When did *nd* become *nn* in which Early Irish environments?

Comhdháil lae in onóir do Damian McManus,
Ollamh na LuathGhaeilge, Coláiste na Tríonóide, agus é ag éirí as.
A day of talks to mark the retirement of Damian McManus,
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1. *GOI* §151 (c): 'The assimilation of *nd* to *nn* in proclitic words begins in the archaic period'.
    inda, Philargyrius, Wb. I; *dundaib*, Cambrai; > *inna* (Cambrai), *donaib*;
    cf. POKORNY 1923 on '*Da-* in Irish place names' < *inda*.
GOI §151 (c): 'Otherwise *nd* before vowels and in final position is retained in Wb.'.
Add FORTSON 2009/10 on *-gleinn* verbs (cf. *GOI* §548) and pre-Wb. **e/iNd´e/i* > **e/iN´e/i*.

2. BREATNACH 1994: 259, §7.7: '**-nd/nn vs. -n.** Diaidh ar ndiaidh déantar *-n* singil a ghinear-álú sa MG, ach nuair nach singil é is suntasach a annaimhe is a mheasctar *-nd* agus *-nn* stairiúil i litriú an ailt, ar nós '*sinn inud* "san áit", *LL* 31162 (*TT*)' – adding 'samplaí den fhoirm stairiúil' and 'samplaí den simpliú go *-n*'.

3. Compare nasalised *nd-* (and *mb-*):
FEUTH 1982: 88: 'nasalized plosives are [in Old Irish sources] uniformly written as *mb, nd, ng*'.
    If > /N/ etc., occasional phonetic spellings might have been expected, cf. (len.) *inna{f}laith* 'into His kingdom', Wb. 31a3; (nas.) *am*al *dēte* 'as … goes', Ml. 93b12–13.
FEUTH 1982: 91: '… problem … why coalescence [i.e. *ND* > *N*] is expressed in the spelling in one case (viz. within words …), but not in the other (viz. in the case of nasaliza-tion)'.
ibid.: 'difference in phonological environment, viz. the fact that nasal-plosive coalescence works within words, whereas nasalization is essentially a rule operating between words'.
Furthermore in favour of /ND/ rather than /N/ = *-CNC-* > *-CC-*?
(a) word-internal: *dofoirde … dofoirnde* 'that … denotes', Sg. 203b4, etc.; FEUTH 1982: 91–3, see *GOI* §180 (3); THURNEYSEN 1905: 1–2
(b) ?between words: *fritoil dée* 'against God's will', < *fri toil ndé*? Cf. FEUTH 1982: 89–90 and THURNEYSEN 1905: 6, 8, 10–12, for or implying (optional) deletion, vs. ROMA 2018, 2020 for limitations on analogical spread (at least after stressed nominals).

4. ROMA 2013: 255: 'Mentre in generale *-nn* e *-nd* finali in MI sono grafie alternative per la nasale non lenita/ tesa, nel caso dell'articolo la grafia con *-nd* in posizione finale rappresentava una sequenza di due consonanti, che compara di norma in IA … davanti a vocale e *f, r, l, n*, lenite. La conservazione di questa grafia è tanto più notevole data la direzione della semplificazione verso *-n* semplice. Si noti che l'articolo è una forma proclitica, che forma con la parola seguente una parola fonologica'.
UHLICH 2014: 160: '… most likely implying that the original *d* was protected in this special pattern when introducing the stressed syllable'.

For the syllabic segmentation, cf.

(n)d'adaig = *ind adaig* 'on the (following) night', *GOI* §251.3, see THURNEYSEN 1936: 356–7 (see also *DIL s.v. 1 adaig* 28.29–40, *s.v. dadaig*):

nd adaig [*sic leg.*, Thurneysen], *CompCC* §5

dadaig, BDD² 91 (§7; *v.l. issin aidhq*ui, Eg., s. *BDD*), 133 (§12).

in | d fîr 'of the man', Wb. 33c9 (MS 33va23, left margin)

cf. linking alliteration:

a nd̲úine. → *It̲ é* 'their strongholds. | These are they', *Fél.* Prol. 68–9

5. Two <u>general</u> environments distinguished by *GOI*, i.e. without distinguishing by syllables:

[℗ = proclitic/pretonic, Ⓣ = tonic/stressed, Ⓔ = enclitic/posttonic]:

    (a) ℗ndⒺ: EOIr. *inda* > ClassOIr. *inna*

    (b) Ⓣnd(Ⓔ): ClassOIr. *cland* (12x Wb., 40x Ml.) > *clan(n)* (1x Wb., 2x Ml.)

                          légend : *Érenn, Fél.* Sep. 26

        (or ⒺndⒺ: *Cenandán* > *Cenannán*)

add (c) ℗ndⓉ: ClassOIr. *ind V-* (etc.) > MidIr.*ind V-* > *in(n) V-*

6. ROMA 2020: 190–1 on 5x *-n-* in Sg.:

etar ṅ dirainn 'between the two parts', Sg. 2b2; + *Thes.* (*Supplement*) II, 493: 'Apparently for *etar in dí rainn*, with reduction of the article between the preposition and the noun [*sic*]', see STRACHAN 1903: 488.

*ete*r *ṅdán · ulla* 'between the two *ullas*', Sg. 45b19.

    STRACHAN 1903: 488:

        cf. also *tresṅgné* 'by the species', Sg. 73b1, 'undoubtedly for *tresin ṅgné*', but ROMA 2020: 191, n. 15: with 'nasalising accusative neuter singular article … for *tresaṅgné* (cf. *DIL s.v. tre*, 277.12–13).

        cf. also *frisṁbiat* 'with which they are', Sg. 202b3.

*is fornóin ṅ deilb biit semp*er, ''tis according to one paradigm they are always (declined)', Sg. 201b6 (on the apparently "Scottish" nasalising *ṅ* see ROMA 2020: 190).

far cétnu diull … far nóeṅdeilb, 'according to the first declension … according to the same paradigm', Sg. 90b2, i.e. dat. also in 201b6 (ROMA 2020: 191).

*arb*er*tar as noéntarmoirciunn*, 'they are expressed by the same termination', Sg. 33a19a (*leg. nóen-*, ROMA 2020: 191, n. 13).

7. *óen* in "compounds"?

    (1) Cf. ModIr. *aon*: Ó CURNÁIN 2007: §3.88: only recorded as type II (= primary stress on *aon-*, secondary [or none] on base, '⏑ or '–) or type III (= '–'), never type I (= –').

    (2) *ind óen ré* 'at the same time' : *umaide*, Blathmac §87 (ll. 345–6; MS *ind oen re*)

        i n-oen-uair 'thereupon' : *sluaig*, Gospel of Thomas §41 (ll. b, d; MS *anaon uair*)

      CARNEY 1964: 129, n. 345: 'Note that *oen* does not form a compound with the following word; similarly *i n-oen uair* (*anaon uair* MS.), II, **§ 41**'.

      CARNEY 1964: 163 ['*i n-oen-uair*']: 'it would appear that in the early Old Irish period it was not uncommon for the second element in a compound to rhyme independently. Compare in Broccán's poem on St. Brigit *maith* (: *derglaid*), *noebdúil*

(: *súil*), *amra* (: *comlabra*), *Thes.* II, pp. 337–8. This practice may have been imitated sporadically in the later period' – but also referring to:

O'BRIEN 1955: 51, on internal rhyme *Liamna* : *bliadna* in *rē ōenbliadna deäc*, p. 46, §43: 'Perhaps in the construction with *deäc ōen* need not form a compound with the following noun'.

(3) *Félire Óenguso* (Rinnard, 4x 6^2)

    (a) compound:
        conrecat for óenchái 'they meet on the same road', *Fél.* 10 June.
           Cf. *scís* : *óendís*, *Thes.* II, 293.18 (*rind ⁊ airdrind*)

    (b) preposed adjective:
        for óenlíni 'on one line', *Fél.* Oct. 2 (consonance with *féli* : *Eusébi*)
                              Oct. 14 (: *Paulíni*, consonance *ógi*)
        cechóin laithi 'of every single day', *Fél.* Ep. 5 (end of line a)

(4) *GOI* §385.1: '**oín-, óen**-, always in composition';
        cf. §365.5 (where also on *fecht n-óen*, etc.).
Cf. (semantically no longer transparent)
    óenach 'assembly' < *oino-ago-* (*aigid*; O'Brien, see GREENE 1954: 334);
    óenar 'one alone' < *oino-u̯irom* (*fer*; HAMP 1982: 179–80);
or with enclitic voicing *óenrad* 'one grace', Wb. 13b9 (*rath*) (unless hypercorrect spelling, cf *GOI* §130).

However, *DIL s.v. oen* I (f):
    inna óina oinasa, gl. *hos eosdem*$^{gl.}$ (*deos*), Ml. 70a4 (also quoted *GOI* §351. (2)), 'these very same ones', GRIFFITH & STIFTER 2013.
    inna oinaméite 'of the same size', Sg. 203a26, with <u>proclitic depalatalisation</u>
        (contrast stressed substantivised in *cuit inna aine ⁊ inna aile* 'the part of the one and of the other', BCr. 31c4).
On secondary proclisis see UHLICH 2019: 20–7, e.g.
    aile + aile > *al(a)aile*; *cách* > *cachfer*, *ní* (for *né*) > *nalled* (*leth*).

8. Result: with *óen* in secondary proclisis, the pattern applicable to the development of the dat. sg. article *ind* underlying *fornóin ṅ deilb*, *far nóeṅdeilb*, *as noéntarmoirciunn* in no. **6** above is (cf. no. **5**)

    not (c)   Ⓟnd⒯: ClassOIr. *ind V-* (etc.) > MidIr.*ind V-* > *in(n) V-*,
    but (a)   Ⓟndℙ: EOIr. *inda* > ClassOIr. *inna*

Thus *as-ind-óen Ẋ* > *asinnóen Ẋ* > *asnóen Ẋ*.

9. FEUTH 1982: 91: '*debe mec*, "a little difference" (Ml. 40ª20, in place of *debe mbec*). Contrary to the quite respectable number of valuable phonetic spellings in the case of nasalized voiceless plosives, *debe mec* is an isolated instance as far as nasalized voiced plosives are concerned. Therefore it looks like, and definitely must be a writing error'.

atá debe mec nand 'there is a little difference there', Ml. 40a20.

Cf. MidIr. *Loch nEchach n-án* 'shining Loch nEchach', *LL* l. 28572
OIr. *fis forcell ⁊ dliged rechto ndǽ* 'knowledge of the testimonies and rules of the law
of God', Wb. 46c8
déde didiu nand 'two things, then, are therein', Wb. 1a5 (*didiu* as such neither 'not
fully stressed' nor 'weakly stressed' [*GOI* §§41 (b), 901], see *GOI* p. 673)

See UHLICH 2019 for nasalisation being transferred across a secondarily proclitic word
(*Echach, rechto, didiu*) to the following stressed word, and cf. MidIr. (BERGIN 1932)
a nda n-athair, *Anecd.* III, 57.24, 'both of their fathers'
a da nduma, *LL* l. 1541, 'their two mounds'

Pattern *déde didiu n-ànd = debe mec n-ànd*, i.e. with fully proclitic /Mb/ > /M/?

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