

Táin Bó Dartada



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TÁIN BÓ DARTADA

ABSTRACT

This article presents a new edition and translation of the much neglected Ulster Cycle tale, *Táin Bó Dartada* ‘The cattle-raid of Dartaid’. It is here edited from British Library MS Egerton 1782 (E) with readings from the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y) and British Library MS Additional 33993 (A). E is shown to be the best representative of an archetype which is no later than the tenth century but may have drawn on earlier sources. An examination of Y suggests that that version was somewhat modernised and reorganised by c. 1100, although the analysis suggests that E also underwent some abridgement. Problems of interpretation of the text that have previously been glossed over are explored in detail. An interesting picture of the nature of the *áes síde* emerges, notably as regards their invisibility and close proximity to humans and their use of wordplay and lavish gifts in acts of egregious deceit.

THE TALE KNOWN AS *Táin Bó Dartada* (TBD) is extant in three complete texts representing three different recensions. The oldest complete copy is contained in Dublin, Trinity College (TCD) MS H 2. 16 (1318) (= Yellow Book of Lecan, hereafter YBL), cols 644–6, which will be designated Y here. This section of the manuscript was in the process of being compiled by Giolla Íosa Mac Fírbhisigh in and around the year 1392 (Ó Muraíle 1996: 16). A second copy, here designated E, is found in London, British Library (BL) MS Egerton 1782, fols 80r–81r, written by members of the Ó Maoilchonaire family around 1517, probably mostly at Cluain Plocáin in the parish of Kiltrustan, Co. Roscommon (Flower 1926: 260–2; Hazard 2003; HDGP v, 92). Our tale was written by the chief scribe who identifies his father as Seaan mac Torna uí Maoilchonaire, *ollam* of the O’Connors, who died on New Year’s Day in 1517 while the manuscript was being compiled. The last of the complete copies, here called A, is taken from London, BL MS Additional 33993, fols 1v–2v, written in the sixteenth century (Flower 1926: 1). A fourth copy, preserved in TCD MS H 1. 13 (1287), pp. 345ff., written by Aodh Ó Dálaigh in 1746, is nearly identical to E (Abbott and Gwynn 1921: 42) and is clearly derived from it. A very short fragment is also preserved in the hand of the main scribe of *Lebor na hUidre* (designated U), p. 20b32–37 (LU ll. 1553–7).

Y, E and A have been previously edited. Windisch (1887a) edited separately Y and E, and Thurneysen (1912) edited A. The fragment in LU is edited in the diplomatic edition of the manuscript. The tale has been translated

by Windisch (1887a), based on **E**, and Leahy (1905–6), which is based on Windisch's German.¹

RECENSIONS

All three primary copies (**Y**, **E**, **A**) differ to some degree, although they all are ultimately derived from a single archetype and agree in all essentials of the narrative. **E** seems to best preserve the state of the original language (see below) and only in a small number of cases does **Y** suggest a better reading. **A** is clearly the latest in terms of language and presents a radically abbreviated and reworded version, apparently with the intention of making it comprehensible to a contemporary audience. It agrees closely with **Y** and **E** in the version of events portrayed, but despite a large degree of verbal agreement, and even allowing for its abbreviated form, the wording frequently differs. It is closest to **E** in its telling with many agreements against **Y** and is clearly derived from a copy close to **E**. Note, for example:²

§	Y	E	A
1	dia sechtmaine	dia samno	la samna
2	do airle comairli duidsiu teglach maith umut 7 graigne alaind allmardai	do thabairt comuirli duitsi teglach coem immut 7 graid aluinn allmurdo fout	do tabairt comairle duitsí gan teghlach caem 7 gan graidh alainn almurdha fott
3	.xl. timthacht do timtachtuib mac rig	7 caeco escrime do escrimmim sidi leo	.l. essgrine sidhe leó
4	<i>om.</i> i ndorus in duni <i>om.</i>	gu srianuib oir 7 arccuit friu i ndorus liss coego echlusc finnbuini	co srianuib oir 7 airgit friú a ndorus in lís .l. echlasc finnrúine
7	<7 docum>lat dia crich cotric Eochaid fria tri m<acai>b <G>laschon	docomlat as iarum dia tig co comarnacuir fri macu Glaschon	docomlat ass iarum docum a tighi coconrangatar fri macu Glescon
8	tri .c. ba<n>	cetri .xx. mac rig	.ííí.xx.it do macuib righ
9	cia taid <i>om.</i>	coichi ibsi ata .xl. lulgach le	coich sibh fil da .xx.it loilgec le
10	<i>om.</i>	laech amra sidi do Muimnechuib	laech amhra do Muimnechuib

¹See also Mikhaylova (1985), which I have been unable to access. I am grateful to the editors and the anonymous reader for many helpful and judicious comments. Any remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility.

²Readings are from the MSS but the spacing is mine. Text which is now illegible is placed in angled brackets.

§	Y	E	A
	ciasu annann bai for suidiu	cia for nanmunnsi	cia bur nanmandsa
11	roime	as for crich	asbur crich
15	om.	got buaib	cot buaibh
16	docher and Dart isin comrac fo .c. imguin	dorochoir inn ingen fo.c.oir laissin cetcomrac	dorochur a ingen isin cetcomrac

There is a very small number of occasions on which **A** agrees with **Y** against **E** but these are largely of a minor nature and could, in most cases, have been arrived at independently. For example, both **A** and **Y** mention the sending of messengers (*Tiagaid techta*, Y §1 = *ro cuir Medbh 7 Ailill techtai*, A), for which **E** has a passive verbal formation (*doroideth*), but otherwise the wording of **A** and **Y** at this point is completely different so that the use of *techta* is likely to be coincidental. Similarly, the reading *arnamarach* (§4) in **A** and **Y** for **E**'s *matuin iarna ūaruch* is probably due to similar approaches to modernisation of the inherited text. **Y**'s *cuich iad* (§11) reappears, although garbled, in **A** as *cuidb iatside*, for which **E** has superior *cid neiside* for original *citnē side*. *Cuich iad* would have been a natural way of modernising **E**'s reading and could have been arrived at independently. Nevertheless, **A** and **Y** appear to preserve the better reading on one occasion. They have *cungnum*, *cungnam* for **E**'s *congnim* (§3) which I argue is an error (see notes). It is possible that both have corrected this independently but it is more likely that *cungnam* was in the common ancestor of **E** and **A** and that it is merely a scribal slip in **E**. Thus, it would seem that **E** and **A** belong to the same branch and that **A** is not derived directly from **E**.

The readings of **Y** are better than **E** on a number of occasions, some of them quite significant.

- 2 tuidcebuir, E: tudchobair, Y.
- 4 ate, E: ote, Y.
- 6 Cuailnge, E: Cuailng<n>iu, Y.
ata indethin foruib, E: ata .l. didiu andetitin for suidib, Y.
- 7 rotmbiasiu, E: rotbiasa, Y.
insena, E: inseuu, Y.

Much more frequently, however, **E** provides better or more archaic readings than **Y**:

- 1 Cuillne, E: Chuilli, Y.occo, E: aco, Y. accallum, E: acallaim, Y.
- 2 cotlud, E: cotalaig, Y. ind ogleach, E: adochoclaech, Y. ca hairmm, E: cair,
Y. inan aithgeuin, E: inacen sinn, Y.
- 3 dotaircibe, E: dothairgebad, Y. escriimi do escrimmim, E: timthacht do
timtachtaib, Y. tiasuit, E: tiagaid, Y. ar diri, E: for tire, Y.
- 4 scuaiblipra ruissi, E: beothruse, Y.

- 5 innaidi, E: indie, Y.
 6 diandomgomgradsa, E: daningartar, Y.
 7 co comarnacuir, E: cotric, Y.
 8 conid apudar, E: conabadar, Y.
 9 in mnai ata haillium, E: in oicben [...] bad ailli, Y. coichi ibsi, E: cia taid, Y. is do macsi, E: ise do macsu, Y. di ocuib maithib, E: do ocaib amra, Y. dusnicfo, E: donicfa, Y. fono maccaemu, E: imna macaib, Y. dorochrutar, E: dirochart, Y.
 10 Corb Cliach, E: Co<rp Li>at, Y. Nemaine artuaith, E: Neme antuaid, Y (for *Neme aniar antuaid*). dusnaidbiut, E: tosnaidbed, Y.
 11 cid neiside, E: cuich iad, Y.
 12 no rigsi, E: no rad, Y.
 14 teti, E: tothaet, Y.
 15 tredam, E: tri daim, Y. ainfimm, E: anfam, Y.
 16 dorocratar, E: dotuited, Y. leo, E: le (for *leis*), Y. inda buu, E: a bu, Y.

Finally, it may be noted that U and Y are generally in agreement against E, including the incorporation of a gloss in the hand of M (.i. *i nHuib Cúanach indossa*, LU 1554 gl. a = *in hUib Cuanach andiu*, Y) which is absent from E and A. As U contains only the opening of the tale, all examples relate to §1 only.

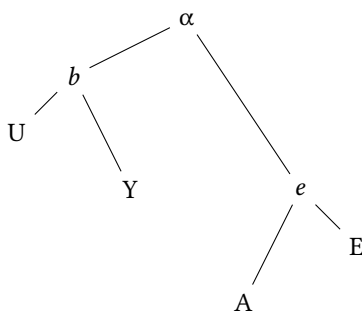
U	Y	E
Corpri	Coirpri	Cairpri
rí	ri	rig
batar	badar	om.
ríg 7 rurech	rig 7 ruirech	rig
na mMuman	na Muman	Mumun
fria mbiathad na mac	fria biathad na mac	oca mbiathad
téit techta	tiagaid techta	doroideth
a dochum	a docum	om.

That Y is independent of U is perhaps suggested by the singular verb (*téit*) with a pl. subject (*techta*) beside Y's older usage (*tiagaid techta*), although conceivably the scribe could have 'corrected' U's reading. Therefore, we may tentatively posit a common exemplar that was redacted before the turn of the twelfth century when LU was written.³ Moreover, E is closer to U in *Eochu*, U: *Eochu*, E: *Eochaid*, Y, and, indeed, is better (final -u), as it is also in *occo* (oca, U: *aco* Y), and E has the *lectio difficilior* in *doroideth* which has been simplified in U and Y using constructions with *techta* 'messenger'. We may further conclude, therefore, that E is independent of U and that the archetype predates the writing of LU.

³This accords with the conclusion by Strachan and O'Keeffe (1912: v) that, orthography aside, the text of the YBL recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is generally superior to that of LU. Similarly, McCone's analysis shows that the YBL copies of *Echtrae Chonnlaí* in this gathering (his Y²), along with Egerton 1782, are independent of LU (McCone 2000: 27).

It is worth noting that **U** and **Y** employ the definite article in the phrase *rí na mMuman*. Throughout most of history, the province name appears without the definite article. In the *Annals of Tigernach*, apart from occasional references in the seventh and eighth century, it first appears in what seems to be contemporary usage in 1058 after which it becomes more common, although never exclusively so and never in the phrase *rí Muman*.⁴ It occurs only sporadically in *AI* beginning in 1024. However, as the name continued in use without the definite article, we cannot be sure that **E** has not reverted to the shorter form.

The relationship between the extant versions may be laid out as follows, therefore. The date of *e* relative to the other branch is not known.



α = archetype; *b* = source for both **U** and **Y**

HISTORY OF THE TALE

The tale is mentioned in the two major Middle Irish tale lists where it appears as *T[áin] Bó Dartada/Dartadha* in List A and *Táin Bo Darti nó Táin Bo Dartada* and *T[áin] Bo Dartadha* in two of the three manuscripts of List B (Mac Cana 1980: 42, 52). The title appears to have been added independently to the two lists as, although they share a common core, this section in List B does not appear to go back to the archetype (Toner 2000: 93).⁵ The tale further appears in two shorter lists derived from List A as *Táin Bó Dartá* and *T. Bo Dartada* (Mac Cana 1980: 64–5).⁶ It is listed as *Do tháin bo Dartadha* among the *remscéla* to the *Táin* in Dublin RIA MS D iv 2, fol. 49vb, but is absent from the list of *remscéla* found in *LL*, ll. 32901–9.⁷

Despite this strong presence in lists of tales, there are very few references to the events of the tale in the wider literature. The *Táin* makes no mention of it at all.⁸ Elements of the tale are told briefly in the *Dindshenchas* of Áth

⁴Kevin Murray kindly supplied me with a list of instances of *Mumain/Muman* with the definite article, none of which are earlier than the ones given above.

⁵Moreover, the lack of alliteration between it and an adjoining title would suggest that it may have been added to A at some time after the compilation of the original list (see Toner 2000: 105).

⁶See Toner (2000: 99–100) on the relationship to A.

⁷For a discussion of the tale's function as a *remscél* to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and its parallels with other *remscéla*, see Cleary (2018), especially 48–9, 101, 130–31, 136–7, 178, 185–6, 258.

⁸Eochu Bec is said to have been one of Medb's suitors in the Pillow Talk episode of the Book of Leinster version of the *Táin* but he is not otherwise mentioned (*TBC LL*, l. 26).

Clíath Medraige (*MD* 3, 314–17). There, it is stated that the Clanna Dedad of Munster waged war on the seven Maines and three thousand men at that ford (ll. 13–16), which stands in marked contrast to the small band of youths lead by Órlám in our tale. No mention is made there of Dartaid's love for Órlám or any of the Connachta, although it is said that the Maines were engaged in a raid of Dartaid's cattle (*im tháin bó Dartada*, l. 19). Eochu Bec mac Cairpri, king of Clíu, comes from Cuillenn to the ford (ll. 21–3), causing the Maines to create protective hurdles (*cliatha*) of thorns surrounding the ford, whence its name, Áth Clíath. This is very different from the story told in *TBD* where Eochu is ambushed not by the Maines but by the people of Irros Domnann at a place called Inis Úa Conchada which is said to be in Meath (*Mide*), although may originally have been located further south (see note §7). The same story is told in the prose *Dindshenchas* preserved in the Rennes manuscript where it is said that the seven Maines took the cattle of Dartaid (*táin bó Dartada ingine Regamna*) and that Eochaid pursued them to Áth Clíath to recapture the cows (Stokes 1894: 459).⁹ Location also links *Táin Bó Dartada* to one of the traditions cited in *Cóir Anmann*. In our tale, the place called Imlech Dartá in Clíu is said to have been named from our eponymous heroine (see §16). A similar name appears in *Cóir Anmann* in the context of the three cows that escaped the destruction of cattle in the time of Bressal Bódíbad. In the long version, the three cows are identified as a heifer in Cooley, another in Line (Moylinny, Co. Antrim) and a third in Clíu, where, however, the name of its location is given as the somewhat different Imlech Fir Áendairti (Arbuthnot 2007: 73, §282; cf. 5, §18).¹⁰ It would appear that there may have been some link between this event and the cattle of Eochu and his daughter, Dartaid, but what that may have been is now obscure.

LANGUAGE

This analysis is based primarily on **E**, which generally preserves an earlier state of the language, but includes reference to **Y** where significant.

Final unstressed vowels are written indiscriminately. Consonants are generally represented as in **OIr** and **MÍr** but there are occasional examples of *c* becoming *g* (*beg* 1, 5, *agallum* 1, *ōglaech* 2, *ogus* 2, *ēgin* 7, *ōig* 16, *Cosgar* 9, *Cosgrad* 10; *-sgarfa* 10, *rugsaid* 16; *gu* 3, 4, 9, 14, *got* 15, *gach* 7) and *t* becoming *d* (*-apudar* 8, *rugsaid* 16 (before *s-*)). See also *scūabo* 4 (with *b* for earlier *p*), *huilip* 15 (*p* for */v/*), and *MS scūaiblipra* 4 (with *b* for */b/* and *p* for */v/*).¹¹ Alongside these modernisations, we find several examples of seemingly archaic *th* for later *-d* (*/ð/*) in final unstressed position: *-roīdeth* 1, *[š]ainnriuth* 7, *cāeiniuth* 8, *anīartūaith* 10, *fēimgeth* 14; see also in **Y** only *torbath*, 14 (where **E** represents

⁹See also Stokes (1892: 490).

¹⁰In the earliest version, the place, called there Aenach Fir Aendarta, is located in Moylinny while a third cow is said to have survived at an unnamed location in Clíu (Arbuthnot 2005: 82, §13).

¹¹For a discussion of such unorthodox orthography in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century MSS, see Breatnach (2012: 42–50), although our text avoids some of the extremes noted there.

the ending with a suspension stroke). There are no examples of hypercorrection and only eleven examples of *-d* where a word ending is written *plene*: past subj. *ndigsid* 1, pres. ind. *gaibid* 5, past pass. *-chomgrad* 6, ipv. 3 sg. *ēirged* 9, vn. *bīathad* 6 (x2), vn./personal name *cuscrad* et var. (x3) 10, adj. *socraid* 9, and, with the later dental inflection, gen. sg. *sliged* 16. In the same vein, we have *-ch* in *Tassich* 10 also written *Tassuig* 16. In preverbs, *do-* is invariably written *do-* except in *to:scarthar* 15 and, in **Y** only, *tosnaidbed* 10 (= *dus:n-aidbiut*, **E**), and *tothaet* 14.

Hiatus is not represented, for example, in *do:comlāt* 5, 7, and *mám* 7 (frequently written *maam* in the Glosses). The prepositional pronoun 2 sg. *fout* 2 is superficially a hiatus form but there is no etymological support for McCone's suggestion (1981: 33–4) that it was originally disyllabic.¹² Hiatus is possibly preserved in the prep. *fri* + 3 pl. suff. pron., *friuu* 4, which had a disyllabic form (see *eDIL* s.v. *fri*), but it is more generally *friu* (3, 4, 5, 15) and we may compare hypercorrect apl. *buu* 16 for *bú*, possibly with the doubling of the vowel simply indicating vowel length. A disyllable is original in *laa* 7 (x2), although this remains a common representation of the long vowel in **MIr** (see *SnaG* 229, 231) and into **EModIr**. Rounding of *e* before *ch* is seen in *do:deochatar* 16 and in *Eochu/Eocha* 1, 2, but is absent from *Echo* 2, *Echu* 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, *Echaid* 8, *Echach* 9, 14. Note also the absence of any marker of the dat. sg. in *ech* 4.

The state of the **definite article** is generally that found in **MIr**. It is usually *in*, never *an*. Where **OIr** has *ind* we find *ind*, *inn* and *in*: *isinn imairec* 9, *inn ingen* 15, 16; npl. masc. *ind ōicc* 15, *ind ōic* 16, *in ōig* 16, with which compare *na tecto*, 1. The last occurrence of *in(d)* in the npl. masc. in **AU** is found in 999, but occasionally examples are found in later texts such as *Passions and Homilies* and *Togail Troí* (*AMC* 79; *SnaG* 259). We find the short form of the gpl. of the article in *na* 6, 8, alongside the long form in *inda buu* 16 which seems to have been disappearing in the ninth century with the latest examples found in the tenth century (McCone 1985: 89–90; *SnaG* 259; Stifter 2013: 183–4).

The **neuter** was moribund by the eleventh century, surviving largely in fixed phrases and placenames (*AMC* 79–80; *SnaG* 239). It is preserved here, but frequently written *i*, in: *a ndirim* 5, *hi llaa-si* 7, *i n-ēcusc* 9 (nom. sg.) and possibly in *in ētuch* 13 (acc. sg.). But it is replaced by masc. forms in *in scēl* 8 and possibly in *in tecluim* 10 if this is correctly identified as an old neuter. The neut. is probably preserved also in *in n-ī* 7 with which compare masc. *int-ī* 5.

The dat. pl. of the **adjective** seems to have been moribund by the twelfth century and certainly the second half of that century (Toner 2007: 72). Here, it is well preserved in **E** (only once in **Y**): *mbelgib airccdigib* 4, *būaib blichtuib* 6, *ōcuib maithib* (*-ib* represented by suspension stroke) 9, *būaib huilip* 15 (but *ōic maithi* 11). There is only a single instance of a predicative *o/ā*-stem adj. in the nom. pl. masc. and it shows the innovatory *-a* form (*atē scūaiblipra* 4) (omitted in **Y**).

¹²The only example he supplies is *fout* from *Saltair na Rann*, l. 1734 (Greene 2007), but a disyllable would render the line hypersyllabic. David Stifter (pers. comm.) suggests that this may be simple *u*-affection.

The **equative** in *-ithir* + acc. was giving way to other constructions in MÍr (see *AMC* 90; *SnaG* 255–6) but is still found in some EModÍr texts. It is retained here but with nom. for acc. in *siritir a lām* 10 in a short passage found only in E which may be a later addition (see below pp. 190–1). The old superlative ending *-am* is preserved in *hāillium* 9 (E only) and there are no examples of it being replaced by the comparative, a feature that was already emerging in OÍr. Jackson notes a mixture of forms in *AMC*, all in the same adj. (*nessam/nessa*) (*AMC* 90–1). The old superlative ending also appears here in a fixed phrase (*Cia nesam dūn* 10) taken from Y (the equivalent phrase is absent from E) but logically this would appear to be a hypercorrection for the comparative; see the almost identical phrase *cid as nesu dúin de sin* (LL 34166 (*Tochmarc Ferbae*)). For *-am* in the comparative, see *SnaG* 257.

The inflection of the **noun** reveals few diagnostic features. Breatnach (*SnaG* 249) notes that the long dative of old neut. *n*-stems is very rare in MÍr and is often replaced by a form with non-palatal *-m* but here we find *escrimmim* 3 (see also *escrimim* 5 although the expansion is ambiguous). The old neut. pl. is preserved in *anmun* 9, 10 although this survives into late MÍr (Toner 2007: 69, and cf. *SnaG* 249). We have the old short dat. in *hĒriu* 9. There are conventional instances of the independent dative: *int [s]ainnriuth* 7, *timchiull* 16, *nōnbur* 16.

Prepositions

The simple prepositions follow their OÍr form and usage for the most part but with some departures towards MÍr. I give here only significant forms:

- ar** ‘in front of’: replaces *for* in *ar brū*, 10.
- a** ‘out of’: *a* 6, beside later *as* 11.
- do** ‘to, for’. With pron. 2 sg., the most common form is *duit* 2, 3, 7, etc., with one example of *det* 6 (cf. *deit* found occasionally in *Wb.* and *Ml.* (GOI 274)). The simple prep. *do* is spelt thus throughout but *di* ‘from’ is *di* 4, 9, 10, alongside *do* 3, 6, 7, etc.
- for** ‘on’. Takes the dat. in *for cech ech* 4, *for imairicc* 7, *fora n-echaib* 15 (although the ending here is represented by suspension stroke), but with acc. for dat. in *forsna slūaga* 14.
- fri** ‘against, with’: always with initial *f*–: *fri* 6, 7 and in prep. pronouns *friu* 4. With poss. adj. *fria* 6.
- imm** ‘around’ is generally so written: *im* 11, 12, *imm* 8; with pron. 2 sg. *immut* 2, 3 sg. *immi* 5. Formally, it is confused with *fo* in *fono mac-cāemu* 9 (= *im na macaib*, Y) and in *fo thīr nĒrinn* ‘around Ireland’ 8 (both Y and E).
- i n-** ‘in’. The old prep. pron. 3 sg. acc. (*ind*) is replaced by the dat. form *ann* 11.
- la** ‘with’, so spelt 4, 5. With pron. 1 sg. *lemm* 6, *lem* 2, 6, 9, *let* 3 (OÍr *lat*; cf. *lat* Y 10), 3 sg. masc. *laiss* 1, *lais* 16, fem. *lē* 9, 1 pl. *linn* 15, 3 pl. *lēo* 3, 11, 15, 16. With def. art. *laissin* 16.

- oc** 'at'. always so spelt (3, 7, 8). With a pron. 3 sg. masc. *occo* 1, *oco* 7.
With poss. adj. *oco* 5.
- ó** 'from'. With pron. 3 sg. masc. *hūad* 4 (never *úada*).

The non-palatal *n* of 1 pl. is preserved in 1 pl. *dūn* 2, 3 (see AMC 98, *SnaG* 326), but we find innovative palatalisation in 1 pl. *etruinn* 2 (Y, E), which is found in late MIr (*SnaG* 327).

Verbs

The verbal system is conservative for the most part. Deuterotonic forms are generally retained: *do:roīdeth* 1, *con:facō* 2, *conn:facu* 9, *con:facatar* 4, *conn:facatar* 13, *do:biur-siu* 7, *dus:berat* 16, *do:bēre* 2, *do:gnīther* 7, *do:fuit* 8, *do:rochuir* 16, *do:rochrutar* 9, *do:rocratar* 16, *con:rāngatar* 7, *dot:aircibe* 3, *his:rubartumar* 13, *do:tōegat* 11, *do:tiāgat* (*tiagaid*, Y) 16, *do:deochatar* 16, *dus:n-ārthet* 16, *at:raig* 5, *at:ragat* 4, *do:comlāt* 5, 7, *do:chorthae* 7, *do:lleth* 8, *dus:n-aidbiut* 10, *con:sgarfa* (-*scailfeā*, Y) 10, *to:scarthar* 15. Only in cases where two vowels meet do we find the prototonic usurping the deuterotonic: *taircgebat* 7 (beside *dot:aircibe* 3), *tucuit* 15 and *rugsaid* 16. We may note the probably purely graphic use of *f* to indicate a deuterotonic form in *do:fiċfat* 11, with which compare *dus:n-icfo* 9 (see McCone 1997: 198). We find *do:fuit* 8 for *do-tuit* which probably arose in response to the anomalous prototonic form *-tuit* which, by false analysis, would have suggested deuterotonic *do-(f)uit* (see McCone 1997: 9). Breatnach notes variability between deuterotonic and later simple verbs in *Saltair na Rann* (*SnaG* 283). We may note the absence of petrified infixed pronouns in *his:rubartumar* 13 and compounds of *con-*. We find no counterexamples aside from reflexive usage.

Simple pret. or narrative pres. forms are commonly used throughout: *bui* 1, 2, *con:facō* et var, 2, 8, *con:facatar* 4, 13 -*chomgrad* 6; -*comarnac[t]uir* 7, *con:rāngatar* 7, -*rānicc* 14, *conid:apudar* 8. *Ro* has perfective sense in *ro mbui* (beside *boi*, Y) 9; *do:rochrutar* 9, -*ndergēne* 10, *his:rubartumar* 13 (although McCone (1997: 98) notes the generalisation of the augment in *as-beir*, the sense is necessarily perfective here). The sense is almost certainly perfective in *do:roīdeth* 1 ('had been sent'), expressing past action in relation to the immediately following snippet of dialogue between Eochu and the messengers from Connacht. We find an augmented form in *ro:ūātar* 9 where the sense is continuous rather than simple preterite. Thus, there are no certain examples of the spread of *ro* as a marker of the past tense in E. Y shows some encroachment of the augment into the verbal system: *ro dailis* 2 (om. E, A); *Ro s<..>r* 8; *ro bai* 13 (but the last mentioned is a true perfect), and the spread of *ro* is found throughout A. McCone suggests that the spread of the augmented preterite beyond its earlier resultative use was already appearing in early ninth-century *Bethu Brigitte* (McCone 1997: 98) and, according to Breatnach, the simple preterite had almost entirely disappeared by the early Middle Irish period (*SnaG* 299). The usage here, therefore, can hardly be later than the tenth century and, given the discriminating use of the augment, may well be earlier.

There are no examples of substitution of *ro/do* for original *no* which is preserved in *no:úeinn* 2. *Do:lleth* 8 might be read as a case of *do* for *ro* but I think it more likely that it is an s-pret. 3 sg. of otherwise unattested **do-letha*. Unfortunately, the text of **Y** is damaged at this point. The letters *ros...r* are visible, suggesting that it might have had a different verb.

The 3 pl. pres. ind. *dus:n-aidbiut* 10 < *do-adbat* shows the typical distinction of palatalised root in the 3 pl. against non-palatal in the 3 sg. found in OIr. In *dot:aircibe* 3, we find the original quality of the *-b-* preceded by a short vowel which later gives a future in *-éb-* (see McCone 1997: 223; *eDIL* s.v. *do-airic*). Even in OIr, historical *-f-* of the future regularly becomes *-b-* between unstressed vowels (*GOI* 397). Cf. *dothairgebad*, *dotairgeba* in **Y** 3 and *tairgebat* 7. We may also note the absence of the innovative 1 sg. fut. in *-at* in *ragu-so* 1 (see *SnaG* 316).

The s-subj. is preserved in those verbs in which we would expect to find it surviving in the MÍr period: 3 sg. *-immairi* 11, 1 pl. *-comairsim* 12 (in the latter with *-im* for *-em*: see note), 3 pl. *tiasuit* 3.

There are some innovations in the verbal system, mostly of a minor nature. The 3 pl. of *do-téit* is *do:tīgat* 16 but is found alongside the later form, *do:tōegat* 11, which is attested in late MÍr texts (see *eDIL* s.v. *do-tét*). Compare also ipv. 3 sg. pass. *tīagur* 9. The ipv. 1 pl. ending in *tīaguim-ni* 12 shows palatalisation under the influence of emphatic *-ni*. The 1 pl. *his:rubartumar* 13 (*dochuadamar* **Y**) shows influence of the ending *-amar* from suffixless verbs which is rare even in late MÍr (see *SnaG* 301 which cites a single example of innovative *-amar* in *-ergemmar* from *LL* 29257; also McCone 1997: 238–9). We may compare, with further innovations, *atrubrumar* (Atkinson 1887: l. 554 (sim. 3460)) and particularly the alternation *adubramar/atrubhamar* (Stokes 1909: l. 2641) which may have influenced the form at a late date in the text's transmission. Our instance appears in an intratextual comment noting the repetition of a description of apparel from earlier in the text which might suggest that it is a later addition but **Y**'s *dochuadamar*, a late pret. form of *ad-fét*, would suggest that something similar stood in the archetype. We find an innovative 2 pl. ending *-abair* in *-tuidcebuir* 2, which ending is attested as early as *Saltair na Rann* (see McCone 1997: 235). We may note that **Y** has the older vocalism here, *-tudchobair*, which is likely to have stood in the archetype. Beyond this, the endings of the past tense are conservative with no evidence, for example, of the spread of 3 sg. *-estar/-astar* or 3 pl. *-atar* (see *rugsaid* 16).

The future stem of *téit* shows depalatalisation of the initial consonant in fut. 1 sg. *ragu-so* 1 (for *rega*), *no rag* 3 (MS *rat* for *-rig*, *-reg*), sec. fut 3 pl. *-ragduis* 14 (×2) (for *no regtais*). This development is attested in *Saltair na Rann*, although not in rhyming position, and in *LL* (see *SnaG* 233, 319). However, the OIr consonant quality and vocalism are preserved in *no rig-si* 12, suggesting that the non-palatal forms may belong to a later copying or revision phase.¹³ *At:raig* 5, *at:ragat* 4 shows the later vocalisation for OIr *-reig*, *-regat* (*GOI* 54)

¹³We may note the absence of the development of *g-* to *ch-*, found as early as *LU*, and which McCone considers a northern dialect feature (1997: 227).

in both sg. and pl. The 3 sg. *at-raig* is generalised in saga literature and the earliest datable example is in *Saltair na Rann* (*atraig*: *ahaidid*, Greene 2007: l. 6445). However, the older form seems to have lasted longer in the plural. Thus, in the late OIr *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, we find 3 pl. *ata-rregat*, *ata-regat* beside sg. *at(a)-raig* (Hollo 2005: §§7, 11; §§4, 26) and in *Fled Bricrenn* in *LU* we encounter sg. *atraig* and pl. *ataregat* right beside each other (*LU* 8191–2). While sg. *atraig* is found throughout *LU*, the sole pl. example follows the older pattern (*atregat LU* 1606 = *Táin Bó Flidaise*).¹⁴ The 3 pl. with *-a-* (*atragat*) is found in the *LU Fled Bricrenn* (*LU* 8843) and *Scéla na hEsérgi* (*LU* 2753). As the later vocalism is thought to have originated by analogy with *saidid*, *sedait*, etc. (*GOI* 54), it is credible that the *-a-* arose first in the sg., as in *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, and later spread to the plural at some time in the later MÍr period. Thus, our *at-ragat* would belong to the later phase.

The copula preserves forms as found in OIr although the pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. is spelled *is*. We may note pres. ind. 2 sg. *at* 3; 3 pl. *at* 4 for older *it* 6, and 3 pl. rel. *ata* 9. Also past subj. 3 sg. abs. *bid* 2. The defective verb *ol* ‘says’ is dominant throughout E with twenty-nine examples against two examples of *or* (12, 15) and two of *al* (6, 11).¹⁵ Y shows modernisation in this regard with nine examples of *ol*, eleven of *or* and one of *for*.

Relative clauses

The nasalizing relative was in serious decline at the end of the OIr and beginning of the MÍr periods, and had ‘ceased to be a productive feature in the language during the course of the earlier part of the tenth century’ (Ó hUiginn 1986: 75). There are few relative clauses in the text and even fewer where a nasalizing relative clause might have been utilised in OIr. A nasalizing relative is absent in *Fo bīth at maith* 3 but this is of no diagnostic value as the absolute was permissible with the copula in OIr. Nasalisation is not marked in *comuirli do:bēre* 2 and a hypercorrect rel. nasalisation appears in *ēcusc ro mbuī*, 9 where the antecedent is the subject of the verb (on this feature see Hollo 2005: 78). We may compare with the latter *rot:bīa-siu* 7, with inf. pron. 2 sg., which is written *rotmbiasiu* in the same MS (but correctly *rotbiasa* in Y).

We may note the use of *no* to mark the relative in *no rag* 11 and *no rig* 12, a feature which was obsolescent in early MÍr (*AMC* 102–3). We should also note the extension of the relative where the antecedent is a prep. pron. (*nība duit-si ēm bus cuscra*d 10) which begins to appear in the later glosses (*GOI* 320) and lenition in *charus* 9 which becomes common with special relatives only at the end of the OIr period (*GOI* 315). *Fil* (never *file*) is used as the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the substantive verb in relative position: *a fil ann* 6, *it ē fil im chomuir* 6, *gach trepthaig fil fot mām* 7.

¹⁴See also *atraig*, *LU* 3274, 3306, et passim (*Serglige Con Culainn*); 4929, 5412, 6202, etc. (*Táin*); 7899 (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*).

¹⁵The first of these seemingly influenced by the subject, *Ailill*, unusually here spelled with an initial *-o*.

Infixed and Suffixed Pronouns

There are almost no opportunities for the use of suffixed pronouns in the text of E. We may note the form with suff. pron. *tēti* 14 ‘goes’, but this adverbial use of the pron. becomes petrified and remains in use long after the demise of the suff. pron. (see Breatnach 1977: 80–1). Infix pronouns are used to express the object of a verb according to OIr norms save that the spelling is sometimes modernised:

Class A: 2 sg. *rot:bīa-siu* 7 (*rotmbiasiu*, E; *rotbiasa*, Y); 3 pl. *dus:n-icfo* 9, *dus:n-aidbiut* 10, *dus:berat* 16, *dus:n-ārthet* 16 (reflexive). Class A inf. pron. 3 pl. -s- expresses the subject with the substantive verb in *dus:fuil* 11 (GOI 479 and see *SnaG* 323 for Mlr. examples).

Class C: 1 sg. *dīa-ndom-chomgrad-sa* 6; 3 sg. *conid:apudar* 8 (reflexive); 1 pl. *inan:aithgēuin* 2.

Independent Pronouns

There are no examples of independent subject or object pronouns in E other than as subject of the copula. The 3 pl. pron. *é*, which Breatnach says is found into early Middle Irish (*SnaG* 273), is preserved in *atē* 4 (*ate*, MS; *ote*, Y) and *it ē* 6. Note the late form *ib-si* 9 for *sib-si*, the earliest examples of which seem to appear in *Félire Uí Gormáin* (c. 1170) (*SnaG* 274). In Y, note the misreading *inacen sinn* 2 which appears to have a 1 pl. object pron.

With the interrogative *cía*, we find the correct use of the fem. form in *cisi* 2, *cissi* 6, and of the plural *citnē-side* (*cid neiside*, MS) 11. The fem. form is chiefly found in OIr texts but there are occasional examples in Mlr, for example, *cissí ascaid* (AMC 312) alongside *cía h-airmm* (AMC 533–4) etc.; hypercorrectly in *cissi log*, LL 30975 (*Togail Troí*). It appears in the consciously archaising language of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* with fem. but also with masc. nouns (Walsh 1948: 292, l. 14; 96, l. 15). *Cissi* has possibly been replaced by *cía/cá* in *cā hairm(m)* 3, which is the only instance of the replacement of *cía* with *cá* in this text. The neut. form *cid* is missing in *cía llin* 3, 12. We may also note OIr *cōichi* *ib* ‘who/whose’ 9. As it is written in the MS, it appears to be taken as a late Mlr form with a late form of the independent pronoun 2 pl., but this is almost certainly a modernisation of earlier and otherwise unattested *cōichib* (see note).

REVISION OF THE ARCHETYPE

There are substantial differences in wording between E and Y which indicate a degree of revision of the narrative, perhaps in both recensions. The horses and equipment from the *síd* which are initially bestowed on Echu (§§3–4) and later again on the son of Ailill (§§9, 13) are described in some detail at first mention but the account is considerably curtailed in E at the second mention:

*dus:n-icfo hūaim-si i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale
do:rochrutar isinn imairec aile, eter srianu 7 ētuigi 7 delcci.
(§9)*

‘you will obtain from me the [same] attire worn by the other lads who have fallen in the other battle, including reins and garments and brooches.’

It is abbreviated in Y in very similar terms:

Donicfa uaim-sea andiu in esgrim (boi im na macaib dirochart indne), itir ech ⁊ sren ⁊ etach ⁊ delge, ⁊ comairim tairgeba a<mara>ch matan moch.

‘you will obtain from me today the attire (which the lads who fell yesterday wore), including horse-gear and clothing and brooches, and you will receive its equivalent early tomorrow morning.’

It will be noted that Giolla Íosa’s text in Y has omitted, perhaps accidentally, the phrase beginning *boi im [...]*, shown here in brackets, which corresponds to E’s *ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale do:rochrutar*, and that it was added by a second hand in the margin. This contains the Mlr use of the dat. after the prep. *im*, as well as the wrongly understood *dirochart* for 3 pl. *dorochratar* as in E. Y has a form of the substantive verb 3 sg. pret., *boi*, that would make acceptable OIr, but E’s perfective form suits the context better despite the modernisation of the spelling and the hypercorrect rel. nasalisation. Moreover, Y’s *indne* ‘yesterday’, appears to be a simplification of E’s *isinn imairec aile*, in which we may note the preservation of the older masc. inflection. Apart from this marginal insertion, Y’s *donicfa* might be taken as an error, with omission of -s- for what is represented in E as *dus:n-icfo*, although it could be read as an inf. pron. 3 sg. masc. referring to Órlám alone. Y also has *esgrim* where E has neut. *i n-ēcusc*, although *esgrim* is a rare and possibly archaic word found elsewhere in the text. Most interestingly, Y’s *⁊ comairim tairgeba a<mara>ch matan moch* lacks an equivalent in E. I take *comairim* to mean ‘an equivalent amount’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *comairem*) and would render this line ‘and you will receive its equivalent early tomorrow morning’, which probably just reinforces what has already been said rather than promising an additional gift for Ailill personally. The verb is modernised beyond what we find elsewhere in E but the significance of this is diminished by the appearance of the same modernisation elsewhere in Y where the archetype must have had the older form (see *dot:aircibe*, discussed below p. 201).

When the gift from the *síd* appears at Crúachain, E does not describe it again but merely refers to *in ngraid ⁊ in ētuch his:rubartumar* (§13), where the reader is referred back to the earlier account by the single word *his:rubartumar* ‘we have mentioned’. However, this is described more extensively in Y. The text is problematic and I give a little more context and add the line divisions of the MS in what follows:

lotar Connachtai

a dun Chruachan isin faichthi con-acadar in graig ⁊ in
sren ⁊ an timthacht uili amal dorairngert ⁊ dochuadamar

co mbadar i ndorus in duine amal dorairngert doib an uili
adconairc ro bai im na maccu rig anlla¹⁶ riam.

‘the Connachtmen went from the fort of Crúachain into the green
and they saw the horses and horse-gear (?)¹⁷ and all the equipment
as she had prophesied and as we have related, so that all the things
that he had seen the princes wearing the previous day were at the
gate of the fort as she had prophesied to them.’

The phrase *amal do-rairngert* ‘as had been prophesied’, contains a good OIr form which persists in *Saltair na Rann* alongside the unverbated form with prefixed *ro* (*rotharngert*, Greene 2007: l. 2789) and may well have stood in the archetype. Where E has the form *his:rubartumar*, with a modified MIr ending but the older preverb *is-* (for *as-*), Y has *dochuadamar* ‘we have recounted’ with depalatalisation of the OIr *-d-*, and with no sign of a rel. nasalisation after *amal*. The phrase *amal do-rairngert* is repeated in identical form and somewhat superfluously in the next line in what may well be a case of dittography. We may note here the use of the plural verb *-mbadar* with a subject (*an uili*) which must be read as a pl. (OIr *ind uili*) although it is the antecedent of a singular verb, *ro bai*. With some amendment, therefore, Y could be made to represent a plausible early MIr or OIr text that could conceivably have stood in the archetype.

We see similar shortening of the description at an earlier point in the tale when Echu arrives in Crúachain (§5). The host’s arrival causes an immense stir among the people of Crúachain but neither version provides a description of what they saw, save that Y adds an explanation:

.i. l. laech cosin nenegusc¹⁸ uile amal don-r¹⁹<ui>rmisim.

‘that is, fifty warriors with all the singular garb that we have set forth’.

We may note the verbal form *donr<ui>rmisim*, perf. 1 pl. of *do-rími* with infixed *ro* and rel. nasalisation. Apart from minor modernisations, this passage could well be original and may have been omitted in E because it does nothing to advance the narrative. If this did, indeed, stand in the archetype, it points already to significant ellipsis of descriptions from the beginning.

Y also contains several passages of dialogue not found in E. In §5, the text continues immediately after the previously discussed gloss as follows:

‘Imcomarcas cia so,’ ar Oilill. ‘Ni ansa, Eochaid Becc ri Cliach.’
Doleicter isin lis 7 isin rigtheg. Ferthar failti friu. Anaid ann tri la
7 tri haidchi for flegugud.

¹⁶Omitted by Windisch. Leg. *an llá*.

¹⁷We might emend to *sr[i]en* ‘bridle’ but a plural/collective is required; a word *srén* is attested in *Saltair na Rann* (see *eDIL* s.v. *srén*).

¹⁸*egusc* (Windisch 1887a) but *nen* (or possibly *neu*) is clearly visible.

¹⁹*r* inserted above line by a later scribe.

“Let it be enquired who this is,” said Oilill. “Not difficult. Eochaid Bec king of Clíu.” They are admitted into the courtyard and the royal house. They are welcomed. He stays there feasting for three days and three nights.’

This welcoming passage is wholly absent in **E** apart from a generic statement of welcome (*Fertair fáilti friu iarum la hAilill 7 Meidb*) which is made immediately as the Munstermen arrive in Crúachain. The **Y** passage contains some Middle Irishisms, notably *ferthar* for **E**’s *fertair* (= *ferthair*), *lis* for *les* ‘courtyard’, and the masc. form of the numeral in *tri haidchi*, and apart from the absence of *-th-* in the ipv. pass. (*imcomarcar*), there is little to support the idea that this short dialogue might have been in the archetype.

A reasonably clear-cut example of expansion of **Y** is found in §10. Exact or approximate correspondences with **E** are shown in bold:

‘Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic rīg 7 airech.’ (**E** §10)

“Indeed, you will not suffer destruction and you will slaughter the sons of kings and lords.”

‘**Níbo coscur duid-seo**,’ or si, ‘7 bid tecmallad.’ ‘Cia nesam dun de suidiu?’ ‘Ni *ansa*. Tecmall lat maccu rīg 7 rigdamna **con scailfea maccu rīg 7 rigdam**<na 7> **airech**.’ (**Y**)

“You will not have victory,” she said, “but gathering.” “What must we do therefore?” “Not difficult. Gather together sons of kings and princes so that you will scatter the sons of kings and princes of lords.”

E’s text makes reasonable sense, the apparent difficulty being due to the writer’s playing with the meaning of *coscrad* ‘defeat’, and the redactor of **Y** seems to have expanded the text to clarify the meaning. It is noteworthy that **E**’s text is repeated, albeit in slightly jumbled form in **A**, so it was clearly comprehensible and meaningful to him (see note). There is little in the language of **Y** that would suggest that it is original. The old superlative ending in *nesam* is notable but it became petrified in this particular phrase meaning ‘is necessary’.²⁰ We may also note the later use of *con* in **Y** in the sense ‘that’. Moreover, it has *coscur* (with the *ur* symbol, possibly replacing a suspension stroke) for **E**’s *coscrad* so that the original subtlety that we find in **E** and **A** is further obscured. Finally, it may be noted that some of the same phrasing appears also in the dialogue between Ailill and the phantoms (§9). After the woman introduces herself, **Y** has Ailill ask what they will do next for which there is no equivalent in **E**:

‘Cia nesam duind de suidiu?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ni *ansa*’, ar <si>²¹.

“What must we do therefore?” asked Ailill. “Not difficult,” she replied.

²⁰Cf. *iss ed is nessam* (AMC 227–8); *Cid is nesam dún[...]*? (AMC 1241, and see above p. 181).

²¹Faint but legible.

Given the other considerations, and the improbability of the same phrase being accidentally omitted twice, it must be concluded that the same phrase was twice deployed independently by the redactor of the **Y** recension.

In light of this, other instances in which **E** differs from **Y** may be attributed to changes in the latter, but it may be suspected on occasion that **E** represents a slightly abbreviated text. In **E**, the woman gives an instruction to raise a host for the attack on Munster:

‘*Ēirged dirim socraid di ōcuib maithib 7 .xl. mac rīg do macuib rīg Connacht.*’ (§9)

“Let a splendid host of noble warriors and forty princes of the princes of Connacht rise up.”

In **Y**, this is cast in the form of a dialogue:

‘*Ergid-si dirim sochraidi ume.*’ ‘*Cia lin ragas?*’ ol Oilill. ‘*.l. marcach do,*’ ar si, ‘*do ocaib amra <.i.>*²² *.xl. mac do macaib caema Connacht.*

“Raise up a host of splendour around him.” “How many shall go?” asked Oilill. “Let him have fifty horsemen,” she said, “of famous warriors [and] forty sons of the fine sons of Connacht.”

This echoes the earlier dialogue between Echu and the woman (§3) which is found in both main versions:

‘*Cia llin no rag?*’ ol Echu. ‘*Cōeco marcach duit,*’ olsi. (**E**)

“With how many will I go?” asked Echu. “You will have fifty horsemen,” she said.”

‘*Cia lin ragam?*’ ar se. ‘*Caeca marcach duidseo,*’ or si. (**Y**)

“With how many shall we go?”, he asked. “You will have fifty horsemen,” she said.”

While it could be argued that **Y** has lifted the additional line in §9 from §3, this seems less well-motivated and less likely than the suggestion that **E** has shortened the dialogue here. We may note that **E** exhibits OIr. *no* in relative position, which feature was obsolescent in early MlIr (see above p. 184).

E also contains some material not found in **Y** but less frequently so. When the phantom urges Ailill to raid Dartaid’s cattle, she says:

‘*Tiagur hūait,*’ olsi, ‘*gu tuctar gabál duit do cetri ō Dartuid ingin Echach. A:tā .xl. lulgach lē.*’ (§9)

“Send out men,” she said, “so that cattle may be seized by you from Dartaid daughter of Echu. She has forty dairy cows.”

²²I follow Windisch in reading *.i.* here, although the MS is barely legible at this point. If this is the reading, it must be an error for 7 ‘and’.

The underlined text is omitted from **Y** but forty dairy cows (*lulgach*) are twice mentioned in similar terms as belonging Echu in both **E** and **Y**:

Buī danō xl. *lulgach* occo, ‘Moreover, he had forty dairy cows.’
(§1)

A:tā .xl. *lulgach* lemm, ‘I have forty dairy cows.’ (§6)

It is very likely that this line in §9 is original, therefore, and it is possible that it was lost in the **Y** branch during the arrangement and expansion of this passage.

Another possible significant omission occurs in §11 where the fairy woman warns Corb Clíach of the imminent attack from Connacht:

‘Nī sochaidi in fiallach, ar cid ōic maithi do:tōegat ann, bid tesor-cuin do inchaib Muman huli mā immairi in gnīm so.’ (**E** §11)

‘“The war-band is no army, for although it is noble youths who are coming there, the honour of all of Munster will be saved if this deed succeeds.”’

‘Nī ba sochaidi dus-biad. Bith tesorgain²³ do inchaib fer Muman dia maide in gnīm.’ (**Y**)

‘“They will not possess an army. The honour of the men of Munster will be saved if you promise the deed.”’

Y has the late verbal form *dus-biad* for *ros:biat* (fut. 3 pl.) and an inf. pron. class A for class C instead of **E**’s *fiallach* ‘war band’. The latter makes for a pithy saying and is the *lectio difficilior*. We may also note the replacement of the verb *-immairi* with *-maide*, which I take as pres. subj. 2 sg. of *moidid* in the late sense ‘promises (to)’. As such, it would seem that original *-immairi* was misread. The line *ar cid ōic maithi do:tōegat ann* is omitted altogether in **Y**, although it reinforces the worthiness of the opposition despite the fact that it falls short of constituting an army.

A comment on the nature of the Munster warrior, Corb Clíach, is found only in **E**:

Lāech amra-sidi do Muimnechuib. Is siritir a lām a ndergēne di ulcc. (§10)

‘He was a famous warrior of Munster. All the evil that he had done was as long as his arm.’

The OIr verbal form *ndergēne* is noteworthy, although we have the prototonic form where OIr would have a deuterotonic, a transition which seems to have occurred in or around the tenth century (see *SnaG* 276).²⁴ Arguably, this could

²³Initial *t* added below line, perhaps by a later hand.

²⁴However, while *dergēne* is undoubtedly an old form, it did survive at least until the end of the sixteenth century, albeit in isolated instances (see *AFM* vi, 2120, 2142 (s.a. 1599)). Also worthy of note is the old equative form, albeit with the nom. for acc., although this is not a firm diagnostic (see above p. 181).

have been omitted during the transmission of **Y** on account of the negative portrayal of a Munsterman but it seems more likely to me that it is an addition in **E**. Both **Y** and **E** portray Corb as defending Munster against a raiding party and he declares that he prefers gathering (*tecluim*) to destruction (*coscrad*) (§10). In no way does he act in this tale as a predatory actor and so it seems fair to conclude that these two lines were more probably added to the text after **Y** had broken off from **E**.

In conclusion, it is likely that the redactor of the version found in **Y** expanded the archetype in places but conversely that a scribe of the **E** recension omitted some lines that are now found only in **Y**.

DATING

The linguistic analysis presented above indicates that the text of **E** was originally composed no later than the tenth century but suffered some minor revision later in its transmission.²⁵ The orthography is generally that of **MIr**, and we may note in particular the lack of any consistent distinction of final unstressed vowels and the occasional writing of *d/g* for *t/c* in unstressed position. Hiatus is absent, appearing only in hypercorrect usage. That aside, the verbal system is largely as found in **OIr**, and certainly no later than *Saltair na Rann*. Deuterotonic forms are well evidenced with no univerbation outside what had already occurred in **OIr**. The infixed pronoun is used according to **OIr** norms, including in Class C, apart from modernisation and simplification of the spelling. There are no independent pronouns used as subject or object of the verb, and we may note in particular the 3 pl. form *é* which cannot be later than early **MIr**. The neuter is correctly retained in several cases (with no archaisms), and we note the use of the long dative of old neut. *n*-stems. We find one example of the longer form of the acc. pl. definite article, *inda*, and two examples of the nom. pl. masc. *ind*, which point to a date of composition before the end of the tenth century. The almost completely consistent use of *ol* 'says', while not a sound diagnostic of itself, adds support to an early date. The overwhelming weight of evidence indicates that the extant text was first composed some time before c. 1000 CE.

There is some evidence that may push the date of composition back further. The distinction between pret. and perf. is well maintained throughout, a feature which could point to **OIr**, suggesting that the text is at least as old as the early ninth-century *Bethu Brigitte*, although further work needs to be done on this feature. We may also note the absence of the independent personal pronoun before the predicate in *is do mac-si charus* §9 (cf. *ise do mac-su coras<i>*, **Y**); there are no counterexamples. The pronoun appears in this structure only occasionally in *Wb.*, becoming more frequent in *Ml.*, before becoming obligatory in the later language (*GOI* 492, Ó Nualláin 1911). The lack of palatalisation in *do:chorthae* §7 may also indicate a date earlier than the glosses (see note).

²⁵Thurneysen (1921: 303) noted that the language of the older version was reminiscent of sagas of the ninth century but provided no discussion.

We may also note *cōichi ib* ‘who/whose’ §9 which very probably stands for the otherwise unattested *cōichib* and is likely to be OIr (see above p. 185). The otherwise unattested expression *all-aidchi* §9 is a further possible indicator of early date, being a predictable use of *all-* as an adjectival prefix (from *aile*) (see *GOI* 248 and *eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (a)), although we cannot dismiss the possibility that this survived into the later language as a fixed phrase, despite being nowhere else attested.

These features are suggestive of an OIr date but hardly conclusive. Nevertheless, on this basis it is worth considering the examples of final, unstressed *-th* after a vowel for later *-d* (/ð/), particularly as there are no examples of hypercorrection. Stifter postulates that the change in the pretonic consonant is separate from the post-tonic development, dating the former to the seventh century and the latter to around the beginning of the eighth (Stifter 2013: 173–4). Our text appears to echo this distinction, with only isolated examples of *to-* against multiple instances of *do-*, yet with a strong showing of final *-th* in a ratio of approximately 1:2. However, this feature could be coincidental with Stifter’s proposed development and might simply be a quirk of the orthography of the text.²⁶

In conclusion, we can only suggest that the tale was written in more or less the form that we have it in **E** no later than the tenth century, but that some version of it may have existed already as early as the eighth century.

The survival intact of many of the older linguistic features in **E** suggests that it has preserved the archetype well, notwithstanding the possible abbreviation of the text in parts and the occasional addition. No serious revision of **E** is likely to have taken place after the tenth century. The investigation of the stemma has shown that the archetype of **Y** and **E** predates the writing of *LU*, although there is little to indicate how much change the *e* branch had undergone by this stage. All of the modernisation of the orthography in **E** could easily be attributed to its scribe, although the careful preservation of so many other early features may suggest that the modernisation belongs to an earlier phase in the text’s transmission. The 2 pl. ending in *-tuidcebuir* §2 is not, to my knowledge, ever found in OIr (see McCone 1997: 235).²⁷ The fact that **Y** has the better form and that it must have split off from **E** before the writing of *LU*, suggests that there was some revision of the text of **Y**, however minor, before c. 1100. The development of *-regat* to *-ragat* hardly predates the eleventh century but could well be from later copying. The palatalisation of the ending in the prep. pron. *etruinn* and the recasting of *sib* as *ib*, both of which are unattested before the late twelfth century, must belong to a later phase of copying as does the modernisation of stops *t > d* = /d/ and *c > g* = /g/.

²⁶We may note similar preservation of final unstressed *-th*, against an isolated instance of preverbal *to-*, in O’Mulconry’s glossary which Moran takes as evidence of an Early Old Irish date of composition (2019: 67–8).

²⁷Its emergence is dated to the early Middle Irish period by Murphy (1940: 72–6). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing this reference to my attention.

EDITORIAL METHOD

Any attempt to recreate the archetype is fraught with difficulties and is not attempted here. Rather, I present the text of Egerton 1782 (E) as closely as possible with the correction of a very small number of clear scribal errors. Fuller discussion of possible errors will be found in the notes, where significant divergences between the recensions are given when they may have a bearing on the interpretation of the text as edited. I follow the spelling of the manuscripts except that I replace *q* with *ch* in *aidqi*. I have retained MS *ũ* for lenited *b* as it provides an unambiguous indication of lenition. Unlenited *b* is sometimes represented by *p* (*scūaiblipra*, *huilip*, *trepthaig*) and I have allowed these to stand.

Ambiguous contractions and symbols are indicated by the use of italics, otherwise they are silently expanded. Numerals are frequently employed in the text. Where these occur at the beginning of a sentence they are expanded and marked in italics; otherwise, the roman numerals are retained as in the MS. Word division, capitalisation and punctuation are my own, but I have followed the sentence division of the MS which is usually indicated by a stop at the end of one sentence and an enlarged letter beginning the next. Macrons indicate vowel length where it is not marked in the MS. I have retained the paragraph numbering used by Windisch.

TEXT

[80r25] Tāin bō Dartada inso.²⁸

§1. [B]uī Eochu Beg macc Cairpri, rīg Cliach, i ndūon Cuillne. *Cethracha* dalto laiss do macuib rīg Mumun. Buī danō xl. *lulgach* occo oca mbiathad. Do:roideth ō Ailill 7 ō Meidb co ndigsid dīa n-accallum.

‘Ragu-so dīa n-agallum ēim’, ol Eochu, ‘dīa Samno.’

Tiagait na tecto as ĩaram.

§2. Boī Eocha and aidchi ina cotlud con:facō nī chuici in mnaī 7 ind ōglaeach ina comuir.

TRANSLATION

The Cattle-raid of Dartaid here.

§1. Echu Bec son of Cairpre, king of Clíu, was in the fort of Cuillenn. He had in fosterage forty of the sons of the kings of Munster. Moreover, he had forty dairy cows to feed them. Messengers had been sent from Ailill and Medb so that he would go and parley with them.

‘I will, indeed, go and parley with them at Samain,’ said Echu.

The messengers left then.

§2. One night, Echu was sleeping when he saw a woman coming towards him accompanied by a warrior.

²⁸Title inserted above line.

'Fo *chen* düib', ol Echo.

'Cā hairm²⁹ inan:aithgēn-ni³⁰?' olsi.

'Ba dōig lem bid ind ogus düib no:úeinn.'

'Toimdiu lem is comfocus etruinn cēni immo *n*-acai dün.'

'Cā hairm i mbid-si?' ol Echu.

'Hi Síd Cuillni sunn,' olsi.

'Cid dia [80v] tuidcebuir³¹?'

'Do thabuir comuirli duit-si,' olsi.

'Cisi comuirli do:bēre dam-so?' olse.

'Nī bes leas enech 7 anmo duit oc dul hi tīr 7 sech tīr,' olsi. 'Co ndig teglach cōem immut 7 graid āluinn allmurdo fout³².'

§3. 'Cia llīn no rag³³?' ol Echu.

'Cōeco marccuch duit,' olsi.

'Dot:aircibe hūaim-si himāruch,' olsi, 'cōeca ngabur ndubglas gu srianuib ōir 7 arcuit friu 7 cāeco escrimi³⁴ do escrimmim sīdi lēo 7 tīasuit do dalta³⁵ huili let 7 is cōir dün congnam³⁶ frit. Fo bīth at maith occ immditin ar d[t]iri 7 ar feruinn³⁷.'

'You are welcome,' said Echu.

'Where did you perceive us?' she asked.

'I would think that I would have been near you.'

'I think that we are very close to each other though we don't see one another.'

'Where do you be?' asked Echu.

'Here in Síd Cuillne,' she said.

'Why have you come?'

'To give you advice,' she said.

'What advice will you give to me?' he asked.

'Something that will be to the advantage of your honour and your life when going into or beyond a land,' she said. 'May a fine retinue and beautiful, exotic horses go under your control.'

§3. 'With how many will I go?' asked Echu.

'You will have fifty horsemen,' she said.

'Tomorrow you will receive from me fifty dark grey steeds with reins of gold and silver and fifty sets of equipment from the fairy mound along with them, and take all your foster-sons with you. It is right for us to help you. Because you are good at protecting our land and our territory.'

²⁹Cā hairm] cair, Y.

³⁰inan:aithgēn-ni] inanaithgeuin, MS, inacen sinn, Y.

³¹d added above line.

³²allmurdo fout] fout allmurdo, MS. Superscript *b* above *fout* and *a* above *allmurdo* indicate that they are to be swapped. Cf. almurdha fott, A (om. Y).

³³rag] The bottom of the *g* has been erased but traces of it are still visible; ragam Y, raghuit A.

³⁴escrimi] essgrine, A, timthacht, Y.

³⁵The horizontal stroke of the *t* continues over the open *a*.

³⁶congnam] congnim, MS.

³⁷Windisch reads *fuinn* but there is a clear suspension stroke above the *f*.

§4. Tēt hūad in ūen la soduīn. At:ragat iarum matuīn iarna ūāruch con:faccatar nī, in .l. n-ech ndubglas ina tonudmuim³⁸ gu srianuib ōir 7 arccuit friu i ndorus liss 7 cōeco bretnus n-arccait co n-inchaib ōir 7 .l. maclēne cona n-imdēnum ōrsnāith, 7 cāeco ech finn n-ouderg atē³⁹ scūaiblipra. Ruissi hi ccorccuir huili a scūabo 7 a monga⁴⁰, cona mbelgib airccdigib friuu 7 urcomal crīadumo⁴¹ for cech ech, 7 cōego echlusc finnbruini cona cennpairtib di ōr fūib do brith ina llāmuib.

§5. At:raig in rī iarum int-i Echu 7 gaibid immi. Do:comlāt as iarum fon escrimim sin do Crūachnuib Aī. Fertair fāilti friu iarum la hAilill 7 Meidb 7 is beg nād mūich[th]i⁴² duīne⁴³ oco ndēiscin 7 oca tai[d]briud. Ba mór a ndirim, ba caīn n-allmur n-innaidi⁴⁴.

§6. ‘Cid dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa⁴⁵?’ ol Echu fri hAilill.

‘Dūs in n-ētar asccid dam-so,’ ol Oilill, ‘hūait. Ar atā ēcen form-so, .i. biathad fer nĒrinn do thabuirt na mbō a Cūailnge.’

‘Cissi haiscid is āl det?’ ol Echu.

‘Aiscid donō do būaib blichtuib,’ ol Ailill.

‘Nī fulāir⁴⁶ a fil ann dīb,’ ol Echu. ‘A:tā⁴⁷ cetrachu daltau lemm do macuib rīg Mumun for altrumm. It ē fil im chomuir sunn. A:tā⁴⁸ .xl. lulgach lemm fria

§4. With that, the woman left him. They got up the following morning and saw the fifty dark grey steeds with gold and silver reins tethered at the entrance to the courtyard, and fifty silver brooches with gold filigree inlays and fifty youths’ tunics with gold embroidery and fifty white, red-eared horses with flowing tails. Their tails and manes were all dyed in crimson, with their silver bridles and a bronze spangle on each horse, and fifty horse-switches made of tinned bronze with tips of gold to hold in their hands.

§5. The king, Echu, rose up then and got dressed. They set out, then, with all that paraphernalia, for Crúachain Aí. They were welcomed then by Ailill and Medb and people were nearly suffocated while gazing and gawking at them. The troop was mighty, it was a fine, great expectation.

§6. ‘Why was I summoned?’ Echu asked Ailill.

‘To see if I may obtain a gift from you,’ said Ailill. ‘For I am in a predicament, namely, feeding the men of Ireland while bringing the cattle from Cooley.’

‘What gift do you desire?’ asked Echu.

‘A gift of dairy cows,’ said Ailill.

‘There are none to spare,’ said Echu. ‘I have forty sons of the kings of Munster in fosterage. It is they who are accompanying me here. I have forty dairy cows to provide

³⁸There is a faint stroke over the first *u*.

³⁹atē] ote, Y.

⁴⁰monga] mungo, MS.

⁴¹crīadumo] sic, MS, credumae, Y.

⁴²mūich[th]i] no muchtais, Y, om. A.

⁴³duīne] daíne, Y, om. A.

⁴⁴n-innaidi] indie, Y, although the suspension stroke is very faint as if erased.

⁴⁵dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa] diandomgomgradsa, MS.

⁴⁶fulāir] fuluair, MS.

⁴⁷A:tā] .2., MS (= *est*).

⁴⁸A:tā] .2., MS (= *est*).

mbiathad 7 a:tāt .uii.xx. laulgach lem-so fēin, et a:tā i ndeth[it]in foruib.’

§7. ‘Co n-ētar dam-so hūait-si,’ ol Ailill, ‘bō gach trepthaig fil fot mám. Cid fort-so do:chorthae ēgin do:biur-siu cobuir duit oco.’

‘Rot:bia-siu⁴⁹ ēm,’ ol Echu, ‘in n-ī sin et taircebat hi llaa-si int [s]ainnriuth.’ Do:gnīther a n-ōeguidect iarum trī laa 7 tēora haidchi la hAilill 7 Meidb. Do:comlāt as iarum dīa tig co comarnac[t]uir fri macu Glaschon do āes hlrruis Domnunn. Sect. xx. lāech i llín-sidi. Feguit for imairicc 7 oc imnaisi chatho. Oc Inse Uu⁵⁰ Conchada a Mide con:rāngatar.

§8. Do:fuit in .xl. mac rīg annsin imm Echaid mBecc. Do:lleth fo thīr nĒrinn in scēl sin. Conid:apudar cetri .xx. mac rīg do maccāemuib Muman oc cāeiniuth na mac sin.

§9. All-aidchi⁵¹ Ailill ino ligi conn:faccu Ailill in n-ī ina cotlud ind ōclāech 7 in mnaī ata hāillium ro:ūātār in hĒriu.

‘Cōichi ib-si?’ ol Ailill.

‘Cosgar ocus Nemchuscar ar n-an[m]unn,’ olsi.

‘Is fochen do chuscūr ēm lem 7 nī fochen do neamcoscūr⁵²,’ ol Ailill.

‘Ō, bid cusccar ēm duit-si cepē cruth,’ olsi. ‘Tiagur hūait,’ [81r] olsi, ‘gu tuctar gabál duit do cetri ō Dartuid⁵³ ingin Echach. A:tā⁵⁴ .xl. lulgach lē 7 is do mac-si charus .i. Ōrlām mac Ailella. Ēirged dīrim socraid di ōcuib maithib 7 .xl. mac

for them and I have a hundred and forty dairy cows myself, and you are responsible for their care.’

§7. ‘May I receive from you,’ said Ailill, ‘a cow for every farmer who is subject to you. Although this might result in hardship for you, I will give you help with it.’

‘You will have that, indeed,’ said Echu, ‘and they will come on this day exactly.’

They were entertained for three days and three nights by Ailill and Medb. They set off then for home and they encountered the sons of Glaschú of the people of Irros Domnann. They numbered one hundred and forty. They started fighting and contending in battle. It was at Inis Ūa Conchada in Mide that they met.

§8. The forty princes fell there along with Echu Bec. That story spread throughout the land of Ireland. And eighty princes from Munster died lamenting those lads.

§9. On another night when Ailill was in bed he saw in his sleep the most beautiful warrior and the most beautiful woman in Ireland.

‘Who are you?’ asked Ailill.

‘Victory and Non-Victory are our names,’ she said.

‘Victory is indeed welcome by me but non-victory is not,’ said Ailill.

‘You will indeed have victory, whatever its form,’ she said. ‘Send out men,’ she said, ‘so that cattle may be seized by you from Dartaid daughter of Echu. She has forty dairy cows and it is your son that she loves, that is, Ōrlām son of Ailill. Let a splendid host

⁴⁹Rot:bia-siu] rotmbiasiu, MS, rotbiasa, Y.

⁵⁰Inse Uu] insena, MS, inseuu Y.

⁵¹ch added above line.

⁵²neamcoscūr] neamccscūr, MS.

⁵³Dartuid] daruid, MS, with t inserted above line.

⁵⁴A:tā] .2., MS (= est).

rīg do macuib rīg Connacht 7 dus:n-icfo hūaim-si i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale do:rochrutar isinn imairec aile, eter srīanu 7 ētuigi 7 delcci.’

§10. Tiaguit iarum as 7 tiaguit fo chētōir co Corb Clíach mac Tassich 7 iss ann buí a dūn-sidi ar brū Nem[e] anīartūaith⁵⁵. Lāech amra-sidi do Muimnechuib. Is siritir a lām a ndergēne di ulcc.

Dus:n-aidbiut do suidiu donō.

‘Cia for n-anmunnn-si?’ olse.

‘Tecluim 7 Cosgrad,’ olsiat.

‘Is maith ēm in tecluim, is olc in cuscrad,’ ol Corb Clíach.

‘Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic⁵⁶ rīg 7 airech.’

§11. ‘Citnē-side⁵⁷?’ al Corb Clíach.

‘Ní *ansa*,’ olsiat, ‘nach mac rīg 7⁵⁸ rīgno 7 *nach* rī[g]domno fil la Connachto. Dus:fuil for ndochumm do brith bō as for crích iar tuitim bar mac rīg 7 rīgno lēo. Do:ficfat im trāth nōna imbāruch. Ní sochaidi in fiallach, ar cid óic maithi do:tōegat ann, bid tesorcuin do inchaib Muman⁵⁹ huli mā immairi in gnīm so.’

§12. ‘Cia llín no rīg-si?’ olse.

‘Secht .xx. lāech n-incomluinn,’ olsi. ‘Tiaguim-ni as trā,’ or in ūen, ‘co comairsim im trāt nōnu imbāruch.’

of noble warriors and forty princes of the princes of Connacht rise up and you will obtain from me the [same] attire worn by the other lads who have fallen in the other battle, including reins and garments and brooches.’

§10. They set off then and went immediately to Corb Clíach son of Tassach whose stronghold was on the north-western bank of the Blackwater. He was a famous warrior of Munster. All the evil that he had done was as long as his arm.

They revealed themselves to him as well.

‘What are your names?’, he asked.

‘Gathering and Destruction,’ they said.

‘Good indeed is gathering but destruction is evil,’ said Corb Clíach.

‘Indeed, you will not suffer destruction and you will slaughter the sons of kings and lords.’

§11. ‘Who are they?’ asked Corb Clíach.

‘That is not difficult,’ they said, ‘every son of a king and queen and every prince of the Connachta. They are coming to you to take cattle from your land after they have slain your sons of kings and queens. They will come tomorrow afternoon. The war-band is no army, for although it is noble youths who are coming there, the honour of all of Munster will be saved if this deed succeeds.’

§12. ‘What size of company will I bring?’ he asked.

‘One hundred and forty battle-ready warriors,’ she said. ‘Let us leave now,’ said the woman, ‘until we meet tomorrow afternoon.’

⁵⁵Nem[e] anīartūaith] nemaine artuaidh MS, neime fri aine cliach atuaidh, A, neme antuaid, Y.

⁵⁶mic] sic, MS (*plene*), maccu, Y.

⁵⁷Citnē-side] cid neiside, MS, cuich iad, Y, cuidb iatside, A.

⁵⁸rīg 7] added above line with insertion mark after ‘nach’.

⁵⁹Muman] added above line with insertion mark after ‘inchaib’.

§13. Tráth ba maitin conn:facatar Connachto in ngraid 7 in étuch his:rubartumar i nndorus in dúine Crúachan.

§14. Ba torbad mór forsna slūaga in ragduis fō nā ragduis. ‘Is mebul,’ ol Ailill, ‘a fēimgeth in maith.’ Tēti Ōrlāim as iarum i cClíu gu rānicc tech nDarta ingini Echach.

§15. Ba failid inn ingen friu. To:scarthar tredam dóib. ‘Nī ainfimm friss,’ or Ōrlām. ‘Tucuit ind oicc lēo fora n-echaib 7 tair-si linn got būaib huilip.’

§16. Do:tiagat ind oic uili timchiull. Dus:berat hi cenn sliged. Dus:n-ārthet mic Tassuig iarum cona .uii. xx.it lāech leō 7 do:rocratar mic rīg Connacht ann 7 in oig do:deochatar lēo acht Ōrlām nōnbur nammā. Rugsaid-sidi lēo iarum inda buu .i. in .xl. lulgach 7 in cāeco darta 7 do:rochuir inn ingen fo cētōir laissin cētcomrac. Is dē atā Imliuch nDarta hi cClíu⁶⁰. Finitt.

§13. In the morning, the Connachta saw at the gate of the fort of Crúachain the horses and equipment that we have mentioned.

§14. The hosts were in great turmoil about whether or not they should go. ‘It is a shame,’ said Ailill, ‘to refuse that which is good.’ Ōrlām went then into Clíu until he came to the house of Dartaid daughter of Echu.

§15. The young woman welcomed them. Three oxen were slaughtered for them. ‘We will not wait for it,’ said Ōrlām. ‘Let the warriors bring [it] with them on their horses and come you with us with all your cows.’

§16. The warriors all circled round [the cattle]. They took them to the road. The sons of Tassach with their hundred and forty warriors fell upon them then, and the sons of the kings of Connacht died there along with the warriors who had come with them save only for Ōrlām and his eight men. They then took the cows, that is, forty dairy cows and fifty heifers. And the young woman fell straight away in the first encounter. Imlech nDarta in Clíu is named from that. The end.

NOTES

Táin bō Dartada: The heroine’s name is most commonly spelled *Dartaid* in translations and scholarly commentary but this occurs only once in the nom. (as ‘Dartuid’) in **A** 16. We may disregard the forms found only in the placename as these must be taken to reflect a toponymic element rather than the name of the character, and we may also disregard the name in the title in **E** as it contradicts the form in the text and cannot be taken as original. That leaves four instances of the name occurring in more than one manuscript copy. The nom. appears as *Dart* in **Y** 16, but she is not named at that point in **E** which refers to her simply as the maiden (*ingen*). A second reference to nom. *Dart* in this paragraph in **Y** occurs in a line not found in either of the other

⁶⁰Windisch reads *cClíuu* but the second *u* is merely a flourish.

versions. She is called Dartaid at a different point in the same paragraph in a line found only in **A** (*ro:eiridh Dartaid*). Therefore, it seems that the name did not explicitly appear in the archetype in this paragraph and that the two nom. forms in **Y** and **A** are independent additions.

The dat. form appears in 9 only as Dairt (**Y**), and Dartuid/Dartaid (**E**, **A**). The use of the name here clearly goes back to the archetype but the stemma does not help us establish which form that contained. The gen. occurs in 14 and clearly goes back to the archetype, but the forms are very different (Dairthe, **Y**; Dartá, **E**; [D]artad, **A**) and once again the stemma does not help to determine the original form. Finally, the gen. appears again in 11 in **Y** and **A** but she is not mentioned in **E** at this point. While the context is similar in **Y** and **A**, it is clear that **Y** and **E** are closer in general and that **A** has repeated some material about the maiden's love for Órlám from 10. In any case, the stemma does not help to establish the form in the archetype.

The gen. occurs more widely beyond the surviving texts of the tale, either in the title of the tale or the placename. We have Dartá in one tale list (see above p. 178), Darti in one copy of tale list B, and most commonly Dartada (in the *Dindshenchas* accounts discussed above, in tale lists A and B, and in the list of *remscéla*). Thurneysen (1921: 303), noting that the gen. Dartá is almost exclusively used in the tale itself, held that this is the older form and assumed that it had been abstracted from the placename, Imlech Dartá, which he understood as containing gen. pl. 'of yearling calves'. However, he was unaware that there is a distinction between the common nouns *dairt* and *dartaid*, and it now seems clear that the latter is a yearling bullock and that *dairt* (i. f.) is a yearling heifer (see Kelly 1988: 60–61, notes 244, 248).⁶¹ *Dairt* is also used metaphorically of a young girl (see *eDIL* s.v.), and so it is likely that this was her name originally and that it came to be variously represented in the later manuscript tradition.

§1. i ndūon Cuillne: Cuilleann is now the parish of Cullen in the barony of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary (*HDGP* vi, 177–8).

-ndigsid: formally this looks like the pres. perfective subj. 2 pl. of *téit* but a 3 sg. is required which necessitates reading the *-d* as non-palatal /d/. The spelling *i* followed by a non-palatal consonant is not uncommon in later MSS; cf. *bīathad fer nĒrinn* 6; *fo thīr nĒrinn* 8.

§2. Cā hairm^m inan:aithgēn-ni: *ca hairm^m inan aithgeuin*, **E**; *Cair inacen sinn*, **Y**. The verb in **E** is formally 3 sg. pret. of *ad-gnin*, but 2 sg. (*-gén*), which may lie behind the peculiar form in **Y**, is required by the context. The latter opens with what appears to be the interrogative marker *cair*. While this makes reasonable sense ('Query, do you recognise us?'), there is no direct answer to this and rather the immediate context seems to require a question regarding

⁶¹Kelly (*ibid.*) notes that Dartaid can be both a male and a female name but the only example that he supplies of the latter is Dartaid from this tale.

location. It is more likely, therefore, that *cair* is a simple error for *cairm* ‘where’ (with loss of an m-stroke) which is rendered *cā hairm* in E.

Ad-gnin means ‘knows, recognises’, but also ‘perceives, becomes aware of’, which suits the current context well. Therefore, the dialogue here is very similar to an exchange in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*: ‘*At-chondarc-sa riam*’ *ol Cet*. ‘*Cairm indom-acca?*’ *ol Éogan*. ‘*I ndorus do thige oc tabairt tanae bó hūait*.’ (‘I have seen him before,’ Cet said. ‘Where have you seen me?’ Éogan said. ‘In front of your house, when I took a drove of cattle from you.’ (Thurneysen 1935: 10–11, §11; trans. Koch and Carey 1995: 60).

Ba dōig lem bid ind ogus dūib no:úeinn: Ba doich lim bith in athfocús daib [and] or se nombemis, Y (with *and* added above line in a different hand). Both MSS appear to have the past subj. 3 sg. abs. of the copula (*bid*) (see GOI 489). The abs. occurs after *amal*, *oldaas*, *is cumme*, *doich* and a few other constructions, and survives into Mlr where it is often replaced by *bad* (*eDIL* s.v. 1 is, Subj. Past I (iii), and compare *Dóig leam bád i ndiamraib Slébe Culind no beth*, ‘I fancy that he might be in the recesses of Slíab Cuillinn [sic]’ *TBC* 1, l. 998; trans. p. 153).

Toimdiu lem is comfocús etruinn: Ate is imfocús etruinn, Y. E’s *comfocús* can mean ‘near, neighbouring’ and ‘equidistant’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *com(f)ocús*). On *imfocús* in Y, see *eDIL* s.v. 2 *imm-*. Y’s *ate* ‘indeed’ is not attested much after the OIr period, the latest example possibly being from *Táin Bó Flidais* in LU l. 1599 (= Windisch 1887b: 214, l. 50). *Toimtiu* is found into the later periods and so could have been substituted for moribund *ate* at some stage, although the *u*-ending is preserved.

cēni immo n-acai dūn: cen iman-aci duind, Y. The preverb *imma-* is used with a verb impersonally and with the literal subject expressed by the prep. *do* (see *eDIL* s.v.). The initial *i* of the preverb is frequently elided after *ní* as in Y (read *ceni’ma n-aci*) (see examples in GOI 518) and its retention in E is probably purely orthographic.

-tuidcebuir: tudchobair, Y. From *to-de-com-fed-. Compare *dodechobair* (Mulchrone 1939: l. 1114), *-tudchaibair* (Henderson 1899: 84, l. 7), and *-tuchubuir* (Roider 1979: 46, l. 150).

fout: fott, A. One might expect the 2/3 pl. ‘horses under you/them’, or we could emend to *fou* ‘under it (i.e. the troop)’ if to be taken literally, but the sense is more probably abstract ‘under the control of’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *fó, fa, fá* II (d)).

§3. no rag: ragam, Y; raghuit, A. The particle *no* is used as a relative marker here but is omitted in Y and A. That it was in the archetype is suggested by the usage in the identical phrase at §12 below: *Cīa llīn no rig-si* = *cia lín no rad*, Y, where, it should be noted, E also has the older form of the verb. A appears to be an attempt to rationalise *-rag*, interpreting the reading as 3 pl. with *lín* as subject: ‘how many will go’. Y has essentially the same syntax as E but with fut. 1 pl. conj., lit. ‘How many will we go?’. For the syntax with adverbial use

of *lín* see also *cia lín ludfamar* ‘what number of us shall go?’ (Stokes 1893: 412, §24).

Dot:aircibe [...] *cōeca ngabur ndubglas*: dotairgeba .l. ech ndubglas, **Y**; Dogebha uaimsi amara*c* .l. gabur dubglas, **A**. The verb here is originally the future 3 sg. of *do-airicc* but with influence from the future of *gaibid* (see *eDIL* s.v.). This would have taken the nom., as perhaps in **Y**, but here apparently takes the acc., perhaps suggesting that it was reanalysed as *do:taircibe* by a scribe.

escrimi do escrimmim: *essgrine*, **A**; *timthacht do timtachtaib*, **Y**. *Escrimm* is clearly a neut. *n*-stem (see *eDIL* s.v.) and dat. sg. *escrimim* at 5 below shows that it was still treated as an *n*-stem in this text. However, the first instance here, where it must be gen. pl., looks rather like an *i*-stem as it stands. The corresponding form in **A**, although it contains an *n*-stroke for the *-m-*, suggests that *escrimi* was in their archetype. The word is generally used as a collective but a plural is required here after the numeral. It is plausible that the plural as a count noun was modelled on other *i*-stems such as *aidemm* ‘tool’ with a variant *aidimm* (see *eDIL* s.v. *aidemm*).

congnam: *congnim*, **E**; *cungnum*, **Y**; *cungnam* **A**. *Congnim* in the MS is given as a variant of *comgnim* in *eDIL* s.v., but the only example cited is from here and 1) the form is irregular and 2) the senses ‘cooperation, equal prowess’ are not suitable here. It seems most likely, therefore, that **E** has merely lost a *minim* in the transcription.

§4. inchaib: *eDIL* s.v. 1 *enech* offers a definition ‘Of the outer surface of anything’, although the only example given in that sense is *nói mbuilc co n-inchaib órdaib* ‘nine bags with golden faces’ (from *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*) where the bags are said to hang from the wall of the room of the harpists. However, in the latter case, and probably in our text, it is perhaps better to take *inchaib* as a form of *indech* which is the verbal noun of **ind-fig* ‘weaves’ and is defined in *eDIL* as ‘woof, weft, an interweaving; by extension of meaning, an inlay’. The examples provided there are entirely restricted to cloth, which certainly suits the *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* instance better than an isolated use of *enech*. As regards our text, we may compare the application to inlay on a chessboard in: *a hindech do margarét* ‘its woof (i.e. its inlay) is of pearl’ (of a board for playing *fithchell*) (Meyer 1910: 14, §32). Whitfield (2004: 95) notes the normal terms for inlays are *ecor* and *indlaise* and that ‘gold filigree is always inlaid, attached to minute gold foil trays’.

Y reads *imdenmaib*. *Imdénam* is usually translated as ‘embroidery’ but is also used of metal objects (although not in *eDIL* of a brooch) and possibly therefore also referred to filigree inlay. For *imdénam* in the plural see *cen imdenma* (Stokes 1905: 42, l. 6 = LL 24800 (*Imacallam in dá Thúarad*)). I am grateful to the anonymous reader for drawing this example to my attention.

maclène: sic **E**, **Y**. This example is the sole example of this compound cited in *eDIL* s.v. 1 *mac*, *macc*. Compare, however, *macbrat* ‘a child’s cloak’ cited *ibid.*, and *maccshlabrae* ‘gift by a parent to a son or daughter’ (Kelly 1988: 121). It

would appear from the fairy woman's promise of *cāeco escriimi do escrimmim sīdi* (§3) that the garments from the *síd* were intended for the retinue of fifty horsemen, not for the company of princes which numbers only forty, but when she later addresses Ailill, she vouches to Ailill's princes the same apparel as worn by Echu's foster sons (*i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale*) including clothes and brooches (*eter ... ētuigi 7 delcci*) (§9). There seems to be some confusion in the enumeration of the gifts, therefore, which probably should number forty at this point.

cāeco ech finn n-ouderg: .l. *lurcure find n-oderg*, **Y**. This second set of fifty white, red-eared horses are found here in **E** and **Y** and so must have been in the archetype, despite the fact that the otherworld woman only explicitly mentions the first set of dark grey (*dubglas*) steeds to accompany the fifty horsemen at §3. I take it that the first group of horses in §4 were intended for Echu's retinue, while the second group, which is specifically said in **Y** to be *lurchairi* 'foals', were intended for the forty fosterlings. The number, therefore, should be forty but I have allowed the MS readings to stand as they are in agreement.

cāeco ech finn n-ouderg atē scūaiblipra. Ruissi hi ccorccuir huili a scūabo 7 a monga: .l. *lurcure find n-oderg ote beothruse hingengorm*, **Y**. In reading **E**, I follow the punctuation and the enlarged *R* of the MS. The description is repeated almost verbatim in the *LL* prose recension of *Tochmarc Ferbae*: *coica ech find n-óiderg. It é scuaplebra iarna rusiud i corcair uile .i. a scópa 7 a monga*, 'fünfzig weisse Pferde mit rothen Ohren, die waren langschwänzig, nachdem sie alle in Purpur gefärbt waren, nämlich ihre Schwänze und ihre Mähnen' (*LL* v, 33460–1; trans. Windisch 1897: 463), which offers a slightly different interpretation, perhaps prompted by a misunderstanding of original *oté* (*ate*, **E**, but *ote* in **Y**). *Tochmarc Ferbae* uses a vn. construction *iarna rusiud* from a poorly attested verb *ruisid* 'reddens', but *TBD*'s construction with the verbal adj. of *rondid* is also morphologically and semantically acceptable. I can make no sense of **Y**'s *beothruse* save that it appears to contain the verbal adj. *ruise*. The additional qualifier, *ingengorm*, is not in the other recensions.

urcomal: *urcomla* **Y**; *urchómul*, **A**. According to *eDIL* s.v., *airchomal* was perhaps orig. neut. (and see *comal*). Forms are written in full in both **Y** and **A** but the ending is represented by a suspension stroke in **E**. The sg. is required here.

cennpairtib: *cendimlaib*, **Y**. See *eDIL* s.v. *cennbart* 'capital, architrave' (where this example is cited) but what we have here is likely a separate compound formed from 1 *pairt* 'a small quantity or mass, a lump' (and separate from *cennphairt* 'prelude, introduction'). We find the same word in relation to flails in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*: *fri teora sústa iarnae cona secht slabradaib [...] cona secht cendphartaib iarndaib i cind cecha slabraidí*, 'with three iron flails having seven chains... with seven iron knobs at the end of every chain' (Knott 1936: ll. 1270–2; trans. Stokes 1901: 303). The seven tips (*cennphairt*) would have been the heavy end of the instrument with which, if used in battle as suggested in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, enemies were pummelled or, in agriculture, grain

was threshed. The end of a flail is described as a *cenn* in the commentary to *Bretha Étgid* (see Kelly 1998: 481). Horsewhips commonly include a heavy end to inflict pain, and so control, on the horse. We may compare *coíca echlasc findruine co mbaccán órdu for ciunn cach aí*, ‘with a golden hook at the end of each’ (Meid 2015: 41, ll. 22–3), and *coíca echlasc findruini co m-baccánaib óir ina lamaib*, ‘Fünfzig Pferdestecken von weisser Bronze mit Haken von Gold in ihren Händen’ (Windisch 1897: 464, ll. 36–7), where hooks were used rather than weights, and this may have been intended here too. On the practice of flaying, see Sayers (2017) and Bernhardt-House (2022). For *Y*’s *cendmilaib* perhaps we should read, with minim confusion, as *cendmilaib*. Compare *coíca acraann [...] co cennmilaib* ‘Fifty purple saddle-cloths (?) ... with animals at their ends’ (Meid 2015: 41, ll. 21–2; trans. p. 65).

finnbuini: *finnrúine*, E; *orda*, Y. Although it clearly denotes some kind of precious metal, the exact meaning of *findbruine/finnrúine* has not been ascertained with certainty. It appears to have been thought to be roughly equivalent in value to silver (Toner 2007: 157–8) and I follow here Whitfield’s plausible proposition that it denoted ‘tinned bronze’ (Whitfield 2010). Scott’s suggestion that *findbruine* was a different alloy has not been established (Scott 1981: 156; cf. Hull 1962–64: 100–1).

do brith ina llamuib: This is omitted from Y where the reference to whips is found sandwiched between the description of tunics and the foals. Here, Y adds the line ‘Tre druidecht uile insin’, explaining away the appearance of the horses as a work of sorcery.

§5. At:raig in rī iarum int-ī Echu 7 gaibid immi: 7 roerídh an rí .i. Eochaid, A; Gaibther arathugud co mor inni sin 7 adfetsam a aislinge dia muintir, Y. Here, Y omits any reference to Echu’s rising, which is placed there at the beginning of §4, and instead states that he now related his dream to his people. I am not sure how *arathugud* is to be understood but it would seem to be a response to news of the arrival of the horses and accoutrements from the *síd*. We might tentatively read *ar a[l]tugud* ‘(one) starts giving thanks/rejoicing’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *attlugud*).

mūich[th]i: *muichi*, E; *no muchtais*, Y. I follow Windisch in reading *muichthi*, which we must take as a byform of 3 pl. pret. pass. of *múchaid* as demonstrated by the identical construction *bec nad:múchtha doini impu* (Meid 2015: 46, l. 225). That there was an early byform with palatal stem is suggested by *múichthea* (vll. *muichthia*, *múich dia*, *muchtea*, *muichthea*, *muichte*, etc.) in the Prologue to *Amrae Coluimb Chille* which Bisagni takes as gen. sg. of the vn. (Bisagni 2019: 285).

ba caín n-allmur n-innaidi: *ba cain n-allmar n-indie*, Y. The nasalisation after *cain* clearly goes back to the archetype. We might read this as a substantive form of the adj. *caín* which could be neut. in OIr (see *GOI* 164 and *eDIL* s.vv. *amrae* ‘wonderful thing’, *fír* ‘truth’, *mór* ‘much’, etc.). For the construction substantivised adj. + gen. of thing, see *eDIL* s.v. *amrae* II (a). However, while this is grammatically plausible, it is semantically awkward. Kelly (1973: 6–7)

notes that in archaic Old Irish verse, where a noun and adjective are inverted, the noun is nasalised if neuter, e.g. *ba cain n-am*, but the same feature is found at least as late as the ninth century (see *Cáin n-ard n-ordan n-adamra*, ‘a fair noble marvellous dignity’, Breatnach 1989: 25, §8). In later MSS, the nasalisation is sometimes inserted hypercorrectly, as in *ba cain mbetha* where *bethu* is masc. (Kelly 1975: 83, §13). However, this structure seems otherwise confined to verse and we would have to assume that this is a rendering of an original verse description of the band. I tentatively take *innaidi* to be for *indnaide* ‘waiting; expectation’, which is an old neuter, with simplification of *-ndn-* to *-nn-*. For the Y reading, Windisch compares *inde .i. dluith* (see *eDIL* s.v. 2 *inne*). Cf. also *innide* ‘worthy’ which is only attested once elsewhere in the poem beginning ‘Dúthracar, a Maic Dé bí’ (Murphy 1998: 30, §5) and might well be read *innaide*.

§6. Cid dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa: Cid dan-ingartar, Y; Cidh ma-tuc ale, A. E has pret. pass. sg. of *con-gair* ‘summon’ with an inf. pron. 1 sg.

fulair: fuluair, E; furail, A; forcid, Y. The restored form is Mlr for earlier *foróil*, *furóil*. The unmetathesised form found in A survives well into the ModIr period and so is not necessarily earlier. For Y, Windisch reads *forraid* ‘excess, superfluity’; this was probably intended there but the *ra* is not in the MS.

cetrachu daltau: .l. mac dalta, Y. The number of foster-sons is consistently given in E as forty as here and again at §1 (and with forty cows feeding them on each occasion). At §8, forty sons of kings (*mac rig*) are said to have died in Echu’s company. The number is given in Y as fifty here but as forty in §1 and §8, so E seems to be correct here. Y becomes further confused regarding the number of cattle feeding his retinue. It gives forty (*xl. bo*) for himself (*frim biathad*) and wrongly 140 (*.uii. .xx.et lulgach*) for the fosterlings.

a:tā i ndeth[it]in foruib: ata indethin foruib, E; ata .l. didiu andetitin for suidib, Y. The reading *detitin* in Y is closest in form to *deithiden* (ā, f.), later *deithitiu* (n, f.), ‘care, concern, solicitude, attention’ (*eDIL* s.v.). I take .l. to stand for *laig* ‘calves’ and *suidib* must refer back to the 140 cows in the preceding sentence.⁶² *Deithiden* is most commonly used with the genitive of the thing cared for, or with the prepp. *di/do/imm*, but we do find examples of *i ndeithitin* as early as *Fís Adomnáin*.⁶³ Thus, I would construe Y’s reading as ‘calves are in their [the cows’] care’, which would explain why Echu cannot offer them to Ailill for the *Táin*. E seems have amended an original reading similar to Y but it makes grammatical sense in its own right. Original *for suidib* seems to have been altered, perhaps after the loss of reference to calves, to *foruib*, so that the syntax is changed and we must read *i* as the poss. adj., *a ndeithitin*, ‘their care’. I take it that Echu is invoking Ailill’s protection of his cattle either

⁶²For a discussion of the use and semantics of *suide* in classical Old Irish, see Griffith 2013.

⁶³*i ndeithidin a colla* ‘preoccupied with the body’ (Carey 2019: 96, l. 4); *Cia dethitiu i faili-siu don bargin út*, ‘Why do you trouble yourself about that loaf’ (Nowlan 1904: 134–5); *i snimh no i ndeit[h]itin* (Stokes 1909: l. 3337), where it has the later sense ‘anxiety’.

in general or specifically while he is on this diplomatic expedition. **Y** probably better reflects the archetype here.

§7. Co n-ētar: con[e]rthar, **Y. E** is consistent with the pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. prot. of *ad-cota* ‘obtains’ (see *-ētar* 6, particularly *conn-ētar* in **Y**), and I take *con-* as an example of the conjunction used in wishes (*eDIL* s.v. 3 *co* 9). However, this construction arises only in late Mlr (Murphy 1998: 255). The reading of **Y** is now unclear and I follow Windisch’s transcription. Morphologically, this could be pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. of *con-ern* which, however, is attested only once in the somewhat inappropriate sense ‘bestows mutually’. It is more likely that it was intended as pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. of *ernaid* ‘bestows’ with the same conjunction *con-* found in **E**. Thus, neither MS may accurately preserve the original reading.

do:chorthae: roferad, **Y**; om. **A**. The absence of palatalisation in the past subj. pass. sg. is noteworthy. According to Thurneysen, in verbs containing *-cuirethar*, the root vowel became *-o-* in the subj. and the *-r-* was palatalised where the *-ā-* of the subj. was syncopated but remained non-palatal where it was retained, thus *friscoirthe* (*ML* 95a1) and *fris-coirter* (Stokes 1891: 201, l. 1), but pres. subj. 3 sg. *-corathar*; past subj. *-corad* (*GOI* 385). However, we would not expect palatalisation after syncope of *-ā-* and the palatalised forms must be explained by analogy (cf. *SnaG* 154). The older forms without palatalisation are found in more archaic texts, for example, *-aurcorthar* (*CIH* 1465, l. 9) and *fo:c[h]orthar* (Moran 2019: 198, §511, first stratum).

hi llaa-si int [s]ainnriuth: do lo airithi, **A**; om. **Y**. One might have expected some further qualifier specifying which day the cattle would arrive (cf., for example, *a lla-sa i cind mís*, ‘a month from today’, O Daly 1975: 40, l. 58). Echu does not leave for three days and even if we suppose that messengers were sent ahead, it seems unlikely, even in fanciful literature, that they would have been thought to be gathered from each farmer in the province and dispatched to Crúachain within a single day. I take it as an elliptical expression for ‘this very day [next year]’.

co comarnac[t]uir: coconrangatar, **A**; cotric, **Y**. Pret. 3 pl. of *con-ricc* with expected quality of post-syncope consonants (see McCone 1997: 54). **A** shows the influence of the deuterotonic.

Feguit for imairicc 7 oc imnaisi chatho: Fegaid animar [...], **Y**; om. **A**. The verb (*feguit*) could represent the pres. ind. 3 pl. of *fichid* ‘fights’, but the use of the preposition *for* and the additional clause are problematic. The prep. *for* is used to mark the person/thing that is vanquished, and the syntax *Feguit [...] oc imnaisi chatho* would be syntactically peculiar. It seems more likely that the verb was understood as *feccaid* ‘begins’ with the /k/ erroneously represented as g, possibly through the influence of the 3 pl. of *fichid* or *féchaid* ‘sees’. It is noteworthy that **Y** omits the awkward prep. *for* from the first part of the sentence. Furthermore, there is no space in **Y** for *7 oc imnaisi chatho*, which must have been omitted, suggesting, perhaps, that this phrase was not compatible with the scribe’s understanding of the verb. **Y** seems to take the

verb here as 3 sg. which would rule out *fichid*, but we might read its *fegaid* as *fechait* with lenited *g* for original *ch* and *d* for /d/. *Féchaid/fégaid* ‘sees’ may otherwise be intended.

Inse Uu Conchada a Mide: insena Conchada amide, **E**; inseuu Conchada amidi **Y**. The first part of the name must comprise the element *inis* (ī, f.) ‘island’. I take **Y**’s *inseuu* as superior to **E**’s *insena* (which shows confusion of *u* and *n*), and conclude that *uu* most probably stands for *ú* or *úa* ‘descendant of’. Hogan does not list any name corresponding to the placename given here. He gives separately *Insenna* which, however, turns out to be a variant spelling of the name *na teora Uinsenda Ua n-Ailella* which was given to three rivers in Co. Sligo (Hogan 1910: 677, 690). Kevin Murray (pers. comm.) draws my attention to an *Inis Conchada* in Mide which is mentioned in *Betha Cholmáin meic Lúacháin*: Téitt [...] siar a nÚib Tigernáin [...] Togaid [...] Indsi Conchada cona Cnoc Domnallán, ‘he goes westward into the land of Ui Thigernáin... He chooses... Inis Conchada with Cnoc Domnallán’ (Meyer 1911: 64–5, §§61–2). Walsh (2003: 268) cautiously identifies this as the island now known as Big Island or Dysart Island on Lough Ennel. *Betha Colmáin* omits the *úa* but it would be relatively straightforward for it to be elided following the vowel of *Inse*. Windisch and Thurneysen do not interpret *amide*, presumably because they thought it improbable that Munstermen returning home from Crúachain would have gone through Mide. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other satisfactory explanation, that seems to be how it was interpreted in the archetype. We might postulate that some similar name stood in the original *TBD* and this was misunderstood by a later scribe as the place in Mide.

§9. All-aidchi: Da mbai Ailill ann agaid, **Y**; Dala .vero. Ailella, **A**. See *GOI* 248, 309 and *eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (a). For use of (*al*)*la* with fem. nouns cf. *cech’la* (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (d)).

Cōichi ib-si: coich sibh, **A**; cia bar n<...>, **Y**. *Cóich* ‘whose, who’ appears to have been declinable in the plural, although it is not widely attested. In *TBC LL*, we find older *cóchit* (l. 1149) alongside *cóichi* (l. 1158) within a few lines of each other. It seems to be the latter form that is intended here, along with a late form *ib* of the stressed independent pronoun *sib* which starts to appear at the end of the twelfth century (*SnaG* 274). However, this is likely to be a reinterpretation of an otherwise unattested 2 pl. **cóichib* (cf. *cichib*- ‘what’, Meid 2015: 49, l. 334) which was reinterpreted as pl. *cóichi* + an independent pronoun. **A** has taken this modernisation a stage further. The **Y** reading probably stands for *cía bar n-anmann* ‘what are your names?’.

Cosgar ocus Nemchuscar: all three MSS agree in the form of the phantoms’ names here. *Coscar* can mean ‘triumph, victory’ and occasionally ‘slaughter’ (see *eDIL* s.v.) and I suggest that the text is playing with the senses here. Ailill clearly understands it in the more common sense of ‘victory’ and dismisses its opposite (*Nemchuscar*). The phantom then asserts that Ailill will, indeed, have *coscar* (*bid cusccar ēm duit-si*), but with an ominous rider, *cepē cruth* ‘whatever its form’, which seems to deliberately invoke the ambiguity in the word. More

particularly, she does not say on what side of the ‘victory’ (victor or fallen) the Connacht band will be. This seems to explain why the other phantom is named *Nemchuscar*: its sense is clear only when the true sense of *coscar* has been divined.

§10. Corb Cliach mac Tassich: Co<rp Li>at<h mac T>aisig, **Y**; Coirpri Clíach mac Taisuigh, **A**. All three MSS are internally consistent in their naming of this individual but differ from each other. **Y** and **E** present his given name as Corb/Corp, which is likely therefore to have stood in the archetype, while **A** has Coirpri/Cairpri. On the other hand, **E** and **A** agree in giving his epithet as *Clíach* against **Y**’s *Liath*. Thurneysen (1921: 305n.) took the **Y** reading *Liath* to be the correct one (so in full in **Y** 11, 16) as the text places him on the banks of the Blackwater (see next note) and so is too far south to be in Clíu. Alternatively, we might postulate that the epithet was originally Clíath ‘of the hurdles’, which was confused with *Clíach* < *Clíu* in **E** and **A** and reinterpreted as ‘Liath’ in **Y**. *TBC* 1, l. 3956 lists *trí Coirpre Cliach* in the mustering of the men of Ireland which may have motivated **A**’s change from Corb to Coirpre.

Corb’s patronymic is consistently given, with some variation in spelling, across all three MSS. This is an extremely rare name and is given only to a single individual in O’Brien’s *Corpus Genealogiarum*, namely, Tassach or Ailill Tassach, son of Echu Liatháin from whom the Uí Liatháin in east Cork, south of the Blackwater, were descended (O’Brien 1962: 151b5; and p. 229; see map in Byrne 1973: 173). The Uí Thassaig were descended from this (Ailill) Tassach (O’Brien 1962: 229) and his son, Bressal, was claimed to have been king of Munster (Byrne 1973: 177). The synchronisms would place Tassach about the fourth century CE and so too late for an Ulster Cycle context but it seems possible that the character in *TBD* was forged from the same material as the ancestor of the Uí Thassaig. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that Tassach supposedly had a brother, Corp, from whom the sept of Uí Chuirp descended (O’Brien 1962: 229). A certain Tassach, apparently from T’Assach, was St Patrick’s craftsman (see Bieler 1979: 222).

Nem[e] aníartuaith: Nemaine artuaith, **E**; Neime fri Aine Cliach atuidh, **A**, Neme antuaid, **Y**. Nem is an old name for the River Blackwater in Cos. Kerry and Cork (*HDGP* i, 5, s.n. Abha(nn) Mhór (3)) and is clearly supported by **A** and **Y** on separate branches of the stemma. **E**’s *nemaine* could be read as a *n*-stem inflection which does not appear to be otherwise attested (see *oc Neim*, *AU* s.a. 858). The *-n-* for *-nn-* is not particularly problematic but if it were to be accepted as a genuine form it would have to be taken as a later innovation in the **E** branch. However, the rendering of *antuaid* as *artuaith* makes little sense and I think that it represents the end of the adverb *aníartuaith* (for *aníartuaid*) ‘north-west (of)’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *aníar*) and that [*ani*] has mistakenly become attached to the name of the river. I emend accordingly. In **A**, the detached *ani* was taken as the placename *Áine* and the whole reanalysed as the placename *Áine Clíach*, the hills in the townland and parish of Knockainy, Co. Limerick, in the territory of Clíu where much of the action of the tale is set. **Y**’s *antuaid*

appears to be a good OIr form and may well be original but it is more likely that it is a simplification of *aniartuaid*.

Cia for n-anmunn-si: Cia *bur* n-anmand sa, **A**; Ciasu annann bai for suidiu, **Y**. Both **E** and **A** offer the same reading in direct speech. **Y**'s transformation into indirect speech, as if it were an authorial interjection, makes little sense within the following dialogue.

Tecluim: Tecmall, **Y**; Teclamha, **A**. This means 'collecting, gathering' (vn. of *do-ecmalla*) but also substantively 'collection, band'. **Y** has the older, pre-metathesis form while **A** seems to have a reduced form of the later vn., *teclamad*. It could refer to the mustering of an army but a purely non-military sense is more commonly associated with it and it is rendered 'Sammeln' by Thurneysen (1921: 305). The pairing with *cosgrad* suggests a military sense but I have adopted the deliberately ambiguous translation 'gathering'.

Cosgrad: Coscrad, **Y**, **A**. This echoes the name given previously (*Cosgar*) but here it is a vn. 'act of overthrowing, destroying; hacking, tearing apart; disturbing'. The fact that Corb rejects *cosgrad* in favour of *tecluim* suggests that he has identified the ambiguity of the former that we have seen in relation to *coscar* (§9) and he does, indeed, return as victor in the battle with the princes of Connacht.

Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic rīg 7 airech: Níbadsidsi b̄ coscrad macu ri 7 airech, **A**; Ni bo coscur duidseo or si 7 bid tecmallad. Cia nesam dun de suidiu. Ni *ansa*. Tecmall lat maccu rig 7 rigdamna *con* scailfeam maccu rig 7 rigdam<na 7> airech, **Y**.

A contains several errors, including the loss of the verb *con:sgarfa* which would have governed the apl. *macu* (for **E**'s *mic*). As it stands in **E**, Corb's rejection of destruction (*cuscrad*) is granted by the otherworld woman who, rather than promising *tecluim* as might be expected, instead assures him that he will be a destroyer. As this is repeated in **A**, despite some garbling in the extant MS copy, it clearly made sense to at least two separate scribes. However, **Y** appears to have desired greater clarity and I would suggest that it has expanded the text for that purpose (see above p. 188). It drops the reference to the destruction of the youths and introduces a stated preference for *tecmallad*. Although this is a later formation than *tecmall* (the name given to the phantom in **Y**), it is attested as early as *Wb.* (see *eDIL* s.v.), but it seems to be telling that the scribe chose to deploy a different form of the same word. The remainder of the additional material is also found in §9 from which it may have been copied. It is noteworthy that *con:sgarfa* has been replaced by a similar verb (*scaillid* 'scatters') with *con* in the sense 'that'. The juxtaposition *maccu rig 7 rigdam<na 7> airech*, if correctly read, seems erroneous. If not for *maccu rig 7 airech* as in **A** and **E** (with orthographic variation), then the second 7 might be omitted.

§11. -immairi: pres. subj. 3 sg. of *imm-airicc* (see *eDIL* s.v.)

§12. -comairsim: pres. subj. 1 pl. of *con-ricc* for expected *-comairsem* (e.g. at *Wb.* 33a9) but we find non-palatal consonants elsewhere in this text immediately following *i*. See note to **-ndigsid**, 1.

§14. torbad: MS *torb-*; *torbath*, **Y**. See *eDIL* s.vv. *torbad* and *torbaid*.

feimgeth: See *eDIL* s.v. *féimded* ‘refusing, rejecting, renouncing’.

i cCliu: A territory approximately coterminous with the diocese of Emly in Cos Limerick and Tipperary (*HDGP* v, 71). The earliest rhyming example that I know of occurs in the poem beginning ‘Clann Ailella Auluimb uill’ among the early genealogies of *Sil Ébir* where we find the rhyme *Chliu:fīu* (O’Brien 1962: 194, l. 3). See also the rhyme with *eu/heo* (dat. sg. of *éo* ‘tree, yew’) in *Cath Maige Mucraime* (O Daly 1975: 58, ll. 311, 315) and in *Scéla Mošauluim* (ibid. 78, l. 597; 80, l. 630) which O Daly, surely correctly, emends to expected *iu* (from *iwū).

§15. tredam: *tri daim*, **Y**; *tri daim*, **A**. **E** has the *lectio difficilior*. This compound is not attested elsewhere. We may compare *cethardam* ‘(a team of) four oxen’, but there do not seem to be references to teams of three oxen. On teams of two, four and six oxen, see Kelly 1998: 473–7. Prof. Ó hUiginn draws my attention to what appears to be a team of three horses (*tre ech*) mentioned in a poem attributed to Bricne (Bricriu) in a marginal note in the earlier recension of *Táin Bó Flidais* in *LU* (p. 56). The poem is repeated with slightly different wording in the Early Modern recension (*Bidham tre-each asa iath*, ‘We will have a team of three horses from his estate’, Ní Mhaoláin 2025: 100, §49) where Bricriu explains the sense: *Ionann sin agus trí eich do thabhairt do gach aon duine dá dtáinig liom-sa, agus carbad fionnruine for gach tre-each díbh sin*, ‘That means that he will give three horses to every single person who came with me, with a chariot of white-bronze on every team of three horses of them’ (ibid. §50). Here, the *tre-each* is explicitly associated with a chariot. Teams of three horses, known as *trigae*, are known from chariot racing in ancient Rome and we are reminded of the Russian *troika* which comprised three horses.

Tucuit ind oicc lēo fora n-echaib: *Tucaid inn oic leo a mbiad forsna hechaib* **Y**. An object of the verb is missing in **E** as it stands but this is not uncommon in *Ml*r texts. I take the verbal form as a jussive subjunctive 3 pl. which is demanded by the context of **E**. However, **Y** has reinterpreted it as pres. ind. and supplied an object (*a mbiad* ‘their food’).

§16. Dus:n-ārthet: *dos-autat*, **Y**; *nus-n-airgét*, **A**. This is pres. ind. 3 pl. of *do-airret* ‘overtakes, comes up with; attacks, falls on’. **Y** has the rarer verb *do-autat* ‘comes (upon), catches, affronts, assails’ (*eDIL* s.v. *do-autat*) but it is noteworthy that the 140 warriors are not along with Corb, as in **E**, but are the Connachta (*Dos-autat Corb [...] secht fichit laech ar a cend*). **Y** is not consistent with itself here for at §9 it states that there were forty men in the Connacht force, so I take *dos-autat* as an error. If **E** preserves the original reading, as seems likely, then the change in the ancestor of **Y** is likely to have

happened at an early stage in its transmission. A appears to take the verb as *oirgid* ‘slaughters’ although this is out of sequence here for, in the next clause, they launch the attack.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMC *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, edited by K. H. Jackson (Dublin 1990).

HDGP *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge*, edited by Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, Kevin Murray and Emma Nic Cárthaigh (London 2003–).

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