VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
KAUNAS FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

AUDRONĖ GEDŽIŪTĖ

A SEMIOTIC ATTEMPT AT THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KELPIE MYTH

MA THESIS
English Linguistics (State Code 62404H111)

Scientific adviser _____

__Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jadvyga Krūminienė__

Graduate student _____

Handing-in date _____

Registration No._____

Kaunas, 2009

VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS
KAUNO HUMANITARINIS FAKULTETAS

GERMANŲ FILOLOGIJOS KATEDRA

AUDRONĖ GEDŽIŪTĖ

KELPIO MITO REKONSTRUKCIJA: SEMIOTINĖ PERSPEKTYVA

MAGISTRO DARBAS
Anglų kalbotyra (valstybinis kodas 62404H111)

Darbo vadovas _____
Doc. dr. Jadvyga Krūminienė

Magistras _____
Darbo įteikimo data _____
Registracijos Nr. _____

Kaunas, 2009

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AS	Anglo-Saxon
Bret.	Bretonic
Corn.	Cornish
Cymr.	Cymric
Dan.	Danish
Du.	Dutch
Gk.	Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
Icel.	Icelandic
IE	Indo-European
Ir.	Irish
Lith.	Lithuanian
Luw.	Luwian
MCymr.	Middle Cymric
MDu.	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
MSwed.	Middle Swedish
OE	Old English
OFris.	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OIcel.	Old Icelandic
OIr.	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OPrus.	Old Prussian
OS	Old Saxon
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
Skr.	Sanskrit
Slav.	Slavonic

INTRODUCTION

Myth has always been an important part in human life. It embraces customs, traditions, moral norms, the system of values and the understanding of the world in general. Myth is an extremely complex structure of significance engendered by human consciousness and articulated in a number of forms: rituals, linguistic units such as phrases or words, narratives, texts, etc. Therefore, a qualitative analysis of myth requires such methods that might enable the scholars to explore both linguistic and *extra*linguistic means of mythical expression.

The semiotic method proposed by Algirdas Julius Greimas, the founder of the Paris School of Semiotics, has proved to be among the most successful ones. The scholar applied and developed the structuralist ideas in the field of mythological studies. Greimas takes myth as a figurative model of the cultural environment that establishes the essential values of a particular community. For him, mythical discourse is a multifaceted construct that may be divided into separate parts, each representing an entire mythical universe. Therefore, every element of a mythical system is considered to be of crucial importance. Greimas proposes the reconstruction of myth by means of the principle according to which mythical discourse may be decomposed into units beginning with the smallest structures of significance and proceeding to the multilayer systems. He claims that such a method involves all the signs that might be related with a particular mythical system to be discovered. The semiotic method is open for the data belonging to various scholarly fields. Moreover, it serves as an effective instrument in deciphering the meaning of the signs and composing these meanings into structures of significance.

The thesis offers one of the rare attempts at rebuilding a part of the ancient Celtic-Gaelic mythical world. Usually, the studies of Celtic-Gaelic mythologies focus on the mythical projection on the everyday life or the afterlife mode of human existence. Yet, the depiction of the mode of the soul's transfer from the world of the living to the world of the dead has scarcely attracted scholarly consideration. The author expects that the paper will fill in the gap in the Celtic-Gaelic mythical system related with the posthumous journey of a human soul. Despite the fact that typically the figure of the kelpie is treated as a folklore element, the aim of the paper is to confirm the hypothesis that the kelpie is a mythical creature that functioned as a guide of the souls to the realm of the Afterlife. For the goal of the paper to be achieved, the following tasks have been set out:

- to define the structure of mythical discourse from the semiotic perspective;
- to designate the peculiarities of the kelpie activity;
- to decompose the concept of the kelpie into semantic segments;
- to determine the significance of each semantic element in the structure of the kelpie myth;

– to verify the conformity of each semantic unit to the image of the kelpie;
– to describe the functions of the mythical water-horse;
– to examine the usage of ancient pagan concepts regarding the kelpie in later ages.

The correct evaluation of the concepts comprising the kelpie isotopy leads to a precise determination of the mythical frame of the kelpie story. The variety of the data enables the author to assess the validity of the analysis while the semiotic method helps to confirm the relevance of the data with regard to myth reconstruction. It is considered here that language as well as myth reflect both human cognition and culture. Therefore, the major data concerned in the analysis comes either from linguistic fields of enquiry such as a detailed etymological study of the words, the semantic deconstruction of various linguistic units or literary works that are the manifestations of the ancient conceptualization in later times.

The paper consists of a list of abbreviations, an introduction, a glossary, two chapters, conclusions, a summary in Lithuanian, a list of references and appendices. The introduction presents the aim and tasks of the paper. The glossary explains the key terms applied in the thesis. Chapter One – *The Paris School of Semiotics: The Method of A. J. Greimas* – discusses the method of the deconstruction of mythical discourse offered by A. J. Greimas. It surveys the scholar's most important ideas, introduces the principles of his method and explains its essential categories. Chapter Two – *A Semiotic Attempt at the Reconstruction of the Kelpie Myth* – deals with the practical application of the discussed theoretical method. This chapter attempts at the examination of various analytical categories and tools related with the description of the mythical figure of the kelpie. It gives an elaborate exploration of all the semantic units comprising the isotopy of the kelpie and draws guidelines for future studies. Finally, the paper ends with the conclusions summarizing the results obtained during the analysis.

GLOSSARY

Actant: formal syntactic unit which represents discourse entities that may act themselves or may be influenced by other entities; the place of the investment of contents. There are three actantial structures: **subject-object, sender-receiver, helper-opponent**.

Actor: it is a nominal figure that operates on the **discursive** level of a narrative; this figure manifests **actants**.

Classeme: a contextual **seme**.

Competence: the abilities and capabilities of a character to act.

Conjunction: see **junction**.

Deep level: the first level in the process of the construction of meaning where the contents are established and values are stated.

Discourse: a complex structure of signification that involves both the establishment of meaning and its articulation.

Discursive level: the third level in the process of the construction of meaning where the contents and values are manifested by means of expression (images, symbols, temporal or spatial dimensions, etc.)

Disjunction: see **junction**.

Elementary structure of signification (binary structure): a concept that describes the preliminary conditions for the generation of meaning.

Figurative level: see **discursive level**.

Figurative trajectory: the ways that **actor/s** emerge and act in **discourse**. Figurative trajectory produces particular **isotopies** that determine the semantic contribution of a figure into the semantic structure of **discourse**.

Generative pathway/ trajectory: the process of the construction of meaning which reveals the way how abstract values are manifested by concrete images. It consists of the three levels: **deep**, **narrative** and **discursive**.

Helper: a type of **actant**. In **discourse** it operates as a supporter of a **subject**.

Isotopy: a continuous repetition of semantic categories that shows the integrity of the meaning of **discourse**.

Junction (junction utterances): the relation between the categories of a narrative. It is understood as **conjunction** (union, similarity) or **disjunction** (separation, difference).

Lack: a state that makes a subject act. It may be *internal* (when a character wants sth by himself/herself) or *external* (when sb obliges a character to act).

Narrative level: the second level of **discourse** which represents the syntactic distribution of contents, i.e. manifests **actantial str**uctures.

Nuclear semic figure: denotative elementary categories, the core of the **sememe**.

Object (object value): a type on **actant**; the realm where certain values related with the **subject** are invested.

Operational programme: the succession of a character's actions.

Opponent: a type of **actant.** In **discourse** it operates as an antagonist.

Receiver: a type of **actant**. The second participant in the act of communication; a **subjec**t that submits the manipulation of a **sender**.

Semantic universe: the realm of significance.

Seme: an elementary category that helps to describe objects, depicts their differences and similarities.

Sememe: a combination of **semes** and **classemes**.

Semiotic square: the logical model of the **semantic universe**. It determines the structural relations of values.

Sender: a type of **actant**. This agent obliges and compels a **subject** to act. In the act of communication it appears as a manipulator and the final sanctifier that evaluates the actions of a **receiver**.

Signified: a certain idea, a notion, signification of a discourse.

Signifier: a text element which enables the appearance of signification at the level of perception; the materialization of an idea.

Subject: a type of **actant** that acts and thus acquires or loses the **object-value**.

Thematic role: a category that defines an **actor's** sphere of activity and the **actor** itself. It may encompass the dimensions of time and space. Thematic role is a set of all elements describing the **figurative trajectory** of an **actor**.

Thymic value (thymicity): classemic category; the fundamental emotional mood. It may be *euphoric*, i.e. positive, or *disphoric*, i.e. negative.

Transformation: see **junction utterances.**

1. THE PARIS SCHOOL OF SEMIOTICS: THE METHOD OF A.J. GREIMAS

Semiotics is a linguistic method that seeks to explain the meanings of signs and the process of the generation of these meanings. One of the founders of the Paris School of Semiotics, a Lithuanian born scholar, Algirdas Julius Greimas (1917 – 1992), in the Western scholarly environment also known as Algirdas Julien Greimas, developed his theory of semiotics on the grounds of structuralism, especially on the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure. Therefore it is typical of the semioticians representing the Paris School to deconstruct the object of the research into semantic elements and reconstruct them into the logical hierarchical structures. The extraction of the meaningful elements, their description and reconstruction reveal how meaning as such is generated, describe the significance of every part of the system and identify the changes of meaning which depend on the interaction of the elements, or in other words, signs. Greimas introduced his ideas on semiotics in his books *Structural Semantics. An Attempt at a Method* (1983) and *On Meaning* (1987). Beside extending insights in pure structural philosophy on language issues the scholar was also interested in mythological issues. In the course of his scholarly attempts at the reconstruction of Lithuanian mythology, Greimas not only tested but also developed his theory on the construction of meaning. His main works devoted to mythology are *Of Gods and Men* (1979) and *In Search of National Memory* (1990) which substantially supplemented the knowledge of the ancient Baltic mythical systems. Myth reconstructions offered in these studies may serve as perfect examples encouraging the reconstruction of myths of other nations, because following the Greimasian method a scholar may catch the separate threads of meanings and weave them into a smooth mythical cloth that would reveal the patterns of ancient thought.

1.1. The Construction of Meaning

From the perspective of semiotics, the world consists of signs which acquire meaning only if they are related with each other. It is the relation between signs that helps to classify them and extract their meanings. Greimas states that separate signs do not signify anything by themselves, and that only the systems of signs, though the simplest ones, establish certain meaning (cf. Greimas 1983, 20). In other words, man is surrounded by a chaotic multitude of signs, and human consciousness prescribes some meaning to them because it follows the particular principles and is capable of determining the existence of the interaction of the signs. Hence, the depiction of meaning is equal to the establishment of the interrelation between signs. From this it follows that at least two objects are obligatory to generate meaning since it is the smallest possible number of units that may be interconnected.

The quality of the interrelation between the objects is determined by the features of their similarity and dissimilarity or, to put it in Greimas' wording, "conjunction" and "disjunction" (ibid, 21). Thus, in order the two objects might be described as belonging to the same structure of meaning, they must have something in common, i.e. they must be related by means of *conjunction*[1]. On the other hand, they undoubtedly have to expose some differences lest they should be identified as one entity. Therefore, the two objects should be also related by means of *disjunction*. That is understood as the two objects having some similar features and at the same time articulating individual meanings and thus creating *the elementary structure of signification* composed of the two poles and a link between them.

An elementary structure of signification is a binary system which is considered to be inherent in human mind and therefore the most acceptable and easily imbibed by human consciousness, because it is easier to compare two objects than more. Greimas asserts that in the process of meaning deciphering the most important category is *dissimilarity* since "we perceive differences and thanks to that perception, the world 'takes shape' in front of us and for us" (ibid, 19). Consequently, one object is chosen as a reference point, while another object is perceived as its 'antithesis' due to the absence of features found in the first object. Such distinctive features are called *semes*; one of Greimas' followers, Jean Petitot briefly summarizes the theory of his master by stating that *semes* are "units of content defined in a relational way by their differences" (Petitot 2004, 201).

However, when based solely on the presence or absence of *semes* the description of objects would be insufficient because an object may expose some characteristics which are not related with another object being compared, yet these characteristics may be very important for its identification. If one keeps to the distinction of the 'marked-unmarked' unit regarding some particular distinctive feature, then the 'monomial' features referred to above are either left aside the description of the object and then its picture becomes incomplete and superficial, or, on the contrary, the procedure of the object description comes out to be extremely complicated, redundant and indefinable if one attempts to include every *seme* separately. For that reason, *semes* contribute to the final description of the given object in the way that they establish *semic categories* (ibid, 195), i.e. they describe the object within a sterile environment of the binary opposition.

But the problem is that such description appears to be inconvenient beyond the boundaries of the binary opposition or *elementary structure of signification* because these structures join into large units of significance and interact with other structures thus modifying their own meaning. To put it in another way, the context influences the meaning articulated by the *elementary structure* and it cannot

[1] Italics mine (A. G.)

be ignored if one aims at the full description of any object. From this it comes that it is possible to distinguish the two types of *semes*: ones that are manifested by the object itself in relation to another object and ones that appear due to the impact of the contextual environment. The former are called "nuclear semic figures" because they operate inside *the elementary binary structure*, while the latter are called "classemes" (ibid, 202f.) since they are engendered by the interaction of the structures of significance and therefore associated with certain effects of meaning. Hence, the complete description of an object embraces *nuclear semes* as well as *classemes* that endow a particular variation of meaning. Greimas calls certain combination of these semantic elements a "sememe" (cf. Greimas 2005, 350). It becomes clear that a *sememe* as a structural entity appears only in a particular context. When *nuclear semes* and *classemes* join together, they create a *sememic pathway* which shows how a particular element exposes itself in a context and what additional meanings it generates in the general structure of sense, i.e. *discourse*, in which this element exists.

Constant reccurrences of *sememic categories* in the horizontal or *syntagmatic* dispersion of meaning form certain semantic fields which Greimas calls "isotopies" (ibid, 432). *Isotopy* is the totality of meanings articulated by *sememes*. These larger constructs of meaning may be either partial, i.e. leaving some space for the generation of new meanings, or universal and complete – in other words, raising no doubt about their logical unity. However, *isotopy* is not the supreme category in the system of meaning construction: some *isotopies* may be joined together and such alliances of *isotopies* will form a super-structure called *discourse* which is a structure of meaning manifested either linguistically (in various texts), or extralinguistically (by various artifacts, rituals, etc.). *Discourse* embraces both the process of meaning construction and its results, i.e. the articulated meanings.

From this it becomes clear that "the grasp of meaning", as Greimas calls understanding (Greimas 1987, 106), embraces two aspects of equal importance: the meaning itself and its manifestation. Therefore it is vital to distinguish between these two planes. *Semes* and *sememes* are purely elements of content, whereas *isotopies* may be either *figurative*, i.e. expressed clearly by the concrete symbols, images, special or temporal dimensions, or *thymic*, i.e. merely abstract establishments of certain values (cf. Subchapter 1.2.). In other words, *isotopy* serves as an intermediate link between the deep and surface structures. Consequently, *discourse* that is composed of various *isotopies* exposes the complex constructs of significance formed within the pathway of the meaning generation, namely starting with the raising of an idea and ending with its full expression. Thus, the creation of meaning involves two planes which operate in every sign, as well as larger structures of meaning. The two planes are the plane of content and the plane of expression. In order to describe

them, Greimas borrows the structuralist terms “the signifier” and “the signified” and treats them as “the first operational units” (Greimas 1983, 8). Consider:

> We will call the signifier the elements or groups of elements which make possible the appearance of signification at the level of perception and which are recognized, at the same moment, as exterior to man. With the term signified we will name the signification or significations which are covered by the signifier and manifested because of its existence (ibid.).

From this it follows that the dual nature of a sign is revealed in more complex constructs of significance. However, Greimas was not satisfied with a mere description of the content and expression planes and determination of their mutual interdependence. He noted that the opposite nature of the *first operational units* does not allow for their parallel relation 1:1, i.e. that one idea or value is expressed only by a single clearly grasped element. On the contrary, it often happens so that the same content value is represented by several elements of expression on the level of perception. For instance, the concept of ‘death’ may be described by means of several symbols such as coffin, scull, or the concept ‘night’ as time of action, black as its dominating colour, etc. It proves that the levels of content and expression are not connected directly and there should be some intermediate link which might help to transform the content values into those of expression. Therefore, though trying to keep to the dual principle of signs and the laws of a binary system, Greimas suggests 3 levels of the *grasp of meaning*:

- *discursive*,
- *narrative*
- *deep*

These levels serve to reveal the processes of the creation of meaning.

1.2. Greimas’ Approach to Articulation of Meaning

As it has been discussed in the previous subchapter, the formation of meaning involves two stages: the generation of an idea and its manifestation on the perceptual level. According to Greimas, the semantic universe may be described on the basis of two universal models: “the expression of content and the structure of the expression of content” (Greimas 2005, 173). In other words, any structure of significance is composed of the *deep level* which states particular values, and surface level which articulates deep meaning by means of the images taken from the objectively perceived reality and thus easily grasped. Greimas discerns the third, i.e. *narrative* level between the two referred to above. On this level, similar *semes* are grouped and particular syntactic structures are composed. They enable the manifestation of meaning on the *discursive level*.

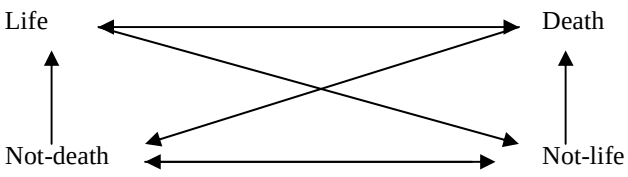
The three-layer procedure of the *grasp of meaning* reveals the process how an idea becomes a body. Greimas calls the way of how a particular meaning gets materialized in any form – word or image "the generative pathway" (ibid, 341). This *pathway* determines the production of any semiotic, i.e. meaningful object, and the creation of the structures of significance. *The generative pathway* functions as an axis where all the elements that contribute to the creation of meaning are distributed. It begins on the *deep level* where the particular semantic categories are established, *sememes* are registered and grouped, and where the recurrences of the *sememes* compose *isotopies* that serve as a semantic frame of the whole structure of significance.

The *deep level* of *discourse* deals exclusively with semantics which is a very abstract and hardly groped stage of the articulation of meaning. Therefore, the taxonomy of the related *sememes* forms a basis for the constructs that may be grasped and described more easily, i.e. it provides the possibility for the content to be expressed in some concrete way. Despite the fact that the discussion goes around the abstract concepts, such as *sememes*, yet on the *deep level* they are always distributed according to strict logics and obey the laws of the binary structure, namely, the principle of *position-opposition*. Metaphorically speaking, the problem of the state between the two extremes, e.g. life-death, good-bad, nature-culture, etc. is being solved on this level. This mutual presupposition or "contrariness" engenders the supplementary relations of "contradiction" (negation) and "implication" (unilateral presupposition) (Petitot 2004, 211). The introduction of the supplementary relations helps to ensure that the chosen *primitive elements* really create a *semic category*, and their interrelation is valid and well grounded. That is, these relations create favourable conditions to a universal evaluation of the chosen initial objects and lead to the complete description of their characteristics and interaction which is exposed by means of *the semiotic square* composed of the relations referred to above, i.e. *contrariness*, *contradiction* and *implication*.

The *semiotic square* may be illustrated by the opposition life-death. It is already clear that the concepts 'life' and 'death' are related by means of *contrariness*. Then one should add derivative categories not-life and not-death that would guarantee the study of all the aspects of the binary structure in question. Then the graphic model of the values is a follows:

Figure 1. *The Semiotic Square*

(Greimas 1990, 161)



Here Life-Death, Not-life-Not-death expose the relation of *contrariness*; Not-death-Life and Not-life-Death that of *implication*, Life-Not-life and Death-Not-death that of *contradiction.*

This logical model of the deep structures is important in the way that it shows all the possibilities of analysis provided by the binary structure. To put it other way, the *semiotic square* reveals new semantic horizons, in thecase of the opposition life-death, these are the intermediate states between life and death which appear through the interaction between the initial two concepts. The merge of the states of life and death may be represented by the state of sleep that in many mythical systems is understood as a specific form of life-in-death, i.e. the transcendental life, or it may be manifested by the ability of the acting agents to resurrect (ibid.). In that way the spheres of life and death intermingle and produce new forms of existence. It should be born in mind that the supplementary categories derived on the *deep* acquire a crucial importance in the mythical narratives because they help to attest the binary structure and also create a *semic category* (cf. Petitot 2004, 212). Thus these categories help to form the logical model of the structure of significance and define what values are established in that structure.

Certain *semic categories* stated on the *deep level* give the semantic tone for the whole structure of significance and they do that by following a strict logical model, i.e. *the semiotic square*. The category 'semantic tone' should be understood as a fundamental emotional mood, i.e. "thymic value" (cf. Glossary) as Greimas puts it, which determines the relation between a subject and its environment (Greimas 2005, 353). *Thymic value* may be either positive, i.e. *euphoric* (e.g. in the above discussed example – life), or negative, i.e. *disphoric* (death). In other words, the deep discourse values are transformed into *axiologies* – value micro-systems.

However, the established *semic categories* are abstract, that is, they belong to the plane of *the signified*, and cannot be perceived without the assistance of the elements of expression, i.e. without *the signifier*. Therefore, the method of the analysis of meaning construction has to find certain ways how to describe the transformation of the content into figurative elements that articulate particular meanings. By all means, the creation of meaning is not a chaotic process; on the contrary, it obeys certain laws and rules. Greimas keeps to the opinion that all the structures of significance are organized according to a certain order, a kind of 'grammar' which serves to determine both the elements of meaning and their interrelations. Consider:

> All grammars, in a more or less explicit way, have two components: a morphology and a syntax. The morphology has a taxonomic nature and its terms are interdefining. The syntax consists of a set of operational rules or ways of manipulating the terms provided by the morphology (Greimas, 1987, 67).

From this it becomes clear that all the structures of significance of whatever form have their interior grammar – the constituents and the rules of their distribution, the totality of which generates a certain meaning. In the Greimasian perspective, on the *deep level* the taxonomic operations are carried out, that is, the contents – *sememes* – are classified. Meanwhile, the second stage of the *generative pathway* – the *narrative level* – deals with the syntactic distribution of the grouped *sememes*. To paraphrase it, on the *narrative level*, the contents are allotted so that they should generate the meaning typical of that very structure of significance. Thus, the characteristics of the elements, i.e. contents, is universal and may recur in the systems that are not related with the one in question; yet the interaction of these particular features creates the unique meaning that identifies the semantic universe as a separate unit of significance.

The classification of contents is a purely cognitive procedure which helps to theoretically describe the operations of meaning construction. The classified *sememes* form the formal syntactic units on the *narrative level* and these units are called "actants" (Greimas 2005, 337). *Actants* stand for the entities that may act themselves or may be influenced by other entities. The interaction of *actants* forms the *actantial model* which may be defined as a structural frame of a narrative. In his book *Structural Semantics*, Greimas writes:

> The actantial model is, in the first place, the extrapolation of the syntactic structure. The actant is not only the denomination of an axiological content but also a classificatory base, established as the possibility of process: its modal status gives the actant its characteristic of the force of inertia, which is opposed to the function defined as a described dynamism (Greimas, 1983, 213).

Greimas borrowed the idea of actants as the models of the syntax of contents from the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp's (1895-1970) theory on the narrative structure of traditional folk tales. Having analysed a substantial number of traditional Russian folk tales, Propp composed a list of certain functions represented in them. That is, the scholar constructed the inventory of functions of which he counted 31 (cf. Propp in Greimas, 2005, 252-253). However, Greimas suggests that 31 is too large a number to conceive the structure of functions, therefore he contracted them to 6 types of *actants* that comprise 3 *actantial structures* or couples: *sender-receiver*, *subject-object*, *helper-opponent* (Greimas, 1983, 178). These *actantial structures* project the operational programmes on the *narrative level*.

Any narrative that obeys particular rules (in the discussed case, a traditional folk-tale) presents the *actantial structuring* by starting with the *actantial* couple of *sender-receiver*. The *sender-actant* represents the agent that obliges and compels the subject to act. Within the hierarchical structure, it is higher in status than the *receiver-actant* because the sender is the one who manipulates, while the

receiver is the one who is manipulated. The *sender-receiver actants* sometimes intermingle with those of *subject-object* since the latter two also stand on the different levels of 'power hierarchy'. Any subject usually suffers the *lack*, that is, the desire to achieve and manipulate the object. The *lack* inspires the subject to act and perform an *operational programme* which ends with the gain of the object. Thus the elements of manipulation and one's power over the other are obvious in both *actantial structures*.

To accomplish any *operational programme* successfully, the fictional character should possess or acquire certain *competences*. Their acquisition is also considered to be *an operational programme*, but of a smaller scope in comparison with the one designated by *the sender*. To illustrate, the character that is obliged to fulfill a particular task cannot do that solely on his/her own. Therefore, he/she undergoes 3 challenges (hence, 3 *operational programmes*) and gains the required *competences*. Later on he/she uses them to overcome 3 adversary challenges to complete *the sender's* task. These smaller structures of action intervene into the main programme of performance and create new, interrelated semantic universes. The new structures may be of two kinds: the ones that reflect a successful acquisition of competences and those that show a successful management of the *competences*. The composition of the abilities leads to the conquest of the opposing forces. Consequently, they may be reduced into the *helper-actant* and the *opponent-actant* respectively, which stand in a linear relation (both are of equal importance) and, according to the narrative canons, they cannot be found separately, but always stand in opposition to each other.

Thereby, the *narrative level* is the syntactic projection of contents which stands for the frame of events that create the narrative itself. The constructs that belong to this level, i.e. the *actants* help to transform the content of the *deep level* into the units of expression: figures, spatial or temporal dimensions, by means of which the world exposes to man and thus is perceived by him. To put it in another way, the *narrative level* is the plane where the operations, which constitute the corps of the narrative and which later may be easily manifested anthropomorphically on the *discursive level*, are modeled. The *figurative* or *discursive level* belongs to the plane of the *signifier*, i.e. the plane of expression, exclusively. It exposes concrete figures that articulate the meanings established and distributed in the deeper layers.

The most obvious and easily grasped narrative components on the discursive level are notional elements called *actors*. These are nominal figures that are usually conceived as the participants of an action, being involved in some event. In semiotic terminology, the term *actor* substitutes the traditional term 'character'. Every *actor* must have at least one *actantial* and *thematic role*. The change and transformation of these roles form the frame of the event, while their composition creates the

individuality of an actor which helps to establish it as an independent narrative element. To put it in Greimas' wording, an actor may appear as an "individual or collective, figurative or non-figurative" narrative entity (Greimas, 2005, 338). "Figurative" entity means that an *actor* may acquire a concrete, easily recognizable shape, either anthropomorphic, or zoomorphic. Whereas the "non-figurative" manifestation of an actor implies some more abstract aspect of it; for instance, it may occur as fate, fortune, etc. Whatever the form, an *actor* is one of the most obvious narrative elements of the *discursive level.*

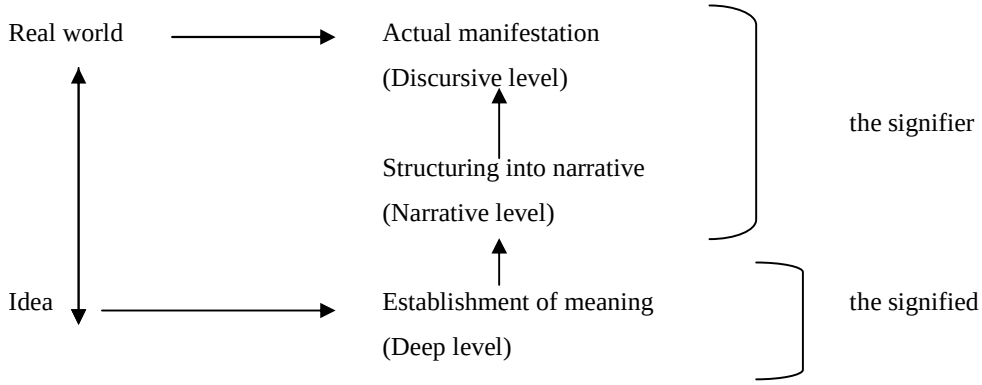
Every *actor* has to carry out a particular *operational programme*, i.e. it has to perform some action. In the *operational programme*, an actor acquires some *competences*, gains or loses some features, yet still preserves its essential individuality. It appears in a particular environment; in that way, the *actor* creates its own *figurative trajectory* or *pathway* – the way how it emerges and acts in discourse. In other words, the *figurative trajectory* may be defined as a process of the *actor's* development. It also embraces the transformation of the roles and values invested in and manifested by that particular *actor*. Figurative trajectory produces particular *isotopies* that determine the semantic contribution of a figure-actor into the overall semantic structure of discourse. One or more *figurative trajectories* taken together form broader narrative elements, i.e. *thematic roles*.

The *figurative trajectories* define the change of an *actor*, while the *thematic roles* are "units of content that do not have equivalent in the sensual world" (ibid, 352). To put it in simpler terms, *the thematic roles* are not nominative figures that may be directly manifested in discourse, but rather the categories that help to determine an *actor's* sphere of activity, its significance, environment and impact on the meaning of the narrative as well. Thus, the *thematic roles* and *figurative trajectories* are interdependent: the concept of the *thematic role* involves that of the *figurative trajectory*. Clear and exact designation of a thematic role helps to reduce this relatively wide category to a *competent actor* and then transform it into an *actantial role*.

The levels that have been just discussed above, i.e. the *deep*, *narrative* and *discursive* – compose the *generative pathway*, i.e. they reflect the process of the creation of meaning starting with the establishment of contents or values, their distribution and finally ending with their actual manifestation. The *generative pathway* exposes that meaning is articulated by means of transfer form the abstract semantic elements to concrete figures, i.e. it deals with the mechanisms how the *signified* is represented by the *signifier*. Having analysed all the discourse layers, it is possible to illustrate the semantic organization of the structure of significance by the scheme created by the author of the paper and based on the Greimasian perspective. Consider:

Figure 2. *Articulation of meaning*

(Created by the author of the paper)



The *discursive* and *narrative levels* comprise the realm of the *signifier*, while the *deep level* reflects the generalization of the *signified*. The *discursive level* is the surface structure of *discourse* which manifests its most explicit narrative elements which may be categorized according to their functions and *thematic values* and acquire the name of a particular *actant*, i.e. a functional element of the *narrative level* which shows the internal organization of *discourse*. In semiotic terms, the *narrative level* shows the syntactic relations between the semantic contents, while the *discursive* one represents these contents by means of images that come from the objective reality. Finally, the *deep level* exposes the overall meaning that underlies the manifestation of the other two levels by designating the boundaries of *isotopies* and shows the interaction of the *semic categories* residing within discourse.

1.3. Mythical Discourse from the Semiotic Perspective

Greimas' works clearly express the impact of structuralism on the scholar's ideas starting with Saussure's binary oppositions as initial constructs of significance and finishing with the narrative *actantial models* which both originate from and supplement Propp's theory on the structure of folk tales. Yet, Greimas is also famous as a mythologist who strives to reconstruct the ancient models of thought. Attempts at explaining their significance, finding the appropriate sources and unite all the information into universal mythical systems. In this enquiry, Greimas was greatly influenced by the works of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908). The latter attempted to systematize various myths and stated that they all expose some model of internal organization which by itself suggests that myths should have derived from within human consciousness and since the model is common for all the cultures he got acquainted with. These ideas encouraged Greimas to undertake

some reconstruction of the Lithuanian myths and thus giving the start for the semiotic attempts at the reconstruction of myth in general.

1.3.1 The Origins of Myth

Many scholars who have been studying myths agree that myth is an extremely complex structure that is dificult to describe for many reasons. Firstly, as Edmund Leach states, also expressing a similar opinion to that of Lévi-Strauss, one of the main difficulties in mythological research is the "diachronic distance" between the ones who created it, the ones who turned it into a written text and those who try to analyse it (Leach in Greimas 1996, 78). The complications is made by the fact that a mythologist has no exact and sufficient data about a particular ancient culture, thought, language, etc. and has to rely on the fragmentary bits of information and thus construct at his/her best at least only a hypothetical model of the analysed myth. This problem, in its turn, causes another difficulty, namely, that a scholar who has no direct access to the data, i.e. does not know a particular ancient language, and hence becomes dependent on the versions of myths remodeled by translators. It happens so when, for instance, one attempts at the reconstruction of ancient myths and has to rely on the texts written down by Christian monks who inserted the Christian traces into mythical discourses[2]. As a result, the lost direct connection to the ancient cultures encourages the scholars to look for other possible means in explaining and rebuilding the ancient mythical systems.

It should be stressed that the essence of myths lies in their origin. Despite the fact that most of myths have reached the contemporary times in the form of language, they cannot be kept within strict textual frames. Lévi-Strauss claims that "myth is both linguistic and non-linguistic phenomenon" (Lévi-Strauss, cited in Greimas 1996, 53). Indeed, myth is a structure of significance and thus its linguistic form makes only one part of the whole structure, i.e. mode of expression, the realm of the *signifier*. But the generation of meaning should necessarily involve the *signified* – an abstract idea, the germ of meaning, which originates not from language, but from human consciousness. Greimas accepts Lévi-Strauss's idea that myths come from human thought and hence they are "dimensions following which people do contemplate on their culture"[3] (Greimas 1990, 11). Yet, he maintains that while myths

[2] On the other hand, the fact that one mythical system may portray the elements of another one which clearly depict themselves as foreigners in that mythical discourse suggests that myth is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but rather the result of human consciousness activity expressed by linguistic means or rituals.

[3] This and other translations of Greimas' texts (from Greimas, A. J. (1990). *Tautos atminties beieškant. Apie dievus ir žmones.* Vilnius: Mokslo leidykla) are mine (A. G.)

are bound to their power, they are more likely to be expressed not linguistically, but by means of rituals which figuratively express the collective experience.

Myth as a product of human consciousness is viewed by another semiotician, a representative of Moscow-Tartu School of Semiotics, Jurij Lotman (1922-1993). He points out that myth is "a phenomenon of consciousness" [4](Lotman 2004, 232). According to him, if myth 'crosses' the boundaries of human consciousness, it is at least partially *desemantized*, i.e. it has lost its initial function. On the other hand, any form of the manifestation of myth does not have a great impact on it because despite the *surface*, i.e. a figurative frame and differences in expression, an internal, deep structure of myth remains unaltered. Jesper Sørensen supports this idea and claims that the construction of myths is initiated by the common cognitive principles that organize an internal structure of myths as well as their figurative expression (cf. Sørensen 2007, 10). The approach to myth as a result of human consciousness explains the fact why in many unrelated cultures of the world the mythical systems expose the similar motives, raise the same problems and suggest similar solutions. It happens so because myths are produced by the mechanism of human consciousness, which operates according to the same laws despite the cultural environment which may influence no more than the figurative design of myths.

In other words, culture determines a figurative expression but it cannot affect their deep meaning; it engenders a number of narrative projections of the same myth, but only their *figurative level* differs while the *deep* one remains stable in all the cases. Therefore, as Greimas asserts, "similarities and differences of the expression plane should be treated as the surface ones and of secondary importance, if it is possible to depict the semantic identities [of several variants of the same myth]" (Greimas 1990, 18). It becomes clear that, first of all, it is obligatory to distinguish between myth as such and mythical narratives. The former is a stable semantic structure, while the latter may vary in figurativeness yet originate from the former. Then it should be acknowledged that none of a number of the mythical narratives that reflect a single myth is erroneous or distorted. That is, all the versions of a particular myth are right, and there is no, or should not be any privileged narrative. As Lévi-Strauss assumes, "all variants belong to myth" because and reveal its different aspects (Lévi-Strauss cited in Greimas 1996, 63). Accordingly, a mythologist who attempts at the reconstruction of a particular myth has to take into account all its versions – this is the only way to draw a complete picture of the initial source of the analysed mythical narratives.

[4] This and other translations of Lotman's texts are mine (A. G.)

Nevertheless, as it has already been noted, myth turns into linguistic discourse only when it begins to retreat from the active life thus losing its initial functions. Sometimes it happens so that a mythical narrative appears because someone in the community needs some explanation about particular things, i.e. when the members of a community demonstrate the lack of internal belief, hence some additional means emerge to ensure the existence of myth. Mythical narratives with their elaborated figurative expression as well as rituals serve as tools to re-establish myth because they supplement and explain each other. Then it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that the manifestation of myth is testified not only by mythical narratives, but also by mythical actions, i.e. rituals and customs which depict the life of a particular community not through the linguistic but rather through somatic expression (cf. Greimas 1990, 13).

Myth is inseparable from ritual. As Joseph Campbell claims, "[by] participating in a ritual, you are participating in a myth" (Campbell 1991, 103). It is not surprising then that the ancient cultures give not only the mythical plots but also the remnants of customs and traditions which reflect the mythical culture of ancient people. In fact, in the course of time, a great number of them have undergone the process of *desemantization*, i.e. turned into new linguistic or ritual constructs, acquired new functions, but some traits still betray the mythical origin of these entities of meaning.

It should be born in mind that myth is not an individual construct of significance, but rather the product of the collective consciousness which reflects the experience of a particular community. So it usually enters all the spheres of life and has many possibilities to remain in these spheres even if some changes in the cultural life (which may erase the earlier mythical system and pave the way for a new one) occur. As Greimas puts it, "mythology is not a collection of myths, but an ideological structure that can display itself in any 'literary' form" (Greimas 1990, 10). Myth is a construct of common consciousness born deep in the mind of man, and no cultural changes may erase it without leaving any trace which would give a hint about the existence of myth. Even though due to some reasons, e.g. a changed economical or political situation, myth cannot exist in the active life, it exposes itself in other forms. For instance, the mythical narratives that used to have mythical power on certain occasions, i.e. they were extended during particular events, could get transformed into the so-called folk tales; for instance, hymns could turn into folk songs, charms into riddles or proverbs, rituals into games, etc.

The *desemantization* of myth and various forms of its enactment are found in both semantic and pragmatic data. For instance, the etymological records imply that some songs might have derived from incantations because the word 'incantation' suggests something sung or chanted, while in some Indo-European traditions, this word is related with spells (cf. West 2007, 326f.). The common origin of songs and incantations is testified by certain features of folk songs or, for example, the usage of now

meaningless utterances: “ll-e-o-lay and a lullay gay” or “Fal the dal the di do”[5], the constant repetitions of some elements and so on. All these characteristics are typical of the magical formulae as well. Archaic and strange words, ungrammatical constructions come out as specific features of ancient spells (cf. Sørensen 2007, 89). The words that do not belong to standard language and unclear murmuring were conceived as a means of communication with gods in the imitation of their divine language that is not understandable for the mortals, while the constant repetition of certain formulae was believed to reinforce the possibility for the gods to hear the enchanter. As it may be seen, similar features are transferred to folk songs; therefore a mythologist should investigate folklore and see if it gives any hints of the encoded ancient mythical system.

Minor folklore may contribute to the general understanding of the ancient cultures as well. Proverbs, riddles, sayings are said to “in origin reveal a culture’s traditions, norms and mores[6] <…> often their each word carries cultural information” (Lambdin 2002, 337). It has been discussed that a figurative expression of myth is very closely related with the culture in which that myth thrives. Thus, myth is a construct of the collective consciousness which projects and organizes the values of a particular community. It is not surprising then that minor folklore may open deep treasure-troves of mythological information. Yet, one should look not for formal literal but rather qualitative links between the values articulated in minor folklore and the ones established in a particular mythical system. In other words, the later sources, i.e. songs, proverbs, etc, could lose their archaic form, but they still may expose the conceptual structure maintained by the ancient beliefs. For that reason, a mythologist who strives for the reconstruction of a myth and relies on the folklore sources must pay special attention to the deep meaning and structure of these sources, decipher the distribution of the semantic elements and their interrelations as well as compare how these elements extracted from folklore may be inscribed into the semantic structure of the analysed mythical system.

It is obvious now that mythical data may be found in various forms of manifestation. Therefore, mythical narratives are only one of the possible sources which may help to reconstruct a particular mythical system. It encourages undertaking the study of myths even if there are not enough mythical narratives, because the analysis of any elements of the ancient culture may fill in the information gaps if a scholar takes into consideration not the external form but rather the semantic charge found within these elements. Hence a mythologist should treat the mythical narratives, folk songs, proverbs and other genres of minor folklore as equally significant.

[5] http://www.contemplator.com/child/mother.html
[6] Customs and behaviour that are considered typical of a particular social group or community.

1.3.2. Semiotic Structuring of Mythical Discourse

As it has been discussed, myth derives from human consciousness and exposes itself in any linguistic form, ritual or tradition. It is the product of the collective consciousness which as any other structure of significance embraces the planes of the *signifier* and the *signified*. Now it is necessary to review the features which distinguish myth from other collectively created discourses, depict the peculiarities of how the meaning is generated in mythical discourse in comparison with other types of discourse and discern the general functions of myth as such.

In this paper, considerable attention is given to myth as a written text, i.e. the type of mythical narrative, because it is one of the most informative sources concerning the knowledge about ancient thought. This chapter will discuss the features of myth as a linguistic discourse which individualizes myth as a sovereign phenomenon. It is worth remembering Greimas' theory on the three levels of the grasp of meaning: the *deep, narrative* and *discursive* ones (cf. Subchapter 1.2.), because the internal organization of mythical narratives differs from that of other discourses, e.g. folk tales, etc.

Semioticians as well as mythologists and scholars who have touched upon the issue of the mythical systems emphasize an extremely complex nature of mythical discourse. As Lotman maintains, "the mythological world is extremely hierarchical from the perspective of meanings and values; it is indivisible into separate features, but very easily divisible into parts" (Lotman 2004, 233). In other words, the essential elements that define myth and constitute its essence are not the figures of the *discursive level*, i.e. features and the distribution of semantic components. Thus, the discussion turns to the *deep level* where the essential values that underlie the whole discourse are established.

Greimas keeps to the same idea as Lotman does and notes that "if one reads myth horizontally, it appears as a clear but meaningless tale; whereas if one reads it vertically and retraces recurring semantic elements, myth becomes an unclear, hardly decipherable yet meaningful text" (Greimas 1990, 11). Both semioticians point to the discrepancy which occurs between the *deep* and the *discursive* levels. Moreover, they both stress that the meaning of myth resides not in its expression but in the deep internal structures, and on the abstract level. For that reason, the horizontal, or syntagmatic, reading of a myth does not allow for catching its meaning; such a reading touches only the surface discourse levels and leaves its significance aside. Meanwhile, the vertical-paradigmatic reading forces to look for semantic units and re-organize them into a new system where the components identical in their semantic charge may substitute each other in the logical structure of discourse and thus reveal the internal distribution of values.

It is noteworthy that mythical structuring always exposes the opposition or *contrariness* of two values. As Leach notices in his article *Genesis as Myth*, "a very noticeable characteristic of mythical stories is their markedly binary aspect; myth is constantly setting up opposing categories" (Leach, cited in Middleton 1967, 2). That is, two contrary values, e.g. life and death, are established on the *deep* of mythical discourse. As it is known, they engender two supplementary categories non-life and non-death (cf. Subchapter 1.2.). Each of these categories is composed of the nets of *isotopies* or, to put it in another way, every value is represented by particular concepts featuring their complex internal structure of *sememes* and *classemes* which depend on the context. From this it follows that myth is a strictly hierarchically structured discourse where every element is of crucial importance for the meaning of the overall system of significance. In other words, the internal organization of myth is based on metonymic relations, thus a separate part of the mythical structure represents the whole system. Indeed, Lotman asserts that "a part does not characterize the totality [of mythical discourse] but self-identifies with it" (Lotman 2004, 233). Namely this peculiarity, according to the scholar, distinguishes myth form any purely descriptive discourses. The powerful mechanism of the metonymic relations forms the particular mythical images that acquire an emblematic character. To illustrate, the image of the ocean is usually associated with a journey and communication; the image of the raven implies the context of death, etc. Particular images that are regularly found in similar contexts gradually become the 'label' of that context, i.e. its emblem which brings a sufficiently wide and deep semantic charge and it is not necessary to explain the discourse in detail anymore.

The metonymic relations perfectly explain both the connection of the *signifier* and the *signified* and the relations between the *deep* and the *surface* levels of discourse. However, beside metonymy, the process of the production of mythical discourse involves metaphorical relations, namely, the association-based choice of a certain *signifier*, which acts as a particular figure on the discursive level, for the *signified*, which represents the meaning laid out on the *deep level*. In other words, particular images are chosen according to their similarities to the concepts being represented by them. For example, death in many cultures is associated with the black colour. hence black animals or things often come to symbolize death; mist does not allow to see things in the objective reality, thus in the mythical thought it stands for uncertainty, disorientation, etc. In such a way, metaphoric or poetic thinking serves as an intermediary link which helps to transfer the simple language used to describe the world and things to the level of mythical discourse which expresses human reasoning about the world and things.

To summarize, it appears that the construction of meaning begins in human consciousness and follows the principles of binary structuring. That is to say, all the structures of significance, starting

with the simplest oppositions and finishing with complex mythical discourses are based on the comparison of two objects. The relationship of the two objects produces meanings which, in their turn, on the basis of similarities and differences, are united into larger systems till finally they form a tremendous construct of significance, i.e. mythical discourse. Thus, myth perfectly echoes both the elementary structures of significance and a complex organization of discourse. In other words, mythical discourse is a perfect soil to test the validity of the semiotic theory which attempts to overview all the stages of the meaning articulation.

2. A SEMIOTIC ATTEMPT AT THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KELPIE MYTH

Not all mythologies of the world gain equal attention from scholars. And the later this awareness is raised about one or another mythical system, the greater information losses it suffers because time erases entire cultures irreversibly. Hence in order to reconstruct at least a satisfactory picture of a particular mythical system a researcher has to clutch any possible means and rely on the data extracted not only from the narratives acknowledged as mythical, but also from the so-called secondary sources, such as minor folklore, or other scientific fields. That is what exactly happened with the kelpie myth: a contemporary enquirer has to be content with the snippets of information the validity of which is not always reliable either. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the kelpie myth may serve as a testing means of the semiotic method worked out by A. J. Greimas, because the reconstruction is, to put it in his own metaphorical wording, "to theoretically reconstruct the whole vase from several shards or to draw the plan of the entire city just from several remained stonework" (Greimas 1990, 18). And even though every myth reconstruction is more or less hypothetical, still it may draw new paths for future investigations.

2.1. General Remarks on Kelpie as a Mythical Creature

Usually the kelpie (or kelpy) is defined as a fairy water creature or water spirit of Scottish or common Celtic folklore. It is the figure which under different names is also found in the Germanic folk beliefs (cf. Mackilllop 2004, 281; Lecouteux 2006, 158). Following formal definitions of the creature it appears that it is hardly associated with mythical discourse. Traditionally, it is more acceptable to take it as an element of pure folklore. However, it should be noted that the sources providing the major information about the kelpie – legends, testimonies told by people or folk tales which articulate the features of mythical narrative – are more likely to be slivers of a mythical discourse than well-ordered narratives so typical of traditional folklore. One may arrive at such a conclusion after a closer examination of the *narrative structure* and *figurative* expressive means found in these texts following the analytical steps offered by Greimas.

First of all, it is worth paying attention to the distribution of the *actantial roles*, i.e. functional elements. As it has been already discussed, stories usually attributed to folklore, e.g. folk tales have a rigid *actantial structure* with at least 4 actantial roles – *sender-receiver* and *helper-opponent* – present in it. All the events and transformations follow in a strict logical order: the character/cultural hero is obliged to perform a certain deed, and in one or another way he/she acquires certain *competences* and is

finally rewarded for the effort. Despite the variation of *actors* or slightly modified *figurative trajectories*, the *actantial structure* never changes because any alternation would lead to the generation of a different meaning of the entire text.

Meanwhile, mythical discourse obeys different narrative rules. In it the traditional functional structure so typical of folk tales loses its significance and the *action* develops under entirely different circumstances. One of the most characteristic features of mythical discourse is the absence of the *sender-actant*, i.e. here the character acts without any external incentive and there is no need or reason for the action to occur (cf. Greimas 1990, 117). From the traditional narrative perspective, in mythical stories all events seem to be accidental, demonstrating rather vague logical-causal interrelations. They start abruptly, without any introduction of the circumstances and or pre-history of the event; the participants of the action are not detailed either – their presence is taken for granted as if implying that the hearer/reader (i.e. *the receiver*) of the message knows the background of the text and needs no explanation. A relatively loose organization of the narrative suggests that it should have derived from human contemplation upon the world, i.e. myth. It is of crucial importance to note that all the sources which testify to the existence of the kelpie expose the features of mythical discourse. That is, the *syntagmatic*, or in other words, the horizontal structure seems to be sketchy and obscure, while overall meaning is manifested through the *paradigmatic* or vertical relations of the elements of the narrative. For instance, a number of the stories speak about the kelpie as a beautiful horse or stallion, usually black that wanders near a water body and lures a weary traveler to sit on its back. But when he does it, the horse carries him to the bottom of the lake and devours him (cf. Mackillop 2004, 281). From this it appears that there is no external reason for such a behaviour on the part of the kelpie. Even hunger is not a satisfactory explanation since the kelpie's 'competence' for devouring people is ideal. To put it other way, the water-horse is an ever-devouring creature. On the other hand, to follow the specific criteria of a myth structure, i.e. that myth attempts at the explanation of the particular laws of the world, the kelpie's behaviour might probably seem as an embodiment of the destructive water powers, human fear of sinking which might be expressed as the devouring action of the kelpie, or some other human dreads. In any case, the kelpie comes into view as a noteworthy mythical figure and not a mere folklore segment.

The very fact that the number of the direct sources, i.e. mythical narratives or other 'testimonies' of the existence of the water-spirit, is rather limited should not prevent a researcher from a deeper study of the kelpie's mythical functions. The determination of the secondary *isotopies* (i.e. the semantic fields) will definitely be helpful in constructing some semiotic frame of the kelpie myth. To do it, the object of the research should be defined more accurately.

In rough terms, the kelpie may be described as a water spirit which usually acquires the shape of a horse when it shows up for humans. A similar creature was also known in classical mythology: the first mentioning of the water-horse under the name ἱππόκαμπος – *hippocampus* is found in Greek mythology (etymologically, ἵππος meaning 'a horse' and κάμπος meaning 'a sea monster')[7]. The geographically widespread popularity of the motif of a water-horse may both facilitate and aggravate the reconstruction of the kelpie myth. On the one hand, the comparative analysis may be useful in filling in the information gaps; on the other hand, it may also erase the peculiar features of this particular water-horse. The more so that the collected data, concerning the issue of the kelpie identification as a mythical entity, is in itself ambiguous.

One of the biggest problems which a researcher encounters is that the empirical material sources do not provide a smooth picture of the kelpie. In some stories, it is depicted as an inhabitant of gushing streams, though in others it is described as a dweller of standing waters exclusively. Nevertheless, there remains a common belief that "every loch has its kelpie" and that "kelpies still haunt Scottish pools and lonely rivers"[8]. There are sources which state that one should thoroughly discern among water-spirits lest confuse kelpie with other mythical water creatures such as *each uisge* in Scotland, *pook* in Ireland, *Bäckahästen* in Sweden, etc. However, despite the differences in the formal definitions of these mythical entities, the stories and testimonies of the existence of the kelpie which are considered to be the primary sources of information provide a rather confusing and abstruse data concerning the distinction of the living environment and the behaviour peculiarities of the creature. What is more, some tales about the kelpie or a water-horse, such as "Moregie and Kelpie" (cf. Zagorskienė 1992, 67-70) even state that kelpies are particularly scared of the running water the reaching of which might be the only possible way to escape.

No less confusion is found with regard to the time of the kelpie's activity. Traditionally, similar to all malevolent mythical creatures, it is a night monster. Some stories tell that it is impossible to meet the kelpie before sunset or after the dawn. Nonetheless, there are numerous tales about the kelpie's fatal activity in the day-time. The problem may be partially explained by drawing the assumption with the time that the kelpie was merely confused with other water spirits. Unfortunately, a closer examination of the specificity of *each uisge's* activity shows that a similar chaos resides in here as well: the formal definitions claim that it performs evil acts only at night-time, yet the primary sources mostly stress day being the time of *each uisge's* disposals. Hence, the activity aspects of the horse-shaped water spirits cannot be classified according to the formal definitions based mostly on the folklore tradition that

[7] http://fantasyhorses.homestead.com/water.html
[8] http://www.mysteriousbritain.co.uk/scotland/folklore/kelpie.html

shows the distinction of the creatures according to the geographical area or their dialectal names and not according to their specific features or behaviour testified in the stories told by people whi believe in the existence of the water-horse. For this reason, a new basis for the *taxonomy* of water spirits should be found out, including the definition of the temporal dimension of their activity.

For the sake of truth, it should be noted that all the cases which describe the encounter of the kelpie and a human being precisely determining the day as the time of the action end up with the defeat of the water-horse. Then the creature is curbed if one manages to steal its bridles without which the kelpie becomes as humble as a lamb or may be then deceived by an insightful man (cf. Zagorskienė 1992, 217ff.). The day time as the time of the kelpie's activity is a common element in the stories where the creature demonstrates its desire to lure a human daughter and marry her[9]. A maiden, who takes care of her herd or is just having a rest near some pond, meets a charming swarthy young man who is actually the dangerous water horse in disguise. The man's refined manners enchant the maiden and she agrees to come to the same place again after the sunset, as the seducer asks, or at night, sometimes even with the intention to get married. The stories of this category have various ends: sometimes the maidens manage to find rescue by themselves or other men help them, in other cases the monster takes its victim at any cost. Yet, the most important point in this respect is to discern darkness as an obligatory condition for the productive and successful activity of the kelpie. The water horse may also appear even in the midday, but then its victim has many chances to escape: to wade a stream, to reach successfully the parents' house or cheat the treacherous monster in some way. Whereas, if it is encountered at dusk or before the dawn (i.e. before the crow of a cock), then there is practically no hope to avoid its horrible jaws.

Due to the multiple contradictions the treatment of the kelpie as a mythical figure will be rather generalized in this work. Here the kelpie will be approached as a mischievous water spirit that is related with the Greek *hippocampus* best attested in the sources of Celtic and Gaelic origin. It will be also considered that this water creature resides in deep, dark and silty lakes or bays. It may change its shape and most often appears ether as a beautiful steed if the target victim is a man, or a handsome young man if it is about to catch a young maiden. Thus, the distinction between the kelpie and other water spirits, such as *each uisge, pook*, etc, will not be emphasized here and to be left for the future research. It seems to be reasonable firstly to draw at least the sketchy frames of the myth of the water horse to initiate more detailed research of every individual mythical water creature.

[9] Though there are sources which claim that kelpies may wed (and sometimes did) the mortal women, the main intention of their guile still remains not love relations but rather willingness to devour them.

In general, it is possible to claim that the kelpie myth obviously consists of several *isotopies*, or semantic fields that should be discussed more elaborately in order to reconstruct the whole mythical structure. The shape of the horse as the most popular disguise of the creature comes into focus from the very beginning of the analysis. Another issue of no less importance is the monster's dwelling environment, i.e. water. Both concepts either taken separately or in relation with each other engender subsidiary *isotopies* and new *figurative trajectories* in the mythical discourse, therefore it becomes possible to inscribe the *sememes* of darkness and death (with all its aspects) in the overall structure of the myth.

2.2. Mythical Development of the Image of the Horse

The pagan consciousness is undoubtedly strongly related with nature, since men used to be extremely dependent on it. Peaceful relationship with nature was a guarantee of the safe life, while the establishment and cultivation of such relationship is nothing else but religion based on myth and ritual. As Miranda Green points out, "for the Celts, the supernatural forces perceived in all natural phenomena could not be ignored but had to be appeased, propitiated and cajoled" (Green 1998, 1). It goes without saying that such an attitude is typical not only of Celts but of the primeval consciousness in general when contemplating the divine world through the prism of casual things and everyday experience and, vice versa. Due to the lack of scientific knowledge the ancient man viewed many natural phenomena as mystic and mysterious, coming from the supernatural powers, every process or change covered a certain meaning predestined by some deity. Therefore it is hardly surprising that the supernatural world acquired the anthropomorphic expression easily perceived by a human being and yet different from the earthly world in its supernatural qualities as it is in the case of the mythical perspective worked out with respect to the horse.

2.2.1. Economical Reasons for the Mythical Equine Perspective

The horse played a vital role in the life of the ancient men. In fact, any activity was hardly imaginable without the help of this domestic animal. It was as a guarantee of a prosperous life, and this function could have stipulated the mythical projection of the horse as a provider of wealth. Hereby the horse was taken for an intermediary agent between the gods supplying the goods and people consuming them. On the mythical plane the horse may be attributed to the sphere of earth gods related with fertility.

However, the horse was important not only for the settled agrarian people who cared for the harvest but for the warlike nomads as well. Since the ancient times a steed has been the obligatory attribute of every self-respecting hero because the horse's exceptional characteristics could determine a successful end of a combat. Hence the horse serves as a helper not only in agricultural but also in military activities. The figure of the horse appears on the mythical plane in the realm of war-gods. In other words, it is inscribed on the war *isotopy* which could have determined the role of the protector attributed to the horse (Lecouteux 2006, 28).

The third equally important function of the horse in the human reality is that of a means of communication. The swiftness of the horse could play an important role even in the political life, when a message from one chief had to be brought to another as soon as possible. In common life the horse ensured the mobility of the whole property. That was the only means of transport and communication at a distance. Having in mind that mythical consciousness usually projects the communication between people and gods based on a distance, it seems quite credible that the figure of the horse might acquire the functions of a mediator between the two worlds – human and divine ones.

Such a multifunctional nature of the horse determined a broad employment of its image on the mythical dimension. If one followed the traditional functional classification of Indo-European gods which distinguishes ruling divinities, war divinities and vegetation gods, one would see that, as West claims, every sphere of divine activity exposes the figure of the horse as being of exceptional importance (West 2007, 158). That is to say, gods of whatever function have horses as their companions with whom they even share their divine food.

The significance of the image of the horse becomes more evident in the Celtic and Germanic mythologies. For instance, Caesar from Gael registered that Gaelic people believed that their tribes originated from a horse-like divinity, therefore the element *ech-* meaning 'a horse, steed' is found in many names of gods (cf. Tokarev 1994, 636). In Germanic mythology, the importance the horse is attested by the archeological findings in ancient burial places. The role of a steed or horse in the funeral ceremonial will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapters. Whereas here it is seems to be sufficient to note that it appears as a universal mythical figure known in many Indo-European cultures and found in all the spheres of the mythical world.

The significant mythical functions of the horse are still preserved in the monuments of folk lore. Some stories depict the horse as the criterion to measure one's wealth, safety, strength, power or other qualities. For instance, *The Story about the Dragon of Wantley*[10] suggests some interesting aspects that

[10] A tale in Briggs, K. M. (1980) *British Folk-Tales and Legends*. London: Granada Publishing

might be of mythical nature. It speaks about the knight called More of More Hall "of whom it was said that so great was his strength that he had once seized a horse by its mane and tail, and swung it round and round till it was dead because it had angered him. Then he had eaten the horse, all except head" (Briggs 1980, 142). Obviously the knight was the only man capable of defeating the dragon of Wantley and his extreme physical judged by his fight with the horse.

It is the consumption of the horse that serves as a proof of extraordinary abilities and thus suggests the mythical context. It is interesting to not, that in order to establish his authority and social position, the chief of Celtic or Gaelic tribes had to mate with a mare before the whole community and thus acquire the necessary qualities that would guarantee successful leadership (cf. Ellis Davidson 1988, 54). Other sources claim that the horse sacrifice rituals were considered to lead to the happy life after death, therefore many tribes used to burry people together with their horses while mass sacrifices were also arranged to propitiate gods on one or another issue (cf. Green 1998, 153). Consequently, the ritual eating of a horse's flesh could have been an important part of the ancient religious life that most probably was inherited from the ancient horse-cult so typical of the Celtic tradition (cf. Ermanytė 1999, 80). It is also possible to make an assumption that the sacrifice of the animal was related exclusively with the privileged caste of the rulers, since horse remnants are mostly found in the tombs of the chiefs. Such a custom might have been formed due to the economic reasons – only warriors who conquer other tribes and adopt their wealth, or the rich part of a community could allow such luxury as to be buried with the horse. On the other hand, the funeral traditions suggest the unity, or rather indivisibility of a horse and a man because the animal could not be passed to the disposition of another man in case its initial proprietor died; it was more acceptable to kill the horse as well. In such a way, pagan mythical consciousness reveals a rather interesting structuring of a human being as an entity. Having in mind that in the pagan tradition horses served as psychopomps, i.e. the carriers of the souls to the afterlife world (cf. Lecouteux 2006, 29) and also used to be totemic animals representing the spiritual origin of some tribes, so they come to represent the ideal side of man, i.e. human soul. To put it more precise, similarly as in the objective reality the horse protects its master from physical death, from the rigours of famine or the enemy's gun, hence the mythical consciousness re-projects this function of safety to the afterlife and 'employs' the horse as the guide of the soul. Thus, the concept of the horse may be prescribed to the mythical plane and related with the life after death.

2.2.2. The Image of the Horse in Relation with Death

As it has been discussed in the previous subchapter, the horse being of great economic importance has gained strong positions in the mythical consciousness. Its image has a number of relations with the projection of the afterlife existence. That is the first step in the reconstruction of the kelpie myth because the horse-shape of the creature is established as a mythical heritage, while the possible implications of death may serve as a background for the explanation of its terrible behaviour with regard to people. Yet, a mythologist cannot be satisfied only with a hypothetical contemplation on the relation between the *sememes* of the horse and death. He/she needs a scientific proof, hence it appears useful to investigate the etymology of the word 'horse' because it may show the semantic shift of the word in the course of time and thus enrich the description of the kelpie as a mythical being.

A Handbook of Germanic Etymology by Vladimir Orel stresses that the word 'horse' might have derived from the Germanic **xrussan* (cf. Orel 2003, 189). As it claims, the word was borrowed from East Iranian, or to be more precise, the Ossetic language *(v)urs* meaning 'stallion'. Later on it split into ON *hross*, OE *hors*, OFris *hors, hars*, OS *hros*, OHG *hros, ros* all meaning 'horse'. The etymology seems to be irrelevant from the mythological perspective, but Orel maintains that the word is related with the Germanic **xruzan* which later gave birth to ON *hrǫr* 'corpse' and OE *ge-hror* 'fall, ruin, death' (ibid, 190). Presumably, these concepts so different at the first sight could result from he semantic split of the common complex concept that was used in the Germanic proto-language. Orel claims that the Germanic **xruzan* has derived from Germanic **xreusanan* which in its turn later split into OE *hreósan* 'to fall', OHG *hriusu* 'reor' (leg. Ruor) which is etymologically related to Gk *κρουω* 'to strike', Lith *krušu, krušti* 'to trample', OPrus *krūt* 'to fall', Slav *krušiti* 'to destroy' (ibid, 186). From this it comes that the analysis deals with several semantic elements covered by the Germanic **xruzan*. If it means 'corpse' or 'death' and is derived from Germanic **xreusanan*, so one may infer that the noun **xruzan* indicates the state resulting from the activity denoted by the verb **xreusanan*. In other words, destruction, strike, the usage of physical force cause somebody's death.

Another important aspect to consider is the downward direction of the action depicted by the Germanic **xreusanan*. To remember the behaviour of the kelpie, all the sources claim that having caught a victim, the kelpie rushes headlong to the bottom of the lake. Schematically the kelpie's movement preserves the downward direction. Besides, just before reaching the surface of the lake, the creature strikes the water with its tail making loud noise, resembling the sound of thunder (cf. Appendix 1.12.). This characteristics is related with the etymological aspect 'to strike' of the Germanic cognates referred to above. As the tales and legends about the kelpie tell, at the bottom of the lake a

human victim faces death. This corresponds to *the sememes* extracted from the linguistic data suggesting that the word meaning ‘corpse’ and the one meaning ‘horse’ have derived from the same root.

In conclusion, the parallel chains of *semantic elements* extracted from different planes such as various sources (tales, legends, testimonies told by people) about the kelpie and etymological analysis of the word ‘horse’ might be worked out. By following a formal etymological development of the words the sequence of *sememes* “horse-strike-fall, destroy-death, corpse” has been obtained. While the sequence of *sememes* concerning the kelpie’s behaviour is surprisingly analogous: “horse-shaped creature- strike, destruction, falling down-death of man”. The derivational relations between Germanic **xrussan* ‘horse’ and **xruzan* ‘corpse, death’ only consolidate the *isotopic frame* constructed to determine the interrelations between the concepts derived from the figure of the kelpie.

Parallel chains of *sememes* attest the kelpie as a part of ancient mythical system. Linguistic data prove that ancient pagans used to relate the horse with the violent death and the falling down of the rider. All these images are reflected by the behavioural movements of the kelpie: it makes a man mount it and then carries him down to death. It is quite possible that the first war victims could be called ‘corpses’ and thus distinguished from the diseased who died their own death. Hence strong connection between the concepts of the horse and death arise and in the course of time the mythical understanding of the horse in the context of death could merge into the mythical figure of the kelpie. The conformity between the scientific data and mythological perspective encourages the quest of more directions in the given reconstruction of the kelpie myth.

2.3. Death in Pagan Perspective

Since the *isotopy* of death obviously bears much importance in the semantic structure of the kelpie myth it seems worthy considering the ancient understanding of death in more detail. An insatiable desire of the kelpie to devour people seems to be the projection of the peculiarity typical of death as a phenomenon that ‘harvests’ all the living under whatever conditions. Therefore, a thorough exploration of the concept of death in the light of rituals related with an ancient burying procedure may lead to the discovery of the new threads of the kelpie’s mythical cloth.

2.3.1. Type of Death as Pre-condition for Burying Customs

In relation to the common view that the sources of any mythical system should reach as early period as possible, it seems quite reasonable to survey the Indo-European burial traditions and concepts related with death and search for the common points with the motifs of the kelpie myth. The more so that it clearly belongs to the Indo-European group of myths about water horses (cf. Subchapter 2.1.). It should be stressed that the Indo-European cultural heritage is still observed in many European traditions. Thereby, the discussion of the concept of death should begin with the information that comes from the proto-Indo-European language[11].

Linguistic data suggests that the Indo-Europeans discerned two types of death: natural death caused by age or sickness and the so-called premature death caused by some external factor, e.g. violence, drowning, etc. (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 729; West 2007, 387). Having investigated various Indo-European languages scholars have come to the conclusion that they have retained the ancient IE phrase **swo- mr̥thi-m mer/- mr̥-* which originally must have meant 'to die the death of the **swe'*, 'of one's own clan, ancestors' (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 729). The assumptions drawn on the ancient distinction of the death types is also supported by the information found in the later sources, , for example, in OE writings which confirm that people preserved the division of the causes of death till the later ages, i.e. after the split of the IE language. Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* defines OE *leger-bedd* as "a sick-bed, bed of death, grave" while OE *wæl-bed* is defined as "the bed of the slain"[12].

As it may be seen, the words denoting the place where the dead body is located bear a different aspectual meaning. OE *legerbedd* points to the type of death caused by sickness, while OE w*ælbedde* involves the aspect of death by killing. Both words are met in several sources, thus it is a proof that they existed in the OE language as full lexical units and are not occasional inventions of the poet. Consequently, OE encoded different types of death as separate concepts that most probably were projected differently in the mythical consciousness.

On the account that the realization of the mythical consciousness is best reflected in rituals, the researcher should consider the ancient burying customs and check whether the distinction between different types of death is reflected in this perspective. In their book *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans* Gamkrelidze and Ivanov state that actually different types of death may have influenced the

[11] Further in this paper the proto-Indo-European language is referred to as IE.
[12] Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* on http://web.ff.cuni.cz/cgi-bin/uaa_slovnik/gmc_search_v3?cmd=formquery2&query=legerbedde&startrow=1

formation of different funeral ceremonies. Two burial types – cremation and inhumation – were known (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 729). It might be so that the type of burial was chosen according to the social rank, sex or, most likely, cause of death. In order to be sure about the interaction between the death type, burial type and the vision of the afterworld it is worth returning to the discussion of the OE words *legerbedd* and w*ælbedde.*

As it has been already mentioned, w*ælbedde* denotes the grave of the person that died due to violence. The OE root w*æl-* usually appears in the contexts that speak about the warriors who died in a battle. Most probably it was derived from IE **wel-* meaning 'pasture, meadow; dwelling of the dead' the traces of which are found in a number of languages. Consider:

> Hitt. w*ellu-* 'meadow; pasture of the dead', cf. Luw. *u(wa)lant-* 'dead', Gk. *Ēlúsios leimōn* 'fields of the dead', welsh *gweli*, Corn. g*oly* 'wound', OIcel. *val-hǫll* 'Valhalla' (dwelling place of warriors fallen in battle), *val-kyria* 'Valkyrie' (maiden who chooses a hero from the dead on the battlefield and conducts him to Odin and the world of the dead)(ibid, 723).

Thus the OE root w*æl-* embraces such semantic fields as pasture, death, wound. From this it follows that, firstly, the afterworld was imagined to be a pasture where human souls dwell together with those of the sacrificed animals. Secondly, in the Germanic tradition, the root denotes exclusively the death of a hero, a warrior that fell in a battle. Yet, mere knowing that warriors were distinguished as a special type of the diseased does not allow coming to the conclusion that they, for instance, were cremated. In order to establish and complete the distinction between death and burial types it is necessary to analyse the OE root *leger-* .

OE l*egerbedde* literally means 'a sick bed' and implies a natural cause of death. The root *leger-* is possibly derived from IE base *leg-* (1) which meant 'to drip, ooze, flow out' (cf. Pokorny 1959, 955)[13]. Derivatives of IE *leg-* in various languages serve to illustrate the metaphoric association based on the semantic shift of the word: Ir. *legaim* 'to melt, vanish', *fo-llega* 'die ink, running from', *dī-leg-* 'destroy', MCymr. *dílein* (**dē-leg-ni-*), Cymr. *llaith*, Bret. *leiz* (**lekto-*) 'humid, wet', Ir. *lecht* 'death', OFris. *lec* 'damage, pity', Icel. *løk̄r* 'stream, brook' (ibid.)

IE root *leg-* gave birth for words in various languages the meaning of which varies from 'to melt' to 'to die'. It goes in accordance with the raised idea that OE *leger-* denotes death caused by natural reasons – sickness or age. Sick or old man will decline gradually till he dies. Life and health seem to run out of his body slowly and finally abandon it. The fact that in Norse Germanic languages

[13] J. Pokorny's *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* in http://www.geocities.com/protoillyrian/the_whole_dang_file.zip

the cognates of IE *leg-* come to mean a water body strengthens the relation between the concepts of natural death and water.

In fact, the Anglo-Saxon tradition confirms the assumption that the warriors fallen in the battlefield could have been cremated while those who died their own death might have been buried by the means of inhumation. It is worth remembering the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, written down in the 8th– 11th c. yet undoubtedly created much earlier and thereby considered to be a reliable source describing Germanic customs. The introduction of the poem speaks about the father of Beowulf, Ecgtheow who marked his life with successful feats. But when the time came, he died "full of winters" (*Beowulf*, line 264)[14]. The ceremony of Ecgtheow's funeral is of great importance here because it clearly depicts the ancient burial traditions.

Ecgtheow was an old man who deserved honour and died after a long life. His vassals arranged funeral worth the status of the king:

> *Hi hyne þa ætbæron to* brimes faroðe,
> *swæse gesiþas, swa he selfa bæd,*
> *þenden wordum weold wine Scyldinga;*
> *leof landfruma lange ahte.* (ibid, lines 28-31).[15]
>
> *ne hyrde ic cymlicor* ceol *gegyrwan*
> *hildewæpnum ond* heaðowædum,
> *billum ond byrnum; him on bearme læg*
> *madma mænigo, þa him mid scoldon*
> *on* flodes *æht* feor gewitan. (ibid, 38-42).[16]

So the old king who was a hero though died his own death is buried according to the sea-burial customs. The funeral of Ecgtheow may be compared to his son Beowulf's interment. The latter had also lived a glorious life of a hero till a very old age as his father. Yet, contrary to Ecgtheow, Beowulf died not in a calm homely environment, but after a combat with a dragon that wounded the king deadly. Beowulf's comrades arranged a pompous funeral and piled up an impressive cremation fire:

---

[14] Beowulf. Trans. by Francis B. Gummere, available on http://rpo.library.utoronto.ca/poem/19.html

[15] Then they bore him over to *ocean's billow*,
loving clansmen, as late he charged them,
while wielded words the winsome Scyld,
the leader beloved who long had ruled

[16] No *ship* have I known so nobly dight
with weapons of war and *weeds* of battle,
with breastplate and blade: on his bosom lay
a heaped hoard that hence should go
far o'er *the flood* with him *floating away*

Ongunnon þa on beorge bælfyra *mæst*
wigend weccan; wudurec/ astah,
sweart ofer swioðole*/, swogende leg*
wope bewunden windblond gelæg,
oðþæt he ða banhus gebrocen hæfde/,
hat *on hreðre.* (ibid, 3143-3148). [17]

The scene of Beowulf's funeral reveals the burial-cremation tradition when the body of a hero together with his wealth were burned, while the remnants buried in a huge tumulus. The collected data proves that the distinction between the natural and violent destructive death encoded in the language is reflected in the practical sources as well. People who died their own death were buried by means of inhumation, traditionally water-burial. Whereas the kelpie, as attested in the stories (cf. Appendix 1; Appendix 4), always attacks common mortals, i.e. not warriors, and carries them under water. Therefore, it is possible to make a hypothesis that the water-horse might be the personification of natural death or at least an agent that carries the souls of the deceased their own death to the afterlife dwelling place.

2.3.2. Sleep as a Projection on Death

Since the paper attempts at the discussion of the myth that is clearly related with death by water and death, it is possible to assume that the mythical figure of the water-horse deals with some customs typical of a larger part of a community (regarding that the number of water-buried people should be much larger than that of cremated ones). In other words, the kelpie myth might be a remnant of a large mythical structure related with funeral rituals. However, it is important to overview the general tendencies of the pagan conceptualization of death before making any arbitrary conclusion.

Scholarly literature asserts that the Indo-Europeans distinguished between the two states of death: death as sleep and death as a journey (cf. West 2007, 387f.). Both may be easily explained on the basis of the natural reality. Firstly, the physical calmness of a dead body reminds of the state of sleep, though at the same time it is understood that the other part of man – the soul – must depart to some afterlife dwelling place. Thus, the facts of reality are harmonized with the mythical consciousness: the soul has to depart together with the body which becomes a vessel to carry the soul

[17] Then on the hill that hugest of *balefires*
the warriors wakened. Wood-smoke rose
black over *blaze*, and blent was the roar
of *flame* with weeping (the wind was still),
till the *fire* had broken the frame of bones,
hot at the heart.

to the Afterworld. In such a way the two aspects of death are revealed in one action – a disposal of the deceased.

Sleep as the meatphorisation of death is common in many Iindo-European traditions. The evidence of death as eternal sleep comes from various languages beginning with Sanskrit Rigvedas, Homer's works and Roman writings as well as OE poetry. The notions 'to fall asleep' or 'to send to sleep' often stand as euphemisms for 'to die' or 'to kill'. Consider:

> Skr s*vāpaya* lit. 'put to sleep' meaning 'put to death' <…> a slain warrior in the *Iliad* *κοιμησατο χάλκεου ὕπνου* 'fell into the bronze sleep' or simply *εὕδει* 'sleeps'; for Lucretius the dead man is *leto sopitus* (ibid, 387).

In *Beowulf* the reader may find the lines "Not with the sword, then, to sleep of death/ his life will I give, though it lie in my power" (*Beowulf*, 679-680) [18] by which the hero means that he is going to kill Grendel. The OE verb 'svebban' has two meanings: 1) 'to send to sleep', 'lull', and 2) 'of sleep of death', 'to put to death', 'kill' (as well as OS *an-swebian* 'to send to sleep, to cause to die')[19]. From this it is obvious that in ancient understanding the concepts of death and sleep are very closely related. In many cases, the word 'sleep' is used as a synonym of 'death' – most probably such a habit developed due to the belief that the verbal designation of death could invite it. Therefore, people had to look for some ways how to name death in other way.

From the first sight it may seem strange why so much attention has been paid to the correlation of the concepts 'death' and 'sleep', when the actual goal is to reconstruct the kelpie myth which gives no hint about 'sleep' as any of its obvious elements. Surprisingly, some interconnected threads between the state of sleep and the kelpie myth may be drawn. Namely, the shape of the horse that the kelpie usually disguises itself may be related to the state of sleeping. The result of the merge of the concepts 'horse' and 'sleep' appears as a nightmare – an evil female spirit afflicting sleepers with a feeling of suffocation[20].

The word 'nightmare' is an obvious compound involving two roots and, consequently, two *isotopies*: night and mare. Both of them deserve special attention, yet in relation with the kelpie as a horse-shape mythical creature it seems to be more logical to start with the discussion of the second element 'mare'. The word is said to have derived from the IE stem **mer*- 5 which later on turned into **morā* meaning 'goblin' and gave birth to the following cognates: PGmc **maron*: OIr *mor-(r)īgain*

[18] forþan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle,
aldre beneotan, þeah ic eal mæge.
[19] Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* on http://web.ff.cuni.cz/cgi-bin/uaa_slovnik/gmc_search_v3?cmd=formquery2&query=swebban&startrow=1
[20] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=nightmare&searchmode=none

'lamia', OHG *mara*, AS *mare*: female creature that comes at night and sits on one's breast' – therefore the victim suffers suffocation (cf. Pokorny 1959, 1063). It should be observed that the Irish had a goddess Morrigain, the name of whom contains the element *mor*- 'death' and means 'queen of the nightmare' while she functioned as a demoness of corpses[21]. Encyclopedia of mythology states that Morrigain was a Celtic war goddess a figure in the trinity of goddesses Macha, Morrigana and Badba (cf. Ermanytė 1999, 88). The motif of the trinity of goddesses is of great importance for the attempt to depict the functions of the kelpie, therefore it will be discussed more elaborately in further subchapters (also for more detail on the horse-shape origin of the nightmare see subchapter 2.6). For now it is enough to say that the goddess Morrigain has strong connections with the Underworld: a lot of cognates of the IE stem **mer*- are elated with death, destruction, rotting, etc. Thus nightmare as evil spirit involves in itself the *isotopies* of sleep since it comes at night, and the etymological data proves it to be related with death and corpses.

However, one may raise a question if the nightmare is a mythical creature, or just a part of folk belief and whether it is relevant to discuss the issue as a part of the reconstruction of the kelpie myth. In order to dissolve all doubts it would be advisable to remember the key aspect of myth, namely, that if something is believed to be true by a group of people who also take some rituals as a proof of that belief, then that 'something' belongs to mythical discourse. Luckily, it is the case with the nightmare. It is known that old Scottish ladies who nurse children employ some charm against nightmares. Some Scotch describe the actions of their nurse as follows who performed the ritual every evening: she used to pull out the longest hair from the child's head and then "acting as if in effort of binding a refractory animal", used to chant the following spell:

De man o' meicht
He rod a' neicht
We nedder swird
Nor faerd nor leicht,
He socht da mare,
He fand da mare,
He band *da* mare
Wi' his ain hair,
An' made her swear
By midder's meicht,
Dat shö wad never bide a neicht
What he had rod, dat man o' meicht[22].

[21] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=nightmare&searchmode=none
[22] http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/nightmare.html#george

From other similar magic formulas (Appendix 5) that the people believed in, it becomes clear that the evil spirit may be controlled by some means. All the spells speak about the binding of the nightmare and so does the supplement of the ritual action of taming the imaginary horse-like spirit by a hair referred to above. The control of a nightmare clearly relates to the kelpie myth in the way that the kelpie can be seized only if a man possesses the kelpie's magic bridles. Several sources claim that if someone manages "to bridle a kelpie, it can be put to work"[23]. That is because "the kelpie's power of shape shifting was said to reside in its bridle, and anybody who could claim possession of it could force the kelpie to submit to their will"[24]. Hence, the shape of the horse is just one of the aspects that 'unites' the figures of the kelpie and nightmare on the figurative plane.

Now attention should be drawn to the second element of the compound, i.e. 'night'. It has a more obvious link to the kelpie since it is known that the water spirit is active and can use its power namely at night (cf. subchapter 2.1.). Night as the time of its activity is another similarity uniting the kelpie with the nightmare, thus the functioning of the two on the mythical plane seems to be just variations of *figurative trajectories*, while the *deep meaning* generated by these figures turns to be undistinguishable. In other words, some surface discrepancies that may appear regarding some aspects of the kelpie and nightmare do not neglect the input the comparison of the two gives to the reconstruction of the myth in question.

Actually, a closer examination of the symbolic meaning of 'night' provides more opportunities to relate the nightmare with the water horse. As it has been discussed, according to the ancient understanding, death is often identified with sleep. Thereby it is not a surprise that 'night' is also used interactively with other words denoting death referred to above. Due to the lack of light and colours during the night, the period is related with darkness or blackness which is also symbolical of death. Obviously the two aspects are reflected in the behaviour of the kelpie which usually appears at night and takes the shape of a black horse. From this it comes that the violent aspect of the night[25] is embodied in the mythical figure of the kelpie – black steed that brings death.

The symbolism of the image of the night and the etymological data concerning the word 'night' help to associate the period of the kelpie's disastrous activity with its dwelling environment, i.e. water body. Let alone that the creature is supposed to reside in dark, deep and weedy lakes, a glimpse at which might bring in the mind of the ancient people the darkness of the night, the concepts

[23] http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/scotlandsculture/lochness/kelpies/index.asp
[24] http://www.mythicalcreaturesguide.com/page/Kelpie?t=anon
[25] It is noteworthy that night is the period when the nature sleeps, i.e. nature experiences a kind of death. Thus the kelpie is active under the conditions of death, namely either its active in the kingdom of death figuratively expressed as the bottom of the lake, or it may appear in the human world only when this world is in the life-in-death state.

of night and water seem to be related since the times of the common IE language. Myths of many Indo-European nations reveal that the darkness of the night and water existed earlier than anything else on earth. Different mythical perspectives often see the world as something being taken out of waters. The Bible gives the description of the Creation of the world and states that "the earth was without form, and void; and *darkness* upon the face of the *deep*. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of *the waters*"[26] (Gen. 1:2). Only later on God separated the light from darkness and land from water. Thus darkness and water are the prime elements, the beginning of everything. Ancient Greeks kept a similar projection. According to Hesiod, night is the 'mother of gods' because it existed earlier than all the rest; namely Night and Darkness gave birth to the light Eterio and joyful Day Hemera (cf. Kunas 1988, 13). Thus the discussed mythical interrelation of the concepts of the night and water perfectly supplement the already existing frames of the interaction of the kelpie's and nightmare's *isotopies*.

A thorough study of the *isotopies* of the kelpie and nightmare proves that the semantic fields may be divided into parallel *sememes*. First of all, both subjects are horse-shaped spirits that appear at night and are related with blackness and darkness. Secondly, the activity of the kelpie brings terrible and torturing death for a man, while nightmare torments people with uneasy sleep. Since the words denoting the states of sleep and death were uses interactively as synonyms in ancient times, it is possible to draw an assumption that the two states in question were taken as variations of the one type of existence. As a result, a chain of semantic elements typical of both concepts may be composed: horse shape – night/darkness – death/sleep. This chain meets the conditions of the *isotopies* of both mythical figures, i.e. it matches the characteristics of both creatures. Therefore it is possible to assert that the figures of the kelpie and the nightmare are identical because the elements of *the deep meaning* articulated by them coincide, the differences between are brought only on *the figurative level*. Thus the concept of the nightmare is a semantic equivalent of that of the kelpie and might substitute the latter in the *paradigmatic* organization of mythical discourse.

The *conjunction* of the concepts of sleep, death and bad dreams is maintained in relatively late literary works. In his tragedy Hamlet, William Shakespeare (1564 1616) presents the ancient pagan perspective on death as sleep. Consider:

> *To die, to sleep;*
> *To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's rub;*
> *For in that sleep of death what dreams may come*
> *When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,*
> *Must give us pause.* (Hamlet, III. i. lines 65-69)[27]

[26] Emphasis mine (A. G.)
[27] Reference: (Wain 1986, 113)

Hamlet views death and sleep as equivalent states. When he speaks about the degradation of moral values, the prince pays attention to dreams as the reflection of this decadence. Thus the quality of dreams depends on the morality of a human being. Similarly, the nature of the afterlife existence is determined by the earthly life of man (cf. Subchapter 2.3.3.). Consequently, it is possible to form the *junctions* of similar *sememes*:

Sleep	dreams
Death	afterlife

Here, the units of the couples that stand on the left side represent death and its aspects, while the second elements informs about the peculiarities of the activity carried out till death/sleep. If the activity of man conforms to the set moral norms, then the second *sememes* manifest *euphoric*, i.e. positive, *thymic values*; if a person breaks the code of behaviour of a particular community, then the second *sememes* establish *disphoric*, i.e. negative *thymic values.*

Though the relation between the concepts of 'sleep' and 'death' comes out to be well grounded, the role of the notion of 'water' in relation with the state of sleep and the figure of the nightmare still needs a deeper exploration. Luckily, the *isotopy* of water may be complemented by some episodes from *Beowulf* where 'sleep' and 'death' related with the concept of 'sinking'. For instance, after the feast in Hrothgar's new Hall "seamen hardy on hall-beds *sank* "[28] (Beowulf, line 690), i.e. the guest went to sleep; or when Beowulf comes to save Hrothgar from Grendel, the similar expression is used to describe the sleep of the comers: "Then *sank* they to sleep"[29] (line 1251). Whereas the descriptions of death also often involve some water-related contexts. Consider the episode of Grendel's death where the poet says that he has "sunk in his sins"[30] (line 975. The given illustrations show that the notions of sleep and death are also related through the concept of water. This semantic link that appears in many places in *Beowulf* also introduces descending in water and thus implies a kind of movement in a visually calm sphere of sleep and death. It clearly leads to another aspect of death referred to above, i.e. death as journey.

[28] snellic særinc selereste gebeah
[29] Sigon þa to slæpe.
[30] synnum geswenced

2.3.3. Journey as Transfer to the Afterlife

The natural reasons for the disposal of dead bodies in order to avoid plague and other diseases as well as pollution risk stipulated the dual perception of death. When the deceased person is laid out it seems as if he/she is sleeping, but the very fact that the body which at the first sight looks unchanged actually has lost life and must be departed from the community. It could induce the primitive mythical consciousness to engender the metaphor of death as journey. The deceased seems to depart elsewhere, to some other space. On the other hand, death is often conceived of as reunion with the ancestors in the realm of eternity. This subchapter will be devoted to the discussion of the 'active' aspect of death, death in terms of motion but not as motionless, i.e. the journey of the soul to the realm of Afterlife.

Almost all myths project the anthropomorphic vision of the afterlife dwelling, i.e. the souls the kingdom of the dead are performing deeds that people can do on earth, the hierarchical structuring of power is set according to the principles of that in the human reality, etc. Yet it is obvious that the worlds of the living and the dead are not identical. Despite some similarities between the two, the latter follows different rules and principles. The soul that enters the Otherworld must get *transformed*, i.e. overcome some obstacle, and acquire new *competences* in order to start the existence of a different quality. That challenge is often viewed as the soul's journey to the Kingdom of the Dead, and its difficulty is determined by both the earthly life of the deceased person and his/her relatives who have to perform appropriate funeral rites.

The quality of the Afterlife, or sometimes of the journey to the afterlife dwelling itself, is pre-destined by the way of life of the person while he/she is still on earth. Despite that many mythical systems originated from Indo-European tradition expose the metaphor of death as journey. Some of them specify the nature of the journey, while others only emphasize the final state of the soul, i.e. some mythical systems give details about the ways and obstacles that a soul has to overcome in its journey, others leave the journey aside and give the description of the souls eternal existence and activity in the Kingdom of the Dead. For instance, in Iranian or Hittite beliefs the souls of the dead had to cross a bridge. For the righteous the bridge was wide, whereas for sinners it was extremely narrow and full of obstacles (cf. Adams, Mallory 1997, 151f.). As it was believed, an individual had to keep to the moral given by gods, otherwise he/she was condemned to face troubles after death.

The relatives of the dead tried to do everything to make the journey of the soul as comfortable and pleasant as possible as well as void of danger and suffering. The habit is proved by findings in the ancient, supposedly even Indo-European, graves that were arranged in a way for the deceased not to lack anything in the other world. Funeral rituals often involved the sacrifice of animals, and what is of

special notice in this paper, especially horses. Linguistic research proves that the IE languages have preserved a complex of words which are most probably related with the burying customs and preparation of the dead body. Consider:

> IE **sepelie*/o- seen in Latin *sepeliō* 'bury', *sepulerum* 'tomb'; Skr. *saparyáti* 'honors, upholds'. The word is a derivative of **sep-* 'handle (skillfully), hold (reverently)'; Gk *ἑπω* 'serve, prepare', *μεθέπω – ἐφέπω* 'manage (horses)'; Skr. *sápatī* 'touches, handles, caresses: venerates; *sápti-* 'team of horses' (ibid.).

The set of the words shows that horses were included into the lay out of the deceased preparations for the last journey to the other world. To put it another way, the horse served as an ancillary agent, a *helper* to convey the soul to the kingdom of the Afterworld successfully. Horses were sacrificed at funerals too so that their souls might carry the soul of the dead to the Ruler of the Dead or at least somewhere near the gates of the kingdom of the deceased which may also appear as a water body (cf. subchapter 2.4).

Having in mind that the majority of the dead were buried by means of inhumation rather than cremation by the Indo-Europeans, it is not surprising that the afterlife journey usually points to the descending direction under ground or water. The poem *Beowulf* is one of the monuments of oral Germanic tradition that testifies to the fondness of water-burial and a well developed structure of funeral ceremonial: it is not a unique or accidental invention. The concept of water is inscribed in the *isotopie* of death by many Indo-European traditions from Indian to Classical, Germanic, Baltic and other mythologies (cf. West 2007, 388ff.). Besides, water as a space of the afterlife journey was inherent in the ancient mythical understanding even before the split of Indo-Europeans (cf. Subchapter 2.4).

Pokorny's etymological dictionary *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* indicates that the words signifying the concepts of death and water were derived from the common stem **dheu-* meaning 'to run, stream, flow' (cf. Pokorny 1959, 366). Yet, from the variations of the stem **dheu-*: *dheu̯es-, dhu̯ēš-, dheus-, dhūš-* another form of **dheu-* was derived. It meant 'to breathe out the spirit, vanish, faint, die' (ibid, 378). The etymological data allows for the conclusion that the meaning of 'water' was inscribed in the mythical *isotopie* of death within the very roots of mythical consciousness. Later on the concept of water became a more elaborate figurative means to express the painful experience of suffering caused by the kinsman's death and thus in the mythical projection water came to function as a channel to the Otherworld. The role of the ancient origin seen in the relationship between the notions reveals the popularity of the water burial model and such a wide

spread usage of the water image in the depiction of the voyage to the kingdom of the dead which is discussed in more detail in the following subchapter.

2.4. Water as a Boundary between the Two Worlds

Water as an intermediary substance between the worlds of the living and the dead is obviously inherited from the general Iindo-European mythical system. Evidence of it comes from various sources including an *Upanishad* which claims that the deceased had to cross the lake Āra and the river Vijarā in order to get to the world of Brahman. A number of ancient classical poets who spoke about the presence of the underground rivers Styx, Acheron, Lētṓ, or an enormous lake that the souls of the dead had to pass in order to reach the eternal dwelling place (cf. West 2007, 389). A similar position is found in the Germanic perspective. Here the understanding of water as a boundary zone between the world of the living and the world of the dead was retained till relatively late times. For instance, the folk ballad *The Three Ravens* that dates back to the 16th c. speaks about a water body, i.e. a lake, as the place of burial. Consider:

> *She lifted up his [the knight's] bloody head,*
> Down *a* down, *hey* down, *hey* down,
> *And kissed his wounds that were so red,*
> *With a down.*
> *She got him up upon her back,*
> *And carried him to* earthen lake,
> *With a down, derry, derry, derry down, down*
>
> *She* buried *him before the prime*
> *Down a down, hey down, hey down,*
> *She* was dead *herself ere e'en-song time.*[31]

The dead knight must be buried because the three ravens may devour the body. If the birds performed their intentions the soul of the knight would loose the possibility to reach the Afterlife dwelling place which is obviously under the water as depicted by the descending direction in the refrain of the ballad. Thus in *The Three Ravens*, as well as in *Beowulf* in (the scene of Ecgtheow's funeral (cf. subchapter 2.3.1.)), water serves as a space where the dead are buried to be conducted to the Otherworld.

It should be noted that water referred to in the burial contexts possesses some characteristics that reveal the difference between the burial-water and water in general. The burial-water is usually described as black, stormy and uneasy (cf. West 2007, 390). Such an imagery of water may be also

[31] (Gumere 1894, 167)

supported by several episodes from *Beowulf*. For instance, to describe the specificity of water during Ecgtheow's burial the poet uses such words as *brimes faroðe* (line 28), which literary means 'waving, moving surface of water'; *flodes* (line 42) meaning 'depths, large and deep body of water, usually related with the action of drowning; *holm* (line 48) meaning 'deep and large water body'[32]. Burial-related water articulates the *sememe* of blackness associated with death. It derives from another *sememe*, that of water depth. That is, the very fact that it is impossible to see the bottom of a water body in the objective reality, produces the mythical understanding that the depths where no sun light may get in, the kingdom of the eternal darkness must be the realm of death. In oral monuments of the Anglo-Saxon tradition a lot of epithets describing water are related with coldness and frost, e.g. *isig* 'icy' in *Beowulf* (line 33), *hrimcealde sæ* – 'rime-cold sea' in *The Wanderer* (line 4). The rivers in the Greek Hades are also depicted as perishing, grim, dark (cf. Kunas 1988, 23). Thus water as a boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead exposes such qualities as darkness, even blackness, coldness, stormy movement of depths exceeding human understanding.

Knowing these components of the ancient mythical perspective on the what burial-related water is, it is important to describe the environment of the kelpie's dwelling. The parallels between the burial-water and the waters of the kelpie's lake are obvious. According to the legendary sources, the kelpies usually reside in dark lakes full of black weeds. Besides, one of the essential characteristics of the kelpie's behaviour is to dive together with the victim stuck on its back to the depths of the lake. The similarity between the water types that appear in different rituals and mythical situations, i.e. funeral ceremonial and the kelpie's movements leads to the assumption that the appearance of the mythical figure of a water horse might be related with the ancient burial customs and the vision of the journey of the soul into the realm of the Afterlife.

The common features found in the Indo-European mythical heritage go in compliance with the statement that the figure of the kelpie is not a folklore element, but rather a part of the general ancient mythical structure specifically interpreted by Celts and Gaels. Beside the already established interrelated concepts of the horse, death, sleep and water voyage it is possible to add the notion of the *action* that has much in common with other Indo-European traditions. The sources about the kelpie evidence that its movement through water ends with the death of a man. Analogically, the ancient manner of thought projects the horse as a conductor to the Underworld. Since many Indo-European stocks employed water-burial as a traditional burial rite so the mythical consciousness could have 'inhabited' water with a horse-shaped spirit that takes the souls to the afterlife depths. Later on such a

[32] The meanings of the OE words are taken from Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* on http://web.ff.cuni.cz/cgi-bin/uaa_slovnik/gmc_search_v3?cmd=formquery2&query=swebban&startrow=1

mythical projection might degrade to a folklore level in the sense that a horse-water-spirit had lost its initial role due to the change of burial traditions and extinction of water burial.

Yet, from this it follows that water was treated as an element worth of exceptional respect. It was not an uninhabited substance, on the contrary, as the source of the life water was full of living creatures both natural and of mythical character. As scientific literature provides, every body of water had its supernatural inhabitant and such a view was held most probably in all Indo-European traditions (cf. Dowden 1999, 41). On the other hand, water is a favourable environment for many species of nature, such as fish or larger mammals. Each of them, in their turn, had its place in the mythical projection of the world.

As it is known, the ancient Indo-Europeans were apt to divide the world into three projections: heaven, earth and the underground. Scientific research shows that the division is echoed by the distribution of the mythical functions typical of the whole Indo-European mythical heritage. Following the classification, all the Indo-European mythical systems include three main functions (cf. Adams, Mallory 1997, 577). The first function is called *sovereignty*: it embraces the supreme deities that usually reside in heaven. The second function is *offensive and defensive war,* its implementation is carried out on earth, the areas inhabited by human beings. While the third function is that of *increase and fertility* (ibid.). Since fecundity is related with soil and harvest, it is not a surprise that the figurative implementation of this function takes place on the underground level.

Accordingly, the Indo-Europeans differentiated three worlds: the Upper world with celestial bodies and birds; the Middle world with all other living creatures and plants and, finally, the Lower world, i.e. the Underground to which belonged all the creatures closely related with the ground, (e.g. snakes, wizards) and water (e.g. fish, beavers, otters, etc.), in other words, chtonic creatures (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 408). Hence according to the environment of the creature's dwelling it is possible to determine its functions on the mythical plane, which may help to reconstruct a part of the overall mythical system.

In relation to the kelpie myth being the focus of the thesis and due to the legendary fact that the monster was said to dwell in water, the analysis will concentrate on the third function of the Lower world. In this respect, the environment of the kelpie suggests that it should be related with *fertility* and *increase*. However, the result of the activity of the water spirit can be hardly attributed to this function, unless the discussion considered the increase of its victims. Therefore it seems to be logical to focus on the study of the Lower world and its inhabitants that also were turned into mythical figures. An elaborate mythical description of the water or underground creatures may lead to the discovery of the kelpie's mythical projection. The category of the so-called aquatic animals referred to above such as

fish, beaver, etc. has been chosen as the central line for the analysis on the basis of a similar dwelling environment to the one of the kelpie. That is, these animals seen on the mythical plane may appear as counterparts of the water horse, because the latter also resides in water, so it must have acquired the similar properties in the mythical system.

The first form of life that comes into mind in the realm of water is fish. However, wit regard to the ancient poems such as *Beowulf* or *The Seafarer* that speak about the sea and depict it as *hwæles eþel* 'the whale's path' (*The Seafarer*, line 61) or *hwælweg* 'the whale road' (ibid, 64), or *hronrade* 'whale-path' (*Beowulf*, line 10) the concept of the whale should be discussed here. The quoted above epithets of the sea reveal how human consciousness transfers land experience to sea experience and projects the shift on the mythopoetic plane. The poems depict the sea as the road for the whale, thus the animal is viewed as a means of transport in water. Similar vision is held on the horse, the shape of which is adopted by kelpie when it shows up for people. The whale knows the road on the sea, whereas the horse does the same on earth. The match between the considerations brings the possibility to establish the kelpie as a creature belonging to the Lower world that knows the underwater paths, yet to achieve this objective a more detailed research of the relation between the notions 'whale' and 'horse' is required.

It has been stressed that the word 'whale' was originally applied to name any large fish and it is also noteworthy that walrus was also considered to be a fish (cf. Skeat 1999, 708). Thus by following a thin but still possible thread it might be purposeful to build a bridge between the aquatic creatures and the kelpie. The most appropriate instrument to do this seems to be etymological analysis.

The Germanic cognates of the word 'walrus' suggest that the ancient people did not think it to be strange to meet something similar to a horse while being at sea. Consider:

MSwed. *vallross* – Dan. *hvalros* – Icel. *hross-hvalr* (lit. a horse-whale) – AS *hors-hwæl* (ibid, 699f.)

All these words are compounds formed of two roots meaning whale and horse. It may be argued that it could have happened because of some objective reasons, such as a physical resemblance of the animals or similar sounds produced by them. Nonetheless, the very fact of bringing the two concepts together as shown above encourages a deeper etymological analysis of the names of fish-like creatures and search for the parallels with the words denoting 'horse'.

Physical resemblance or similar activity of the animals could have influenced the formation of some lexical units describing them. For instance, Klein's *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* suggests that in English 'horse' (ME *hors*, OS *hros*, ON *hross*, OFris *hors, hars*, MLG *ros, ors*, MDu *ors*, Du *ros*, OHG *hros, ros*, MHG *ros, ors*) originally could have meant 'the

jumping animal' derived from the PGmc. participle **qru-tá-s* 'jumping' which, in its turn, originated from the IE stem **(s)qer-* meaning 'to leap, jump, bound' (cf. Klein 2000, 353). Interestingly, the same stem is said to have given birth to another word denoting a type of fish, i.e. scarus (ibid. 660). The cognates with such a different semantic meaning imply that once the ancient IE language should have had a word unifying both later derived meanings. Hence, the earthly horse might be coupled with a representative of the aquatic world, i.e. fish on the linguistic plane. It is noteworthy that both creatures – the scarus and the horse – are jumpers and this peculiarity corresponds to the jumping movements of the kelpie. It is believed that the monster jumps into its lake, while stories about it assert that the water horse is more likely to gallop than to trot (cf. Appendix 2.6; Appendix 4.2, 4.6).

In general it may be assumed that deep waters and underwater belong to the Lower world with all the creatures dwelling in it. The kelpie may be attributed to this sphere because, as legends suggest, it resides in deep waters. Besides, etymological data shows that the word 'horse' is derived from the same root as a fish name. Moreover, in many languages the horse, the shape of which is adopted by the water-spirit, is associated with the whale that lives in water and thus belongs to the Lower world; whereas the figure of the horse itself, as it was discussed in 2.2. Subchapter, is closely related with chtonic divinities that rule the Lower world. Therefore, the author of the paper suggests the kelpie should be treated as a representative of this particular mythical sphere, i.e. the Lower world.

Thus, one more step in the process of the reconstruction of the kelpie myth has been made as all the information extracted so far confirms that the kelpie belongs to the underground world and is likely to be related with the kingdom of the dead. The horse-like shape of the kelpie also supports this hipothesis because the horse was a very important figure in the visualization of the afterlife in relation to water and these two concepts embrace the dwelling environment and death-bringing activity of the monster. Therefore, it seems rational to discuss the picture of the ancient pagan afterlife world on the basis of the already discussed concepts and the general knowledge of the Indo-European mythology because the tendencies of the whole system may guide to the discovery of the peculiarities of the so vaguely investigated Indo-European mythical branch as the kelpie myth.

2.5. The Ancient Prospects of the Afterlife

Most probably it is possible to state that all Indo-European religions and likewise mythical systems perceive a human being as a dual entity. On the one hand, man is an earthly being that may be touched, wounded, killed, etc. On the other hand, he radiates intellectual powers, moral behaviour that are eternal values and on the mythical plane are usually prescribed to the concept of the soul. Such

perception is likely to have engendered a dual understanding of death, i.e. death as sleep and death as journey. Thereby the present subchapter is devoted to the consideration of the eternal dwelling of the soul; the more so that the kelpie has been attributed to the sphere of the Afterworld.

The geographical location and particular details of the afterlife realm vary according to the cultural context. For some, it is an island at the end of the world that stretches either in the West, South, or North; for others, it is a cavity deep down the earth or water (cf. Adams, Mallory 1997, 153). In some ancient traditions, the kingdom of the dead appears to be the land of sadness and misery. For instance, the Greeks imagined the Hades to be a grey and dull place. It is usually described as the kingdom of the relentless brother of Zeus where formless shadows of the dead fly over dreary fields and complain about their sad life without sun and desires (cf. Kunas 1988, 24). The carrier to this kingdom is an old stern man Kharon the name of whom was derived from IE **k'er(onth-)* 'old man' (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 724) and shows prehistoric roots of the ferryman of the souls. It should also be observed that the image of the souls' ferryman is found in other mythologies – Celtic, Norse – as well (cf. Adams, Mallory 1997, 153), and it contributes to the reconstruction of the kelpie myth by the established opinion that all traditions of the Indo-European origin include the figure of the mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead that guides the transfer of the souls and makes it possible.

There are mythological perspectives that depict the Otherworld as a place full of joy and singing. To illustrate, the Irish Celts imagined their afterlife kingdom to be the islands of eternal youth that are in the West (cf. Ermanytė 1999, 80). Time does not exist in the happy islands of Tir na n-Og 'land of youth'. It was believed that the souls of the dead Celtic heroes go namely there. Such Celtic imagination of the Afterworld is echoed in the ancient Germanic tradition as well. Here the souls of the warriors that fell on the battlefield would go to the eternal feast at Valhalla and celebrate together the eternal victories. Meanwhile the souls of ordinary mortals who did not undertake military activity were believed to go to Hel, a place similar to the Greek Hades (cf. Edwardes, Spence 2003, 81).

Such dual imagination of the afterlife space goes in accordance with the two types of burial discussed in subchapter 2.3.1., namely cremation of the heroes and inhumation of the rest of the dead. The blessed souls of the warriors together with fume go to the dwellings above the earth, while those of the ordinary people remain in their Mother Earth together with the bodies that are buried under ground or under water. Thus, the funeral rituals that deal with the preparation of the body for the final journey actually project the eternal existence of the soul. From this it appears that the way of the earthly life could determine the quality of the eternal life. A warrior who earned fame by his brave deeds will experience joy after death, while a person who did not distinguish him by great merits is

doomed for miserable eternity. Such a two-side vision of the Afterworld is characteristic of many Indo-European traditions. Even Greek Hades which is usually distinguished as full of monsters and moans of souls has an area for the privileged virtuous souls, the so-called Elysian Fields where the sun is always shining and the souls rejoice (cf. Scull 2003, 102). It means that many cultures had a special social group that deserved a higher quality of the eternal life.

It has been mentioned earlier that the words denoting the afterlife dwelling space of the warriors derived from IE stem **wel-* meaning 'pasture, meadow' (cf. subchapter 2.3.1.). This time it seems to be useful to look at the same issue from the different angle. An interesting point is that the model of the afterworld as a pasture is maintained not only by the etymological data but also by the texts involved in rituals; they often mention that the soul of the deceased comes to the ancestors and ask gods to be favourable to it "on the eternal pasture" (West 2007, 393). However, the same sources claim that the souls of the sacrificed animals dwell together with those of the people. That is to say, animals travel together with their masters and it explains the custom of the pagans to sacrifice a horse at the funeral. The intention could have also been to provide the soul with the carrier which would conduct it to the kingdom of the dead and help to avoid dangers during the journey. From this it follows that the horse was quite a common figure to fill in the function of the Greek ferryman Kharon.

The data from Scandinavian mythology strengthens the possibilities to establish the horse as a death-bringing agent. To illustrate, Danish mythical tradition evidence the figure of the 'Hel-horse'. As it is stated in *Northern Mythology. Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany and the Netherlands*, earlier the tradition to bury a horse in human cemetery was a wide spread phenomenon. Consider:

> In every churchyard in former days, before any human body was buried in it, a living horse was interred. This horse re-appears and is known by the name of the 'Hel-horse'. It has only three legs, and if any one meets it, it forebodes death (Thorpe 1851, 209).

The horse acts as a mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead here. It clearly 'undertakes' the functions of the guide of the souls since it is the very first buried body in a cemetery to ensure that the soul of the horse will take care of the human souls properly. The name of the horse contributes to the depiction of the Scandinavian Otherworld as well. The element 'Hel" has been retained in the minor folklore as a synonym of death or sickness. For instance, when a sickness ranges people say that "Hel is going about" or "Hel is come"; when a sickness is over it is said "Hel is driven away", etc. (ibid.). In Scandinavian mythical perspective the kingdom of the deceased is called Hel. According to Edas and testimonies of ancient Scandinavians registered by Snorri Thorfinnsson (born about 1005 or 1013), Hel is the eternal dwelling place of those who died of sickness and old age (cf.

MacCulloch 2005, 160). Thus the mediation of the horse between the two worlds is assisted by a particular feature, i.e. in mythical projection the horse is related with the dead ordinary people. Such considerations perfectly supplement *the isotopy* of the kelpie which also deals with common people, not warriors.

Having in mind that the kelpie usually appears disguised as a horse it is likely that this mythical figure could function as a mediator between the two worlds in other mythical systems too. It could carry the souls of the dead to the underwater afterlife world similar to Hel. This function may be illustrated by the rare yet informative specifications of the kelpie's appearance. For instance, one source speaks of the terrible jaws of the water horse, another mentions its mane as a bunch of little poisonous snakes – each hair as a snake (Appendix 1.1). These external features resemble some of those in the portrayal of Cerberus, the guardian of the gates of Hades. Remorseless jaws or snakes around the neck are constant attributes of Cerberus (cf. Kunas 1988, 24). Surely, it would be a mistake to reject the possibility that the demonic aspect of the figure of the kelpie could be influenced by the Christian religion since many pagan divinities in all cultures lost their initial image and functions after the introduction of Christianity. Nonetheless, the semantic fields or *isotopies* that have been worked out in this work so far help to draw at least sketchy the frames of the kelpie's functions.

Physical similarities between the kelpie and Greek Cerberus allow the identification of the two mythical figures from the functional perspective, i.e. that the activity of the water horse takes place near the gates of Hel. Thus it takes the soul of the deceased at the edge of a water body and leads (or carries) it to the eternal underwater dwelling. In such a way the figure of the kelpie helps to figuratively express the conception of death as the journey of the soul. However, it should be noted that all Indo-European mythologies expose a strict hierarchical structure. All the spheres and worlds referred to above have their supreme divinities responsible for a particular sphere of life. Unfortunately, the kelpie can hardly be enlisted as one of the divinities of the Underworld because if it were so, linguistic and other sources would provide more information about the functions and activity of the water-horse. Due to the fact that the kelpie has not been included into any pantheon yet, while the material concerning the water spirit proves the mythical origin of the kelpie, it is possible to infer that the water-horse might act as a subordinate of a superior divinity. Most probably, it was an envoy or helper of some divinity higher in status. Regarding the Celtic and Gaelic origin of this water spirit it is advisable to study both mythologies and look for some deity who has some relation with horses, water and death. Preferably the divinity should function in the sphere between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Since it is considered that the afterlife feasts of warriors deserve a separate study the further attempt will focus on the afterlife of ordinary mortals.

2.6. Kelpie as an Envoy of Epona

In consideration that all the concepts discussed so far – the horse, water, death and its aspects – match perfectly in the *isotopy* of the kelpie, supplement each other and thus encourage new opportunities of research, all the *isotopies* should be revealed by the deity who is believed to rule the horse-shaped water spirit. Having studied the Celtic Gaelic divine pantheons an almost ideal candidate for the status of the kelpie's sovereign in the mythical hierarchy would be Epona, mostly titled as a patroness of horses. The study of the functions and evolution of Epona can reveal the new semantic layers which might contribute to the certification of the water horse as a member of the Celtic mythical universe.

Epona is regarded as one of the oldest Celtic goddesses who later became popular in various cultures in the Continental area – from Gaelic territories to present Bulgaria – as well as in Britain. She was also worshipped by Romans who had no divine protector of the horses earlier (cf. Green 1998, 204). An exclusive feature of Epona is her constant attribute – a horse or a couple of them. But the protection of horses is not her only function, though a primary one. She is depicted as a very complex deity whose multifunctional nature caused her popularity.

The gathered data propose that Epona and the cult of horses were of special importance in the Celtic culture and came most probably from the common Indo-European mythology. The name of Epona is said to have derived from IE **ek(h)wos* 'horse' the traces of which are found in all early IE dialects (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 463). Therefore the protection of the horses and assistance in their breeding goes as her primary function. Due to the fact that horses were valuable assets in the early times, there is no wonder that Epona's cult survived all the cultural challenges and has been rooted in new societies.

The researchers of the old Indo-European religion and language have revealed a rather interesting aspect related with the cult of horses. According to the ancient heathens, the most favourable sacrifice for the water god (the god of great waters – sea, ocean, big lakes) was nothing else but the horse. The fact is also supported by the linguistic data: following Pokorny's etymological dictionary, the IE root *ek'ụo-s* 'horse' derived from another IE base *akwā-* (correct *əkwā*): *ēkw-* meaning 'water, river' (cf. Pokorny 1959, 435). It displays the *isotopies* of horse and water as the sacred spheres that derived from the very roots of the common Indo-European religion and may be now related on the basis of the etymological data.

The history of the IE stem *akwā-* also opens up interesting semantic layers. Scholars have come to the conclusion that the word derived from the IE base *angw(h)i-* 'snake, worm' and only later

on gave birth to various words specifying different types of water as, for example, *eghero-* 'lake, inner sea'; *ad(h)u, ad-ro-* 'water current' and others (ibid, 34). The joined semantic units form the following chain: snake-water-horse. Since language is closely related with culture, here it seems necessary to come back to analysis of the peculiarities of ancient thought and remember the triple functionality typical of the overall Indo-European mythical system, especially that of the Lower world.

Due to the general fact that all closely earth/water related, i.e. chtonic, creatures are prescribed to the Lower world, snakes and worms definitely fall into the category. Accordingly, the horse also belongs to the lower sphere since from the linguistic perspective, the word 'horse' was derived from the word 'snake' through an inclusion of the word 'water'. Since the figures of the snake and water are unquestionably associated with the Lower world, so does the figure of the horse. The etymological data suggests that the concepts under discussion could be similarly projected on the mythical plane because language is supposed to reflect the perception and categorization of the world.

Analogically, Epona, the mythical ruler of the horses should also belong to the Lower world. In addition to her fame as a perfect patroness of the horses that in their turn guarantee save and prosperous life, some depictions of the goddess betray other aspects of her portrayal. Epona is frequently depicted with the attributes symbolical of the endless 'generosity' of land. First of all, the horse itself was considered to be an embodiment of boundless sexual energy, yet in some sources the goddess carries baskets of fruit or loaves of bread as gifts of earth (cf. Green 1998, 206). This explains the popularity of the goddess not only among warriors but among peaceful tribes as well – Epona was the goddess of fertility and had some features of the Mother Goddess.

The Mother Goddess in all cultures is related with earth as the source of prime life and provider of all the living. All Indo-European religions have deities fulfilling this function. Usually they are the most archaic presentations among all the gods and goddesses of the Pantheon. For instance, Greek Gaea is acknowledged as on of the first known Mother Goddesses (cf. Rosenberg 1993, 5). Though, undoubtedly, she is not the only one representative of fertility in the Indo-European mythical systems. In the Celtic point of view, such a mythical status was given to Epona. The preserved dedications to the goddess claim her belonging to the mothers, while her name is sometimes used in the plural form characteristic of the Mother Goddess as a multifunctional representative of manifold wealth and abundance (cf. Green 1992, 22). From this it follows that Epona mostly functions in the spheres related with earth which, as it has been already analysed, belongs to the Lower world and embraces the third function of fertility on the mythical plane. In other words, the domain of Epona's activity stretches between the surface of the earth, i.e. the world of the living, and the Kingdom of the Dead which belongs to the jurisdiction of another god Dito (cf. Tokarev 1994, 636). The space

perfectly matches with the environment of the kelpie's activity and allows inferring that the water spirit could be subordinate to the goddess as well.

Another characteristic of the Mother Goddess should also be taken into consideration, namely her ability to resurrect, to provide life again and again. The natural cycle, a constant alternation of death, stagnation and breakthrough of life in spring engendered a mythical figurative expression of the processes. The treatment of life after death is, of course, best reflected in the burial rituals. Then inhumation is seen as returning of the body to its initial Mother. Thus it is not surprising that the signs of the worship of Epona, reflected in the sacrifice devoted to the goddess are found in many Celtic tombs (cf. Green 1992, 22). It shows the important role of the deity concerning the burial customs.

The motif of the posthumous journey of the soul causes problems for a mythologist; however, it is believable that due to the continuation of existence in the afterlife, the transportation of the soul should have been patronized by some deity. In this case it could have been Epona as the Mother Goddess that is able to make man's life start all over again. The more so, that there are a lot of suggestions to confirm the statement. Firstly, Epona is often depicted with a key in her hands. Many scholars consider that the key should be an instrument used to unlock the treasures of nature, yet it may also be a key from the gates that separate the worlds of the living and the dead (cf. Ginzburg, Rosenthal 2004, 104). At this point of analysis it is worth to consider the mythical functions of the horse that is the symbol of Epona and, as it has been stated in Subchapter 2.3.3, also acts as a carrier of the souls to the Underworld. Hence, the horse as a servant of Epona, helps to ensure the transfer of the soul to the eternal dwelling and thus guarantees the continuation of human life on the other level. Thus spiritual regeneration after death should be enlisted among the functions of Epona.

Moreover, some findings suggest that Epona may lead the dead to the Afterworld by herself. For instance, on a funerary plaque found at Agassac in southern Gaul she is depicted with various Celtic celestial symbols and surrounded by water monsters, while in other monuments found in the graves, she is portrayed as guiding some passenger (cf. Davidson 1998, 43). It might be understood that the passenger symbolizes the dead being lead by Epona to the kingdom of the deceased, while the water monsters suggest posthumous travelling by water. Hence Epona acts as a guardian in the journey of the dead to the Afterlife.

It should also be mentioned that despite the fact that Epona was mostly viewed as riding a horse side-saddle or at least being accompanied by horses, there are some exceptions when the goddess 'becomes invisible'. Some pictures or statues portray only a saddled mare accompanied by a foal, i.e. the two companions of Epona (ibid, 40). In such cases, the goddess is identified with the horse to the extent that they are capable to figuratively express the essential activity of the deity, and

redundant imagery is not necessary. From this it comes, that Celtic mythical discourse allows for the functioning of the horse in the name of Epona, since it may be the full and satisfactory representative of the goddess, while the figure of Epona may be missing.

The traces of the Celtic horse patroness that supplement the *isotopie* of death as journey, may also be found in the perception of death as sleep. Epona herself is sometimes depicted as accompanied not only by horses, but also birds (though it is more obvious in the visualization of Rhiannon, the British counterpart of the Celtic Epona). The birds were believed to have magical powers and help the goddess either "to wake the dead or lull the living to sleep" (Ashe 1990, 57). The association of the goddess with sleep could influence a later image of the nightmare as a horse-shaped female spirit that brings bad dreams, though originally, as the etymology of the verbal element *mare* shows, the shape of the horse did not make a part of the concept of the nightmare. Besides, a number of the scholarly sources claim that the Irish goddess Epona was initially called Macha. Moreover, some other sources state that she had to be named Mare, as it is exposed in the compound word 'nightmare' (cf. McCoy 1995, 206). Such formal differences must have appeared due to historical linguistic processes: the linguists cannot trace how the proper nouns were pronounced by the ancient Irish. Different scientific assumptions engendered different spelling variants. Luckily, it does not have a crucial impact on the present analysis because the association of Epona with sleep may be grounded by means of her functions, whereas the formal linguistic evidence, i.e. the possible *desemantization* of the certain elements of the names comes to be an instrument of secondary importance in the reconstruction of the kelpie myth.

So far all the semantic mythical categories related with the kelpie as an assistant of Epona come into one unit. Nevertheless, it may be beneficial to consider the etymology of the name of the goddess once again and see if the statement about the word 'water' being the linguistic source of the word 'horse' has any echo in any actual ritual. The easiest way to do that is to find out whether the cult of Epona has any relation with the mentioned problem.

Miranda Green, one of the researchers of Celtic mythology, claims that "the association between Epona and water is striking" (Green 1992, 17). Many of Epona's temples are found near rivers and streams which were famous for their healing properties[33]. Thereby it is possible to assume that fast streams projected as being symbolical of fecundity by the mythical consciousness (cf. Cirlot

[33] Healing as one of the functions of Epona could be expressed by her command over the birds in waking the dead, since to cure a dying man is the same as to tear him from the claws of death. It should be also born in mind that at this stage of analysis no intercultural impact on the kelpie myth is taken into consideration, thus healing is understood as a proof of Epona's power over the length of human life and it should not be opposed to the destructive aspect of the kelpie as the assistant of the goddess. The latter characteristic of the water-horse could appear due to the changed cultural traditions (cf. Subchapter 2.7)

1995, 274) and seen as an ideal environment to which the goddess belongs. On the other hand, the Indo-European custom to sacrifice horses to the water gods implies that the Celtic mythical patroness of the horses resided near water.

The worked out statements can be confirmed by the latest scientific enquiry. According to A.J. MacCulloch, "the horse goddess Epona may have been originally a deity of a spring or river, conceived as a spirited steed" (MacCulloch, Machal 2008, 123). This assertion supplements the reconstruction of the kelpie's mythical functions because it suggests that the kelpie might not only function as a messenger of Epona, but that the goddess herself might acquire the shape of the horse and reside in water. Nevertheless, the 'sameness' of the kelpie and Epona is only a hypothetical possibility that may be verified in future studies. For now it is important to note, that this possibility of the same identity may confirm the relation between the goddess and the water-horse.

To summarize, the possible code of the kelpie's mythical behaviour may be seen in its original function as a mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Inasmuch the horse and water are strongly related with the posthumous journey of the soul in the Indo-European and, adequately, Celtic-Gaelic-Germanic perception, so the kelpie that takes the shape of the horse and carries people to the bottom of the lake may serve as a figurative expression of the transfer of the soul through water. However, two other aspects still raise some problems and obscurity. Namely, the aggressiveness and murderous behaviour of the kelpie and the type of the water body where it is supposed to reside in when compared to the ones preferred by Epona. However, it should be born in mind that this is only an idealized theoretical semiotic model of the kelpie myth. In reality the myth has undergone many transformations due to cultural influences that should be taken into consideration in order to achieve the overall picture of the mythical structure which is under reconstruction.

2.7. Possible Intercultural Influences on the Kelpie Myth

Although the majority of the mythical details confirm the hypothesis that the kelpie should have been a carrier of the souls to the afterlife dwelling place, there are still some discrepancies that deserve a more intense discussion. Beside the ones analysed in the previous subchapter, the testimony of the kelpie being such comes from the relatively late ages – it comes into view only after 13th century. (cf. Lecouteux 2006, 229). Therefore it may seem impudent to speak about the kelpie as a structural part of the ancient, even Indo-European mythical system. Nevertheless, the justification may be found in the historical circumstances.

First of all, it is practically impossible to reconstruct a full and unquestionable Celtic-Gaelic mythological vision because the ancient tribes that conquered other tribes used to absorb the culture of the latter and therefore the customs got intermingled. As a result, the original mythical discourse comes to be nearly illegible. Therefore any attempt at the reconstruction of the Celtic myth has to be based on the analysis of all possible mythologies that Celts could have close contacts with. Another important factor is the impact of Christianity. Ancient pagan myths were not registered till relatively late ages. And only when the ancient customs got already distorted and desemantized, the task was undertaken by the Christian monks, who obviously projected the ancient traditions in a more or less Christian perspective. Thus many pagan gods lost their initial nature: some of them were turned into cultural heroes, others appeared as figures in folk tales, while the existence of the third group of the gods is evidenced only by some rare archeological findings or toponyms (cf. Ermanytė 1999, 78-88). For this reason, a mythologist must collect and classify the data extremely carefully lest he/she should make even greater chaos in the field of mythological enquiry.

To come back to the problem of the kelpie myth, it might be claimed that the historical reasons discussed above could have determined its degeneration. Firstly, not only Celts but a number of other tribes worshipped a similar mythical creature. All Indo-European descendants had the figure of a water horse in their mythologies, but with different aspects of form, function and behaviour. Due to cultural interaction, the distinctive features of an individual water spirit vanished or merged with those of other similar mythical creatures. Therefore now it is not clear whether all the creatures listed in Subchapter 2.1. should be treated as mere figurative variations of the same mythical element in various cultural environments or as individual mythical entities. Another factor is the impact of Christianity on the depiction of the features of the ancient pagan culture. The scholars claim that many pagan gods were demonized undeservedly, i.e. their negative characteristics were emphasized with the intention to neglect them as entities worth of religious respect and worship. It is very likely that the image of the water horse could undergo similar transformations and turn into murderous monster.

Actually, some echoes of the ancient beliefs may be found in the literature of much later ages. For instance, the works of Shakespeare expose some *semantic trajectories* that relate the figure of the kelpie and death as merciless yet sometimes surmountable adversaries of a human being. Shakespeare in his *Sonnet 146* interestingly portrays Christian perspective on death in terms of ancient pagan

Anglo-Saxon conceptualization of soul and body and their posthumous existence[34]. The author of the sonnet depicts death as a creature that feeds on men:

> *So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,*
> *And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.* (Shakespeare *Sonnet 146*, lines 13-14)

Death is represented as a tireless devourer. Analogically, as it was mentioned earlier, the kelpie also acts as insatiable eater of human beings. Moreover, as the kelpie's murderous raging may be stopped by means of its bridles (cf. Subchapter 2.3.2.), the soul stops the power of death because the soul belongs to the sphere of eternal life where death is helpless. Meanwhile, another author, John Donne (1572 – 1631) not only keeps to a similar vision that death devours people but also supplements the portrayal of death with the image of the jaws and related death with the liquid material. In his sermon *Death's Duel* (1631), he states that "we are brought to the jaws and teeth of death, and to the lips of that whirlpool, the grave" (Carey 1990, 401). Such a depiction of death goes in accordance with the descriptions of the kelpie which often mention the terrible jaws of the water-horse used to tear the victim into pieces. Furthermore, Donne relates death with water – dwelling environment of the kelpie – represented in the sermon by the image of the whirlpool. It should be also observed that when Donne mentions the jaws of death he sees it as "a deliverance from death" (ibid.). In other words, the author says that the real eternal life is reached while passing through the jaws of death that puts an end for an earthly life. Similar semantic parallels may be extracted in the *isotopy* of the kelpie. The water-horse tears the body in order to release the soul and carry it to the Afterlife kingdom where it will live forever. Thus it is probable that this literary deviation may contribute to the designation of the kelpie's behaviour and its portrayal that comes from the ancient times.

All the data concerning the *isotopy* of the kelpie indicates that Celts had a horse-carrier of the souls through water. The mythical model inherited from the Indo-European tradition and attested in other Indo-European cultures might support the idea. However, there is no evidence about the harsh aggressiveness of the mythical water-horse toward the living people, which is stressed in all the

[34] In this Sonnet, the lyrical speaker addresses the soul and encourages it not let the body submit to earthly joys and thus overshadow the internal beauty of the soul and block the way to the eternal life. The poet stresses that the body will be consumed by worms: "Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,/Eat up thy charge?" (*Sonnet 146*, lines 7-8) (Wain 1986, 184). Whereas, the soul will exist forever and it is not worth sacrificing eternal happiness for temporal pleasures. It is noteworthy that analogous attitude is revealed in OE writings. The ancient poems *Soul and Body I* (found in the Vercelli manuscript (10^{th} c.)) and *Soul and Body II* (found in Exeter manuscript (10^{th} c.)) deal with the same problem and manifest the same opposition between worms and eternal life, the view of the body as a house of the soul, etc. It shows that Shakespeare tended to continue the literary embodiment of the ancient concepts, while the image of death as a devourer was widespread even in the Medieval times and is not a mere attempt of the author of the thesis to ground her hypothesis on the kelpie being a representative of death. This projection of death may be legitimized scholarly by means of parallel analysis of the concepts found in OE writings and Shakespeare's works.

remaining sources that speak about the kelpie. Two explanations may be worked out here: firstly, the hostility of the kelpie is a feature added by Christianity and not typical of the 'original' ancient kelpie (or typical of it only in terms of 'being relentless' and not allowing the souls to come back). The Christian hatred towards pagan divinities, especially the aquatic ones, is perfectly illustrated by the manuscripts of medieval missionaries. As Martin of Braga (d. 580) states, "many of those demons that have been expelled from heaven have their seat in the sea or in rivers or in springs or in woods and in the same way men ignorant of God worship them as gods and offer the sacrifices" (*Martin of Braga*, cited in Dowden 1999, 41). In the course of time, such a negative attitude could have formed the opinion that the ancient gods should be identified with the Christian devils, the embodiments of evil. The rigorous and implacable gods of the Underworld were especially susceptible to the negative transformation since not only their nature but the location itself coincided with that of the Christian Hell. Similarly, the functions of the pagan gods were demonized, and the ancient mythical categories acquired entirely different meanings. For instance, the proverb registered in the 16th century. "set a beggar on horseback, and he'll ride to the Devil" (Speake 2004, 16) clearly manifests the model of the ancient understanding regarding the relation of the horse with the Underworld and the horse's ability to carry human souls there, but the overall meaning manifested by the proverb acquires a negative connotation, i.e. an expression of disapproval that may not have been intended in the ancient pagan perspective.

Nonetheless, the ancient deeply rooted pagan tradition could not have disappeared in the consciousness of Irish people and could make a part of the vision of the Christian Hell. People still preserved their ancient beliefs, yet in a somewhat different perspective. This may be an explanation for the relatively late register of the kelpie as an aggressive creature. It may be so that the word 'kelpie' started to be used as a euphemism to the name the horse-like carrier of the souls representing death itself when Christianity was already established in the areas inhabited by Celts and Gaels. Thus, by still preserving the ancient archetypal vision about the horse-spirit that comes to the edge of the water body from the depths to take the soul of the dead to the kingdom of the Afterlife, the people could have invented a new name for this spirit lest the Christians should understand they still practiced pagan beliefs. Later on, the water spirit was transformed to a more perceptible level, i.e. a bodiless spirit now could acquire the bodily shape of a horse that lies covered by the weeds in wait for a new victim. The assumption seems to be logical with respect to the linguistic fact indicating that the name 'kelpie' is etymologically related with the weeds (*ceilp*) that grow in lakes or calm bays (cf. Macbain 1998, 79). Thus the remnants of the ancient pagan belief as the projections of the objective reality, later filtered through the Christian world outlook could form such an entity as the kelpie is.

Another discrepancy related with the kelpie myth is its dwelling environment, i.e. weedy lakes which does not comply with Epona's, as the ruler's of the water-horse, 'preference' to fast streams. Actually, it may also be just a figurative deviation from the original myth that could have appeared due to the Christian or other pagan neighbouring cultures. To put it in another way, it may be a mere figurative variety that does not affect the deep meaning of the mythical discourse, or it may illustrate the ancient categorization of the world. The kelpie is related with Epona with regard to a single function of the goddess – the guidance of the soul to the Otherworld which may be reached by descending into water. Thereby her mediator, i.e. the water-horse resides in calm waters, while Epona prefers fast streams that symbolically match the function of fertility which is a more prominent occupation of the goddess.

Another *semantic trajectory* in which the figures of Epona and the water horse spirit meet is the funeral rituals. The role of Epona is well established here, but that of the water spirit still remains hypothetical. Nevertheless, some sources evidence its relation with the burying procedures. Though the testimony itself comes from rather late times, it still contains some *desemantized* elements of the ancient belief. Some Scotsman still remembers about the attempt of his villagers to catch the kelpie when he was a small boy. The informant does not go into detail about the overall procedure of the preparation for this action, but what he mentions is the amount of provisions brought for the occasion. He says that men drunk more whisky than at any funeral (cf. Appendix 2.4). It may lead to a very complex *isotopy* of ritual drinks and whisky as a part of it, but for now it is interesting to note that whisky was used as a funeral drink. The title of the beverage may also be of great importance here. Its Scottish name *Usque Baugh* or Irish *Uisce Beatha* means 'the water of life'[35] and it is quite probable that the function of the drink was to overcome death. The concept of the antidote of death has been inherited in many cultures from the Indo-European tradition (cf. Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 721) and it might be so that some ritual drinks could be drunk at funeral in relation to the continuation of the spiritual life after bodily death. Yet, the fragmentary nature of the data does not allow for discussing the issue in detail. Nevertheless, but some allusions support the idea of the water horse being linked with the funeral customs.

To summarize the results of the research, it becomes clear that there was no such mythical creature as the kelpie is described in the sources – a creature with such a name and functions in the pre-Christian Celtic-Gaelic thought. However, it should not be excluded from the mythical structures in general because it is evident that ancient mythical discourses had some element that resembles the

[35] http://celticmythpodshow.com/blog/2008/05/19/whiskey-poteen-and-faeries/

kelpie. Its name could have been changed due to various cultural impacts. In other words, the presence of the horse-like water spirit in the ancient understanding is well attested, but the creation of its name remains a secret, since the word ‘kelpie’ appears only after the 13th century when the Christian world outlook was deeply rooted and in a way became an obstacle not allowing to depict any clear peculiarities of the pagan view. With whatever the name, the kelpie still seems to be a projection of the ancient water horse that carried the souls to the Underworld and was subordinate to the goddess Epona while other peculiar aspects of this mythical being are still to be inspected.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, the reconstruction of one of the ancient Celtic-Gaelic myths was carried out by means of the semiotic method extended by semiotician Algirdas Julius Greimas. The scholar treats mythical discourse as a hierarchical structure of significance that may be described in three levels: the *deep*, *narrative* and *discursive* ones. On the first level, the particular values are established; the second level concerns the distribution of the semantic contents, whereas on the third level the meanings are manifested by means of the images taken from the objective reality. It is a convenient method for the reconstruction of poorly known mythical systems because it allows for the collection of data from various scholarly fields and its organization into a semantic universe. The semiotic method also helps to solve the main problems that a mythologist faces due to the temporal distance, i.e. the lack of direct data or contradictory information provided in secondary sources. Yet, semiotic evaluation of the semantic charge and interaction of separate units of significance leads to the composition of a logical mythical structure.

1. Regarding the kelpie myth the problem lies in that the figure of the water-horse is vaguely depicted by the scholars as a mythical creature. Yet, the examination of the *actantial structure* of the sources evidencing the existence of the water-horse, i.e. legends, tales, testimonies given by people, proved that they manifest models typical of mythical discourse. Thus, the kelpie might be established as a mythical creature. However, a number of ancient tribes had mythical creatures that differed in their appearance or activity yet functioned similarly; therefore sources provide a rather confusing picture of the kelpie. In this paper, the kelpie is described as a mischievous horse-shaped water spirit that usually resides in deep dark lakes, lures people to mount it, then carries them to the bottom of its lake and devours its victims.
2. The kelpie mostly appears disguised in a horse shape, thus it is important to designate the *figurative trajectory* of the figure of the horse found in the mythical discourse. In the life of the ancient people, the horse was an important economic unit that helped in both agricultural and military activity. The multifunctionality of the animal in human reality determined the versatility of the image of the horse on the mythical plane. It became the symbol of fertility, and safety and the representation of the afterlife. A detailed etymological analysis revealed that in Celtic-Gaelic tradition the figure of the horse functioned as a psychopomp, i.e. the carrier of the souls of the deceased to the realm of the Afterlife. It has lead to the assumption that the kelpie could also function as a mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead.
3. The exploration of the *isotopy* of death has revealed that the ancient people distinguished the two types of death: natural and violent death. Accordingly, they had two kinds of burial rites –

inhumation and cremation. The consideration of the etymological data as well as the analysis of the ancient Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* have shown that ancient tribes were keen of water burial for people who died their own death because they believed water to be a special element that would carry the soul to the Kingdom of the Dead. Moreover, the ancient people discerned the two states of death: death as sleep and death as journey. Sleep is conceived as a temporary death, an intermediate state between life and death. Thus semantically the concept of sleep may be taken as a substitution of that of death, and vice versa. In the discussed case, the *isotopy* of sleep exposes the image of the horse-shaped spirit, i.e. the nightmare that reveals a similar *figurative trajectory* to that of the kelpie. Thus, if the states of sleep and death are taken as equivalents on the mythical perspective, the figures of the nightmare and the kelpie are mere figurative variations of the same concept of the mediator between life and death.

4. The posthumous journey of the soul to the world of the dead is related with water as an element through which the transfer takes place. The image of water as intermediary substance between the world of the living and the world of the deceased contributes to the reconstruction of the kelpie myth since it gives more information about the peculiarities of the kelpie's behaviour The mythical creature takes its victims from the world of the living and carries them to the bottom of its lake which is usually considered to be the symbol of the gates to the underworld. Thus, the semantic meaning of water supplements the vision of the kelpie as a guide of the souls.
5. It has been determined by the survey of various data that the kelpie could act as creature subordinate to a superior divinity, Celtic patroness of the horses, goddess Epona. Epona was represented by the image of the horse and was believed to reside in water. Moreover, one of her functions was to take care of the soul's transfer to the Kingdom of the Dead. Therefore, it is probable that the horse-shaped water spirit could function as an assistant of Epona in the transfer of the souls to the realm of the Afterlife.
6. The kelpie myth could be greatly influenced by Christian world outlook or neighbouring pagan cultures thus the water-horse could acquire demonic features that were not typical of the 'initial' kelpie. Nevertheless, the ancient pagan perspective on the kelpie is reflected much later in the works of individual authors. William Shakespeare's *Sonnet 146* or the extracts from his tragedy *Hamlet* as well as these of John Donne's sermon *The Death's Duel* expose semantic values that contribute to the depiction of the kelpie as a monstrous embodiment of death. Thus it helps to establish the figure of the water-horse as a mythical concept still being portrayed in some linguistic artefacts even after the ancient pagan beliefs have distracted from actual life.

SANTRAUKA

Šiame darbe pristatomas bandymas atkurti keltų-galų mitą apie vandenų arba ežero žirgą, vadinamą kelpiu. Tyrime taikomas semiotinės analizės metodas, kurį sukūrė ir išvystė Algirdas Julius Greimas (1917–1992). Šiuo metodu siekiama atskleisti prasmės generavimo principus bei sudėtingą mitinio diskurso struktūrą. Pagrindinis darbo tikslas yra apibrėžti kelpio funkcijas keltų- galų mitiniame universume. Darbą sudaro dvi pagrindinės dalys – teorinė ir praktinė. Teorinėje dalyje apžvelgiamas Greimo semiotinis prasmės kūrimo modelis. Čia išdėstomi pagrindiniai metodo principai, supažindinama su svarbiausiomis kategorijomis, aprašomi prasmės elementų tarpusavio ryšiai. Esminė metodo ašis yra generatyvinis takas, atskleidžiantis prasmės kūrimo etapus, t.y. gilųjį, naratyvinį ir diskursyvinį lygmenis.

Praktinėje darbo dalyje aptariami kelpio izotopiją sudarantys konceptai. Ją sudaro septyni skyriai, kuriuose analizuojami arklio ir vandens įvaizdžiai, pagoniškoji mirties samprata ir pomirtinio pasaulio projekcija. Apibendrinus tyrimo rezultatus galima teigti, kad visi semantiniai elementai, sudarantys kelpio izotopiją, patvirtina iškeltą hipotezę, kad vandenų žirgas senajame keltų tikėjime funkcionavo kaip mirusiųjų sielų keltininkas į mirusiųjų karalystę.

REFERENCES

Adams, D.Q., Mallory, J. P. (1997). *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Crowthorne: Taylor and Francis.

Ashe, G. (1990). *Mythology in the British Isles*. London: Guild Publishing.

Campbell, J. (1991). *The Power of Myth*. New York: Apostrophe S Productions Inc.

Cirlot, J.E. (1995). *A Dictionary of Symbols*. London: Routledge.

Dowden, K. (1999). *European Paganism: Realities of Cult from Antiquity to Middle Ages*. London: Routledge.

Edwardes, M., Spence, L. (2003). *Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing.

Ellis Davidson, H. R. (1988). *Myths and Symbols in Fagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions*. Manchester: MUPND.

Gamkrelidze, T. V., Ivanov, V. V. (1995). *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. Volume I*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ginzburg, C., Rosenthal, R. (2004). *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Green, M. (1998). *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*. London: Routledge.

Green, M. (1992). *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art*. London: Routledge.

Greimas, A.J. (1983). *Structural Semantics. An Attempt at the Method*. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

Klein, E. (2000). *Klein's Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Ed. Lambdin, R. T. (2002). *Companion to Old and Middle English Literature*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

Macbain, A. (1998). *Etymological Dictionary of Scottish-Gaelic*. New York: Hippocrene Books.

MacCulloch, J.A., Machal, J. (2008). *The Mythology of All Races. Volume III*. Charleston: BiblioLife.

MacCulloch, J. A. (205). *The Celtic and Scandinavian Religions*. New York: Cosimo Inc.

Mackillop, J. (2004). *Oxford Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McCoy, E. (1995). *Celtic Myth and Magick: Harness the Power of the Gods and Goddesses*. Woodbury:Llewellyn Worldwide.

Ed. Middleton, J. (1967). *Myth and Cosmos*. New York: Garden City.

Orel, V. (2003*). A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.

Petitot, J. (2004). *Morphogenesis of Meaning*. Bern: European Academic Publishers.

Rosenberg, D. (1993). *World Mythology*. Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Professional.

Scull, S. A. (2003). *Greek Mythology Systematized*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing.

Skeat, W.W. (1999) *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sørensen, J. (2007). *A Cognitive Theory of Magic*. Lanham: AltaMira Press

West, M.L. (2007*). Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ermanytė, I. T. (1999). *Mitologijos enciklopedija*. Vilnius: Vaga.

Lecouteux, C. (2006). *Germanų mitologijos žodynas*. Vilnius: Aidai.

Lotman, J. (2004). *Kultūros semiotika*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.

Greimas, A. J. (2005). *Struktūrinė semantika*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.

Greimas, A. J. (1990). *Tautos atminties beieškant. Apie dievus ir žmones*. Vilnius: Mokslo leidykla.

Greimas, A.J. (1989). *Semiotika. Darbų rinktinė*. Vilnius: Mintis.

Kunas, N. (1988). *Senovės Graikijos legendos ir mitai*. Kaunas: Šviesa.

Tokarev, S. A. (1994). *Mify narodov mira. Enciklopedia*. 1, 2 A. K., Moskva: Rosiiskaja enciklopedia.

INTERNET SOURCES

Bosworth, J., Toller, T. N. (2002). *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* in http://web.ff.cuni.cz/cgi-bin/uaa_slovnik/gmc_search_v3?cmd=formquery2&query [accessed on April 16, 2009]

Pokorny, J. (1959). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* in http://www.geocities.com/protoillyrian/the_whole_dang_file.zip [accessed on March 09, 2009]

http://fantasyhorses.homestead.com/water.html

http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=nightmare&searchmode=none

http://celticmythpodshow.com/blog/2008/05/19/whiskey-poteen-and-faeries/

DATA SOURCES

Briggs, K. M. (1980). *British Folk-Tales and Legends*. London: Granada Publishing.

Ed. Carey, J. (1990). *John Donne. Critical Edition of the Major Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gummere, F. B. (1894). *Old English Ballads*. Boston: Ginn & Company.

Speake, J. (2004). *Dictionary of Proverbs*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Thorpe, B. (1851). *Northern Mythology. Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany and the Netherlands. Volume III*. London: Edward Lumley.

Wain, J. (1986). *The Oxford Library of English Poetry. Volume I*. London: Guild Publishing.

(1991). *The Holy Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Zagorskienė, R. (1992). *Kalvis ir fėjos. Škotų pasakos*. Vilnius: Vyturys.

http://www.mysteriousbritain.co.uk/scotland/folklore/kelpie.html

http://rpo.library.utoronto.ca/poem/19.html

http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/nightmare.html#george

http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/scotlandsculture/lochness/kelpies/index.asp

http://www.mythicalcreaturesguide.com/page/Kelpie?t=anon

http://each-uisge.com/folklore.html

http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/sfft/sfft55.htm

http://www.shadowdrake.com/kelpie.html

http://www.squidoo.com/Kelpie

APPENDIX 1 *Formal definitions of the kelpie*

The descriptions given below are considered to be the so-called formal descriptions of the kelpie formulated by scholars on the basis of the testimonies of people. (The relative classification of the sources does not indicate the scientific nature of the descriptions of the water-horse).

1.1. The kelpie is usually depicted as a black horse with staring eyes, however, sometimes the coat is said to be white. A more fanciful description from Aberdeen describes the kelpie as having a mane formed of small fiery serpents which curl through each other and spit fire and brimstone.

1.2. Another name for the kelpie on the Isle of Man is the glashtyn. The glashtyn is described as a goblin which often rises out of the water and is similar in nature to the Manx brownie. Like all kelpies, the glashtyn appears as a horse - specifically, a gray colt. It is often seen on the banks of lakes and appears only at night.

1.3. A kelpie is said to possess the ability to assume human form and countenance. In human form, the kelpie is able to have sex with a woman. Sometimes the identity of a kelpie can only be uncovered by a woman by the discovery of a piece of water-weed or rush in the kelpie's hair. The kelpie is not always male, and may also take the form of a human woman. In this instance, the kelpie is often referred to as a water wraith and is most often seen clothed in a green dress with a hostile disposition. In some folklore, the water-horse will even take the form of a great bird.

1.4. The Each Uisge, or "Water-horse," a horse with staring eyes, webbed feet, and a slimy coat, is still dreaded. He assumes different forms and lures the unwary to destruction, or he makes love in human shape to women, some of whom discover his true nature by seeing a piece of water-weed in his hair, and only escape with difficulty. Such a water-horse was forced to drag the chariot of S. Fechin of Fore, and under his influence became "gentler than any other horse."

1.5. Water-Horse Each Uisge (Ech OOSHKUH) - In times past almost every freshwater loch in Skye was inhabited by a water-horse. Water-horses were often mistaken for ordinary horses as they looked not dissimilar. They had the ability to appear in any guise they chose, perhaps as a human, perhaps even as a tuft of wool. In Skye most water-horses were thought to have sharp bills or thin snouts like a ferret. Their main pastime was to lure people into the loch where they lived and then to eat them.
Skye, by Derek Cooper, Routledge, 1970.

1.6. Many different countries have stories of supernatural water horses; the Irish 'phooka' can appear as a bull, a pony or a horse. The Scandinavian 'Backahasten' ('brook-horse') is a beautiful but deadly white horse. French water horses can stretch their backs to carry more and more riders into dark lakes and pools. The Highland 'each uisge', a malevolent water horse, is matched by the Irish 'aughisky'

1.7. If you manage to bridle a kelpie they can be put to work. They are much stronger than an ordinary horse, carrying huge loads. It's said that a kelpie carried all the stones that built St Vigean's Church, near Arbroath. The laird of Morphie made a kelpie work for him when he built his new castle. When the castle was finished the kelpie cursed the laird and his family.

1.8. Commonly known as spirits of the dead, Kelpies are not benevolent creatures and some folklore even says that they will not come unless called/summoned or to eat.

1.9. The Kelpie is a water spirit inhabiting deep pools in Scottish streams and rivers. It normally takes the form of a small horse - sometimes said to be black, but also "green as glass" with a jet black mane and tail. The Kelpie can also take the form of a human, but it always has something of the water which gives it away - like waterweed in its hair. In its horse form it might wait near a ford to tempt a weary traveller to ride it across the river. It would look like a gentle pony, but anyone foolish enough to mount it would be carried off into the river and drowned.

1.10. The water horse's coat is adhesive so that the rider cannot get off. Once it has drowned its catch the water horse devours the body, eating everything except the liver, which eventually washes up on the shore - so that everyone will know the monster has claimed another victim.

1.11. The Kelpie is the supernatural shape-shifting water horse that haunts the rivers and streams of Scotland. It is probably one of the best known of Scottish water spirits and is often mistakenly thought to haunt lochs, which are the reserve of the Each Uisge.

1.12. The creature could take many forms and had an insatiable appetite for humans; its most common guise was that of a beautiful tame horse standing by the riverside - a tempting ride for a weary traveller. Anybody foolish enough to mount the horse - perhaps a stranger unaware of the local traditions - would find themselves in dire peril, as the horse would rear and charge headlong into the deepest part of the water, submerging with a noise like thunder to the travellers watery grave. The Kelpie was also said to warn of impending storms by wailing and howling, which would carry on through the tempest. This association with thunder - the sound its tail makes as it submerges under water.

APPENDIX 2 *Testimonies about the existence of the kelpie*

The stories listed below are considered to be the testimonies of the kelpie's existence delivered by people who have themselves met with the water horse or know somebody who has, and who are absolutely convinced with the existence of the horse-shaped water spirit.

2.1. Once, the horse of Spey invited a couple from the market to mount him, and once aloft upon his back they could hear the horse say, "And ride weel, Davie, and by this night at ten o`clock ye'll be in Pot Cravie." In 1884, a man in Cairny spoke of a slightly different saying of the kelpie that said, "Sit weel Janety, or ride weel, Davie, for this time in the morn, ye'll be in Pot Cravie."

2.2. The venerable Archdeacon of Moray, John Bellenden, appears to have had an intimate knowledge of the Each-uisge, and under the name of Trow he describes him with the accuracy of an eye-witness." He was covered all over with seaweed, and had the likeness of a young horse in every respect."

2.3. A recent writer says:

"In Arisaig there is a loch, which, according to tradition, there lived at one time a sea-horse. Boswell, in his Journal of Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides, informs us that an old man told the following fabulous story of one of the lochs of Raasay:

There was once a wild beast in it, a sea-horse, which came and devoured a man's daughter, upon which the man lighted a great fire and had a sow roasted in it, the smell of which attracted the monster. In the fire was put a spit. The man lay concealed behind a low wall of loose stones. The monster came, and the man with the red hot spit destroyed it.

"It is reported that a horse used to frequent the road near Loch Ness, till a stout, brave Highlander, meeting the monster one night, drew his sword in the name of the Trinity, and finished the supposed kelpie forever. Hugh Miller relates some very weird stories about the uncanny doings of a sea-horse or water-wraith that frequented the waters of the River Conon, Ross-shire. The Black Glen kelpie very early one morning was seen near the source of the river, making very unusual sounds. After a little while it left the waters of the river altogether; and at last, with fearful bellowings, it ran in the direction of Loch Uisge and Kingair-loch, and has neither been seen nor heard of any more to this day.

2.4. There was a determined attempt to catch a water-horse around the year 1870. A mile north of Teangue on the seaward side of the road lies Loch nan Dubhraichean in which a water-horse, 'more like a cow with a long mane' than anything else, had been seen so frequently that it was decided to trap it. Mary Donaldson, a Skye author, was told the story by an old man who took part in the fun as a boy:

The occasion was made a regular holiday by the district, even the children being freed from school, and people in carts and traps came far and wide to take part in the proceedings. My informant told me that a great supply of provisions was taken and that there was more whisky drunk there than at a funeral! Two boats had been brought, and when these were launched out on to the loch a net was dragged between them. In the course of the dragging proceedings that followed, the net was caught in a snag, and the majority of the spectators, thinking that the water-horse was indeed enmeshed, in terror rushed for their horses and carts or fled precipitately from the scene. Beside the snag, all that was caught on this occasion was two pike, so that the fishermen who aspires to catch out of the common still has his chance of the water-horse.

2.5. Peigi Bennett: "You see, we grew up with stories, but the fairies were always sort of in the background- the same as ghosts and the each uisge [water horse]. My mother used to frighten us...[the water-horse] was probably like the unicorn, something like that, with big horns... And you never saw the whole of it, you only saw the head coming out of the water (like the Loch Ness Monster [appears]) the way I imagined it, coming out of the water."

2.6. Well, on nights when the moon is full, so they say, each-uisge can be seen galloping on the loch side." Maddie turned to Jon T. "And there is a beautiful young maiden riding on his back."

APPENDIX 3 *Legends about the kelpie*

3.1. The following legend of the "water-horse," and the place where it is said to have occured, have been well known to the writer from his earliest years.

The story is that the water-horse came in the shape of a young man (riochd fleasgaich) out of his native element, and sat down beside a girl who was herding cattle on the banks of the loch. After some pleasant conversation he laid his head in her lap, in a fashion not unusual in old times, and fell asleep. She began to examine his head, and to her alarm found that his hair was full of sand and mud. She at once knew that it was none other than the "Each-Uisge," who would certainly conclude his attentions by carrying her on his back into the depths of the loch. She accordingly proceeded as dexterously as she could to get rid of her skirt, leaving it under the head of the monster. No sooner did he awaken than he jumped up and shook the skirt, crying out several times, "Ma's duine tha'n so's aotram e, mu'n dubhairt an-t-Each-Uisge" ("If this be human it's light, as the water-horse said"), then rushed down the brae and plunged into the lake. The girl's brother met the creature next morning at the same spot, and after a severe hand-to-hand fight killed it with his sword.

3.2. There was one way in which a Kelpie could be defeated and tamed; the Kelpies power of shape shifting was said to reside in its bridle, and anybody who could claim possession of it could force the Kelpie to submit to their will. A Kelpie in subjugation was highly prized, it had the strength of at least 10 horses and the endurance of many more, but the fairy races were always dangerous captives especially those as malignant as the Kelpie. It was said that the MacGregor clan were in possession of a Kelpies bridle, passed down through the generations from when one of their clan managed to save himself from a Kelpie near Loch Slochd

3.3. THE old family of the Grahams of Morphie was in former times very powerful, but at length they sunk in fortune, and finally the original male line became extinct. Among the old women of the Mearns, their decay is attributed to a supernatural cause. When one of the lairds, say they, built the old castle he secured the assistance of the water-kelpy or river-horse, by the accredited means of throwing a pair of branks 2 over his head. He then compelled the robust spirit to carry prodigious loads of stones for the building, and did not relieve him till the whole was finished. The poor kelpy was glad of his deliverance, but at the same time felt himself so galled with the hard labour, that on being permitted to escape from the branks, and just before he disappeared in the water, he turned about, and expressed, in the following words, at once his own grievances and the destiny of his taskmaster's family

"Sair back and sair banes,
Drivin' the laird o' Morphie's stanes!
The laird o', Morphie'll never thrive
As lang's the kelpy is alive!"

APPENDIX 4 *Mythical narratives about the kelpie*

The stories given below are usually described as tales, though their actantial structure betrays their mythical origin. Therefore, in this work they are treated as mythical narratives.

4.1. There is a story about a young servant girl who allowed a man to put his head upon her lap while she went to comb his hair. She found a little bit of liobhagach an loch, which is a slimy green weed found in the water, in his hair. She worked until the man fell asleep in her lap, and then used her apron to gently lay his head upon the earth and then ran away. When she looked back, she could see him chasing after her in the guise of a horse.

4.2. In many districts we are told of "the lurking place of the water-horse, which, under the form of a handsome youth, won and kept a maiden's heart until, by chance, she found him asleep on the hillock where they were wont to meet, and on bending over him noticed a bunch of rushes in his hair. Then she knew with what she had to deal, and fled in terror to her father's house, reaching it just in time to bar the door in the kelpie's face, whose voice she heard crying:
Ann an là ’s bliadhna,
Mo bhean òg, thig mi dh’ iarraidh.

In a day and a year,
I'll come seeking my dear.

So she was warned never to go near the hillock again; her parents found her a more eligible suitor; and all went well till her wedding day, when on leaving the church after the ceremony was over, a big black horse came suddenly upon them, seized the bride and galloped off with her. Since that time no one has ever seen the horse or its burden, unless, indeed, at the fall of night, some passer-by catches a glimpse of a white face rising out of the water, and hears a low sweet voice croon the love song she was singing when first she saw her kelpie lover."

4.3. There was a young woman in Barra who met a handsome looking man on the hill. They chatted together, and at last he laid his head on her lap. She noticed when he slept that his hair was mixed with 'rafagach an locha,' a weed that grows in lakes, and she became suspicious that her friend was the water-horse in disguise. She cut off the part of her clothes on which his head rested, and slipped away without wakening him. A considerable time after, on a Sunday after Mass, a number of people were sitting on the hill and she along with them. She noticed the stranger whom she had met on the hill approaching, and she got up to go home so as to avoid him. He made up to her, notwithstanding, and caught her, and hurried off and plunged with her into the lake, and not a trace of her was ever found but a little bit of one of her lungs on the shore of the lake. - Anne M‘Intyre."

"In the island of Mingulay a young woman had a similar adventure, only in her case the stranger appeared often to her, and they became at last so fond of each other that they agreed to marry at the end of a year and a day, and till then the stranger was not to be seen by her. The girl went home, and as the year was drawing to an end, she was observed to be fast sinking in health and losing her good colour, yet she would not say what it was that made her fall away so. Her father at last extorted an unwilling confession of the truth from her, and word was given to the islanders as to what was causing the girl such trouble. She was very beautiful and a great favourite, and when the people heard what was to happen to her, they made up their minds that they would allow no harm befall her. When the day came all the men of the place were armed with clubs, and the young woman was put sitting on the wall of the house, - the young men forming a guard round the house. All were in a state of expectancy when the stranger was seen appearing above the great cliff of Mingulay and coming down swiftly towards the village. One of the islanders stepped forward to meet the stranger and asked him his errand. 'Such as it

is,' said the stranger, 'you are not the man to stand in my way, strong though you be, and you may as well not detain me.' He went forward and reached the guard round the house, and, in the twinkling of an eye, seized the young woman by the hand, and, before the guard had made up their minds to pursue him and rescue the girl, he had so far retraced his way with his prize. The islanders started in pursuit, but in vain. They saw him and the woman disappear at a certain well, and when they reached this the well was full of blood and of shreds of her garments. The well is still called 'Tobar na Fala' = the well of blood.

4.4. A long time ago, there was a girl who was not only pretty but also big and strong. She worked as a maid on a farm by Lake Hjärtasjön in southern Nerike. She was ploughing with the farm's horse on one of the fields by the lake. It was springtime and beautiful weather. The birds chirped and the wagtails flitted in the tracks of the girl and the horse in order to pick worms. All of a sudden, a horse appeared out of the lake. It was big and beautiful, bright in color and with large spots on the sides. The horse had a beautiful mane which fluttered in the wind and a tail that trailed on the ground. The horse pranced for the girl to show her how beautiful he was. The girl, however, knew that it was the brook horse and ignored it. Then the brook horse came closer and closer and finally he was so close that he could bite the farm horse in the mane. The girl hit the brook horse with the bridle and cried: "Disappear you scoundrel, or you'll have to plough so you'll never forget it." As soon as she had said this, the brook horse had changed places with the farm horse, and the brook horse started ploughing the field with such speed that soil and stones whirled in its wake, and the girl hung like a mitten from the plough. Faster than the cock crows seven times, the ploughing was finished and the brook horse headed for the lake, dragging both the plough and the girl. But the girl had a piece of steel in her pocket, and she made the sign of the cross. Immediately she fell down on the ground, and she saw the brook horse disappear into the lake with the plough. She heard a frustrated neighing when the brook horse understood that his trick had failed. Until this day, a deep track can be seen in the field.

4.5. Here is a story of a Kelpie's wife who managed to escape to dry land again, leaving the Kelpie and their baby son. Although she wept to leave her child, she longed for human company, and she knew the Kelpie loved his son and would care for him. She returned to her family who were overjoyed to see her again, thinking that she had been drowned years ago. But as they celebrated, a dreadful storm blew up, with howling winds and lashing rain. Above the noise of the storm they could hear the furious screams of the Kelpie. In the middle of the night, when they storm was at its worst, they heard a loud thump against the door of the house. They did not dare look, in case it was the Kelpie come for his wife. But in the morning the storm abated, and they opened the door to see what had crashed into it in the night... It was the severed head of the baby son

4.6. The Kelpie of Loch Garve

The story of the Kelpie of Loch Garve (so it's technically an Each Uisge, but we'll keep it as Kelpie for this story) tells of a Kelpie that lived at the depths of the loch with his wife. Now the Kelpie obviously loved his cold wet lair at the bottom of the loch, and was well settled in his element. Although he would make trips on land (most likely hunting mortals) he was always glad to get home. His wife, however, was less impressed. She always felt the terrible cold, and shivered endlessly in that miserable lair at the bottom of the murky loch. At first the Kelpie put this down to her making a fuss over nothing, but as time went by she became more and more unhappy. Fearing that she might leave him, and worried about her welfare, the Kelpie racked his brains wondering what to do.

The very next day he made a decision. He went to shore and transformed himself into a handsome jet-black stallion (as kelpies mostly do) and made for the cottage of a local famous builder. The Kelpie tramped at the hearthstone until the man came out. Seeing this handsome black stallion standing before him, the man, either against his better judgement or oblivious to the warnings of

waterhorses, was enticed to climb upon the horse's back. Immediately he became stuck fast, and the Kelpie galloped at high speed towards the loch with the terrified builder on his back. The Kelpie plunged into the icy waters, his tail pounding the surface like a thunder crash. As the two made their descent the reluctant passenger uttered a prayer. In what seemed like an age the builder was carried down into the black waters, but for some reason did not drown.

When they reached the bottom the Kelpie let the builder dismount, explained his predicament, and promised no hurt upon the builder or his family. He made a bargain that if the builder would do a small favour, then he and his family would have a plentiful supply of fish until the day he died: they would never want for food from the loch.

So the builder - in accordance with the Kelpie's wishes - set about building a huge magnificent fireplace and lum the like of which no mortal eyes had ever seen. The great chimney twisted upwards through the dark waters to almost the surface, to carry the smoke far away from the lair. Then the fireplace was lit and a great fire sprang up and began warming the submerged home. When the Kelpie saw the sheer delight upon his dear wife's face, he knew that the builder had fulfilled his bargain and more!

He took the builder back up through the dark, icy waters, and to his house, as if nothing had gone amiss that night - for time in the lands of the faeries does not have the same meaning here. True to his word the Kelpie never forgot the work of the tradesman. The builder and his family were never unable to put fish on the table, and lived like royalty.

But what of the Kelpie and his wife? Well, when the loch freezes over in the midst of the coldest winters, some say there is still to this day a patch of water that never freezes; a small patch of water that never cools like the rest of the loch. Perhaps where a tall lum nearly reaches the surface. This is because a fire still burns merrily in the lair of the Kelpie and his happy wife.

APPENDIX 5 *Charms against the nightmare*

5.1. Charm against Night-Mares
Germany
I lay me here to sleep;
No night-mare shall plague me,
Until they swim all the waters
That flow upon the earth,
And count all the stars
That appear in the firmament!
Thus help me God Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen!
Original German:
Hier leg' ich mich schlafen,
Keine Nachtmahr soll mich plagen,
Bis sie schwemmen alle Wasser,
Die auf Erden fließen,
Und tellet alle Sterne,
Die am Firmament erscheinen!
Dazu helfe mir Gott Vater, Sohn und heiliger Geist. Amen!

5.2. A Charm to Control the Night-Mare
England
S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by daie, so did he by night.
Untill such time as he her found,
He hir beat and he hir bound,
Untill hir troth she to him plight,
She would not come to him that night.

5.3. A Shetland Charm
Shetland Islands
Arthur Knight
He rade a' night,
Wi' open swird
An' candle light.
He sought da mare;
He fan' da mare;
He bund da mare
Wi' her ain hair.
And made da mare
Ta swear:
'At she should never
Bide a' night
Whar ever she heard
O' Arthur Knight.