are interesting and require additional discussion. It should be noted at the outset, however, that these forms appear at first glance to correspond to the rare use, noted in *GOI* p. 263, §418, of class C 3sg.m. *-da^N-*, cf. *ruda n-ordan* 'which has dignified him', Wb. 33c5.[9] The first non-standard form of *co^N* + 3sg.m. infixed pronoun is found in the following passage:

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[8] The verbal forms and loci are given in the appendix. Additionally, mutations in this table are given only when they are unambiguously written in at least one of the attestations of a particular form. This decision is not meant to imply the absence of mutation, but merely to note what the orthography clearly tells us.

[9] *GOI* p. 262, §417, also presents a second example, though here with Class B and

(8)   *boí Cú Chulainn ina otharligiu andside* **conatatánicc**[10] *ria cách Senoll hÚathach*

'Cú Chulainn lay there wounded until Senoll Úathach came to him ahead of the others',   *TBC I*, l. 3143–5[11]

O'Rahilly suggests we 'read *condid tánicc*?' (1976: 95, n. 3). That is certainly the expected Classical Old Irish form according to the grammars, but it only appears possible to get to the manuscript reading *conata* by some sort of amalgamation of 3sg.m. *condid* with the rare *-da*^{N} noted above, yielding *condida*, phonetically perhaps [conədə], spelled *conata*. Such an amalgamation, however, is unprecedented and is not noted in Breatnach 1994: §10.6. It appears easier to assume that a simple dittography of the opening syllable of *tánicc* has taken place. This explanation is especially favoured as a line break intervenes exactly at the repeated letters (reported by O'Rahilly 1976: 95, n. 3 as 'conata | tanicc Y'). The remaining *cona tánicc* can then be interpreted as the Middle Irish reflex of Old Irish *condid tánicc* via delenition of *-d* before a following dental (*GOI* p. 86–7, §137), the change of *-nd-* to *-n-* (see above) and the weakening of prototonic vowels to schwa.

Three consecutive examples of *conda*^{N} make up the final non-standard forms of 3sg.m. infixed pronouns after *co*^{N}. The following passage gives the context necessary for discussing the examples.

'Then the charioteer arose and put on his warlike outfit for chariot-driving. Of this outfit which he donned was his smooth tunic of skins, which was light and airy, supple and filmy, stitched and of deerskin, which did not hinder the movement of his arms outside. Over that he put on his overmantle black as raven's feathers. Simon Magus had made it for Darius King of the Romans',[12]   *TBC I*, l. 2189–94 (p. 185)

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without the possibility of graphically indicating the assumed nasalization: *atacomla* 'it joins itself [masc.]', Sg. 208a10. McCone (1997: 170–1) gives further Middle Irish examples of the same form of the infixed pronoun and explains it as a cross of Class A and Class C pronouns, a combination found also in other persons. See, for example 3pl. *-das-*, found in *conos-* in (7b) above, which is a cross of Class A *-s-* with Class C *-(d)a-* after *co*^{N}.

[10] Note that this example is given in table 2 under *cona* (1x?).

[11] This line is available only in YBL, since this entire section is missing from LU and Eg., and, due to loss of a leaf, also from the O'Curry manuscript (see O'Rahilly 1976: viii, 94, n. 2).

[12] I would suggest that the translation of the last sentence should rather be '… black as raven's feathers, which Simon Magus had made for Darius …'. It makes no real difference for purposes here, but there is no unambiguous infixed pronoun in the Irish verb *dorigni*, and a relative verb is at least as possible as a non-relative one.

Immediately following is:

(9)   **conda darat** *Dáir do Chonchobar* **conda darat** *Conchobar do C[h]oin Culaind* **conda rairbert** *Cú Chulaind día araid*[13]

'and Darius had given it [*forbrat*, o, m., 'overmantle'] to Conchobar and Conchobar had given it to Cú Chulainn who gave it to his charioteer',

TBC I, l. 2194–5

The analysis of the repeated *conda darat* is co^N + 3sg.m. *-da^N-* + *tarat* (3sg.perf. of *do·beir* 'gives'). The writing of the verb with initial <d> is due to nasalization by the previous masculine object pronoun. Indicating the nasalization of a voiceless stop to a voiced one is not usual in initial position, but it is hardly rare (cf. *GOI* p. 147, §236.2).[14] The analysis of *conda rairbert* has been clarified by *GOI* p. 686, note 197 (and accepted by O'Rahilly 1976: 269, note to line 2195) as a crossing of prototonic and deuterotonic forms of *do·airbir* 'gives' (*eDIL s.v. do-airbir*), with the result that *conda rairbert = conda tairbert*. This form, like the instances of *conda darat* immediately preceding it, contains an infixed pronoun 3sg.m. The question then becomes what we are to make of the infixed pronoun *-da^N-*. For both instances of *conda darat*, an explanation similar to the one used above for *conatatánicc* (argued to be dittography for *cona tánicc*) will suffice: Old Irish *condid tarat*, via delenition of *-d* before a following dental (*GOI* p. 86–7, §137), yielded [condi darəd] and this form gave Middle Irish [conə darəd], of which *conda darat* is an acceptable spelling. Since *rairbert* in *conda rairbert* is a replacement for *tairbert* with a dental initial, the same explanation will also work for this form: original *condid tairbert* yielded [condi daρ'β'ərt] and, after the replacement of *tairbert* by *rairbert*, this gave [conə raρ'β'ərt] = *conda rairbert* (see *GOI* p. 74–6, §120 on the lenition of the rhotic in consonant groups).

The discussion of the verb forms involving a seemingly non-standard 3sg.m. infixed pronoun following co^N has shown that these forms, *cona* (1x) and *conda* (3x), can all be derived from *condid^N*, the standard form. It thus seems that the investigation of infixed pronouns in *TBC I* has brought us nothing new. Nonetheless, if we look a little further afield, it appears that there is another class C-type 3sg.m. pronoun in *TBC I*, this one attached to the dependent negative

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[13] The infixed pronouns in this passage are directly attested in LU, as the *TBC I* text reflects LU nearly verbatim (compare O'Rahilly 1976: ll. 2194–5 with LU 6389–91). The pronouns are also indirectly attested in C (Ó Fiannachta 1966: ll. 1279–81), the reading of which is *con dor(at) do Con(cob)air con dor(at) Conchobor do Chon Culaind con dirat Cu Chulaind dia araid*. Here, *dor(at)* cannot contain deuterotonic *do·rat*, given the presence of the conjunct particle co^N, so the *-do-* must rather be the infixed pronoun. The verb *·tarat* was then corrupted in transmission.

[14] One might compare the *TBC-LL* version of (9), which has *conda tarad Dair do Chonchobur conda tarat Conchobor do Choin Culaind co tarat Cú Chulaind dá araid* (ll. 2210–11), in which the spelling of the initials in the verbs is more standard.

nach-. Beside regular *nach n-* (see *GOI* p. 265, §419), there are three examples of the form *nacha^N-* referring to a masculine in *TBC I*.

(10) a. *arnacha n-aithgné*,
   'that he may not recognize him', TBC I, l. 1594.[15]

   b. *nacha n-innill*,
   'do not yoke it [*carpat*, m. *o*-stem, 'chariot']', *TBC I*, l. 2187.[16]

   c. *arnacha ndec[h]rad a chond nach a chíall*,[17]
   'that his mind and understanding might not be deranged', *TBC I*, 2218

The first two examples are quite straightforward and need no further explanation. The third is somewhat less clear in interpretation. The verb is *1 dechraid* 'becomes furious with anger or excitement' (*eDIL s.v. 1 dechraid*) and must here be a 3sg. past subj. The singular is expected before singular conjoined subjects (Lash & Griffith 2018) and a subjunctive is expected after *ara^N* 'in order that'. The verb is not very common, but it seems to belong to the class of verbs that can be either causative or anti-causative, i.e. like English *break* in 'I broke the window' (causative) vs. 'the window broke' (anti-causative). For Irish examples, see *do·bádi* 'drowns (trans.); dies out (intrans.)' (*eDIL s.v. do-bádi*); *do·fíuschi* 'wakes (trans./intrans.)' (*eDIL s.v. do-fíuschi*); *etar·scara* 'parts (trans.); departs (intrans.)' (*eDIL s.v. etar-scara*); etc. Given that this example of *1 dechraid* in *TBC I*, together with the corresponding passage in *TBC-LL*,[18] is the only transitive example, the classification is not entirely certain, but presumably the verb means 'infuriates (trans.), becomes furious (intrans.)'. Example (10c) could then be translated 'so that his mind and understanding might not make him crazy'.[19]

The upshot of the last paragraph is that *TBC I* has an innovative form of the 3sg.m. infixed pronoun after the dependent negative: *nacha^N-*. As noted by Thurneysen (*GOI* p. 265, §419), the infixed pronouns after the dependent nega-

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[15] The reading is in all manuscripts: *arnacha n-aithgné*, LU 5869–70, *arnāchanaithgné*, YBL (Strachan & O'Keeffe 1912: l. 1401), *arnachanachgṅe*, Eg. (Windisch 1913: 154.28), *arnacha n-aithghne*, C (Ó Fiannachta 1966: l. 696).

[16] The reading is that of LU 6382, as the only other manuscript with this section of text, *C*, has a different innovative infixed pronoun: *nachis nd-indild* (Ó Fiannachta 1966: l. 1273).

[17] The reading is that of LU 6414, mostly confirmed by *C*, other than the nasalization after the infixed pronoun: *[arn]acha dechr*ad (Ó Fiannachta 1966: l. 1304–5). On the *C* reading, see also n. 19 below.

[18] ll. 2234–5, cf. O'Rahilly 1961: ll. 1524–5.

[19] I am uncertain of what to make of the lack of nasalization in *C* 1305: *[arn]acha dechr*ad *a cond nach a chiall*. One possible explanation is that the infixed pronoun there is 3pl. and reflexive, referring to the conjoined subjects. The meaning is then literally 'so that his mind and understanding do not craze themselves (i.e. so that they do not become crazed)'.

tive have the forms of class C minus the initial *-d-*. We might therefore expect *TBC I* to have a 3sg.m. class C pronoun *-da^N-*. Previous discussion of apparent examples with *conda / cona* has not shown any unambiguous evidence for *conda* in *TBC I*, since all apparent examples could equally be traced to standard *-did^N-*. Nonetheless, the 3sg.m. *-da^N-* was certainly present in the Irish language from a very early stage, since evidence for it is found already in the glosses (see McCone 1997: 170 for discussion of the Old and Middle Irish evidence). At this point, however, we can at last return to the problematic passage which led to this discussion of infixed pronouns following the conjunction *co^N*. The sentence is given again for ease of reference:

(11)   *cotnéicnigidar Cú Chulaind iar sudiu co dáirled forsin slige do chelebrad dona maccaib,* **'ocus condam bennachtáis in meic'**.

  'Cú Chulainn made him go along the road that he might greet the boys, **"and so that the boys may wish me well"'**.

Given that we might expect to find 3sg.m. class C pronoun *-da^N-* in *TBC I*, I suggest we interpret the reading *condambennachtais* confirmed by all MSS not as *condam bennachtais*,[20] but rather as *conda mbennachtais*. That is, the infixed pronoun is the 3sg.m. *-da^N-*, and the <m> is not part of the pronoun but rather is the reflex of nasalization on the following <b>. The translation then will be 'Cú Chulainn made him go along the road that he might greet the boys and so that the boys might wish him well'.

  This suggestion is attractive because it solves all the problems in the passage at once. Firstly, there is no odd person switching in the middle of the sentence. Additionally, the past subjunctive *·bennachtais* is expected in indirect speech following a historical present. The only small cost to adopting the solution advocated here is that we must assume a non-standard form of the 3sg.m. class C infixed pronoun, *-da^N-*, not otherwise demonstrably present in *TBC I*. This small downside to the argument is not really a problem, however, since *-da^N-* as a masculine infixed pronoun has parallels in Old and Middle Irish (see above) and its presence in *TBC I* is implied anyway by the presence of 3sg.m. *nacha^N-*.

Grammatical abbreviations

ABS. = absolute	<xx>^{L} = leniting	PERF. = perfect
CONJ. = conjunct	M. = masculine	PL. = plural
F. = feminine	N. = neuter	SG. = singular
IMPV. = imperative	<xx>^{N} = nasalizing	SUBJ. = subjunctive

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[20] This traditional segmentation may have been suggested by the word division across a line-break found in LU as con*da*m | *b*enna*ch*ta*í*s, where the use of an *m*-stroke requires the indication of the *m* on the previous vowel, which in this case is located on the previous line (see Figure 1 above).

Appendix

In this appendix, all of the infixed pronouns in *TBC I* after co^N are given together with the line number as in O'Rahilly 1976.

1SG.		*conom raib,*	1186
		conom thí, ...	2518
2SG.		*condit roib,*	408
3SG.M.	**conid**	*conid ro lá,*	288 (poetry)
		conid gaib, ...	404
		conid n-acca, ...	504
		conid nderna, ...	750
		conid rallá, ...	752
		conid fil, ...	987
		conid ro marb, ...	1231
		conid rorand, ...	1360
		conid timachtatár,[21]	1538–9
		conid bertatar, ...	1539–40
		conid n-accatar, ...	1886
		conid greis, ...	2541
		conid corastair, ...	3187
		conid-nacor, ...	3320–1
		conid ro rand, ...	3324
		conidgres, ...	4134
	conda	*conda mbennachtaís,*[22]	660–1
		conda darat, ...	2194 (bis)
		conda rairbert, ...	2195
	cona	*conatatánicc,*[23]	3144
3SG.N.		*conid apad,*[24]	474–5, 4034
		conid rolur-sa, ...	839
		conid appad, ...	852
		conid fácab, ...	949–50
		conidapad, ...	3943
		conid apthatar, ...	2479
		conid gní-som,[25]	1902
3SG.F.		*conda rala,*	344
		conda tuc-sa, ...	352
		conda gebed, ...	416
		conda tuc, ...	515
		conda gebed, ...	578
		conda ort, ...	976

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[21] vs. *conid timtachtar* YBL, *conitimachtatar* Eg, *conid timthachtatar* C, as reported by O'Rahilly 1976: 47, n. 14.

[22] vs. con*damb*en*dachtais* YBL, con*amb*en*nachtais* Eg., see above.

[23] *conata | tanicc* YBL, as reported by O'Rahilly 1976: 95, n. 3.

[24] *conidbad* YBL, 4034, as reported by O'Rahilly 1976: 121, n. 6.

[25] *conid gnidsom* LU, *conid dignisom* YBL, *conit ngnisim* C, as reported by O'Rahilly 1976: 58, n. 14.

1PL.		conda[*n*] *rab-ni*, ... 1626
		condontísat, ... 3508
3PL.	**conda**	*conda rísam*, ... 707
		conda cermnastar, ... 886
		conda co scar,[26] 1218
		conda raib,[27] 1555
		conda randsat, ... 2014 (poetry)
	condo	*condocorostor*, ... 4141
	conos	*conos gabad*, ... 1630

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[26] vs. *conda- coscar* YBL, *conda scara* C, as reported by O'RAHILLY 1976: 38, n. 12.

[27] vs. *condon raib* Eg., *sic leg.*, *condom raib* C, as reported by O'RAHILLY 1976: 48, n. 9.

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