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The origins of words for pig and related to pig-farming in Old- and Middle Irish

Plagiaatverklaring

Ik heb geen plagiaat gepleegd bij het schrijven van dit werkstuk.

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1. Introduction and research question

“But when the Tuatha de Danaan [sic] saw the ships coming, they flocked to the shore, and by their enchantments they cast such a cloud over the whole island [Ireland] that the sons of Miled were confused, and all they could see was some large thing that had the appearance of a pig.”¹

In this excerpt of a story of the Tuatha Dé Danann, we can see the connection between the island of Ireland and the pig. There are several different names for Ireland in Medieval times, and a few of them have to do with pigs: *Muic-inis* 'Pig-island', *Elga* (from *elg* 'pig', see p. 22-23), and *Banba* (a derivative from *banb* 'young pig', see p. 18-19). Even at the present day there still seem to be a lot of place-names in Ireland containing the word *mucc* (i.e. Mucduff, Muckelty etc.)². According to the *Encyclopaedia of Indo-European culture* it was the aforementioned *Tuatha Dé Danann* that brought pigs to Ireland in the first place. This origin of the pig is a mythological one, and to find out how pigs were introduced in Ireland one must look at the archaeological evidence that is present. As I am a student of Celtic languages, I will not do that. However, it would be interesting as well to look at the origin of words for pigs and related to pig-farming in Early Ireland, as they might give us a little insight into the origin of pigs in Ireland, or at least into the origins of the language as a whole. As it is almost impossible to research the origin of Irish on the basis of all the words in the Irish language, an investigation like this, of one semantic field, makes sense. As the results of this investigation might not resemble the results that we would find on basis of all the words in the Irish language (speaking in terms of percentages of terms attributed to certain origins) as it is a set of very specific words (namely only words for pig and related to pig-farming), it does give a general understanding of what types of origins terms in the Irish language have. As for the historical relevance, this investigation might be able to tell us a few things about the way pigs were viewed and/or how they lived. Were they mostly domesticated or wild? Are we able to say anything about the importance of the pigs in Early Irish society by looking at the amount of words and/or their connotations? Though the focus of this investigation is on the linguistic aspects, I will make note of the historical/cultural side of things if they help me explain an origin or theory, or when they particularly stand out to me.

To find out where the words for pig and related pig-farming originate, I will ask the following question: 'What is the origin of words for pig and related to pig farming in Old and Middle Irish?'. A second question I will ask is: 'Is there a relation between the origin of the words

¹Gregory 1999: 15-16.

²Hull 1918: 235.

and their semantic field?'. With that last question I want to investigate if the semantic fields of words of the same origin show any similarities. This might give an insight in what type of words were introduced from which source. I will try to answer these questions by going over all words related to pigs and pig-farming in Old and Middle Irish and trying to find out their origin and semantic field.

I expect that there is not an easy, one-sentence answer for this question. However, I expect to be able to tell something about certain changes and origins of the Irish language, and some factors that have contributed to it. I will investigate those factors as sources from which terms have been derived in Irish (see 'methodology' for more information about those sources, p. 9-15). By looking at these sources it is possible to state which languages Irish has been in contact with and possibly how intense the contact was between those languages. As said before, there might also be historical/cultural factors that have played a role in this process, but as the focus is on the linguistic side, I will not go into detail for the non-linguistic factors.

Before I start investigating the words, I will first give a theoretical background on the subject. After that I will explain how I will go about and what sources I will use to do this research. With this information I will gather, investigate and sort the words and analyse the outcome.

2. Theoretical background

If we want to investigate the origin of words, we first need to know several things about languages and the interactions between languages, to see how new words are integrated into the language. I will therefore briefly discuss different kinds of language contact and their results, after which I will go into more detail on what applies to the Irish language and Ireland. Not all of these are directly applicable to my research, but instead they serve as a background for the subject I am researching, or help explain other theories that I need for my investigation.

Thomason³ gives an account of different kinds of language contact and their results in her book *Language contact: an introduction*. When changes occur in a language as a result of the contact between two or more languages, she calls this 'contact-induced language change'. There are certain factors that influence the outcome that we see as a result of this contact. The first and most important factors Thomason mentions are social factors. As languages are spoken by people, the outcome of language change greatly depends on the speakers of the language(s). Another factor is the intensity of the contact, which Thomason shows in her borrowing scale:

1. **Casual contact:** only content words are borrowed, and no structural features are borrowed.

³Thomason 2001: 59-98.

2. **Slightly more intense contact:** function words are borrowed as well as content words and minor structural borrowing occurs. This includes the introduction of new phonological features in the language (only in loanwords).
3. **More intense contact:** More function words are borrowed, even basic vocabulary and derivational affixes are borrowed. In terms of structure, more significant features are borrowed.
4. **Intense contact:** heavy lexical borrowing and any structural features can be borrowed.

As I am only researching content words, words that are related to pigs and pig-farming, I am not able to further use this scale to see how intense the contact was between the Irish language and a possible other language. However, there must have at least been casual contact to derive these words into the Irish language. Thomason⁴ also notes that basic vocabulary is not as easily borrowed as non-basic vocabulary, and though all words are related to pigs, the translation 'pig' is general and more basic than more specific terms, for instance *deil* 'two year old sow'.

The borrowing scale above is based on a situation where so-called 'imperfect learning' plays no role. This means that native speakers of a language (X) are in contact with speakers of a different language (Y), and, while acquiring this second language Y, borrow certain features from this language into their own. This situation applies to most situations, and is also called 'borrowing'.

In a situation where imperfect-learning plays a role, speakers of a language shift from their own language to another but do not acquire the new language perfectly. This happens when a group of speakers is learning a target language (TL), but when doing so they consciously or unconsciously use features from their own language that are not used by native speakers of the TL. These incorporated features cause changes in the TL language. This imperfect learning often happens in a change scenario called 'shift-induced interference', or 'substratum interference'. What happens in this instances is that learners of the TL incorporate some features into the TL, which then becomes a different version of the TL, we could call this TL₂. If the shifting group, now speaking TL₂ is not integrated into the original TL-speaking community, this TL₂ language remains as it is and will be the final version of the language as spoken by the new learners. However, if the TL₂-speakers are integrated in the TL-speaking community, another change happens. The two versions of the language (TL and TL₂) are merged and a new version of the language appears: TL₃, which contains features of both TL and TL₂.

A big social influence on the way a language is changed lies within the speaker. Though there are many theories about language change and nice patterns to divide language-changes into different types of change (e.g. the four points mentioned above), the changes that occur are

⁴Thomason 2001: 71-72.

unpredictable. Thomason calls this factor 'speakers' attitudes'. This attitude accounts for exceptions to the general rules of language change and is responsible for the fact that we cannot predict the outcome of language change through contact⁵.

The next few factors Thomason mentions are linguistic factors, and have to do with the language itself. The three main factors that she mentions are: universal markedness, the degree into which features are integrated into the linguistic system, and typological distance between the source language and the recipient language. Thomason herself says that these factors are not nearly as important as the social factors and can be overruled by the social factors. Furthermore, they do not seem to be applicable to the borrowing of words. Therefore I will not be able to use those in my research.

If we now shift our focus from language contact in general to the situation in Ireland, there are some things that we have to establish. That is, what was the situation in Ireland when the Celts first arrived there? And what is the origin of the Irish language? The last question can be answered quite easily: Old Irish is derived from Proto-Celtic, which in its turn is derived from Proto-Indo-European. The first question about the situation in Ireland is a bit harder to answer. Nooij⁶ writes in his BA thesis, in which the focus lies on language contact in prehistoric Ireland and more importantly on the way the situation in Ireland before Irish arrived influenced the Irish language, that the introduction of Irish can be dated much later than the first arrival of people on the island. This means that there must have been a language that was spoken on the island before the arrival of the Irish language. Schrijver argues, with the help of his *partán*-argument⁷ that this pre-Irish, probably non-Indo-European, language was spoken as late as the sixth century AD.

Even though this seems like a valid argument for the existence of a substratum language in Ireland, there has been some discussion on the subject of substratum languages. As there is no evidence of the language(s) in written sources, some scholars think that it is impossible to be able to know anything about them. Thomason and Kaufman⁸ stated in their book about language contact that there are too many complications when trying to find a substratum source of which there is no evidence. Schrijver does not agree with this view at all, and he reacts to what Thomason and Kaufman write:

As an antidote against substratomania, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:111–112) write:

⁵Thomason 2001: 77-85.

⁶Nooij 2013: 4-5.

⁷Schrijver states that one of the earliest sound changes that differentiated the Celtic languages from other Indo-European languages was the disappearance of *p. This [p] also disappeared in loanwords from Latin from before the sixth century. Only after this date a new phoneme /p/ was present in the Irish language. This means that for instance the loanword *partán* 'crab' should have been loaned after this date. From this Schrijver concludes that the state of the donor language must have been in good enough shape to donate words into Irish. (Schrijver 2013: 82-83)

⁸Thomason and Kaufman 1988.

In order to be able to make educated guesses in this area [i.e. interference through language shift], we must be able to identify a substratum language or language group (some of) whose speakers shifted to the target language [i.e. the language to which people switched] at the relevant time period; we must have information about its structure; and we must have information about the structure of the target language before the shift. These methodological prerequisites have frequently been ignored by substratum enthusiasts. . . . It is possible, for instance, that Celtic languages of the British Isles owe their un-Indo-Europeanlike system of initial-consonant lenition, and other features too, to a pre-Indo-European substratum; but since we have no information about what language(s) the pre-Indo-European inhabitants spoke, we cannot establish such a cause for these changes (even if we were to agree that an external explanation is needed).

These so-called methodological prerequisites are brought into position in order to chase serious linguists away from exploring language shift in deep time. That is because the impossible is demanded: Thomason and Kaufman convict a murderer only if they have seen him commit the murder. That stance is perhaps understandable in the case of linguists who are not used to the subtlety of the detective work that goes into language reconstruction, but I was surprised to find that an eminent Indo-Europeanist and Celticist recently embraced this point of view, too (McCone 2005: 406). It is precisely the job of historical linguists to unearth the subtle and indirect clues that point to contact situations in deep time, as I hope to show.⁹

Though it might be more natural to play it safe and say that, as there is no written record, we cannot reconstruct the language(s) that have influenced the Irish language, there are some things that cannot be explained without a substratum source. There are certain words in the Irish language for which we cannot provide an Indo-European etymology. Schrijver's *partán*-argument seems to point towards a different non-Celtic language spoken on the island before Irish, which existed next to Irish for a while after the introduction of Irish.

Now we know that there was a language that was spoken in Ireland before Irish, we can connect this information to the information I gave about shift-induced-change. Namely, this language that was spoken before Irish did not just disappear. Thomason¹⁰ gives two possibilities

⁹Schrijver 2014: 5.

¹⁰Thomason 2001: 12.

that can cause a language to disappear: all the speakers of a language die when being massacred or because of a natural disaster, or all of the speakers shifted to a different language. Thomason states that it does not occur often that all of the speakers of a language die because of the aforementioned reasons. And as Nooij states, we do not have any reason to think this has happened in Ireland.¹¹ Therefore the speakers of this language must have shifted to Irish and brought certain features of their old language with them. The words that they are most likely to import into the TL are very specific terms, that might have not had a term in the TL while they did in the pre-existing language. Matasović states that most of the terms he found to be substratum in his research of Proto-Celtic words denoted birds, plants and small animals¹². As this all seems to point towards a substratum influence in the Irish language, I think it is safe for me to state that words which only occur in Irish and do not have a known etymology are very likely of a substratum origin. Though substratum words are a type of loanwords, I will sort them in different categories, as normal loanwords and substratum words are the result of a different type of language contact (contact-induced change versus shift-induced change).

After speaking about influences of other languages, I will also give some information about new words that were introduced not as a result of language change but as new formations. There are quite a few ways to form new words in the Irish language, and I will briefly go over some of the main ways that are mentioned in *A Grammar of Old Irish*¹³. Thurneysen states that the capacity to form compounds of various kinds is much like in the Greek and Germanic languages, and even dvandva-compounds exist: *sall-c[h]arna* 'bacon and fresh meat'. There are also ways to make a noun indicating a male applicable to a female (e.g. by prefixing *ban-* 'woman'). Furthermore, adjectives and verbs can be made into nouns by using various suffixes. Nouns can be changed in meaning by adding a suffix, and there are special suffixes for making collectives and diminutives. With this information I can prove that certain words are Irish formations, and give an insight in the way they are used by providing examples.

3. Methodology

The first thing I need for my investigation is a list with all the terms for pig and related to pig-farming in Old- and Middle Irish. In order to collect these words I will use the following sources:

1. *Early Irish Farming* by Fergus Kelly¹⁴

¹¹Nooij 2013: 6-7.

¹²Matasović 2009: 443-444.

¹³Thurneysen 1946: 163-175.

¹⁴Kelly 1997.

2. *Dictionary of the Irish Language (DIL)*¹⁵

I will go through the word-list provided by Kelly at the back of the book and pick out all the words that are related to pigs and pig-farming. This will be the main source for my word-list as his work is the most complete work on the subject of early Irish farming. As Kelly's work was based mainly on the law-texts of the 7th and 8th century, and his focus is not on pigs but on farming in general, I expect he will not include all the words for pig and related to pig-farming in his work. Therefore I decided to include words that I will find in the *DIL* to try and make my word-list as complete as possible. To do this I will use the online version of the dictionary and use the 'Advanced Search' option, searching in English for Irish words meaning 'boar', 'pig', and 'sow', as these are the main English translations for the terms provided by Kelly. When my list is complete, I will go through all of the words I gathered to make sure that they are relevant for my research. If they are not relevant, or if they might manipulate the outcome I will leave them out of my list. The discussion of these words is found at the top of the word-list, as I thought it would fit in better there than it would here.

The words that are left after this selection process will be part of my detailed word-list which includes more information for each word. On top of the aforementioned two sources, I will also make use of the following (main) sources to find this information:

1. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* by Matasović¹⁶
2. *Lexique étymologique d'Irlandais ancien* by Vendryes et al. (*LEIA*)¹⁷
3. *Wortschatz der Keltischen Spracheinheit* by Stokes¹⁸
4. *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* by MacBain¹⁹

The most important sources of these four are the first two, as they are the most extensive on the subject of etymologies of Irish words and because the other two works are outdated. Though Matasović' focus is on Proto-Celtic and not on Irish, he gives information on the Irish form of the word and its background, and therefore is relevant for my research. Vendryes' focus is on Irish, but not all volumes are published yet²⁰, this means that words starting with certain letters (E-L) can't be found in his work at this time. As the majority of letters is included in his work, this is still one of my main sources. Vendryes often does not provide a reconstruction of Proto-Celtic, but he has gathered a lot of other information on the origin of the words. Stokes' work is not as extensive as

¹⁵Quin 2007.

¹⁶Matasović 2009.

¹⁷Vendryes et al. 1959-1987.

¹⁸Stokes 1894.

¹⁹MacBain 1911.

²⁰The published volumes include the following: A, B, C, D, M-P, R-S, T-U.

the aforementioned two sources, but he does provide a reconstruction and cognates, which can be a help if the other works do not mention them. As the dictionary by MacBain focuses on the Scottish Gaelic language, not all of the words can be found in his work. I decided to include this work as it sometimes gave information that was not found in the other sources.

Besides those main sources, I will also make use of different articles by various writers, which I will mention when I use them. As most of these articles focus on one or a few words, or even a small piece of information about a word, and as they are not an etymological dictionary I decided to not place them in the list above. From all the aforementioned sources I will gather information about the words in my list and I will do so as follows.

First off I will give the translation for each term provided by the *DIL*. I will also include information about possible other translations for the term, and whether or not the other translations are more common than the pig-related translation. I will also give the stem class and gender of the word.

Then I will provide my reconstruction of the Proto-Celtic form of the word, if it is relevant. That is, if I think the term is a neologism that was formed when Old- or Middle Irish was spoken, I will leave out the reconstruction for this compound (e.g. *lurcc*, which is made up of the Irish words *lú* 'small' and *orc* 'pig'). If I find any cognates in other Celtic or Indo-European languages for the words in my sources, I will list these below this reconstruction.

After that I will determine the semantic field of each word. There are two main categories in which I will sort the words: terms to denote a pig, and terms related to pig farming. For the first category, terms to denote a pig, I will state (if possible) if the pig is male or female, and if it domesticated or wild. To find this information I will look at the context the word is attested in, and at the translation of the *DIL* and by Fergus Kelly in *Early Irish Farming*. If a context for a term is found in the law-texts, I will give the reference found in *Early Irish Farming*. For the words related to pig-farming I will state what field within pig-farming the word is related to: there are words related to pig-diseases, equipment used in pig-farming, and pork products. For both main categories I will state if the word is a general word (used for pigs in general) or a more specific word (e.g. *trechem* 'three year old pig').

What follows will be a discussion on the semantic field and on the origin of the word. I will give information and I will present ideas of various scholars and then decide what seems most likely to me.

When I have gathered all this information, I will sort the words into four main categories:

1. Words of Indo-European origin
2. Words of Proto-Celtic origin

3. Words of Irish origin
4. Words of doubtful origin

Within the first three categories I will make another distinction, which I will explain into more detail later under each category. For category one this distinction is based on the origin of the pig-related meaning of the term. For the categories two and three I will state if the term is a loanword or a substratum word, or if it is derivation with Indo-European and/or Proto-Celtic elements. The last category, number four, does not need a further division as it is a group of leftovers.

Below I will give an overview on the etymological categories that I will use to classify the words, and under which conditions I will place a word within each category.

1. *Indo-European words*

In this group I will categorise the words that are derived from Proto-Indo-European. That is, if they have an etymology that can be traced back to the Proto-Indo-European language. This means that the words in this group have cognates in other Indo-European languages, outside the Celtic languages. As I am educated in the field of Celtic languages, and not Proto-Indo-European, I depend on other sources for cognates and reconstructions. If there is also a Proto-Celtic reconstruction, I will check if it is correct, and if not, I will make my own reconstruction with the help of the *Relative Chronology*²¹.

Within the Indo-European group of words, it is useful to make another distinction. Namely, did the words already have the meaning related to pigs and pig-farming in Proto-Indo-European, or was this a later invention? And if so, when has this meaning changed? Therefore I will divide the words in the group 'Indo-European' into three different categories:

- original pig-related meaning in Proto-Indo-European
- pig-related meaning is a Celtic invention
- pig-related meaning is an Irish invention

This distinction is important, as, though the word may look like it is Proto-Indo-European, the pig-related meaning of the word might not have been Indo-European. This means the word has a different kind of origin, or rather, the pig-related meaning has a different origin. As I am doing research on the terms for pig, it makes sense to make this distinction. Because the origin of the pig-

²¹Schrijver, Unpublished handout: *Primitive Irish developments and Relative Chronology*

related meaning is different in these words, there is a big difference between common Indo-European words for pig that have cognates in other Indo-European languages beside the Celtic languages (e.g. *orc*), and Indo-European derivatives that only have a pig-related meaning in Irish (e.g. *ner*).

Note that composita that contain elements that have been derived from Proto-Indo-European are listed under Irish origin (e.g. *gabulgice*, which contains the element *gabul* 'fork', derived from Proto-Indo-European **gablo/ā-* 'fork', combined with a possibly Anglo-Norman term). As these compounds did not exist in Proto-Indo-European, and as such are not directly derived from Indo-European, I decided that they would fit in better there²². However, I will make a subcategory for these words in the category of Irish words.

2. Celtic words

Within this category I will sort the words that are of Celtic origin. That is, words that have cognates within the Celtic languages, but not in other Indo-European languages.

As stated before I will make another distinction for the words that fall into this category. Though these words are found in all the Celtic languages, their origin, that is, the manner in which they entered the Proto-Celtic language, is different. I will therefore sort them into the following subcategories:

- loanwords
- substratum words

These subcategories need some more explaining, which I will do later (see p. 14-15) as to not stray from the main subject too much here. If there are words here that got their pig-related meaning at a later stage (in Irish), I will note that as well.

3. Irish words

In this category I will sort words that only occur in the Irish language and have no cognates in other Celtic and/or Indo-European languages. However, these words did not just appear out of nowhere and need a further explanation. Therefore I will divide them into three subcategories like I did with

²²Haspelmath (2009: 39) writes about this subject in relation to loanwords. He mentions a type of words which he calls 'loan-based creations'. These words are made up of material that was previously borrowed, and therefore they are etymologically related but do not count as loanwords. If you see the Irish formations with Indo-European elements in this light, it makes more sense to place them in the Irish category than in the Indo-European category.

the Proto-Celtic words:

- loanwords
- substratum words
- new derivation (with possibly older material)

As stated under the Proto-Celtic words, the first two categories need some more explaining which I will do later (see p. 14-15).

The third subcategory contains words that are new formations. These derivations are compounds of two pre-existing words (e.g. *glasreng*), or words with pre- and suffixes (e.g. *cumlachtaid*).

4. *Words of doubtful origin*

Within this group, I will sort words that have more than one possible etymology. In most cases I expect that I will be able to tell which etymology is more likely, or that an etymology I found is faulty. In those cases, I will state which etymology is most likely according to me, and I will place the word in that category. However, in some cases, different theories might be possible and just as likely. If there is no additional information on the subject, I will not be able to determine what the origin of the word is, and I will therefore place them in this category.

There are two more categories that need explaining: the two subcategories mentioned under Proto-Celtic and Irish words:

Loanwords

In this category I will place loanwords that have come into the Irish language from a different language. If necessary I will divide the words further into categories according to the language which they have been loaned from. To determine if a word is a loanword I will make use of other sources, as I am not an expert in the field of loanwords. However, there are certain things that might help me verify if the word is a loanword. Sometimes loanwords have certain sounds in them that were not present in the receiving language. In Irish one of these sounds is the /p/, which was lost in an early stage of the language, but has returned in the form of loanwords. Though substratum-words are a type of loanwords as well, I will make a separate group for them, as they need a different treatment in terms of language-contact (substratum-words are the result of a shift-induced

interference, whereas other loanwords do not have to be a result of this).

Substratum words

In this category I will place the words that I think might be substratum. As I mentioned before (p.7-8), we do not have any sources from the substratum language(s) itself, and therefore cannot be entirely sure that a word is substratum. However, there is some information we can derive from research that has already been done on the subject. Matasović²³ writes in an appendix to his *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* about his findings of non-Indo-European sources for Proto-Celtic words²⁴. He notes that substratum words in Celtic often have geminates and the vowel **a* in the root, which, according to him, have also been found in non-Indo-European loanwords in other European languages, especially Germanic. Another distinctive feature he mentions is the root vowel **u*, which occurs too often in substratum words to be accidental. Furthermore, there are only two long vowels that are attested in the roots of non-Indo-European loanwords, namely **ē* and **ū*. He also thinks that labiovelars were not present in the donor-language, as they are extremely rare in the substratum words in his list. I will check words that I think are substratum for these features, and state how likely it is that a word is of substratum origin.

I will also take into account what scholars say about the words. If they are convinced that the term is substratum, and it fits in with what I stated above, it is very likely that the term is substratum. Furthermore, words of substratum origin also seem to have a non-basic meaning, and according to Matasović these are very often words denoting birds, plants and small animals²⁵.

When all of the words are placed into those groups, I will compare the semantic field of the words within each group. I will try to find a relation between the origin of the group of words and their semantic field, and explain how this is related to the theories that there are about language contact/language change. For instance, if the term is a loanword, the type of word it is says something about the severity of the contact between languages, as I explained with Thomason's four scales of borrowing (though I already explained there as well that as these words are names for pig, they all fall into the same category: content words). I also explained in the theoretical background (p. 6) that substratum words are mostly very specific words. If I find this specific semantic field in the category with substratum words, this would be explained by the theory.

²³Matasović 2009: 441-444

²⁴Note that Matasović does not use Thomason's theory of loan-words and substratum words. Matasović seems to include all words that do not have an Indo-European source, whether or not there is evidence of a language-shift. However, as there is no trace other than these influences on Indo-European languages, it is very likely that they are substratum.

²⁵Matasović 2009: 443-444

4. Word-list

After selecting all the words that have to do with pigs and pig-farming I had a list of 50 terms, of which 29 words were used to denote some kind of pig, and the other 21 are otherwise related to pig-farming. However, there are words that are related to pig-farming and pigs that I will leave out of my wordlist below for the simple reason that they are not suitable for my research. I will go over them briefly and explain why I will leave them out.

To begin with, there are some terms that do not have a definite translation according to the *DIL*, which makes it uncertain if these words have anything to do at all with pigs and/or pig-farming. If it is not sure that a word has to do with the subject I am researching, it has no place in the research since it might manipulate the outcome. These terms are:

aintrellach 'boar?'

cribais 'pig?'

doach 'name of a disease of pigs?'

eoc(h)raide 'epithet of a boar?'

fithend 'a male pig or boar?'

foir 'pig-sty, specific name for a pig at a certain age?'

fothond 'a sow's lair?'

friuch 'a boar's bristles?'

morc 'boar?'

rucht 'pig?'

ruisne 'young pig?'

There are other terms that have a very broad meaning, but can be applied to pig-farming as well. As these terms are not specifically used for pigs, they do not show the origin of the terms for pig-farming. These terms might manipulate the outcome of the research, so I will leave them out. These terms are:

blonac 'fat, lard, abdomen'

also used for the lard of sheep, cattle, geese and ducks

crapán 'disease of pigs'

used more broadly as 'cramp, contraction'

cró 'pig-sty'

used more broadly as 'enclosure'

cullach 'boar'

also used as 'stallion'

éigem 'squealing (of a pig)'

used more broadly as 'scream, shout'

<i>fochlaid</i> 'burrowing, uprooting'	also used for uprooting in general
<i>foil</i> 'pig-sty'	used more broadly as 'enclosure'
<i>grithugud</i> 'squealing'	also used as sound for other animals
<i>oircéil</i> ²⁶ 'trough'	used for troughs in general, not just in pig-farming
<i>soc</i> ²⁷ 'snout'	also used for the snout of other animals
<i>srúb</i> 'snout'	also translated as 'muzzle', 'beak' and 'nose'

There are terms that I have decided to keep in the list that are not only used in the context of pigs and pig-farming. However, these words are not general words that can be applied to pig-farming (e.g. *cró*, a term denoting an enclosure that can be used as a term for pig-sty), but words that have an actual second translation which is completely different from the first meaning and one of those translations is related to pigs/pig-farming (e.g. *aithech*, a term with different translations, one of them being 'sow'). If there might be some confusion on why I kept the word in the list I will explain this into more detail when discussing the word itself (e.g. for *orc*).

Below I will give an overview of the 28 terms that remained after the selection process (four of them related to pig farming, the others terms to denote a kind of pig), and the information that I gathered on each term. They are in alphabetical order.

Aithech 'sow'

[ā, f.] (originally [o, m.]²⁸)

Reconstruction: **atek*^w*os*, **atekos*

Cognates: /

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, general

The term *aithech* (also *athach*²⁹) within the context of pig-farming is very rare and the term is only used in glossaries with the meaning 'sow'. It is, with this meaning, in every instance followed by

²⁶Schrijver (personal communication) pointed out that this word could be interesting as it might have been derived from *orc* 'young pig', I decided to leave the word out of my list, as the pig-related meaning is not evidently present anymore in Irish.

²⁷Schrijver (personal communication) stated that this word is interesting, as it means 'pig' in Indo-European and other cognates (e.g. Welsh *hwch* 'pig'). However, the word does not mean pig in Irish and is not that much related to pig-farming in Irish, which were my basic criteria when creating this list. I do mention this word within the context of other words, where it is relevant (see p. 39).

²⁸The word *aithech* is originally an o-stem masculine and translated as 'rent-payer, churl' and 'master of the house'. However, there is a female form of the word meaning 'mistress' which is an ā-stem feminine, and this is the form the word for pig is derived from.

²⁹The change in palatalisation here might have been influenced by syncopated forms.

the gloss *.i. cráin* ‘that is, sow’. Because it is followed by the term *cráin*, which is a domesticated sow, the *aithech* is most likely a domesticated sow as well. The primary meaning of *aithech*, is ‘rent-payer, churl’ and secondly, in combination with *tige*, ‘master of the house’. The *DIL* states that it is not clear if the special use as ‘sow’ comes from the first or second meaning. According to Hamp³⁰ the word is an epithet derived from the female form of *aithech* with its second meaning ‘master of the house’. This female form is normally translated as ‘mistress’ and might have been used as a nickname for the sow at first, from which it has developed a secondary meaning ‘sow’.

Matasović and Vendryes do not give any information on this word, but it seems likely to me that this is a derivation in Irish as Hamp suggests. As the word itself is derived from Indo-European, I will sort this in the Indo-European category.

Banb ‘young pig’

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **banwo-s*

Cognates: MW. *banw*, OBr. *ban*, MBr. *bandò*, *banw*, OCo. *baneu*, G. *Banuus* (pers. name) Sc.G.

banbh

Origin: Proto-Celtic, loan or substratum

Semantic field: pig, male/female?, domestic, specific

The term *banb* is a common word for a young pig in Old Irish, and has a derivative *banbrad* ‘herd of young pigs’ and a diminutive *banbán* ‘small pig’. The term occurs in the law-texts as a unit of value³¹ and occurs once more when the fine the pig-owner should pay for the trespassing of the *banb* is mentioned³². We can therefore argue that the *banb* is a domesticated piglet as it is kept by a pig-farmer. Besides the uses denoting a pig, the derivative *Banba* is also a name for Ireland.

For this term Matasović reconstructs the Proto-Celtic **banwo-* which gives Old Irish *banb*. Hamp agrees with this reconstruction, but argues that it is possible that the word was originally a u-stem, **banu*, and through Proto-Celtic thematization became an o-stem³³. The suffix of the u-stem *u-* was replaced with *uo-* (= *wo-*). This seems to happen with other words of which he argues that they are Northern European substratum³⁴. There is also a possibility that the initial consonant *b* was formed in PC6³⁵ from *g^w*, which would give the reconstruction **g^wanwo-* however, it is best to not overcomplicate the reconstruction by adding more steps.

³⁰Hamp 1987: 189.

³¹*CIH* vi 2215.30-31

³²*CIH* i 191.15-19 and *CIH* i 191.3-5

³³Hamp 1987: 188.

³⁴See also below: *mucc*. Hamp also mentions *socc* which has lost the meaning of ‘pig’ in Irish.

³⁵PC6 : **g^w>b*. Schrijver, unpublished handout ‘Primitive Irish developments and Relative Chronology’

Vendryes³⁶ does not give any more information on this subject, besides cognates and references to the other works I cited.

Hamp's theory of the word being substratum fits in with the information Matasović gives, namely that the word has no clear cognates in other Indo-European languages besides the Celtic languages. It is therefore very likely that the term is indeed a substratum word, but as we do not have evidence of a language shift in this case, it might also be a loan-word.

Birit 'sow'

[ī, f.]

Reconstruction: **berantī*³⁷

Cognates: Sanskrit *bharantī* 'one that carries'

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, general

The term *birit* 'sow' is mentioned in the law-texts, namely: a *mruigfer* ('landowner') should have two breeding sows, called *birit*³⁸. As the *birit* is kept by a landowner, it is most likely the term for a domestic pig.

When it comes to the reconstruction of this term, Hamp, Matasović and Vendryes agree that *birit* is an epithet which derives from the old participle of the verb *berid* 'bears', meaning 'bearer'³⁹. Matasović explains this further and states that the Proto-Celtic form **berantī* is derived from Proto-Indo-European **b^herntih₂* which contains the stem **b^her* 'carry'. This derivative seems to exist in other languages as well, but there it has a different meaning (e.g. Skr. *bharantī* 'one that carries'). The word is derived from Proto-Indo-European, but only in Irish developed the meaning 'sow'.

Céis 'a slip-pig or a young pig'

[i, f.]

Reconstruction: **kensi-* / **kinsi-* / **kansi-*

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, substratum

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, specific

According to Kelly the term *céis* is used to denote a domestic young sow. Kelly also mentions that

³⁶Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: B-14

³⁷This reconstruction does not account for *i* in the first syllable of *birit*.

³⁸Kelly 1997: 80.

³⁹Hamp 1987: 189. ; Matasović 2009: 62. ; Vendryes 1981: B-52.

the term occurs in the law-texts, in which the *díre* ('honour-price') that should be paid for the killing of the *céis* is written down. The *DIL* also gives a second translation for *céis*, namely as something having to do with a harp.

Matasović does not mention this term in his work, and Vendryes⁴⁰ states that the etymology of this word is unclear. As there is no known etymology for this term, it might be a substratum term.

Cráin 'sow'

[guttural, f.]

Reconstruction: **krə-n* or **krākniks?*

Cognates: W. *carnan* 'wild sow', Sc.G. *cràin* 'sow', or Lat. *crōcio* 'croak', Lit. *krōkti* 'grunt'

Origin: Indo-European, Proto-Celtic

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, general

The term *cráin* does not occur very often and is, according to Kelly, used for a domestic pig. As for the origin of the word, Hamp tells us that there is no obvious reconstruction possible⁴¹. However, MacBain does provide a reconstruction: **crācnix* 'grunter', which, according to him, has the root *qreq* which is also found in Lat. *crōcio* 'croak' and Lit. *krōkti* 'grunt'⁴². Stokes has a similar reconstruction, namely **krâknik-s.*⁴³. The difference in their reconstructions is based on their different spelling for *c/k* and *x/ks*, which represent the same sounds.

Vendryes suggests a stem **krə-n* to account for the Welsh *carnan* to which he thinks it is better to relate the term, though this does not seem to give the right outcome in Irish and Welsh after reconstruction. Furthermore, I am not sure if he only disagrees with the reconstruction, or with the theory altogether. For now I will place this word in the group of Indo-European words.

Cumlachtaid 'young pig'

[i, m.]

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig, male/female?, domestic? , specific

The term *cumlachtaid* (also *comlachtaid*) is very rare and is only attested a few times, it is possibly

⁴⁰Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: C-57

⁴¹Hamp 1987: 189.

⁴²MacBain 1911: 103.

⁴³Stokes 1979: 96.

related to *cuimlecht* and *cuimlechtach*⁴⁴. *Cuimlecht* is translated by the *DIL* as 'advantage, exception', but might also be the same as *comblicht* meaning 'yielding milk'. There seem to be a few problems when connecting *comblicht* to *cumlachtaid*; the absence of *-b-* in *cumlachtaid*, and the absence of palatalisation in the middle consonant cluster. However, these problems can be explained. It is possible that the *-b-* from *comblicht* does not show in the term *cumlachtaid* because of assimilation of *-mb-* to *-mm-* (also spelled *-m-*) which is explained by Thurneysen⁴⁵. The quality of the consonant cluster is also explained by Thurneysen, as he states that the rules for palatalization seem to be inconsistent in compounds. It is therefore possible that some inconsistencies occur, and clusters become palatal/non-palatal, when it should be the other way around. It seems to me that *cumlachtaid* might also be a new formation from the word *lacht* 'milk' with a prefix *com-/cum-* 'with' and a suffix *-(a)id*. This would make the noun mean something like 'with-milk-er', someone or something that receives milk. This relation to *lacht* could be explained by O'Rahilly's translation for the term *cumlachtaid*: 'sucking pig'⁴⁶, a pig still feeding on milk from its mother.

Whichever of these theories is right, the word is an Irish formation and therefore I will place it under 'Irish words'.

Deil 'female pig of two years old'

[ā? , f.?)

Reconstruction: **dilā?*

Cognates: -

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, specific

The term *deil* (also *deiling*, according to Kelly⁴⁷) has several meanings, one of them being related to pigs: 'a female pig of two years old'. The other translations are 'separation', 'split piece of wood' and 'clear'. Kelly gives a translation 'a sow of two litters' based on a gloss in a legal text⁴⁸. The translation given by the *DIL* ('female pig of two years old') is also found in glosses: *deil muice .i. muc da bliadan* 'deil of the pig, that is, a pig of two years'. We also find these two different explanations for the term *trechem* (see p. 36-37). The aforementioned law-texts also state that some of the food-rents included a flitch of bacon from a *deiling*, it is therefore very likely that the *deil* is a domestic pig.

⁴⁴Quin 2007: 165, 169.

⁴⁵Thurneysen 1946: 93-94.

⁴⁶O'Rahilly 1942: 161.

⁴⁷Kelly 1997: 85, 87n.

⁴⁸*CIH* ii 482.7; 482.25

Matasović⁴⁹ places the term *deil* under Proto-Celtic **dilā* 'teat, dug', and says the word might be the same as *dela* 'teat, dug'. He does not give any explanation on why these two words would be the same, and he questions his own derivations from Proto-Indo-European. However, Schrijver⁵⁰ mentions the Indo-European root **dhhli-* which means 'to suckle'. He is also sure of a suffix with *-l-*, as we find in the term *deil*. It is therefore likely that the term indeed is Indo-European. However, there must have been some sort of change to the meaning of the word. I can see the relation between suckling and a female pig, as when a sow has a litter, she has to nurse them. The translation 'a sow of two litters' would then fit in very well semantically. However, this leaves the 'two' that we find in the Irish translation of the word and not in Proto-Indo-European unexplained. Something must have happened to change the meaning of *deil* from something like 'suckler', or 'sow' to 'two year old sow'. The meaning sow itself has also developed somewhere between Proto-Indo-European and Irish. As we do not find any cognates in other Celtic languages, it is most likely an Irish change in meaning.

Deileng 'sucking pig'

[ā, f.]

Reconstruction: **dilā ? + ?*

Cognates: -

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, specific.

The term *deileng* does not occur often, and is used for a pig that is still drinking milk from its mother. The *DIL*⁵¹ gives a possible relation to the term mention above, *deil* 'female pig of two years old'. However, the word could also have been derived from the same Proto-Indo-European root as *deil*: **dhhli-* 'to suckle'. As the term is used to denote a pig still suckling its mother, the semantic connection seems obvious. I will sort this word in the Indo-European category, as it has the Proto-Indo-European root **dhhli-*. And, as is the case with *deil* as well, the pig-related meaning of the word seems Irish.

Elg 'pig'

[ā, f.?)

Reconstruction: **elgā*

Cognates: -

⁴⁹Matasović 2009: 99.

⁵⁰Schrijver (personal communication)

⁵¹Quin 2007: 200.

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, general

Elg is only attested once with a meaning related to pig-farming, and is more commonly used as one of the names for Ireland. There is also a term *elg* meaning 'conspicuous, noble' which is not as common. The relation between the name for Ireland and the term for pig is explained in *Cóir Anmann*⁵², which is also the only attestation of the word *elg* meaning pig:

*Ealga .i. Eíriu .i. ealg ainm do mhuic isin t-sengáidhilg, go tucad fuirri in t-ainm sin, ar is cosmhailius mhuice boí for Eirinn intan atchonnaic Íth mac Breogain uada ind innsi do mhullach Thuir Breogain a h-Espain.*⁵³

'Elga, i.e. Ireland, i.e. *elg* the name of the pig in Old Irish, so that it was given this name, because Ireland resembled a pig when Íth son of Breogan saw the island from the top of Breogan's tower out of Spain.'

The term *elg* might have been confused with the term *banb* in this text. The term *banb* is a common word for pig and also one of the names for Ireland. The writer of the text might have thought of a name for Ireland that also meant pig, but picked the wrong word. As this is most likely an Irish invention/confusion, I will place this word in the group with Irish words.

Eobarr 'boar, boar-helmet?'

[?, m.]

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, loanword

Semantic field: pig, male, domestic? , general

The term *eobarr* only occurs a few times in the Irish language, and there are a few different spellings: *eobarr*, *n-eoburu* and *n-eobarrud*⁵⁴. These variants occur in different versions of the same passage⁵⁵, following is the version from YBL that Marstander gives in his work: *roir dam cét muc .x.*

⁵²Stokes 1987.

⁵³*Cóir Anmann* 243

⁵⁴Quin 2007: 275

⁵⁵Marstander 1915: 28.

cét óe .x. fernu .x. neoburu óir. He translates this as 'he gave me 100 pigs, 100⁵⁶ sheep, 10 belts, 10 golden *eobarr*.' However, the reading in the *DIL* from H.3.18 TCD is: *atgaith dom .x. két mucx. fernu .x. eobarr* (.i. *barr bás am cenn in rígh*) 'he invoked⁵⁷ to me 1000 pigs, 10 belts, 10 *eobarr* (that is, a crown that is on the head of the king). This seems to mean that, as Marstrander⁵⁸ suggest, the term *eobarr* means 'boar-helmet'. He also states that this word is loaned from Old-Norse *jofurr* which originally meant 'wild boar'⁵⁹ and was poetically used as 'prince, ruler'⁶⁰. This original meaning of the term makes it more likely that the word should then be translated as 'boar' instead of 'boar-helmet'. We can add to this that there is a term 'boar-helmet' in Old Norse: *jofurrhatt*, which is also loaned into the Irish language as *eobrat* (translated by *DIL* as 'a head-dress'). The two terms, *eobarr* and *eobrat* might have been mixed up here, as there seems to be contradicting evidence. The reason the *DIL* states that the translation 'boar' would not be out of place here seems like a misunderstanding to me. They give the translation boar on grounds of the passage the term is attested in being mainly a list of animals, however, *fernu* means belt, and is a piece of clothing, not an animal. The fact that pigs are already mentioned in the sentence, denoted by the Irish word *mucc*, makes this even less likely. There also seems to be a slight disagreement on its derivation, as Pokorny suggests a derivation from Old English *eofor* instead of Old Norse.

I have decided to keep this word in the list as I could not immediately dismiss it as not being related to pigs, as the word it is derived from means wild pig. Another reason is that something strange seems to be going on with the meaning of the word, and I thought it would be interesting to discuss that in this context.

Feis 'sow'

[i, f.]

Reconstruction: **wess-is*

Cognates: Mid. Br. *gues* 'sow', Br. *gwiz* 'sow', W. *gwys* 'sow, female pig', C. *guis* 'sow',

Sanskrit *vatsáh* 'calf', Goth. *wiprus* 'lamb', Lat. *vitulus* 'calf'

Origin: Indo-European, Proto-Celtic

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, general/specific

According to the *DIL*, *feis* is an old word for 'sow', used only in poetry and archaising literature.

⁵⁶As .x. is ten, and *cét* is hundred, this would be ten hundreds: 1000

⁵⁷*atgaith* from *ad-guid*. The *DIL* translates this as 'in sense of invoking sureties or guarantees for the fulfilment of legal obligations'

⁵⁸Marstander 1915: 28.

⁵⁹Layher 2009: 17.

⁶⁰Faulkes 2001: 126-127.

Matasović states that the word is derived from Indo-European **wet-ti-* meaning ‘yearling’ (IE **wet* ‘year’), which is found in several other Indo-European languages, e.g. Skr. *vatsáh* ‘calf’, Goth. *wīþrus* ‘lamb’, Lat. *vitulus* ‘calf’⁶¹. In the Celtic languages this meaning has specialized coming to mean only ‘sow’. Though the *DIL* does not give any indication on the age of the *feis*, Matasović translates ‘sow’ and ‘young female pig’. Stokes, also reconstructing **wessis* (though he spells it with a **v* instead of a **w*), translates ‘(one year old) sow’⁶², which, given the etymology of the word, might be a better translation than ‘sow’. However, it is also possible that the original meaning of the word was lost, and the term was used for sows in general. The meaning related to pigs seems to be a Proto-Celtic invention, as we find cognates of this word denoting a sow in Breton, Cornish and Welsh. As the term is mentioned in a legal gloss, referring to the cooking of *feis cen lucht* ‘milkless (barren) sows’, the *feis* is most likely a domesticated sow⁶³.

Gabulgice ‘a pronged pole?’

[io, m?]

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig-farming, equipment, specific

The term *gabulgice* is very rare, and according to Kelly refers to some sort of forked pole used in herding swine⁶⁴. The word is a compound, mentioned by the *DIL* below *gabul* ‘fork’, which is derived from the Proto-Indo-European root **gablo/ā-* ‘fork’. There is no mention of the second word in the compound, and there is no word *cice* or *gice* in the dictionary. The only proposal I can make is *píce* ‘a pole or pike’, which is an Anglo-Norman loanword. This means that the initial *p-* has been changed into a *c/g* in this compound. As the *p* is not a very common sound in the Irish language, this seems possible. As the term is very rare, it might also be a scribal error. However, there is no proof at all for this theory and wherever the second part of the compound comes from; it is probably an Irish formation.

Glasreng ‘boar’

[a, f.]?

Reconstruction: -

⁶¹Mamoojee 2003: 68.

⁶²Stokes 1979: 268.

⁶³Kelly 1997: 86. *CIH* ii 375.12

⁶⁴Kelly 1997: 443.

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig, male, domestic/wild?, general

The term *glasreng* is very rare, the *DIL* only gives two attestations. It is glossed with *.i. torc* 'that is, a boar'. The *DIL* lists this word below *glas* 2 'green, blue, grey' as a compound, but does not state the second word it consists of. There is no word *reng* in the Irish language, and the two translations of *reng*, 'a loin' and 'a cord', do not seem to fit here semantically (I can see no reason why one would call a boar 'greyish blue loin' or 'greyish blue cord'). There is a word *grend* meaning 'beard, hair, bristles', which semantically would make sense, as Kelly describes the Irish domestic pig from this period being hairy. Kelly also lists the colours of pigs that are found in a Middle Irish text and one of them is similar to *glas*, namely *forglas* 'blue-black(?)'⁶⁵. The translation 'greyish blue bristles' might then very well be an epithet for a pig. The only problem there is with this explanation is the final consonant *d* in *grend*, which should be a *g*. As the term only occurs once, this might also be a scribal error.

Lésán name of some disease of pigs

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic Field: pig-farming, diseases, specific?

The term *lésán* is very rare, and only occurs a few times in the Irish languages. Kelly states that the term comes from the word for blister: *lés*. The condition of the pig would then be characterized by blisters, so it might be swine pox. This disease is called *bolgach léasach* in later Irish, which also contains the word for blister. As the term has the word for blister in it, this is probably an Irish term, formed through describing the symptoms.

Lupait 'pig, young pig'

[i?,f.]

Reconstruction: **lupp[u/i]nti-*

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, substratum

⁶⁵Kelly 1997: 80.

Semantic Field: pig, male/female?, domestic, specific

The *lupait* is a term for a young pig that is younger than the *céis*. Kelly gives the translation 'female pig of six to eight months'. He furthermore mentions that the pig is also called a *banb samna* 'young pig of November' in a legal gloss⁶⁶, as it is offered as a votive gift on the feast of St. Martin on the 11th of November. Not only is the pig offered on a feast, the law-texts also make mention of a type feast that is called *Lupait*, which is one of four feasts mentioned in that context.

There is no mention of the term in the books of Matasović and Vendryes, but Kelly mentions that *-it* might be a feminine suffix. *Lupait* has no cognates in other languages, has no known etymology and cannot be originally Irish because of the *-p-* which does not normally occur in the Irish language. It is therefore very likely that the word is a substratum term. For this term, Schrijver reconstructs **lupp[u/i]nti-*⁶⁷, which gives Irish *lupait*.

Lurcc 'small piglet'

[o, m.?)

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig, male/female?, domestic, specific

The term *lurcc* is formed from *lú* 'small' + *orc* 'young pig' (see *orc* below, p. 30-31)⁶⁸, giving the meaning 'small piglet'. *Lurcc* is a masculine word, as the head of this compound is masculine. It probably has the same stem class as the term *orc*, as it is a derivative from that term. The term also occurs in the law-texts: *pingind arin lúrcc co beltaine*⁶⁹ 'a penny for a *lurcc* until May'. This probably means that the term *lurcc* is used to denote pigs from birth until May. As the *lurcc* is mentioned in the aforementioned law-text about the value of cattle, sheep and pigs, it is probably used to denote a domestic pig.

Mát 'pig'

[ā ?, f.]

Reconstruction: **māsdā*,

Cognates: /

⁶⁶*CIH* iii 918.38

⁶⁷Nooij 2013: 46.

⁶⁸Kelly 1997: 87n.

⁶⁹Kelly 1997: 533-536.

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic Field: pig, male/female? , domestic?, general

The term *mát* (also *máta*) is an archaic and poetic word for pig, and is attested only a few times in the Irish language. There is also a *mát* which probably means 'hand', which is also archaic and rarely attested. The spelling variant *máta* also has a different meaning, it is used as the name for a monster connected with the Boyne valley.

Matasović does not include the word in his work, and Hamp⁷⁰ states that the word is obscure. Vendryes⁷¹ tries to give a possible etymology and mentions an element *mā-* which is found in Latin *māiālis* 'castrated pig'. However, this Latin word is obscure as well according to Vendryes, so this does not help to find an etymology for Irish *mát*. Schrijver⁷² gives an Indo-European etymology, and states that both Irish and Latin can be derived from **māsd-* 'fattened'. According to him this might be connected to Old High German *mast* and Old English *maest* 'fodder, especially for pigs' (from **masd-*). This would mean the original translation of the term was something like 'fattened pig', and makes it likely that the term was used to denote a domesticated pig. I do not have the knowledge to test this Indo-European origin, however, Schrijver's reconstruction **māsd-* for the Irish term seems correct. I will therefore place this word in the group with an Indo-European origin.

Mucc 'a pig, sow'

[ā, f.]

Reconstruction: **mokku-*

Cognates: MW: *moch* (collective) , OBr. *moch*, Mo.Br. *moc'h* (collective), C. *mow*, *mogh*, G.

Moccus (theonym) and *Cato-Mocus* (personal name)

Origin: Proto-Celtic, loan or substratum

Semantic Field: pig, female, domestic, general

Mucc is probably the most common word for pig in the Old Irish language. Though it is a generic term that is used for both sexes, it is especially used for female pigs. It is also found in a lot of compounds to describe different kinds of pigs and in the word *muccaid* 'swineherd' (with compound *rígmuccid* 'royal swineherd'). It has a diminutive *muicín* 'little pig'. The term also occurs in a lot of place names throughout Ireland, and in one of the names for Ireland: *Muic-inis* 'Pig-island'.⁷³

⁷⁰Hamp 1987: 188-189

⁷¹Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: M-23

⁷²Schrijver 1991: 143.

⁷³Hull 1918: 235.

Hamp⁷⁴ states that *mucc*, like the aforementioned *banb* (see p. 18-19) is originally a u-stem, and he therefore reconstructs **mokku-*. In a later work he writes that it might be better to write this as **mɔkku-*⁷⁵. As the term has no Indo-European cognates, he argues it is probably a substratum term. And as the word does occur in other Celtic languages, and even Gaulish, he proposes the term has a North European pre-Indo-European substratum source. Hamp mentions this is 'a striking fact for the most pervasive generic lexeme for the pig'⁷⁶. Testen does not agree with Hamp and tries to find an Indo-European origin for the term *mucc*. He compares the reconstruction **mokku-* with Proto-Celtic **sukko-* (which has lost its meaning 'pig' in the Irish language⁷⁷), as both words have an 'unexpected' stem-final **-kk-*. Whereas Wagner says this an onomatopoeic change and Vendryes states that it is an 'expressive' suffix, Testen thinks there is more to it. He explains the suffix **-kk-* as having come from Indo-European **-p̑k-*, although the phonological changes are unsure. This **-p̑k-* would then come from the suffix **p̑ku-*, which in its place would be a form of Indo-European **peku-* 'livestock'. This would make **mokku-* a compound of **mo* + **p̑ku-*. The first part of this compound could come from Indo-European **moH* 'big' or from **mō-* 'sow'. However, these theories about the suffix **-kk-* are highly speculative, and they are no more than theories, without actual evidence. Furthermore, Schrijver⁷⁸ notes that both **moH* and **mō-* would become Proto-Celtic **mā*, which does not exist. It is therefore very likely that, as Hamp suggest the term is a substratum term. Though as we do not know if there was a language shift, the term might have also been a loanword.

Muine 'the lard which lines the intestines of a pig'

[io, m.ʔ]

Reconstruction: **monijo-*

Cognates: /

Origin: Irish, substratum

Semantic field: pig-farming, pork product, specific

The term *muine* with the meaning related to pig-farming only occurs a few times. The term has a homonym *muine*, which is more common and is translated by the *DIL* as 'brake, thicket'.

There is no mention of this term in the works of Matasović and Vendryes, so the origin of the term is obscure to me. As there are no known cognates and no etymology, this might be a

⁷⁴Hamp 1987: 187-188.

⁷⁵Hamp 1989: 192.

⁷⁶Hamp 1987: 187.

⁷⁷Old Irish *socc* 'ploughshare, snout'

⁷⁸Schrijver (personal communication)

substratum term.

Ner 'boar'

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **nero-*

Cognates: Skt. *nár-* 'man, male', Gr. *anḗr* 'man', Alb. *njeri* 'person', Osc. *ner-* 'man'

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig, male, wild?, general

The term *ner* is a rare, poetic term for boar. A few times it is glossed with *.i. torc* 'that is, boar', and once⁷⁹ it is glossed with *.i. torc allaid* 'that is, an undomesticated boar'. As it is uncertain if the term *torc* means wild or domesticated boar (see below, p. 34-35) it might be so that the glossator of the first gloss I mentioned saw the *torc* as a wild boar, and that the other glossator wanted to clear the meaning of *torc* up by adding *allaid* 'wild, undomesticated'. It might also be so that both glossators had a different view on the domestication of the *ner* and/or *torc*. *The Encyclopaedia of Celtic Culture*⁸⁰ states that this word is one of the terms to denote a wild boar.

Matasović⁸¹ gives the term *ner* under the Proto-Celtic form for 'hero' **nero-*. While it has kept this meaning in Middle Welsh *ner* 'chief, hero', the meaning has shifted in Old Irish from the Proto-Celtic one to 'boar'. The Proto-Celtic form itself has changed meaning as well, since the Proto-Indo-European form of the word **h₂ne:r* meant 'man'. This Proto-Indo-European translation seems to fit the Irish meaning of the word better than the Proto-Celtic translation 'hero'. If the meaning in Proto-Celtic had not changed, we could explain *ner* as having a narrowed meaning: first denoting different kinds of males, and now only denoting specifically a male pig.

Vendryes and Hamp have a similar theory as Matasović, though neither of them gives as much information. Hamp⁸² only mentions the Greek cognate *anḗr* 'man', while Vendryes⁸³ states that the word is related to the name *Ner*. He adds that the term *ner* itself is conserved in glosses. There are some problems with the shift in meaning for this word, however, we can conclude that the term is derived from Indo-European. Furthermore, as there are no cognates in other languages that also have the meaning 'boar'. this is an Irish invention.

Orc 'young pig'

⁷⁹Once in the examples of the *DIL*.

⁸⁰Koch 2005: 218

⁸¹Matasović 2009: 289.

⁸²Hamp 1987: 189.

⁸³Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: N-10

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **porko-*

Cognates: Lat. *porcus*, Lith. *paršas*, Croat. *prâse*

Origin: Indo-European, Indo-European

Semantic field: pig, male/female, domestic/wild , specific

The primary meaning of the term *orc* is 'young pig', though there also a few instances where it denotes the young of a different animal. As its main translation is 'young pig', and as the word also means (young) pig in Proto-Celtic and Indo-European I decided to keep this word in the list. The word has a homonym meaning 'salmon'⁸⁴, and other translations by the *DIL* are 'an egg' and 'a pitcher?'. With its primary meaning, *orc*, the term is also found in a few compounds: *orcpheta* 'pet piglet', *fororc* 'big pig' and the aforementioned *lúorc* (= *lurcc*) 'small piglet'.

Matasović⁸⁵ reconstructs this word as Proto-Celtic **forko-* 'pork, young pig', which is derived from Proto-Indo-European **porkó-* 'young pig, piglet'. He also states that the term is a poetic word and is chiefly used in glossaries. Hamp⁸⁶ adds to this that the word is archaic and has been replaced by the term *banb* seen above (p. 18-19). He also derives the word from Proto-Indo-European **porkó-s*, which is, according to him, a widespread term for pig in Northern and Central Europe. Vendryes⁸⁷ says the term is part of the vocabulary of North-Western Europe, and that it goes back to **(p)orko-*⁸⁸.

According to Schrijver's relative chronology of sound changes in Irish, **p* changing into **φ* and eventually disappearing completely is part of the 'Proto-Celtic developments', which means the **p* could have still been there in Proto-Celtic, as it was there in Indo-European, and would only later (in PC12⁸⁹) become **f*. I will therefore reconstruct Proto-Celtic **porko-*, and not **forko-* as Matasović does.

Rúad Otraig 'redness of dung'

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: -

Cognates: -

⁸⁴de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44.

⁸⁵Matasović 2009: 137.

⁸⁶Hamp 1987: 189.

⁸⁷Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: O-28.

⁸⁸He does not mention whether this is Proto-Celtic or Indo-European, but as he mentions the Indo-European cognates right after this statement, I believe this is an Indo-European reconstruction. Though, the absence of the accent on the *-k-* might point to a Proto-Celtic reconstruction.

⁸⁹PC12 : **p* > **φ* (ultimately > *h* > zero). Schrijver, unpublished handout 'Primitive Irish developments and Relative Chronology'

Origin: Irish, derivation

Semantic field: pig-farming, disease, specific

The term *rúad otraig* is a combination of the words *rúad* 'red, redness' and the genitive of *otrach* 'dung' and is the name of a disease for pigs. Kelly⁹⁰, who translates 'red dung', has no doubt that the name points to pigs having blood-stained faeces, which is a symptom that is found in a few diseases for pigs. There is no mention of this term in the etymological dictionaries, and it is probably an Irish formation that describes the symptoms of the disease.

Sall 'salted meat'

[ā, f.]

Reconstruction: **saldā / *salnā / salsā* (**saldiā / *salniā / salsiā*)

Cognates: W. *halen* 'salt', C. *haloin* 'salt', Br. *halenn* 'salt', Lat. *sal* 'salt', Eng. *salt*, Ger. *salz* 'salt'

Origin: Indo-European, Irish

Semantic field: pig-farming, pork product, specific

The term *sall* (also *sail*) is the term for salted meat, but it is especially used for pig-fat. We also find mention of *bó-saille* 'cow-fat', however, salted beef was very rare. Kelly points to an article by Finbar McCormick, who states that it would take a very large amount of salt to salt an entire cow. As Schrijver pointed out to me, this does not have to mean that they did not salt cows, as it is also possible to salt a part of the meat. However, the term seems to have been used especially for pig-meat and therefore I decided to keep it in the list.

Kelly⁹¹ states that the word *sall* contains the root *sal-* 'salt', which we also find in other terms, e.g. *sailid* 'salts', and *salann* 'salt'. MacBain⁹² also mentions this relation and reconstructs **saldi-*, which is also the reconstruction that Stokes⁹³ gives. Vendryes⁹⁴ states that besides the reconstruction **sal-d-*, **sal-n-* is also an option. The term is derived from the Proto-Indo-European word for salt, **sal-* (**seH₂l*)⁹⁵. Matasović⁹⁶ mentions the Proto-Celtic word **salano-* 'salt', which he derives from the same Proto-Indo-European word **seH₂l* 'salt'. He says that there is some doubt about the Proto-Indo-European stem that gives Proto-Celtic **salano-*, as the British words and Old Irish words both point to a different reconstruction, but that is not relevant for this research. Both of these possible

⁹⁰Kelly 1997: 209.

⁹¹Kelly 1997: 336.

⁹²MacBain 1911: 300.

⁹³Stokes 1979: 291.

⁹⁴Vendryes S-18.

⁹⁵Lubotsky 1989: 60.

⁹⁶Matasović 2009: 319.

stems are derived from Proto-Indo-European **seH₂l*, so we can safely say that the origin of the term is Indo-European.

Sois 'pig'

[i, f.]?

Reconstruction: **sotsi-*

Cognates: -

Origin: Irish, substratum

Semantic field: pig, ?, domestic, general

The term *sois* is possibly *hapax legomenon*, and occurs in O'Curry's law transcripts in RIA:

sois. .i. mucc .i. onní is uus (leg. sus), ut est, artuit sois midh mifoil .i. tuitid in muc is maith rosuis mad isin drochfhoil cinaidh doni si.

'*sois*, that is pig, that is from [Latin] *sus*, as in *artuit sois midh mifoil* (a verse line: 'a *sois* falls in the middle of a bad sty'), i.e. a pig that is good falls. She has turned (bad) if she commits an offence in a bad stable'⁹⁷

Schrijver has brought to my attention that the term *sois* might also be used in *geir suis* 'pig lard', though that could also be a Latin genitive of *sus* 'pig'.⁹⁸

As the text above speaks of the *sois* being in a stable, it is probably a domesticated pig. Vendryes⁹⁹ states that Stokes connects the term to Greek *ὑς* 'wild pig' and Latin *sū-s* 'pig', and he reconstructs **susti-*. However, this reconstruction will not give Irish *sois*, and because of this I doubt the connection to Greek and Latin he gives as well. As Matasović and Vendryes do not mention this word, I cannot give any more information on it. Because it is so obscure, it might be a substratum term.

Tinne 'salted pig, bacon'

[io, m.]

Reconstruction: **t[e/i]nnijo-*, **t[e/i]ndnijo-*, **t[e/i]snijo-*

Cognates: -

⁹⁷Schrijver (personal communication)

⁹⁸Schrijver (personal communication)

⁹⁹Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: S-167.

Origin: Irish, substratum

Semantic field: pig-farming, pork product, specific

The term *tinne*, translated by *DIL* as 'salted pig, bacon' is translated by Kelly as 'a flitch of bacon'. The *DIL* also gives a few other translations for the term, namely: 'bar, rod of metal', the name of the letter *t* in Ogham (which could be holly or elder,) and 'musical instrument played by a *cuislendach*'.

According to Vendryes the term could have been derived from *tinaid* 'melts, vanishes', if that word really exists. As Nooij¹⁰⁰ states, it is difficult to connect these two words semantically, and according to him, Schrijver states it is impossible to connect them for reasons of historical phonology. With help of the relative chronology I can confirm that this is the case. The word only exists in Irish, so I will place it in that category, and as there is no suitable etymology for this word, it is possible that this term is substratum.

Torc 'boar'

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **turko-*

Cognates: MW *twrch* , MCo *torch*, MBr. *tourch*

Origin: Indo-European, Proto-Celtic

Semantic field: pig, male, domestic/wild, general

The word *torc* is, next to *mucc*, one of the most common words for pig in Old- and Middle Irish. Whereas *mucc* is used mainly for female pigs, the term *torc* is used for boars. The term is also used in various compounds, denoting different kind of boars. One of these compounds is *torc oircéla*, a , as Kelly translates it, 'boar specially fattened up for cooking'. In this context, the *torc* denotes a domestic animal. However, the term is also found in the sentence *géntair amal turcu*, which is translated as 'they will breed like wild boars'¹⁰¹. In the *Encyclopaedia of Celtic Culture*¹⁰², the term is also said to be used for wild boars. Though, as it is used in both domestic and wild contexts, the term is most likely used for both wild and domesticated boars. Besides denoting a (wild) boar, the term *torc* is also translated as 'chieftain, hero', and two other words *torc* are translated as 'heart' and 'torque'.

There are several theories about the Proto-Celtic form of the word and its meaning and etymology.

¹⁰⁰Nooij 2013: 44.

¹⁰¹Quin 2007: 601

¹⁰²Koch 2005: 218.

Wagner gives the explanation that *torc* is a taboo word from **to-org-* 'destroy'¹⁰³. From this, Irish *torc* cannot be derived, so therefore it can be dismissed as a reconstruction. Hamp¹⁰⁴ also dismisses this reconstruction, as **to-org-* cannot be a source for **turkos* or **torkos*, because it is impossible for the *-g-* to change into *-k-*. According to Wagner this change (**g > *k*) is an 'expressive fortification', but we have no reason to believe a thing like this exists, furthermore, it only makes the reconstruction more complex.

Vendryes reconstructs **torkos*. Hamp notes that this does not give the Welsh form that we would expect. However, Schrijver states that **o* probably changes to **u* not only before **rg*, but also before **rk*¹⁰⁵. If this is the case, we can reconstruct **torkos*, if this is not the case we should reconstruct **turkos*. As the sound change is unclear, it is safest to reconstruct **turkos*, as this without doubt (and without adding an extra step in the Welsh chronology) gives the right form in both Middle Welsh and Old Irish.

McCone argues that these Celtic words are a derivative from the Indo-European root *turk-*, which has as original meaning 'cutter, hacker'. This would refer to the boar being able to cut things up with his tusks. McCone then reconstructs **tworkos*, with a zero grade (that is, a form of a root with absence of **/e/* and **/o/*) **turk-*. Furthermore, he says it is a 'typical example of the well-known Indo-European masculine agent noun formation with an o-grade root and accented thematic vowel suffix'. This same theory is supported by Lubotsky¹⁰⁶. Matasović agrees that the word is from the Proto-Indo-European root 'cutter', which he reconstructs as **tworko-*. He is not sure if the **tw-* would have been preserved in Proto-Celtic, but argues that this might make more sense morphologically, if the word was an agent noun of the *tomós*-type. Whichever reconstruction we agree on, it is clear that the term is Indo-European. And as Matasović is not sure about the term being a *tomós*-type, and not about the **tw-* being able to be preserved, it is probably best to reconstruct **turko-*.

There also seems to be an old relation between **[p]orkos* and **torkos*, as is visible in the name of *Twrch Trwyth*, with its Irish counterpart *Orc Tréith* or *Torc Tríath* and *Porcus Troynt* in the *Historia Britonum*.¹⁰⁷ This might just be because of the resemblance of the words in Old-Irish, and as it does not help us any further on the origin and/or semantic field of the word, I will not go into more detail about this.

Tríath 'boar'

¹⁰³Wagner 1957: 70.

¹⁰⁴Hamp 1989: 193.

¹⁰⁵Schrijver 1995: 52, 67, 466.

¹⁰⁶Lubotsky 1994.

¹⁰⁷Vendryes et al. 1959-1987: T-115.

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **treito-*

Cognates: MW. *trwyth/trwyd* 'chief'

Origin: Proto-Celtic, Irish

Semantic field: pig, male, wild, general

The term *tríath* with the meaning 'boar' is the second option given in the *DIL* and it is not attested as often as the term *tríath* with the first meaning: 'lord, chieftain, king'. There are a few more translations which are more rare: 'sea', 'hill', and 'weak'. Besides these various translations, the term is also found in the name *Torc Tréith*, which is the Irish equivalent of the Welsh *Twrch Trwyd*. The term is also attested with *orc*: *Orc Tréith*. Though these names are given to boars, the first parts of those names, *orc* and *torc*, are words for pig, and it is therefore more likely that *tríath* does not mean 'pig' but 'lord, chieftain, king' in these instances. It could be argued that the term *tríath* is used for wild boars, as the term is derived from the word for lord. This could mean that both the boar and the king were seen as being fierce and strong. In the *Encyclopaedia of Celtic Culture*¹⁰⁸, this name is also said to be used to denote a wild boar.

John Koch¹⁰⁹ reconstructs Proto-Celtic **trētos*, however, **ē* becomes **ī*, so we must reconstruct something else instead. Instead of **ē*, we should reconstruct **ei*.

It is not certain whether the term *tríath* meaning 'boar' is Celtic as well, as it is very likely that this is an Irish invention, possibly derived from the name *Torc Tréith* / *Orc Tríath*, though *tríath* does not mean 'boar' in this name¹¹⁰, it might have been reinterpreted as such.

Trechem 'three year old pig'

[o, m.]

Reconstruction: **trekijamon-*

Cognates: -

Origin: Doubtful origin

Semantic field: pig, female, domestic, specific

The term *trechem* (also *trichem*) is used for female, three year old pigs. A compound with *torc* 'boar' exists to denote probably a three year old boar: *torctrichem*. The *DIL* gives as translation

¹⁰⁸Koch 2005: 218

¹⁰⁹Koch 2012: 755.

¹¹⁰Explained by Cormac in *Sanas Cormaic* 'Cormac's Glossary' as *Orc tréith .i. ainm do mac rígh: tríath enim rex uocatur* 'orc of a tríath, that is, a name for the son of a king: for a king was called a tríath'. According to Petrovskaia there seems to be a connection between kings and boars, but is not sure if this are the remains of an ancient myth or merely a 'redactor obsessed with onomastic games'. (Petrovskaia 2014).

'three year old pig'. This information is also found in a legal gloss about food-rent¹¹¹, where it is added that the *trechem* is a sow of three litters. These two explanations, one counting the years, the other counting the litters, is also found in the term *deil* (see p. 21-22). As the term is mentioned in the aforementioned gloss about food-rent, it is most likely the term for a domestic pig.

Remmer¹¹² suggests two possible etymologies for this word. The first part of the word could be related to the Celtic root **trek-* 'to run', with an agent suffix **ijamon-*, which she then reconstructs as **trekijamon-* 'runner'. She says the root could also be related to the word *torc* (see above, p. 34-35), with the same agent suffix **ijamon-*. However, if we try to reconstruct the Irish form from **turkijamon*, we do not get Irish *trechem* or *trichem*. Remmer adds that the suffix **(ija)mon-* was not productive in popular language anymore, and the *n*-inflection (inflection with *-mon-*) that these words had, derived from **ijamon-* was dropped. This seems to have happened with other terms for animals which she argues had this suffix as well (e.g. *gláidem* 'wolf'). Though the suffix itself has been derived from Proto-Indo-European, Remmer also states that it was reinterpreted in Early Celtic; the presence of the suffix therefore does not have to mean the word has an Indo-European origin. The word could be of Celtic origin, e.g. with the suggested root **trek*. If Remmer's reconstruction **trekijamon-* was right, this means something should have happened with the meaning of the word that changed it from 'runner' to denoting specifically a three year old pig. It seems possible to me that the first part of the term has something to do with the numeral three (Proto-Indo-European **treyes*¹¹³), which we find in the translation of the word, though I do not have enough information on the subject to give any more insight in that.

5. Analysis

Now that all the words are provided with an origin and a semantic field, it is time to see if there are any relations between the origins and the semantic fields of these terms. My initial intention was to compare the origin of words for wild pigs with the origin of words for domesticated pigs. However, there seem to be almost no terms specifically for a wild pig, which is an interesting finding. The *Encyclopedia of Celtic Culture*¹¹⁴ says there are four Old Irish terms for the Eurasian wild boar (*Sus scrofa* in Latin), from which pigs were domesticated: *cullach*, *ner*, *torc*, and *tríath*. It is not entirely clear to me if that means these terms were used to denote a wild boar, or the already domesticated variant of the wild boar. It seems likely that these were used to denote the *Sus scrofa*, but that does not explain why there are four terms to denote this one animal, especially since three of the four

¹¹¹ *CIH* ii.482.17-18.

¹¹² Remmer : 67-68.

¹¹³ Matasović 2009: 390.

¹¹⁴ Koch 2005: 218.

terms are derived from Proto-Indo-European. The *Encyclopaedia of Celtic Culture*¹¹⁵ furthermore states that wild boars were hunted to extinction in Britain at the end of the 13th century, and a little later in Ireland. Even though this date of extinction might be a bit later than our sources for the words, this could be the reason for the absence of terms specifically denoting wild boars. And although the wild animals were even reintroduced a few times¹¹⁶, it is likely that they were not very common anymore. Most of the terms in the list are used either only for domesticated pigs or can be used for both domesticated and wild pigs.

Because there are so few terms denoting a wild boar, I will not give a separate comparison of wild versus domesticated boars. Instead I will just sort the words below, according to the rules I set in my methodology (p. 11-15). When I have done that, I will compare the semantic field of the words within one group of words with the same origin as I explained before (p.15) .

5.1 Indo-European words

[11/28]

Indo-European meaning

- *orc* 'young pig' pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, specific

Proto-Celtic meaning

- *feis* 'sow' pig, female, domestic, general/specific

- *torc* 'boar' pig, male, domestic/wild, general

Irish meaning

- *aithech* 'sow' pig, female, domestic, general

- *birit* 'sow' pig, female, domestic, general

- *cráin* 'sow' pig, female, domestic, general

- *deil* 'female pig of two years old' pig, female, domestic, specific

- *deileng* 'sucking pig' pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, specific.

- *mát* 'pig' pig, male/female? , male/female?, general

- *ner* 'boar' pig, male, wild?, general

- *sall* 'salted meat' pig-farming, pork product, specific

As we can see above, 11 of the 28 terms in my list are of Indo-European origin. And as explained before, I divided them into three groups. By far the biggest group is the one with words that got its

¹¹⁵Koch 2005: 218.

¹¹⁶Koch 2005: 218.

meaning in the Irish language, and only one word had already had a meaning related to pigs in Proto-Indo-European. As I stated before (p. 6), when languages are in contact, it is mostly the non-basic vocabulary that is borrowed, for instance words denoting very specific things, as the mother-language would already have the more basic words. We can see here that most of the words derived from Proto-Indo-European have a general meaning, like 'boar' and 'sow', even though they did not all have the pig-related meaning in Proto-Indo-European. However, there are a few terms that have a more specific meaning, *deil*, *deileng*, *orc* and *sall*. But, as they got this meaning at a later stage, this is not really striking.

What did strike me is that there are quite some words denoting a female domestic pig: five out of eleven terms, which is almost half of them. This might be a coincidence, but there could also be more to it and be of cultural relevance. Though I do not know exactly what this could denote, and the subject would need more research, it might mean that these female pigs were seen as important.

5.2 Celtic words

[3/28]

Substratum/loan

- *banb* 'young pig'

pig, male/female?, domestic, specific

- *mucc* 'a pig, sow'

pig, female, domestic, general

The two words above can be either loan-words or substratum words. According to Hamp, both of them are substratum from a non-Indo-European language that was spoken throughout Europe. This may or may not be the same language that was spoken in Irish, from which the Irish substratum words are derived. Not only does Hamp say that these words are substratum, but *mucc* also has a feature that Matasović attributes to a non-Indo-European substratum language, namely a geminate in the root: **kk*¹¹⁷. This makes it more likely that the word is indeed a substratum term. What does not fit in with the word being a substratum term is the fact that *mucc* is one of the most common words for pig in Irish and not a specific term. However, this does not have to mean it cannot be a substratum word, it just makes it an exception to the rule.

Irish meaning

- *tríath* 'boar'

pig, male, wild, general

¹¹⁷Note that there is another term **socc*, which has lost its meaning related to pigs in the Irish language but not in the other Celtic languages (W. *hwch* 'pig', M.Br. *hoc'h* 'boar'), that also has a **u* in its stem and is reconstructed by Hamp as **suku-*. (Hamp (1987) 187-188.)

As there is only one word derived from Proto-Celtic with a pig-related meaning Irish, I am not able to extract any information from it.

5.3 Irish

[7/28]

New derivations

- <i>cumlachtaid</i> 'young pig'	pig, male/female?, domestic? , specific
- <i>elg</i> 'pig'	pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, general
- <i>gabulgice</i> 'a pronged pole'	pig-farming, equipment, specific
- <i>glasreng</i> 'boar'	pig, male, domestic/wild?, general
- <i>lesán</i> 'name of some disease of pigs'	pig-farming, disease, specific
- <i>lurcc</i> 'small piglet'	pig, male/female?, domestic/wild?, specific
- <i>rúad otraig</i> 'red dung'	pig-farming, disease, specific

As I wrote in my methodological background, there are a lot of ways to form new words in Irish. We see a representation of a few of them here. Four of the terms (*gabulgice*, *glasreng*, *lurcc* and *rúad otraig*) are compounds, formed from two words that already existed in the Irish language. Two terms, *cumlachtaid* and *lesán*, were made by adding a prefix and/or a suffix to a word that already existed. Most of these words have a specific meaning and not a general one and this seems to make sense. As the language already derived words for pig from Indo-European and Proto-Celtic, it would not make sense to add even more general words for pig to the language. Instead the words that we find are used to denote a specific type. The two general words that we find here are quite rare, and we do not have a lot of information about them. It might be the case that they too were used to denote a more specific pig, but due to the lack of information we are not able to get that information now.

Substratum words

- <i>céis</i> 'a slip-pig or a young pig'	pig, female, domestic, specific
- <i>lupait</i> 'pig, young pig'	pig, male/female?, domestic, specific
- <i>muine</i> 'the lard which lines the intestines of a pig'	pig-farming, pork product, specific
- <i>sois</i> 'pig'	pig, male/female? , domestic , general
- <i>tinne</i> 'salted pig,bacon'	pig-farming, pork product, specific

As these words only exist in the Irish language and do not have cognates nor a satisfying etymology, they are most likely substratum words derived from the language that was spoken in Ireland before Irish. Technically they could also be loan-words, but as I explained before (see p. 8-9, 14-15) it is very likely that these words are a remnant of the language spoken in Ireland before Irish. We do not have definite proof that these words are substratum, as we do not have evidence of the language that they would have been derived from. Most of these words are placed here because of the lack of a fitting etymology, however, the tern *lupait* has a /p/, which we find in substratum words from this language (see the *partán*-argument, p. 7). Furthermore, this -p- is derived from Proto-Celtic *-pp-, a geminate. This is one of the features Matasović mentions which he found when analysing Proto-Celtic substratum words¹¹⁸. Five of the terms from the 28 in total seem to be derived from the Irish substratum language, which is almost 20% of all the terms I investigated (5:28=0,179). Matasović states that most of the nouns that have a substratum origin denote birds, plants, and small animals, which might explain the high number within this particular semantic field of pig-related terms.

Loan words

- *eobarr* 'boar, boar helmet' pig, male, domestic/wild? , general

As there is only one loanword within this category, I cannot extract much information from it. We can only state that there has been contact between the Old Norse language and Old Irish, but in order to know the severity of the contact this subject would need its own research. It is interesting to see that the amount of loanwords (if we do not count substratum words, which technically are a type of loanwords too) is so low within the semantic field of pig-related terms.

5.6 Doubtful origin

[1/28]

- *trechem* 'three year old pig' pig, female, domestic, specific

Here I have gathered the words which did not fit into the other groups. As the word within this group could possibly fit in within more than one of the other groups, I cannot gain much information from it. Especially since it is only one word. It would be useless to go over the semantic field within this group, as this is only one word, and a mere leftover that did not fit into the other groups.

¹¹⁸Matasović 2009: 443-444.

Conclusion

The question I asked at the start of my thesis 'What is the origin of words for pig and related to pig-farming in Old and Middle Irish?' does not have a short answer, since there are a lot of factors that have contributed to the language. There is quite a large amount of terms for pigs and related to pig-farming that is spread between different origins: Indo-European, Proto-Celtic and Irish. Within these three categories then are even more different origins, there are loan-words and substratum words, and terms that got their meaning related to pigs in different periods of time. There are some interesting things that can be noted about the terms I examined.

One of the most striking things I found was that there seem to be very few terms specifically for wild boars. Even though the Old-Norse loanword *ebarr* meant 'wild boar' in the Norse language, it was probably used as a term for a domesticated pig in the Irish language. From the four terms that the *Encyclopaedia of Celtic Culture* mentions as being used for wild boars (*cullach*, *ner*, *torc*, and *triath*), at least *torc* is also used to denote domesticated boars. This absence of words denoting a wild pig might be because words that used to denote these wild animals have shifted their meaning to denoting domestic pigs, as, as I mentioned before, it seems like the wild boars were hunted down and disappeared from the island. It might be interesting to do research on this subject, comparing archaeological evidence and attestation dates of words with their context to see if there was a change in meaning.

Another striking fact is that the term *mucc*, probably the most common word for pig in Old and Middle Irish (and possibly in the other Celtic languages as well), is a substratum word. We would not expect this, since in theory only specific words are taken over from the substratum language, and the more general words are derived from the mother-language/proto-language. This might either be because our etymology of the word *mucc* is wrong, though this seems highly unlikely as there seems to be quite a lot of evidence, or the term is an exception. It would be interesting to investigate this further, though we might not be able to find more information on the subject than we have now.

The biggest group of words is the one with Proto-Indo-European words, which makes up more than a third of the total. This seems quite logical, as this is the origin of the Celtic language. However, only one of those words has kept its original Indo-European meaning and was used to denote a pig throughout.

As for the language spoken in Ireland before Irish, there are a few possible candidates within this semantic field of pigs and pig-farming that would qualify. These terms are: *céis*, *lupait*, *muine*, *sois* and *tinne*. As these are only found in Irish and have no cognates, and as we know that there was

a language spoken in Ireland before Irish whose speakers shifted to Irish, it is very likely that these words are a result of that. The words also fit in with the other theories about substratum words, as they are specific words, and denote animals, which are words that are more prone to being loaned.

There are two other words that are possibly substratum, that are found within the group of Proto-Celtic words. For these words I could not state if they were the result of contact-induced change or shift-induced change and therefore I cannot say if they are normal loanwords or substratum words.

In general there is not much new evidence to be subtracted from this investigation. However, this research provides a small insight in the origins of the Irish language as a whole. I was able to trace back more than a third of all the words to Proto-Indo-European, which is quite a substantive part of the words. Though, as I said before, this does not have to mean that a third of all the Irish words is derived from Indo-European, it makes it very likely that a big part of the Irish language can be derived from that language. The second biggest group is the one with words of Irish origin, and a lot of the words within this group seem to be substratum. As I stated before, this number is probably higher because of the specific semantic field I investigated, and I expect the overall percentage of substratum words in the Irish language to be lower. The other words in the group of Irish words are Irish derivations, which are not as interesting but show the various ways in which the Irish language is able to make new words. There were not as many Proto-Celtic words in the list and because of that they are not as interesting either, however, this low number might be a result of the specific semantic field I investigated.

All in all the outcome of this investigation should not be used as a blueprint for the origins of the Irish language, but as a tool for further research, which can confirm or invalidate my findings in relation to other semantic fields.

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