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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

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NEWLY DECIPHERED OLD IRISH GLOSSES IN THE CADMUG GOSPELS[1]

Abstract

I provide a new edition of the glosses on fol. 39r of the eighth-century Cadmug Gospels. I also correct the reading of one of the glosses on fol. 3va.

Introduction

In his edition of the Old Irish glosses in the Cadmug Gospels,[2] Kuno Meyer (1912: 174) gives the impression that there are six glosses on fol. 39r9, although he was only able to read two of them. With regard to these glosses, he says:

> Die Lesung der letzten Glossen ist noch dadurch erschwert, daß sie mit Ausnahme von *nech* durchgestrichen sind. (Meyer 1912: 174)
>
> 'The reading of the last glosses is even more difficult due to the fact that, with the exception of *nech*, they are crossed out.'

On account of this difficulty, he leaves the glosses largely undeciphered. The following is his edition of the passage, in which the glosses are enclosed in parentheses and inserted after the words to which he thought that they referred:

> nemo (nech) *autem* lucernam (lucarn:?) accendens operit (.i. ::::) eam uasso (....) a*ut* sub lectum ponit (.i. ...) sed supra candalabrum (.i. ::a:::::::)
>
> 'No one (nech), however, after lighting a lamp (lucarn:?), hides (.i. ::::) it under a jar (....) or puts [it] (.i. ...) beneath the bed, but on a lampstand (.i. ::a:::::::) ...' (Luke VIII:16; my translation)

[1]This article was written as part of the research project *Chronologicon Hibernicum* (*ChronHib*), which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 647351). I am grateful to Prof. David Stifter, Dr Fangzhe Qiu, and Dr Bernhard Bauer for discussion of this passage, an anonymous reviewer for helpful suggestions, and Nadine Hecht of the Fulda Landesbibliothek for providing an electronic photograph of fol. 39r.

[2]Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonifatianus 3 (eighth century). The manuscript is described in Lowe (1959), no. 1198. For further references, see Bronner (2013: 16) and the Earlier Latin Manuscripts database hosted by the National University of Ireland, Galway (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1674, accessed 15 February 2019).

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A fresh examination of the evidence is clearly called for. Having received an electronic photograph from the Fulda Landesbibliothek,[3] I am able to read all of the glosses and provide a new transcription of the Latin text along with a new edition of the glosses in section two.

EDITION

Where Meyer saw six glosses, there are in fact only four, two of which consist of two words separated by *.i.* 'that is'. Below, I present my transcription of the Latin first and then an edition and translation of the glosses. I use <E> to denote the tall <e> found in the manuscript. Scribal abbreviations are expanded in italics. The glosses associated with the Latin words are indicated by superscript numbers at the right of the first word over which the gloss occurs in the manuscript. Two of the glosses in fact extend over several words. This fact, along with the extremely cramped writing due to the size of the manuscript, is probably what led Meyer to believe that there were more glosses than there actually are, and that they were crossed out, which they are not.

Latin text
Nemo[1] *autem* lucErna*m*[2] ascEn[dens] op*er*it Ea*m* uasso[3] a*ut* sub[tus?][4] lEctu*m* ponit s*ed* sup*er* candalabrum

Glosses
1. *nech*
2. lucernam .i. *luac.rn*
3. *cErn*
4. lucernam .i. *luachairnnn*

Translation of the glosses
1. 'no one'
2. '*lucernam*, that is, "lamp"'
3. 'dish'
4. '*lucernam*, that is, "lamp"'

NOTES

When referring to words or individual letters found in the Latin text or in the glosses, I enclose them in angle brackets.

a. <Nemo> is written with a large <n> within which <e> is written. This is followed by <mo> written after the second descender of the <n>. The first gloss is placed over the letters <mo> and extends part way over the Tironian note for *autem*.

[3]There is a digital facsimile of the manuscript available online at https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325292043/1/ (accessed 15 February 2019).

b. The second gloss consists of one Latin word and one Irish word. It starts over the <u> of <lucerna*m*> and extends over the <u> of <uasso>. The Irish part of the gloss begins over the <p> of <op*er*it>. In the Irish word, the letters <ac> are written together. There are one or two letters between <c> and <r> that are not written because the m-stroke of <Ea*m*> intervenes. These letters were probably <hi>, <ha> or merely the vowels alone, making the entire word <luac(h)arn> or <luac(h)irn>. The latter represents a possible spelling for the accusative singular of *lúacharn*, and agrees with the case of the Latin word.

c. The third gloss begins over the <a> of <uasso> and extends to the end of the Latin word. The word must be the one listed in *eDIL* s.v. 2 *cern* 'dish or receptacle (of fixed capacity)', although this example is not found in the dictionary.

d. The fourth gloss starts over <sub> and extends to the end of <candalabrum>. The gloss is essentially the same as the second gloss, except it is fully spelled out. The Irish word *luachairnnn* is again in the accusative singular to agree with the Latin word. The glossator writes <n> three times seemingly in order to finish the gloss over the end of the Latin word.

e. The scribe uses the same abbreviation over the <p> in <op*er*it> as he uses in <sup*er*>. This contrasts with a more common reading of Luke VIII:16 where *supra* instead of *super* is found. Perhaps the scribe was thinking of the equivalent verse in Matthew:

> neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio sed super candelabrum ...
>
> 'neither do they light a lamp and put it under a bowl, but on a lampstand ...' (Matthew V:15, my translation)

f. Meyer (1912: 174) silently corrects the Latin word <ascen[dens]> to *accendens*, which is found in the Vulgate text of Luke VIII:16. Although the form as it stands is an error and must be corrected, to do so without comment is misleading. The word is clearly written with an <s> before the <c>, as if the scribe were writing *ascendens* from the verb *ascendo* 'I go up'. Furthermore, one should note that there is actually no room for the letters <dens>. It is likely that an abbreviation stroke was left out.[4] A somewhat different case is <sub[tus?]>, which Meyer prints merely as *sub*. Both the Latin word *subtus* and the word *sub* are equally plausible in this context; indeed other manuscripts containing

[4]To account for the <s>, one possibility, though speculative, is that the exemplar of the passage was more akin to the redaction also found in the Usserianus Primus (TCD MS 55, fol. 100v2) and the Book of Mulling (TCD MS 60, fol. 62rb20), both of which have *accensam* rather than *accendens*. The medial <s> in *accensam* could well have been misplaced.

Old Latin versions of Luke show the same variation. One cannot be certain, therefore, whether the scribe of the Cadmug Gospels was copying his exemplar faithfully. This uncertainty is indicated in the above edition with the question mark added at the end of the word. Somewhat inconsistently with his correction of <ascen[dens]> to *accendens*, Meyer did not correct <candalabrum> to the standardized form *candelabrum*.

DISCUSSION

Only the fourth gloss is in need of extended comment. Because it is essentially the same as the second gloss, it seems initially to be redundant. One way to account for this is to suppose that the two glosses have different functions. The second gloss seems to be a simple translation gloss, providing the translation for the Latin word <lucerna*m*>. The fourth gloss is rather a syntactic gloss.[5] Its function is to clarify the grammatical object of the Latin verb <ponit>, since it is not actually mentioned in the Latin text of Luke. Perhaps the glossator was concerned that, without this clarification, a reader may have wrongly understood the object of <ponit> to be *vasum* 'jar' (the noun immediately preceding the gloss) instead of *lucerna* 'lamp'. A comparison with the Latin text of the passage from Matthew suggests that the gloss does indeed have a syntactic function. Unlike in Luke, the verb *ponunt* has an explicitly mentioned object in Matthew, namely *eam*, which is coreferential with *lucernam*.

A NOTE ON A GLOSS ON FOL. 3VA6

Meyer's (1912: 173) edition of one of the glosses on fol. 3v of the same manuscript can also be updated. The first gloss, which is found over *in umbra* (Matthew IV:16), is printed in his edition as <.i. fos> with a footnote saying that the Irish word should be read as *fos[cad]*. In fact, the gloss is clearly written as <.i. hi fos>, which should be read as *.i. hi fos[cud]* 'i.e. in (the) shadow'.

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[5]For a recent discussion of the various functions of glosses, including syntactic glosses, see Blom (2017: 26–35).

WHO ARE WE? ON THE USAGE OF 'WE/US' IN THE ST GALL PRISCIAN GLOSSES*

Abstract

This paper discusses the usage of 'we/us' in the early medieval glosses on Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* found in the ninth century manuscript St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904. Detailed discussion of Latin and Irish examples aims to shed light on the question who is behind the pronoun 'we' in the glosses. In doing this the present article tries to find possible answers to the question of whether or not the Irish glosses are original compositions or translations from Latin.

Introduction

In his article on language interaction in the St Gall Priscian Glosses, Moran (2015: 136) made the following thought-provoking observation: 'We may [...] question whether the Irish glosses are original compositions at all, or merely translations from inherited Latin sources.' Inspired by this, the following article tries to find an answer to the question 'Who are we?', that is, to determine whether glosses containing the notion 'we' are composed from an Irish or Latin(-speaking) point of view. The main source used is the Latin and Old Irish glosses featuring 'we/us' found in the manuscript St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS 904. Ó Néill (2000) has convincingly shown that this manuscript was written in the years AD 850–1. Hofman (1996, i, 12–31) offers strong arguments for an Irish origin. It contains Priscian's Latin grammar with *c.* 9412 interlinear and marginal glosses, of which *c.* 3478 are in Old Irish.[1] The rest is in Latin. The glosses are available in a digital edition,[2] established by Moran, which is based on the previous work of Hofman (1996) and Bauer (2015). For the present study this database was searched for glosses containing the Latin phrase *apud nos* 'with us' and the conjugated Old Irish prepositions *linn(i)* 'with us' and *dún*/*dunni* 'to us'. This allows for a direct comparison of the two languages. The article is divided into three main parts. The first deals with the Latin glosses, followed in part two by the vernacular glosses. The third section further extends the scope of the discussion and addresses specific glosses concerning geographical names, followed by general conclusions.

*The work on this article was undertaken as part of the IRC-funded project Languages in Exchange: Ireland and her Neighbours (Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellowship Award No. GOIPD/2016/174). I express my gratitude for assistance and suggestions to the editors and readers, and David Stifter.

[1] Cf. Moran (2015: 115).

[2] Bauer et al. (2017).

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Apud nos-glosses

As a first step the database was searched for glosses containing the Latin phrase *apud nos* 'with us/in our language'.[3] The phrase occurs eleven times in the glosses but is also very frequent in the main text (94 occurrences). It is interesting to note that there are also two bilingual glosses[4] (L6 and L11)[5] featuring this Latin phrase. Most of the *apud nos*-glosses are written from a Latin point of view and serve to distinguish Latin from Greek. In fact, only one example does not occur in a Greek context:

(L1) ***Sg.* 122a20 f**[6] ap*ud* nos

'in our language'

gl. *uetustissimos* (Keil ii, 310, l. 17)[7]

'oldest'[8]

This gloss emphasizes the difference between the usage of certain genitive and dative plural forms by the *uetustissimi* 'oldest [authors]' and contemporaries. The following list comprises nine examples of Latin *apud nos*-glosses and one bilingual one:

(L2) ***Sg.* 18a16 m** .i. in subiunc*tione* .i. ap*ud* nos

'i.e. in subjunction i.e. in our language'

gl. *quam pro omni i longa scribebant more antiquo Graecorum.* invenitur *haec eadem i post u in Graecis nominibus, ut* Ἄρπυια: *nam* υι *diphthongus est.* (Keil ii, 37, ll. 10–12)

'which they wrote for every long *i*, in the ancient Greek manner. This same *i* is also found for *i* after *u* in Greek names, like Ἄρπυια: because υι is a diphthong.'

(L3) ***Sg.* 19a19 i** .i. ap*ud* nos

'i.e. in our language'

gl. κωμῳδία *comedia* (Keil ii, 40, l. 3)

'comedy comedy'.

(L4) ***Sg.* 26b23 w** .i. Quia carect*er eius* ap*ud* nos n*on* invenit*ur*.

'i.e. because its character is not found in our language'

[3]Where applicable, the phrase *apud nos* is translated as 'in our language' in this paper.

[4]In this article the term 'bilingual gloss' is used for any gloss that features two languages. The concerns raised about whether or not all glosses containing two (or more) languages are really bilingual (multilingual) utterances given at a single moment in time (cf., e.g., Bisagni (2013–14)) do not modify the outcome of this study.

[5]The combination of letter and digit is used to simplify references to specific glosses within this paper. 'L' stands for glosses in which the personal pronoun is in Latin, 'V' where it is in the vernacular and 'G' for geographical glosses.

[6]The numbering system used is that introduced by Hofman (1996). Where applicable, i.e. with the Old Irish glosses, the gloss numbering of *Thes* follows in brackets.

[7]The main text is quoted from the edition of Hertz in Keil (1855–80).

[8]All translations of the Latin citations are the author's.

gl. *apud Graecos* [. . .] *apud Latinos uero articulum addebant, quem purum per se apud nos non inveniri supra docuimus.* (Keil ii, 55, l. 2)

'in Greek[9] [. . .] in Latin, however, they added the article, which, as we have taught above, does not exist as such in it (Latin).'

(L5) ***Sg.* 111a26 m** ⁊ ap*ud* nos .i. in no*min*ati*vo*

'and in our language i.e. in the nominative'

gl. *(et apud) graecos* (Keil ii, 272, l. 6)

'(and) in Greek'.

(L6) ***Sg.* 148b30 q (= 148b10)** .i. ut *est* h*uius* ap*ud* nos geni*tivus* articol του da*no* ap*ud* g*rae*cos

'i.e. as *huius* is the genitive of the article in our language, so in Greek is τοῦ'

gl. *genetiuo casui articuli apud Graecos* (Keil ii, 409, l. 9)

'to the genitive case of the article in Greek'.

(L7) ***Sg.* 198b31** ap*ud* nos

'in our language'

gl. *id est* ὁ δοῦλός μου; *sic hic meus seruus* (Keil ii, 582, l. 6)

'i.e. ὁ δοῦλός μου ('my slave'); thus *hic meus seruus* ('this slave of mine')'.

(L8) ***Sg.* 205b18 h** ap*ud* nos

'in our language'

gl. *apud Graecos relatiua est, quomodo et sui sibi se a se* (Keil iii, 5, l. 7)

'in Greek it is relative, just like *sui sibi se* from *se*'.

(L9) ***Sg.* 218a24 p** .i. adv*er*biu*m est* ap*ud* nos

'i.e. it is an adverb in our language'

gl. *et quod apud Graecos absque ulla dubitatione aduerbium est* (Keil iii, 39, l. 26)

'and which is, without any doubt, an adverb in Greek'.

(L10) ***Sg.* 234a10 b** [. . .] ap*ud* nos qui loco oy/ fit. [. . .]

'in our language which takes the place of *oy*'

gl. *potest subiunctiui loco articuli accipi* (Keil iii, 125, l. 6)

'it can be taken instead of the subjunctive article'.

[9]Similar to the translation of *apud nos* as 'in our language', the phrases *apud Graecos* 'with the Greeks' and *apud Latinos* 'with the Latins' are translated as 'in Greek' and 'in Latin' in this paper.

These examples all show a Latin perspective, but there is also one gloss which reveals an Irish or hypothetical Latin point of view. It is the second bilingual gloss:

(L11) ***Sg.* 209b7 i (= 209b7)** .i. combad .si. ap*ud* nos

'in our language it would be *si*'

gl. *quomodo enim* οὗ *sui et* οἱ *sibi et* ἑ *se, sic nominatiuus* ἡ *si debuit esse.* (Keil iii, 16, ll. 17–18)

'just as οὗ [corresponds to] *sui* and οἱ to *sibi* and ἑ to *se*, so the nominative should be ἡ *si*.'

This gloss states that the nominative of the Greek third singular feminine pronoun ἡ would be *si* 'with us'. However, such a form as a counterpart to Gr. ἡ does not exist in Latin, because the original personal pronoun is only used as a reflexive and therefore does not have a nominative. There are two possible explanations for the *si* in *Sg.* 209b7 (= 209b7 i): (1) the glossator artificially created a Latin nominative *si* on the basis of the oblique cases *suī*, *sibi* etc. and the Greek nominative ἡ; or (2) the form is not Latin at all but Irish. And indeed, there is a pronoun *sí* in Old Irish, the third singular feminine personal pronoun. The gloss could therefore be an original Irish composition, which informs the reader about an Irish parallel, half in Irish and half in Latin. In fact, the second part does not necessarily have to be a Latin composition at all. The phrase *apud nos* appears frequently in the main text and in the St Gall glosses (see above). It could therefore have been interpreted as a *terminus technicus* by the glossator. This means that he might have used it without actively thinking about its Latinity. The gloss could therefore be understood in two ways: (1) *si* is a made-up Latin form created by the glossator and the past subjunctive *combad* means that ἡ would hypothetically be *si* in Latin; or (2) it is an original Irish gloss and the gloss gives a possible Irish parallel.

Vernacular glosses

Old Irish glosses featuring conjugated prepositions in the first person plural can be treated as equivalents to the *apud nos*-glosses. In what follows, the emphasis lies on vernacular glosses containing the prepositions OIr *la* 'with, by, etc.' and OIr *do* 'to'.

OIr *la* 'with'

OIr *la* occurs 15 times with the suffixed pronoun of the first plural. One example, (V1) *.i. intí diarobe briathar linn riam* 'i.e. he of whom we have spoken before' (*Sg.* 197b34 gg = 197b12), does not offer us any insights on the topic of the present study. This is because it merely refers to the writer of the manuscript in the *pluralis modestiae*, and so it is ambiguous as to a Latin or Irish viewpoint. Again, the majority of examples are those in which Greek is featured in the main text:

(V2) ***Sg.* 6a18 x (= 6a9)** níbbu machdath betis g*rec*di ⁊ nothath foraib linni ⁊ da*no* it latin am*al* ṡodain ut d*ixi*t p*ri*us. [. . .]

'it were no wonder that they were Greek since we call them loan-words[10] and yet they are Latin in that case, as he said before. [. . .]'

gl. *quas a Graecis sumpsimus, hoc est fama, fuga, fur* (Keil ii, 11, ll. 20–1)

'which we have taken from the Greeks, that is *fama, fuga, fur*'.

(V3) ***Sg.* 26b4 e (= 26b3)** is follus nach mór bríg artic*uil* linni[11]

'it is clear that in our language the article is not of much account'

gl. nam *cum dicimus idem,* ὁ αὐτός, *non solum articulum praepositiuum, sed etiam pronomen in eadem dictione significamus.* (Keil ii, 54, 16–18)

'for when we say *idem*, ὁ αὐτός, we not only convey the preposed article, but also the pronoun in this same word'.

(V4) ***Sg.* 37a34 cc (= 37a8)** .i. ní exceptaid linn són s*ed* regula

'i.e. we do not deem this an exception but a rule'

gl. nam *quod a Taurominio Taurominitanus dicimus, sequimur Graecos, qui Taurominites dicunt.* (Keil ii, 79, ll. 10–11)

'because when we say *Taurominitanus* from *Taurominium*, we follow the Greeks who say *Tauromínites*'.

(V5) ***Sg.* 38b14 o (= 38b5)** cari[vel a]lis no*men* ci*vitatis* plu*rale* co·mbed caralites la g*rec*u ⁊ caralitanus linni

'*Carilis* or *Caralis* [is] the name of the city [used as] a plural, [its derivative] would be *Caralites* in Greek and *Caralitanus* in our language'

gl. Τριπολίτης Tripolitanus. similiter a Caralibus Caralitanus (Keil ii, 82, ll. 4–5)

'Τριπολίτης *Tripolitanus*. Similarly from *Caralibus Caralitanus*.'

(V6) ***Sg.* 149b41 q (= 149b7)** (m.l.) atá da*no* linni/ insin .i. dede/ doairbert/ ageriind/ gnímo/ et coit*chin*

'we too have that feature, i.e. to express two things by the gerund of an active and a common (verb)'.

gl. ut oratum, πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖσθαι, oratu, τῷ παρακαλεῖν καὶ τῷ παρακαλεῖσθαι ἤτοι τῇ παρακλήσει, idem enim significamus. (Keil ii, 412, ll. 14–16)

'like[12] *oratum* [supine], πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖν [present infinitive active] καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖσθαι [present infinitive medium], *oratu* [second

[10] This first part of this translation is by Lambert (1985: 188).

[11] In a parallel manner to the translation of *apud nos*, where appropriate OIr *linni* is also translated as 'in our language'.

[12] This passage explains which Greek forms correspond to the Latin ones.

supine], τῷ παραχαλεῖν [present infinitive active] καὶ τῷ παραχαλεῖσθαι [present infinitive medium] ἤτοι τῇ παραχλήσει [dative singular], so we express the same'.

(V7) ***Sg.* 160b20 h (= 160b2)** .i. confil linni hisind óin ṡech*madachtu* afile leosom i*n*dib sech*madachtib*

'i.e. so that we have in the one preterite what they have in two preterites'

gl. *nam amaui* πεφίληχα καὶ ἐφίλησα *significat* (Keil ii, 445, ll. 23–24)

'for *amaui* means [=corresponds to] both πεφίληχα and ἐφίλησα'.

(V8) ***Sg.* 207b32 u (= 207b11)** cit comsuid*igthi* lag*re*cu ní ecen dunni beta coms*uidigthi* linn

'although they are compounds in Greek (lit. with the Greeks), they do not necessarily have to be compounds in our language'

gl. *apud nos simplicia, quae apud Graecos composita sunt, ut felix* εὐτυχής, *sanctus* εὐαγής, *pius* εὐσεβής, *et alia mille. non tamen ideo significationem Graecam attendentes debemus ea composita dicere* (Keil iii, 12, ll. 2–4)

'simple nouns in our language, which are compounds in Greek, like *felix* εὐτυχής, *sanctus* εὐαγής, *pius* εὐσεβής, and thousands of others. Therefore, we should not pay attention to the Greek expression and call them compounds.'

(V9) ***Sg.* 208b24 m (= 208b7)** .i. acuit foraib linni

'i.e. we have the acute on them'

gl. *quod omnia pronomina apud Latinos absoluta sunt et tam praepositiua quam subiunctiua rectique accentus* (Keil iii, 14, ll. 7–8)

'that all pronouns are independent words in Latin and can appear both pre-posed and post-posed of a fully stressed word'.

(V10) ***Sg.* 214a8 e (= 214a1)** .i. file linni

'which we have'

gl. *apud nos* (Keil iii, 28, l. 21)

'with us'.

These nine glosses function in the same way as the *apud nos* examples above (L2–L10), i.e. to distinguish Latin from Greek. The 'we' in them reflects a Latin point of view. Therefore, they are likely to be translations from original Latin glosses, or else they are original Irish glosses that adopt a Latin perspective. However, there are also glosses that reveal an Irish perspective. Before discussing the first example, it is necessary to have a short look at glosses that open with direct quotations from the main text. These are mainly marginal glosses which repeat the glossed word for referential purposes, e.g., *Sg.* 14b21" x, which has *ignavus* to refer back to *ignavus* of the main text (Keil ii, 30, l. 9), *Sg.* 14b22" z, which glosses *ignarus* (Keil ii, 30, l. 9) and

starts with the same lexeme, and *Sg.* 22a10 i, which starts with *alterutrum*, the word it is glossing (Keil ii, 61, l. 24). No examples for this type of reference occurring with interlinear glosses could be found through a search of about a quarter of the manuscript. It seems to be restricted to the marginal glosses (cf. also G2 below). This is important for the next example, an interlinear gloss found on fol. 47:

(V11) ***Sg.* 47a32" f (= 47a5)** centat iss *ed* a cennbart són linni

'a little head, that is, in our language, the capital'

gl. *capitulum* (Keil ii, 107, l. 3)

'A head-like object or structure; little head'.

The first word of this gloss is the exact Old Irish equivalent to Lat. *capitulum* 'a small/little head, the capital or chapiter of a column' (Lat. *caput* 'head' plus the diminutive suffix *-ulum*), i.e. the lexeme for head *cenn* plus the diminutive suffix *-t(h)at* (cf. *GOI* 175). This means that if one assumes that V11 is a translation from Latin, the hypothetical original gloss would have started with *capitulum*, the same word as is found in the main text. Considering the discussion about referential words above and excluding the possibility of this gloss being an exception, the hypothetical original Latin gloss would have had to feature *capitulum* as a reference to *capitulum* in the main text, something which seems to be otherwise unattested in the relevant interlinear glosses. V11 can therefore be interpreted as an original Irish composition. In contrast to this, the next example is a translation from an original Latin gloss:

(V12) ***Sg.* 67a37" bb (= 67a17)** .i. am*al* as·b*er*ar amnis r*eliqua* ⁊ it masculinni im*murgu* linni

'i.e. as *haec amnis* etc. is said, and yet they are masculine in our language'

gl. *quos nos sequimur,* ut *haec amnis, funis, anguis* (Keil ii, 160, 17–18)

'which we follow, like *amnis, funis, anguis*'.

Similar to L1 above, Priscian is talking about the diachronic changes of Latin. The gloss states that the lexemes *amnis* 'river', *funis* 'rope, sheet, line, cord' and *anguis* 'serpent, snake' mentioned in the main text are masculine 'with us'. The corresponding Irish lexemes, however, are feminine: OIr *ab/aub* 'river' (f., *n*-stem), *tét* (f., *ā*-stem) 'rope, cord' and *escong(a)* (f.) 'eel'. This means that the gloss cannot originally be Irish. Other cases remain ambiguous, because there is no possibility of defining which language they originate from:

(V13) ***Sg.* 30a15 w (= 30a8)** .i. dóig linn bed n-acuit p*re*ter qualis ⁊ combad chirchunflex far suidiu.

'i.e. it seems to us that it is the acute, except (on) qualis, and that it is the circumflex on this.'

gl. *ut quis, qualis, quantus, quot, quotus, [. . .] seruant accentus* (Keil ii, 61, ll. 5–6)

'like *quis, qualis, quantus, quot, quotus,* [. . .] they keep the accents'.

(V14) ***Sg.* 40a13 n (= 40a11)** (m.l.)[13] Atá linn chaenae ní asa·n-arbara*m* daerscugud di neuch di hil*ib* a chenéuil feissin .i. a sup*er*lait.

'we have besides something whereby we can express the surpassing by one of many of its own type, i.e. its superlative'

gl. *superlatiuo possumus uti* (Keil ii, 86, l. 1)

'we can use the superlative'.

(V15) ***Sg.* 198a8 5 (= 198a6)** .i. is coimdig linn inso

'i.e. this is customary with us'

gl. *quod autem tertiae est, ostenditur ex eo quod dicimus ego feci, tu fecisti, ipse fecit* (Keil ii, 579, l. 31–580, l. 1)

'that it is also [of] the third person, is evident from the fact that we say *ego feci, tu fecisti, ipse fecit*'.

These instances do not offer any indications from which point of view the glosses were composed, because they are equally in accord with the grammatical expectations of both languages. Both languages have a superlative (V14), and the other two examples also do not reveal any insights that would be specific to one language.

OIr *do* 'to, for'

There are four instances of the preposition *do* 'to' with the suffixed pronoun of the first plural in the glosses.[14] One is V8, already mentioned. There is also another gloss where the main text deals with Greek:

(V16) ***Sg.* 31b25 rr (= 31b17)** .i. do gluaiss *ar* is meinciu dún-ni a n-aitherrech*taigthe* in des.

'i.e. [he adds Pelides] for a gloss, for the patronymic in *-des* is more familiar to us.'

gl. *quae est propria Iadis linguae (Πηλείων pro Πηλείδης)*' (Keil ii, 65, ll. 15–16)

'which is peculiar to the Ionian language (Πηλείων for Πηλείδης)'

The next example is also found within an context that was already mentioned above, i.e. distinguishing recent usage from the ancient usage (cf. L1 and V12 above) and, therefore, also seems to be a translation from an original Latin gloss:

[13] m.l. = the gloss is found in the left margin.

[14] The marginal note 194a m.i. (= lower margin) (= 194a) *do inis maddoc dún .i. meisse 7 choirbbre* 'We are from Inis Maddoc, i.e. Coirbbre and I' is not discussed here, because it is not a gloss, but a personal note by the scribe.

(V17) ***Sg.* 40b37 y (= 40b14)** is foluss dún t*ra* as riagoldu leo-so*m* nad·ṁbíet cid int ṡup*er*lati huare nad·ṁbiat na co*m*pariti.

'it is clear to us that it is more regular with them (arduus etc.) that there will not be superlatives either, because the comparatives do not exist'

gl. *«asperrimo atque arduissimo aditu».* (Keil ii, 87, l. 18)

'most harsh and most difficult approach'

Unfortunately, the fourth example does not help to answer this study's research question, because it works from both points of view:

(V18) ***Sg.* 151b29 k (= 151b7)** .i. isfollus dún file choibnius et*ir* sechmad*achte* ⁊ todo*chaide* ex par*ticipiis*

'i.e. it is manifest to us from the participles that there is an affinity between the past and the future'

gl. *cum igitur in aliis modis praesentis, sicut dictum est, consonantes seruat futurum, in subiunctiuo praeteriti perfecti regulam sequitur, ostendens cum eo quoque habere iura affinitatis. idque ex participiis maxime est conicere* (Keil ii, 417, ll. 9–12)

'as the future therefore retains in other modes the consonants of the present, in the subjunctive it follows the rule of the preterite perfect, showing that it has some affinity with it as well. This can be conjectured particularly from the participle.'

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Most of the examples discussed so far go back to original Latin glosses or were at least written from a Latin point of view, but there are also two glosses that are (possible) Irish compositions, i.e. L11 and V11. Aside from looking at the language(s) there is also another possible way of finding out from which point of view specific glosses were composed, i.e. to look at examples dealing with geographical names. These instances, however, only help us to define whether or not the glosses were written in Ireland, with their author being physically present there. Their original language need not necessarily have been Irish, but could also have been Latin. Nonetheless, they are another piece of the puzzle of who 'we' are in the glosses.

Hofman (1996) has established a categorisation of different gloss types for his edition and assigned each gloss to one or more of them. His categorisation comprises five big groups with subcategories:

1. Glosses on prosody
2. Lexical glosses
3. Glosses on morphology (grammatical glosses)
4. Glosses on syntax
5. Explanatory glosses.

Within these five categories there are 89 subcategories in total. One of them is 'Geographical names', which belongs to category 5. A query for this tag in the database returns 200 matches. Most of them are single word glosses that, for instance, inform the reader that a specific name stands for a *civitas*[15] or a *mons*.[16] These are not important for this study, but there is one densely glossed passage on fol. 217 which gives further information. The main text deals with the Latin preposition *cis* 'on or to this or the near side of; short of; before':

> cis et componitur et separatur et magis localem habet significationem, ut Cisalpina Gallia et cis Rhenum. possumus tamen per translationem et in tempore et in aliis rebus ea uti [...]
> (Keil iii, 38, ll. 28–30)

> '*cis* occurs in compounds and separately and it has more local meaning, like Cisalpina Gallia and Cis Rhenum. We can nevertheless use it in a transferred sense and for time and in other cases.'

The examples in question gloss *Cisalpina Gallia* and *cis Rhenum*. Each phrase is glossed twice:

(G1) ***Sg.* 217b32 s (= 217b8)** .i. cenalpande .i. fri alpai ṅ desin[17]
'i.e. cisalpine, i.e. on the right hand side of the Alp(s)'

(G2) ***Sg.* 217b32 t (= 217b9)** (m.l.) cisal*pina* .i. com/ṡuid*igthe* .i. i*n* gal/lia cenalpan/de. cenalpai/ ṅ etarru.
'cis-alpina, i.e. a compound i.e. Cisalpine Gaul, without the Alps between them (and it)'

(G3) ***Sg.* 217b32 u (= 217b10)** .i. comas*ṅdís*
'i.e. apposition'

(G4) ***Sg.* 217b33 w (= 217b11)** .i. cenrian ṅ etro*m*
'i.e. without the Rhine between me (and it)'

G1 offers a translation or transposition of the compound *cisalpina* into Irish *.i. cenalpande*, which is only attested here. The Irish compound is one of the few that are composed with a preposition that does not have a corresponding preverb (cf. Wodtko 1995: 35–6). This seems to be restricted to calques.[18] The compound consists of the Old Irish preposition *cen* 'without, deprived of, not

[15] E.g., *Sg.* 38b4 e gl. *luceria* or *Sg.* 73a27 dd gl. *bactra*.

[16] E.g., *Sg.* 92a35 y gl. *soracte* or *Sg.* 20a32 ee gl. *etna*.

[17] To this point, the final word of this gloss has been read as *desiu* (cf. *Thes* ii, 220 and also the entry in Bauer et al. 2017). However, with the help of Prof David Stifter it has been possible to establish this new reading, hence the updated translation 'on the right-hand side of' as opposed to *Thes* ii, 220 'on this side of'.

[18] Wodtko (1995: 36 n. 1) references Russell (1990: 89), De Bernardo Stempel (1990) and Ahlqvist (1984–8).

having, -less' plus an adjectival form *alpande* 'alpine'. This second member is only attested here. It is formed with the productive Old Irish suffix *-dae*.[19] The *-n-* before the suffix suggests that the adjective is not based on the Irish noun *alpae*, but that it is directly derived from the Latin adjective *alpīna* 'alpine', as found in *cis-alpīna*. The meaning of OIr *cenalpande* could therefore be 'alpine-less'. But how is this semantically connected with Lat. *cisalpīna* 'on this side of the Alps'?

An explanation has already been offered by Thurneysen (*GOI* 510). He states that the original meaning of OIr *cen* is 'on this side (of)'. He bases his conclusion on *cenalpande*, OIr *centar* '(this) world' and OIr *cé*, which perhaps also originally meant 'on this side, here'. According to Eska (1990: 153), these derive from the deictic pronominal **ḱe-nā* (from PIE **ḱey*),[20] as also do MW *amgen*, MC *ken*, MBret. *quen* 'other'. Neither of them, however, traces a semantic development from 'on this side of' to 'without' in Irish and 'other' in the British Celtic languages. A parallel to Irish *cen*, previously mentioned by Thurneysen (*GOI* 510), is found in Lat. *citrā*, which can mean 'on this side of' and also 'without'. A possible explanation for the semantic development is that if one is 'without' something one is on 'this side' of it, i.e. not on the side on which it is actually found, hence one is 'without' it. Accepting the original meaning 'on this side of' for OIr *cen*, OIr *cenalpande* can therefore also be translated as 'on this side of the Alps', like Lat. *cisalpīna*. The rather unusual form OIr *cenalpande* is further explained by the clause *.i. fri alpai ṅ desin* 'on the right hand side of the Alp(s)'. The form *alpai* can either be interpreted as singular or plural.[21] The following nasalising *ṅ*, however, confirms that it is accusative singular. The singular here shows that the glossators imagined a single mountain called 'Alp'. This might be an indication that the whole gloss was of Irish origin and not based on a Latin origin, if the glossator was not familiar with continental European geography.

The second gloss (G2) is found between two columns. The first word refers back to *cisalpina* in the main text, therefore the scribe used an abbreviation. The second part of G2 consists of *.i.* 'i.e.' plus the participle of the Old Irish verb *con·suidigedar* 'to compound, to arrange together', OIr *comṡuidigthe*, which can be used as an adjective (*i̯o*, *i̯ā*-stem) 'compounded' or as a noun (*i̯o*-stem) 'compound'. The gloss tells the reader that the Latin word is a compound. The final part of the gloss is of high relevance for the present study: *.i. in gal/lia cenalpan/de. cenalpai/ ṅ etarru* 'i.e. cisalpine Gaul, without the Alp(s) between them (and it)'. The crucial part is the final word *etarru* 'between them'. Cisalpine Gaul was the part of Gaul that was, from the perspective of the Romans, on the hither side of the Alps, in contrast to Transalpine Gaul, which was on the far side of the Alps. In the light of this

[19] For a detailed analysis of the suffix and its attestations see Wodtko (1995: 258–311).

[20] Cf. Dunkel (2014: 409–10).

[21] The inflection class of the lexeme *alpae* was not completely fixed. Most of the attestations suggest that it is a feminine *iā*-stem, but the form in G1 could also be an accusative singular of a *i̯o*-stem.

and the data on geographical names presented above, if the gloss were a translation from Latin, one would rather expect the conjugated preposition to be in the first person plural again —, i.e. ***cenalpai/ ṅ etron* 'without the Alp between us (and it)'. Since it, however, is in third person plural, the gloss is likely composed from an Irish point of view — 'they', for an Irish glossator, being the Romans. Therefore, G2 (similar to L11) dissociates the glossator from Latin-speakers.

The third gloss (G3) indicates that, in contrast to *cisalpina*, *cis Rhenum* is not compounded but rather the *cis* is in apposition (OIr *comasṅdís*) here. G4 is likewise of immediate interest for this article, because it also features a conjugated preposition, this time in the first person singular: *etrom* 'between me'. A literal translation of this gloss might be 'i.e. without the ocean between me', since OIr *rian* (m., *o*-stem) commonly means 'the sea, the ocean'. From the context, however, it is clear that the gloss means the river Rhine. This is accepted by Ó Corráin in his revised version of Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*.[22] The form seems to be an (*ad hoc*) loanword from Lat *Rhēnus*, with the regular outcome of the soundchange long $\bar{e} > ía$, hence *rén* > *rian*. The conjugated preposition is in the first person singular here, informing us that the Rhine is not 'between me [i.e. the glossator]' and *cis Rhenum*, i.e. *Germania* to the west of the Rhine. Unfortunately, this self-localisation of the glossator does not give us any information as to whether or not the gloss was composed from an Irish or Latin/Roman point of view, because in both cases the Rhine is not between the glossator and the territory of the *germani cisrhenani*. It remains ambiguous.

Conclusions

Nineteen (L2–10, V2–10, V16) out of the thirty-three glosses discussed in this study refer to Greek material in the underlying text. These mostly serve to distinguish Latin from Greek, e.g., L8, which emphasizes that the pronouns that it presents are the ones that 'we' (i.e. the Latin speakers) use. Another example is L3, where *apud nos* 'with us/in our language' glosses Lat. *comedia* 'comedy', which immediately follows Gr. κωμῳδία 'id.'. A Latin point of view is also expressed in vernacular glosses such as V5. V5 informs the reader that a derivative of *Caralis* would be *Caralites la grecu* 'with the Greeks/in Greek' and *Caralitanus linni* 'with us'. As the form of the derivative shows, the 'us' in this Old Irish gloss definitely stands for Latin-speakers. L1 is the only *apud nos*-gloss that occurs without a Greek connection. Nonetheless, it is an original Latin gloss, because it distinguishes older usages of Latin genitives and datives from the contemporary ones, just like V17. The same is true for V12, which states that the lexemes used in the main text are masculine 'with us', even though not all of them are so in Irish. Seven glosses (G1, G3–4, V13–15) will have to remain ambiguous regarding the mindset that they reflect, especially

[22] S.v. rian 1 (p. 2441). Available in PDF format on the website of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies: https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum (accessed 29 July 2019).

the single-word glosses, G1 and G3, for which there is no way of determining whether or not they are translations from original Latin glosses. The first of the vernacular glosses (V1) also does not answer the main question of the present study, because it is a reference to the glossator himself and does not deliver any further insights. This leaves three glosses (L11, V11 and G2) which include evidence, to some degree or another, that they may have been composed from an Irish point of view. L11 possibly mentions the Old Irish third singular feminine pronoun *si* as a parallel to Gr. ἥ. V11 gives itself away by using the exact Old Irish correspondence of Lat. *capitulum* as the first word of an interlinear gloss. And G2 must have been composed from an Irish position, because of its explanation of where Cisalpine Gaul lies.

To return to the question raised at beginning, who are 'we' now?, the St Gall Priscian glosses are not homogeneous. Strachan (1903) and more recently Lambert (1996) and Roost (2013) have discussed the different chronological layers in the Old Irish glosses. Although the present study does not take a temporal dimension into account — in fact the data considered here do not allow any conclusions in this direction — it still exposes the heterogeneity of the material. Most of the glosses are written from a Latin(-speaking) point of view, but there is also pertinent evidence that some glosses were composed in accordance with an Irish(-speaking) mindset. Even though the corpus for this study is rather small, it still shows that not all of the Old Irish glosses in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904 are mere copies of original Latin glosses.

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BLATHMAC'S STANZAS 260–303 ON JUDGEMENT DAY[1]

Abstract

This article presents a diplomatic transcript, normalised critical edition and English translation of the 'fragmentary quatrains' of Blathmac's poems from NLI MS G50, along with an interpretation of the text and an analysis of Blathmac's source. These quatrains are difficult to read in the manuscript, but advances in technology have allowed significantly improved readings and the recovery of a larger portion of the text than was possible previously.

Blathmac's poems are two long religious poems, addressed to the Virgin Mary, that were only discovered as late as the 1950s by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and first published by James Carney in 1964, stanzas 1–149 as poem 1 (*Tair cucum, a Maire boíd*), stanzas 150–259 as poem 2 (*A Maire, a grían ar clainde*).[2] However, this edition is not complete. Stanzas 260–303, which constitute the final part of the second poem and which are contained on the last two folios of the seventeenth-century manuscript NLI MS G50,[3] were not included in Carney's edition of Blathmac's poems. Carney gives no explanation for his unusual decision not to include these stanzas with the rest of the text. It can only be surmised that he found the state of preservation

[1]This article was written as part of the project *Chronologicon Hibernicum* that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 647351); and as part of the IRC postgraduate scholarship 'New edition and dictionary of the Poems of Blathmac son of Cú Brettan' (Project ID GOIPG/2014/448). It is an extended version of chapter 4 'The Fragmentary Quatrains' of Siobhán Barrett's PhD thesis, *A Study of the Lexicon of the Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan* (Barrett 2017b: 82–124). Preliminary results were presented at the Tionól of the School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in November 2016, and are formulated in Barrett 2017a. This text formed the subject of a postgraduate seminar in Maynooth in 2016–17. This edition has profited considerably from the discussions in the seminar and from the input by the participants, viz. Bernhard Bauer, Romanas Bulatovas, Ciarán Coffey, Brendan Doherty, Ellen Ganly, Anne Harrington, Elliott Lash, Lars Nooij, Gearóid Ó Conchubhair, Fangzhe Qiu, Tom Tynan, and last, but most certainly not least, Daniel Watson. In addition, the authors thank Elizabeth Boyle (Maynooth University) and Liam Breatnach (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies) for their many insightful suggestions as examiners of Barrett 2017b, an anonymous reviewer for the journal *Celtica* and the editors of the journal, and Elaine Martin and Thomas O'Connor of the Maynooth University Arts and Humanities Institute and Matthew Cains from the National Library of Ireland, as representative for the entire National Library, for their practical and moral support in the — unfortunately unsuccessful — attempt at hyperspectrally scanning the MS. We hope that new attempts with improved technology will be made in the future.

[2]A provisional new edition and translation of the poems was published in daily instalments from January to October 2017 at https://twitter.com/ChronHib.

[3]For more about the manuscript, the sole witness to the text, and its history see Carney (1964: ix–xiii) and Barrett (2017b: 20–5). The manuscript is fully digitised at https://www.isos.dias.ie/.

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of this part too challenging, and solving all the problems associated with them would have unduly delayed the publication of his book. They were only published posthumously in 1999, posthumously both in the case of the honorand and the author, by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha in a volume of *Celtica* dedicated to the memory of James Carney. Ní Shéaghdha's diplomatic edition of what she called 'The Fragmentary Quatrains' (although only some of them are fragmentary) is accompanied neither by comments nor by a translation. The present edition seeks to address these shortcomings by providing a diplomatic and a normalised text and a translation of these quatrains, together with a commentary on their language and contents. The text follows the new, provisional edition in Barrett 2017b (with occasional improvements). After weighing the pros and cons it was decided to use this new edition also as the basis for all other quotations from Blathmac's poems, not Carney's 1964 edition. Barrett's 2017b text, which is openly accessible at a stable institutional repository, differs substantially from Carney's in wording and in spelling practice. It would have burdened this article unduly if every divergent editorial decision on stanzas 1–259, which are not the topic of this article, had to be discussed in commentary or additional footnotes. All translations from the main portion of Blathmac also follow Barrett 2017b.

Apparently working only with her bare eyes, honed by her experience with manuscripts and perhaps guided by her professional instinct, it must be regarded as a tremendous achievement that Nessa Ní Shéaghdha was able to read so much of the text for her 1999 article. However, with the availability of high-resolution images via ISOS, which can be subjected to manipulations of contrast and colour, it is now possible to improve on many doubtful readings in Ní Shéaghdha's edition. Ní Shéaghdha was not consistent in how she indicated scribal notes and abbreviations, such as dots over letters and *n*-strokes. This edition aims at full clarity and consistency in rendering scribal abbreviations through diacritics. Another invaluable aid for the work on this edition was *eDIL*, through whose various search functions the identification of uncertain readings and the completion of fragmentary words was made appreciably easier. Contrary to our initial hopes, an attempt on 19 August 2018 at studying the manuscript in Maynooth University's hyperspectral scanner (Forensic XP-4010) led to no usable results.

Traces of 39 stanzas (260–88, 291, 295–303) are preserved; some of these can be read in full, but only isolated letters can be read in others. Five more stanzas (289–90, 292–4) can be reasonably estimated to have been there originally, but have been lost through physical damage to the paper. In total, the poems must have initially consisted of at least 303 stanzas, but due to the bad state of the penultimate folio and the fragmentary state of the last one, only tiny fragments survive from around stanza 269 onwards. Beside the first poem's 149 stanzas, the second poem *Maire, a grían ar clainde*, must accordingly have contained at least 154 stanzas. If the verses continued on to the very bottom — now lost — of the last page, another four lines, i.e. two stanzas, can be added to this calculation. To judge from the thematic progression of Blathmac's second poem from the Annunciation, through events in Christ's life that

are central for salvation history, to the Day of Judgement, it is probable that the fragmentary last folio marked in fact the end of the poem.

While it is almost always possible to reconstruct all the words up to stanza 270, from stanza 271 onwards, the legibility of the manuscript deteriorates to such a degree that usually only isolated phrases can be read and understood. From these, as with stepping stones over a river, one has to carefully find one's way ahead through the fog, by making inferences about how to fill the gaps in the contents and the message of the stanzas. These inferences can be informed by what is legible around the gaps — often the context narrows down the reasonable possibilities to just a few. Scripture can also be of assistance in filling these gaps, since Blathmac himself is following an identifiable passage from the Gospel of Matthew (25: 31–46) rather closely. When one knows which words one has to look out for, it is in turn possible to make inferences about the contents of Blathmac's poems, and occasionally one recognises the trace of an expected letter in the correct place.

The edited text will form the basis for the commentary, but comments will of course be made on manuscript readings whenever that is necessary.

METHOD OF EDITION

An attempt has been made in the diplomatic edition to follow the manuscript readings as closely as possible. For this purpose, extensive use has been made of the possibilities that Unicode affords for representing characters on screen and in print in such a way that they resemble more or less closely how they are written in the manuscript. We regard this as progress over the traditional practice of expanding abbreviations in italics. While in the majority of cases expansions are uncontroversial, occasionally they can be ambiguous. The method chosen here maintains a non-biased approach on the level of the diplomatic edition. At the same time it signals to the reader what character or symbol the editors believe to have seen in the manuscript.

In particular, the following conventions have been adopted. The occurrence or non-occurrence of spaces is closely followed. Lenition is consistently marked by *puncta delentia*, not by *spiritus*, in the manuscript. Accordingly, the *puncta* are represented by suprascript dots, e.g. *ḋ*, *ċ*, in this edition. For abbreviation strokes and *n*-strokes combining overlines (U+0305) will be used, and for the *m*-swiggle use will be made of the combining tilde (U+0303), imitating the position those diacritics take over the letters in the manuscript, e.g. *scarf̄* for *scarfaid*, *cen̄* for *cenn*, or *dochũ* for *dochum*. Like in the manuscript, overlines are ambiguous as to whether they stand for *n* or for abbreviation. Subscript and suprascript letters are subscript or suprascript after the letter with which they are associated, even if they are placed directly above or below their associated letter in the manuscript, e.g. *m*^{oi}*ṫred* for *móirthrét*, or $\bar{s}_i$ for *sin*. It is occasionally hard to decide if an *i* is subscript or just has a long descender. Ligatures are only specifically noted for *æ* (U+00E6) and *ꜳ* (U+A735), all other ligatures, e.g. tall *e*, or the swan-neck-shaped *r* that can be attached to *o* or *b*, are rendered as normal letters since they still occupy the space of a full letter in the

line. The *ocus*-note is represented by ⁊ (U+204A), *con* by ɔ (U+0254). The character *q́* (Latin small *q* with a stroke through, U+A757) stands for the note *ar*. The letter *u* is represented by *u* or *v*, depending on how it appears in the manuscript (*v* is actually by far the commoner grapheme). // stands for *ceann faoi eitte*, i.e. the continuation of a line in the line below.

Subscript dots indicate uncertain readings, e.g. *m̩ir̩e*. Given the state of the manuscript, there are many shades of uncertainty, increasing gradually as the poem progresses, which make it infeasible to apply the same strict criteria consistently throughout the whole text edited here. Readers may find that letters in the latter parts of the poem have not received subscript dots, even though their reading would have been marked as doubtful if they had appeared in the early passages, which for the most part are still clearly legible. Holes in the paper or severe dark stains that obscure letters are indicated by (..), the dots between the brackets representing the estimated number of missing letters, while passages that are just illegible on the paper are indicated by square brackets [..]. In the normalised edition, text between square brackets indicates emended words which, although lost, can be restored with great confidence. Words of this type are also in brackets in the translation.

In the hand of the scribe of NLI MS G50, *is* and *ir* are in most instances indistinguishable from *ss* and *rr*. In many cases, the precise reading has no consequence for the understanding of the text. Aside from those contexts where the sense dictates the choice of one over the other, the two spellings are equivalent in most cases. Accordingly, ambiguous readings of this sort will not normally be discussed in depth.

In many cases, we are aware that our proposed readings are not the final word and alternative readings are possible. Alternatives that we have considered ourselves, but that we consider less likely than the adopted reading, are given to the right of each line in the diplomatic edition.

After the diplomatic edition, variant readings from Ní Shéaghdha's text are provided for comparison. Only where Ní Shéaghdha's reading deviates substantially from ours will her text be cited. Trivial differences such as Ní Shéaghdha's *doibh* for *doib̓*, or presence or absence of space, unless crucial for the interpretation of the text, will not be indicated. Often, Ní Shéaghdha's method of editing indicates much wider gaps between legible portions than is actually the case. Again, this will not normally be noted since with the availability of the ISOS images the actual state of affairs can easily be ascertained by anybody interested.

The normalised edition of the poem presents the text in the orthographic shape of idealised classical Old Irish, taking manuscript spellings into account where several options exist in the normalised practice. All endings are restored to their expected eighth-century values. In this section, lenited *s* and *f* are represented with suprascript dots as *ṡ* and *ḟ*, although we are aware that this practice is anachronistic for the assumed period of Blathmac. Chevilles are enclosed between two dashes, i.e. – *cheville* –.

The translation is an English rendition of the normalised Old Irish text. Where the preserved text is fragmentary, the translation is fragmentary also,

but it tries to echo the original as closely as possible. Scriptural quotations are from the Vulgate (after Weber 1969), and their English translations are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

Metrics

The poems of Blathmac are written in *deibide* metre, the rhyme is of the *rinn-ardrinn* type, and alliteration is frequent but not consistently found in every line, or in every stanza, for that matter. The arrangement of the lines in quatrains finds formal expression in the manuscript, in that the first letter of each stanza is written larger than the rest, and each line in the manuscript corresponds to one couplet of a stanza. Blathmac's metrical rules appear to be rather loose compared with the later strict system of *dán díreach*. In addition, the poet applies metrical rules which are absent from later poetry (more about this below). The combination of these factors is one of the indications of an early date for the poems of Blathmac.

In as much as the fragmentary state of the manuscript permits one to observe, the final stanzas do not diverge metrically in any appreciable way from the bulk of Blathmac's two poems (see Carney 1964: xxx–xxxiv; Stifter 2015: 65–70). The following overview of the metrics encompasses by necessity only those stanzas which have been preserved intact, or where at least enough is surviving to allow meaningful metrical statements about them. These are stanzas 260–72, and with reservations, stanzas 273 and 276, as well as the odd-numbered lines of stanzas 281–5.

As they appear in the manuscript, around 15% of lines in the two poems do not conform to the expected syllable count of seven syllables in each line. In the vast majority of cases, manifest copying errors have occurred in the transmission and simple emendations, normally also required by syntax or morphology, allow us to restore heptasyllabic lines. There remains, however, a group of lines that cannot be emended. The present section does not differ in this respect. Of the 64 intact or completely restorable lines, seven have more than seven syllables. Six of these (ll. 1050, 1078, 1079, 1081, 1088, 1090) can be brought down to the desired result by applying elision; in l. 1050 *i llaithiu mesa fria fírbráth*, we suggest that three underlying syllables, namely *fri* + *a* + *fír* have to be slurred into one to achieve the required syllable count (see the notes on this line). Only l. 1061 offers no opportunity for elision or any other metrical reduction of syllables, which leaves either a hypersyllabic line or necessitates an emendation of the wording. Otherwise, elision is not an obligatory rule, e.g. l. 1064 *in Coimdiu inna ithlaind* or l. 1084 *bochtu ocus adailcniu*. In ll. 1040 (*Sïóin*), 264 (*biäs*), and 1066 (*miästar*), the metre requires hiatus, whereas in ll. 1037 (*at·tát*) and 1049 (*míastar*) hiatus has to be abandoned.

Rhyme is mostly of an unremarkable *rinn-ardrinn* type. In ll. 1047–8 *cert* : *mesemnacht* and ll. 1075–6 *gel* : *·śamlastar*, the correspondence between the rhyming vowels is 'weak' (cf. Carney 1964: xxxii); in ll. 1037–8 *rígdae* : *dagdílae*, a consonant cluster matches a single consonant, unless one

emends to *dagdíglae* (see the notes on this stanza). In ll. 1073–4 *as·biur-sa* : *parbula* creates an imperfect rhyme between *-ursa* and *-ula*, unless the poet intended quite exceptionally a *rinn-ardrinn*-type rhyme between enclitic *-sa* as the monosyllabic rhyming basis and *parbula*. A similar situation may obtain in ll. 1091–2 *[. . .]nsem-ni* : *adid·roilli*. However, in this last example, *-ni* may represent the indefinite pronoun *ní*, rather than the 1 pl. *nota augens*. The illegibility of the manuscript at this point prevents us from determining this further.

As is the case in the earlier parts of the poems, complex ornamentation in the area of alliteration (Stifter 2016: 66–7) can be encountered frequently. Classical or narrow alliteration (for the definition see Stifter 2018: 187) is common. Most stanzas feature at least one instance, but it is missing in st. 263, 268, 271, but st. 271 has linking alliteration across the lines instead. Due to the loss of three syllables, it cannot be determined if st. 269 also lacked narrow alliteration. In st. 273, a fragmentary stanza, the only extant alliteration appears to be between *fairsinge* and lenited *fírbrotha*. If the word before *fairsinge*, *is*, is the reduced variant of the conjunction 'and', which itself causes lenition in Old Irish (*GOI* 145), the alliteration is perfect.

As regards alternative types of alliteration (see Lavelle 2018 and Stifter 2018), compound alliteration is found in ll. 1038 (***d**ag**d**ílae*), 1086 (***es**a**m**ain*), 1088 (***ḟ**ír**ḟ**eirg*), 1104 (***d**ag**d**ige*), all in the metrically predicted final position of even-numbered lines. In the last three examples, the compound alliteration is external, that is to say, the alliteration also encompasses other words in the line. Examples of complex alliteration (Sproule 1987) are ll. 1043 ***fír fai**r*, 1044 ***d**oí**n**i**b** **d**em**n**ai**b***, 1045 ***cr**u**th** **Cr**íst **c**a**th***, 1088 *·**ár**aillsem **ḟ**ír**ḟ**ei**r**g*. Line 1079 *de áesaib desaib*, which has to be elided to ***d**'áesai**b** **d**esai**b***, can also be included. Mirrored alliteration (De Vries 2015) occurs in l. 1039 ***b**ith sí **d**igde **d**ér a m**b**róin*. Paired alliteration (Hollo 1990) is found in l. 1061 ***s**carfaid **c**olg **s**in ocus **c**áith* and in l. 1127 ***f**or m**b**ochtáin **f**eisin **b**átar* if unstressed *for* is allowed into the equation. Linking alliteration is rare, but it connects ll. 1057–8, 1063–4. *Fidrad freccomail*, i.e. linking alliteration between stanzas, is almost totally absent.

Chevilles occur in ll. 1057, 1059, 1065, 1067, and perhaps in l. 1025. It is noteworthy that st. 265 and 267 have two chevilles each, both at the ends of line a and c.

LANGUAGE

Stanzas 260–303 contain a number of forms that had been previously unattested in Irish literature. The following list includes phonological, morphological and syntactical phenomena that are worth noting. Given the deplorable state of the manuscript, only items that are beyond doubt will be mentioned. Extensive discussions of each item are found in the commentary after the text.

Phonology

Hiatus is lost in *at·tát* (l. 1037), unless one reads *at·tá*, and in *míastar* (l. 1049), while it is retained in *Sïóin* (l. 1040), *biäs* (l. 1053) and *miästar* (l. 1066). Pretonic *o* is regularly represented by *o*, but is found as *u* in *ce ru·má* (l. 1041), perhaps in *du[...]* (l. 1136), but the rest of the word is missing, and perhaps in *du·foícherr* (l. 1069), although the manuscript reading is disputed and could also be *de·*. As is common in Blathmac's poems (see Barrett 2017b: 173–4), the 3 sg. future of the copula *bith* (l. 1039) ends in a voiceless dental. In the rhymes *búada* : *mórbúana* (ll. 1053–4) and *gotha* : *fírbrotha* (ll. 1089–90) the innovatory final *-a* of the manuscript was retained in the edition, even though it is quite likely that the original had conservative forms in *-o* for which the ending *-a* was mechanically substituted in the course of transmission, as it happened in the case of the rhyme *dó* : *chobfolo* (l. 175–6, MS *ċobhfola*; Stifter 2015: 71).[4]

Nouns

The nasalisation on the nom.sg. *cach mbert* (l. 1055) suggests neuter gender for *bert* 'load, burden' (but see the note on l. 1055). The acc.pl. *mindu* (l. 1068) of *mend* refers to 'goats' in general, not specifically to 'kids' or the 'small of animals'. *Láthra* (l. 1073), plural of *láthar*, may be used in the meaning 'interpretation'. Line 1074 contains the earliest attestation of *parbul* 'parable' < Lat. *parabola*, with the expected syncope and as the expected *ā*-stem, compared with later *parabuil* (*eDIL* s.v. *parabail*, dil.ie/34187). *Oís*/*áes* 'folk, people' occurs with both spellings of the diphthong: nom.sg. *oís* (l. 1077) and *aís* (l. 1085), dat.pl. *áesaib* (l. 1079). *Peccad* 'sin' occurs in the *o*-stem form *peccaid* of the gen.sg. (l. 1077, 1085). *Ifernn* 'hell' is used as a plural noun (ll. 1073, 1200). In l. 1080 *caírig* has a palatalised *r*, while in *caírcha* (ll. 1068, 1070) it is non-palatalised. For the ending *-a* instead of *-o* of the gen.sg. of *i*- and *u*-stems, see the preceding section on phonology. The nom.sg. *fíada* (l. 1081) 'lord' occurs with final *-a* in the manuscript. *Demon* 'demon' has the usual *i*-stem plural *demnai* (l. 1137).

Adjectives

There are possibly two occurrences of the rare adjective *dáen* 'fine', one in dat.pl. *daínib* (l. 1079) and perhaps in l. 1089. The examples recorded in *eDIL* s.v. *dáen* (dil.ie/14228) suggest an *o*/*ā*-adjective, but the rhyme with *glanchaírig* in l. 1079 requires a palatalised *n*, which speaks in favour of an *i*- or *i̯o*/*i̯ā*-stem adjective. The adjective meaning 'needy', recorded in *eDIL* (dil.ie/891) under the headword *aidliccen*, but, like its abstract *aidilccne*, attested from early on in such a variety of spellings that its original form is challenging to determine, occurs in the acc.pl. *adailcniu* (l. 1084).

[4]On the other hand, the ending *-o* is retained in the manuscript in the rhyming examples *tegdaiseo* (l. 704), *fínḟolo* (l. 710), *cotulto* (l. 720).

Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns *sin* (ll. 1061, 1085) and *síu* (l. 1083) are used as temporal and local adverbs meaning 'then' and 'here' respectively. The discursive adverb *danó* occurs in its reduced form, spelt *dna* in the manuscript (l. 1065). The conjunction *ocus* may be represented by *is* in l. 1090.

Pronouns

The emphasising pronoun '-self' occurs in the 1 sg. *fén* (l. 1125), 3 sg. masc. *fadeisin* (l. 1076) and 2 pl. *feisin* (l. 1127). *Foídfidius* 'he will send them' (l. 1135) contains the 3 pl. suffixed pronoun. The indefinite construction *ní* + genitive is used in *ní arrai* 'any payment/commutation' (see the notes on l. 1129).

Verbs

Aside from verbs that conform to the expected Old Irish morphology, this passage contains a number of forms and verbs that are here attested for the first time, including several especially noteworthy ones such as *·dechuid* 'you have gone' (l. 1124), *ítaigidir* 'to be thirsty' (l. 1102) and *gortaigidir* 'to be hungry' (l. 1099). Unsurprisingly for a prophecy, many verbs are in the future tense.

Line 1067 features a form of the rare verb *ad·ais* 'to fear', attested only in the present tense.

Deponent verbal forms are preserved throughout, *míastar* (l. 1049) and *miästar* (l. 1066) of *midithir* 'to judge', *rod·ṡamlastar* (l. 1076) of *samlaithir* 'to compare', *ro·ngortaigsur* (l. 1099) of *gortaigidir* 'to starve'. The only exception seems to be *ro·n-ítaigsu* (l. 1102) of *ítaigidir* 'to be thirsty', but the ending is difficult to read and the rhyming word is unclear. Both *gortaigidir* and *ítaigidir* were unattested so far. All other forms in *-thir*/*-ther* etc. are passives.

Scaraid and its compounds have *f*-futures: *etar·scarfaider* (l. 1055), *scarfaid* (ll. 1061, 1067). Reduplicated futures are found, namely 3 sg. *memais* (l. 1045) of *maidid* 'to break', relative 3 sg. *biäs* (l. 1053) of *benaid* 'to reap', relative 3 sg. *miästar* (l. 1066) and *míastar* (l. 1049) of *midithir* 'to judge', and 3 pl. passive *timartar* (l. 1137) of *do·immoirg* 'to press, crush'. The 3 sg. reduplicated future *du·foícherr* (l. 1069) of *do·cuirethar* 'to put' is written without *i* in the manuscript. The analysis of *(do·)coiser* (l. 1063), which appears to be a future verb, perhaps a compound of *sernaid* 'to strew, arrange' is unclear. The text features also the 3 sg. *s*-subjunctive *·má* (l. 1041) of *maidid* 'to break'.

In l. 1103 *·tardisid* is the augmented 2 pl. preterite of *do·beir* 'to give'. *Ro·bá* (l. 1105) and *bá-sa* (l. 1109) are 1 sg. preterital forms of the substantive verb. Two allomorphs of the verb *ad·roilli* 'to deserve', with the preverbs *ad·* and *as·*, appear in immediately following stanzas, ostensibly without difference in meaning, namely *adid·roilli* (l. 1092) and *asad·roilliset* (l. 1096); *·áraillsem* (l. 1088) presupposes *ad·*, too. The augment *ad-* occurs in *con·abboing* (l. 1043) from *con·boing* 'to break'. The 2 pl. augmented preterite *·dechuid* (l. 1124) of *téit* 'to go' was unattested until now.

Nach (l. 1046) may be the dependent negative 3 sg. pres. ind. of the copula 'that he is not'. The 1 sg. past subjunctive is found in *cebin* 'though I were' (l. 1123), and the hitherto unattested 2 pl. past is represented by *diamthae* 'when you were' (l. 1131). The initial letters of st. 276 *ba*[(l. 1101) could conceivably be what remains of a 3 sg. or pl. or 2 pl. imperative of the copula.

Findud (l. 1062) may be an early example of an analogical verbal noun of *ro·finnadar* 'to find out', unfortunately in a fragmentary context.

Syntax

The clarification of the syntax of several stanzas is impeded by their fragmentary status.

We take *laithe rígdae* (l. 1037) as a temporal accusative 'on the day of the Lord', but in an alternative interpretation of the stanza (see the notes) it could be the subject. Preposed genitives occur in *míadamlae mesemnacht* (l. 1048) and *cruithnechtae claind* (l. 1063). *Céin·mair* 'long lives, happy who' construes with the accusative *cach n-óen* (ll. 1051–2). The unusual word order VOS occurs in ll. 1063–4 *(do·)coiser cruithnechtae claind in Coimdiu*, if the first word is a verb.

Line 1043 *con·abboing fír fair* 'on whom truth breaks = whom truth vanquishes' contains probably a prepositional relative clause with stranded preposition.

Indirect speech is not morphologically marked in *nís·fitir* 'that he doesn't know them' (l. 1082).

Contents

A synopsis of the contents of the poems of Blathmac helps to contextualise the 'Fragmentary Quatrains'. Blathmac's poems are two religious poems addressed to Mary the mother of Christ. The first poem describes the human Christ, his birth, life, and especially his death. Blathmac begins by inviting Mary to join him in mourning the tragic death of her son (st. 1). Christ is presented as an exemplary man (st. 26–43) whose generosity and capacity to perform miracles so provoked the Jews that they became envious and plotted to bring about his death (st. 44–76). He outlines the nature of the twofold association that connects Christ and the Jews. He introduces the concept of their blood-relationship with Christ through the connection with Mary, and also their long-standing relationship with God as their lord or king. Mary, Christ's mother, is a Jew, which establishes his kinship with them (st. 44, 46, 97 and 100). Blathmac guides the reader through the history of the long relationship between God and the Jews beginning with God's rescue of the Jewish people from Egypt and their safe passage to the Promised Land (st. 77–107). This relationship is presented in terms of a king/client relationship with many elements of Irish legal terminology (Breatnach 2015). The existence of a king/client relationship places obligations on both parties. Blathmac presents God as an exemplary king who has been a meticulous provider to his clients.

The poet's choice of the verb *ernaid* 'to bestow' describes the transactions that took place between God and the Jews, emphasising that God was a generous provider (Breatnach 2015: 108–10). Using this evidence, the death of Christ is presented as a kinslaying (*fingal*, st. 103) and additionally as the murder of the son of a king, thus violating both the principles of kinship and the obligations of a client. These offences are compounded by the prevention of the performance of an appropriate lament in the immediate aftermath of Christ's death (st. 124). The first poem culminates in the poet's heartfelt appeal to involve all people in a lament for the death of Christ. He restates his appeal to Mary to come to him so that they can perform a keen together. His wish is that the poems will be recited regularly and he asks Mary to grant access to heaven to those that do so.

Cech óen diamba figel sé
fo lige ocus éirge,
ar imdídnad diänim tall
amail lúirig co cathbarr,

cách nod·géba do cach deilb
i troscud aidchi Sathairnn,
acht rob fo déraib cen meth,
a Maire, níb ifernach. (st. 140–1)

'Everyone for whom this is a vigil-prayer
at lying down and at rising,
for unblemished protection in the next world
like a breast-plate with helmet,

everyone, of every shape, who recites it,
fasting on Friday night,
provided that it be with tears without fail,
Mary, may he not be destined for Hell.'

While the first poem concentrates on the humanity of Christ, the second one emphasises his divinity. At the beginning of the second poem Blathmac acknowledges that there has been a response to the appeal of the first poem, and he refers to a keen which has taken place in the past. This is the only reference to keening in the second poem. Until recently both poems have been regarded as one long keen (Lambkin 2015: 119). Barrett (2017b: 57–81) argues that the second poem is not a keen at all, but may in fact be a different type of text which she calls *célmoine* after the word used by Blathmac himself. The word *célmoine* occurs three times in the second poem (ll. 598, 746, 761) and in each case the translation 'revelation' suits the context. The examination of other attestations of this word shows that it occurs fundamentally in two sorts of contexts. In some attestations it refers to a physical sign, such as a star, while in other occurrences it refers to a message which has been delivered to a human by a divine being. The word *célmoine* can occur within the text of the message and can refer to the message itself. When this observation is applied to the first

stanza of the second poem of Blathmac it can clarify the words *a mba moí mo chélmainde / do mac coínsimmar* 'when my revelation was mine, we keened your son' (st. 150). The poet is addressing Mary, and he has had some kind of revelation apparently during a keening event. He uses *coínsimmar*, the 1 pl. preterite form of the verb *coínid* 'to keen', which may indicate that Mary has accepted his invitation of the first poem and has visited him with a revelation which is the inspiration for the second composition.

A Maire, a grían ar clainde,
a mba moí mo chélmainde
do mac coínsimmar — scél maith —
sech is bithbéo, is bithfl̇aith. (st. 150)

'Mary, sun of our children,
when my revelation was mine,
we keened your son — good news —
yet, he lives eternally, he is an eternal prince.'

In common with the Book of Revelation, the poet delivers a message of hope to the good people in his audience and a warning for the bad. Those who serve God will have nothing to fear. Other parallels with the Book of Revelation include the description of Jesus as a triumphant king in heaven (st. 188, Revelation 4:1–2) or the destruction of God's enemies (st. 243, Revelation 12:9). In the first section of the second poem the poet chooses events in Christ's life that demonstrate that he is the embodiment of many prophecies which are also revelations. The method of presenting evidence from the Old Testament which is used to great effect in the first poem is also found in the second one. In the first poem his interest lies in the twofold relationship between Christ and the Jews, while in the second poem he logically presents the evidence that Christ is the one whose existence had long been foretold, by repeatedly referring to the prophets of the Old Testament (st. 150–231). He lists the prophecies that were made about Christ: His conception, birth, circumcision, baptism, crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension, the Second Coming and the Last Judgement.

Is dot mac — ce chot·certae —
do·rairrngertha mórrechtae.
Ro·comallnad uile sé
inge mod a thuidechtae.

A chompart nóeb, gein ó chrí,
a thecht fo recht n-imdibi,
a bathais, níb bán re ndul
fri croich ocus adnacul.

A eiséirge úasal án,
íar suidiu a fresgabál,
a thuidecht do mes — mór trú —
for biü ocus marbu. (st. 233–5)

'It is of your son — though you may correct him —
that great laws have been prophesied.
All this has been fulfilled
save the manner of his coming.

His holy conception, born from flesh,
his going under the law of circumcision,
his baptism; he was not white
before going to cross and burial.

His noble brilliant resurrection,
then his ascension,
his coming to judge — great wretch —
on the living and the dead.'

The account of each prophecy about Christ is accompanied by an examination of the theological relevance and symbolism connected with them. For example, the stanzas about Christ's conception are followed by an elucidation of Mary's virginity (st. 157–64). His circumcision is likened to the cutting off of all our vices (st. 165). Christ's baptism was to save us from the sin of Adam (st. 166–71). The inevitability of the crucifixion is linked to Christ's obedience to God the Father (st. 173). His resurrection and triumphant welcome in heaven is described (st. 177–89). Furthermore the discussions of the mysteries of the Trinity (st. 196–7) and the Eucharist (st. 203–6) could suggest that these poems were a resource for religious instruction.

Since most of these prophecies have been fulfilled, the logical conclusion is that the remaining two, the second coming and the last judgment, will also come to pass. These two prophecies are the subject matter of the second half of this poem. Blathmac's second poem contains a unique account of how events have been prophesied to unfold in the days leading up to the second coming of Jesus and the Day of Judgement. He describes the extreme planetary changes that will be a signal to mankind that the Day of Judgement is close. Texts about the Signs of Doom leading up to the Day of Judgement feature strongly in Irish eschatological tradition, both poetry and prose, and they are a recurring theme in both the Old Testament and the New.[5] Martin McNamara (1975: 137) has pointed to the exceptional importance of the inclusion of the Signs of Doomsday in Blathmac's second poem due to its early eighth-century date. In the Gospel of Matthew, which Blathmac largely follows, the apostles ask Jesus how they will recognise his second coming and he responds:

> *Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur; et luna non dabit lumen suum; et stellae cadent de caelo; et uirtutes caelorum commouebuntur. Et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo; et tunc plangent omnes tribus terrae et uidebunt Filium hominis uenientem in nubibus caeli cum uirtute multa et*

[5]See McNamara (1975), McNamara (2007), Herbert & McNamara (1989) and Carey et al. (2014).

maiestate. Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba et uoce magna et congregabunt electos eius a quattuor uentis a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum.

'Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven. And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty. And he shall send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice. And they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of heaven to the utmost bounds of them.' (Matthew 24: 29–31)

Blathmac's version is found in stanzas 236 to 240:

Nallsa thuidecht do dúiri,
imm·bruífea na mórdúili.
Lasfaid talam ocus nem,
tibre trethan bith aithgen.

Bid crúaid cuclige in sé,
at·béla forgnúis dúile,
beth tírmai trethan, ler, lind,
do nim do·tóetsat caínrind.

Beth comard a slíab fri fán,
níba bec int athchomsán,
beth clárchosmail in domun
conid·reised óenubull.

Is ret mac oirdnidiu cen on
sifais int aingel dagthob.
Ata·resat frisa seinm
cach marb ro·boí i ndóendeilb.

Is lat mac beither — gním feidil —
imméli isin mórtheinid
resíu ro·mestar ruiri
for gnímu cach óenduini. (st. 236–40)

'Woe the coming of hardship,
it will utterly crush the great elements.
Earth and sky will blaze,
the laughter of the seas will be an ex-laugh.

This will be a severe earthquake
the form of the elements will die,
ocean, sea, pool will be dry,
from the sky beautiful constellations will fall.

The mountain will be as high as the hollow,
the attack will not be small.
The world will be boardlike
so that one apple could run over it.

Before your eminent unblemished son
the angel will sound a good trumpet.
There will arise at the sounding
every dead one who has been in human shape.

It is by your son — enduring deed —
that many thousands will be struck in the great fire
before the overking judges
on the deeds of every single person.'

McNamara proposes that, since Blathmac's list of signs does not conform to any other text known to us, it may indicate influence from a list of signs dating from an early stage in the evolution of the tradition.[6] Blathmac's inclusion of references to other apocryphal traditions reflects the wealth of material which was circulating in Ireland at his time. The fact that so many apocryphal legends survive in these two poems is among the most extraordinary aspects of Blathmac's work.

Blathmac's references to the deaths of the apostles and martyrs is another significant apocryphal element of the poems. This is a relatively long section in the poem beginning with stanza 245 and ending 259 on the theme of martyrs whose deaths will be avenged. The list contains the names of eleven apostles (st. 248–51). Matthias, who took Judas's place is named in the last of these stanzas along with Mark, Luke, Simon and Barnabas, who were evangelists and disciples. The deaths of only two of the apostles are described in the New Testament, namely James, who was executed by Herod (Acts 12:1–2), and Judas, who died by suicide (Matthew 27:5 and Acts 1:18). While other Irish texts describe the physical appearance of the apostles, Blathmac describes only their deaths. Several other texts within the Irish apocryphal tradition treat the subject of Jesus and the Apostles in a similar way, describing the manner in which they met their deaths along with descriptions in some texts of the colour of their hair and beards.[7] All show much conformity in the descriptions of the apostles and in the manner of their deaths.

[6] '[...] it is also quite possible that he [Blathmac] knew of a list of the signs before Doomsday, even if not any of those known to us. The early date of such a text, when the tradition was probably only in the process of formation, might explain the differences' (McNamara 2007: 232).

[7] Other Irish and Latin texts which give accounts of the genealogy, age, appearance, place of death and burial of the apostles are: *Incipit do bungenelaig na n-apstal,* a text about the genealogy, deaths and physical appearance of the apostles (Stokes 1887: 362–5); *Eól dom aidid Crist na cét*, a poem of eight quatrains on the manner and death of Christ and the apostles (Stokes 1887: 352–5); *Becca na delba act delb Dé*, a poem of twenty quatrains which pays particular attention to descriptions of the hair and beards of Jesus and the apostles (Stokes 1887: 350–2; Ó Cuív 1997: 136–48); as well as five short Latin and Old Irish texts published by Ó Cróinín (1989).

Claidbed Mathai — mórgním glé —
con·ascríb in soiscéle,
crochad Petair, airlech Póil,
ocus suindiud Iäcóib.

Martrae Aindrea — áin a chluith —
ferais fáilti fri caínchruich,
nád·ḟóet ar bríg ocus bruth
ina bíu a thúasulcuth.

Claidbed Pilip — ba gním mór —
guin da líach, da Iäcób,
Tomás do rind — ba scél ngus —
Tatheus, Bartholomeüs.

Marc, Lúcás, Simón sluindter,
ro·cés ní in masmuinter.
Barnabas bán, Madían mas,
do·cótar cosa n-ernnbas. (st. 248–51)

'The sword slaying of Matthew — famous great deed —
who had written the Gospel,
the crucifixion of Peter, the slaying of Paul,
and the clubbing of James.

The martyrdom of Andrew — brilliant his fames —
he welcomed the beautiful cross,
he who did not allow through vigour and valour
to be released alive.

The sword slaying of Philip — it was a big deed —
the killing of two wretched ones, two Jameses,
Thomas by a spearpoint — it was a tale of ferocities —
Thaddeus, Bartholomew.

Let Mark, Luke, and Simon be mentioned,
that beautiful company has suffered something.
Pure Barnabas, beautiful Mathias,
they came to death by iron.'

A reference to the legend surrounding Enoch and Elijah and their association with the Antichrist appears in stanzas 258 and 259. It is said that they never died but were brought bodily to some other realm. Their fate is that shortly before the Final Judgement they will do battle with the Antichrist who will kill them both. Then Michael the Archangel will slay the Antichrist.

Ó luid fuil Abéil fu ḟót
co martrai Eli Enóch,
is lat macc, a grían na mban,
fuil cach noíb do·fiästar.

Is hé Míchél, míl do maic,
gébas co claideb chomairt
do chorp Antchríst nád etal,
génathar do mórphecath. (st. 258–9)

'Since Abel's blood went beneath the sod
until the martyrdom of Elijah and Enoch,
it is by your son, o sun of women,
that the blood of every saint will be avenged.

It is Michael, your son's soldier,
who will attack with sword of striking
the body of Antichrist who is not pure,
who shall be born of a great sin.'

This legend is found elsewhere in Irish in *Fís Adomnáin* 'The Vision of Adomnán' (*LU* ll. 1939–2301), in *Dá Brón Flatha Nime* 'The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven' (Dottin 1909), and in a text headed *Sgél Ainnte Crisd* 'The Story of Antichrist' (Book of Lismore fol. 110ra30–110va20; Hyde 1927).[8] Blathmac's fleeting reference to the manner of conception of the Antichrist is interesting. The conception of the Antichrist is dealt with in more detail in other Irish verse and prose texts (see Ó Cuív 1973: 87–8), all of which are much later than Blathmac. *Félire Oengusso* from *c*. 800 also alludes to the Antichrist (29 September) but only to his death at the hands of Michael the Archangel, a tradition which finds widespread agreement across texts. Blathmac obviously had some knowledge of the tradition of the sinful conception of the Antichrist but sadly for the modern reader does not expand on it. A version of the tradition that Judgement Day will occur three and a half years after the death of the Antichrist is preserved in *Sgél Ainnte Crísd*:

> *Ocus is ann sin impodis in uili Padanach ocus Iudaidhe ocus Chinidhech ar in credim Catolaca, ocus ni bhia acht tri bliadhna co leith iar sin gu lá in Bhrátha.*
>
> 'And it is then that every Pagan and Jew and Gentile will turn to the Catholic faith, and there shall be only three years and a half after that to the Day of Judgement.' (Hyde 1927: 395, 398)

Blathmac does not refer to any time period from the death of the Antichrist to the Day of Judgement, but his sequence of events is very much in keeping with that found elsewhere. The logical development of the narrative is that

[8]Translations of these three texts are found in Herbert and McNamara (1989): *Fís Adomnáin* (137–48); *Dá Brón Flatha Nime* (19–21); *Sgél Ainnte Crísd* (149–50).

the signs of Doomsday and the death of the Antichrist will be followed by a description of the Day of Judgement and the terrible image of Christ carrying his bloodstained cross, a motif which is found in Blathmac's first poem and in other texts, for instance in *Saltair na Rann* (ll. 8271–2) *cona chroich deirg dodúalaig / fria aiss* 'with his red evil (?) cross on his back'; and in the *Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday* (Stokes 1907: 316, §24) *conidh ann sin eirgis Rí na hinogbála con chroich deridh*[9] *re ais* 'and then the King of Glory will arise with his final cross on his back'; or in *Dá Brón Flatha Nime* (*LU* l. 1370): *Is amlaid dano dorróega chucu intí Isu Crist ocus a croch derg fria ais* 'Thus will Jesus Christ come to them with his red cross on his back'.

It is fitting to introduce the fragmentary quatrains with Blathmac's description of Christ coming to pass judgement, carrying his cross on his back:

> *Fri tuidecht do maic co feirc*
> *cona chroich fria ais imdeirg,*
> *ara·sóerthar lat in tan*
> *nach carae nod·coínfedar.* (st. 142)
>
> 'At the coming of your son with wrath,
> with his cross on his dark red back,
> that at that time be saved by you
> any friend who will keen him.'

The fragmentary quatrains edited and translated here begin with an account of the battle at Mount Zion in which Christ is victorious. This is followed by Blathmac's version of the Final Judgement which closely follows eschatological discourse.[10] Although one might expect a description of the end of days to make ample use of apocryphal material to flesh out the meagre framework of the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 25:31–46), Blathmac's account of the last day stays close to the evangelist. He also includes other elements from that Gospel, namely the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matthew 13:30) and the separation of wheat and chaff (Matthew 3:12), emphasising the ruthlessness with which Christ will judge the sinners. While Blathmac's primary inspiration for this section of the poem is literary, Harbison (2016) proposed the hypothesis that Blathmac must have visited Rome and been inspired by pictorial representations of Biblical scenes. He suggests that, because Blathmac's imagery is so strikingly visual, mosaics and frescoes were a likely source of inspiration. It must be more than mere coincidence that depictions of many of the events which Blathmac describes are found in churches and basilicas in Rome which, like his poems, are dedicated to the Virgin Mary. We have not specifically investigated this art-historical angle with regard to the final stanzas, but it can be noted that depictions of sheep, which are prominent in stanzas 267, 268 and 270, can be found in the oldest mosaics in churches in Rome.

[9] See Stokes (1907: 316 n. 34): 'Ms. d*eri*gh'. This could possibly be a form of *derg* 'red'.
[10] For further discussion see Boyle (2015).

Although we cannot be certain that the poem ends at stanza 303 there are hints in the last fragments that Blathmac is addressing Mary as *ingen* 'maiden, virgin' (ll. 1182, 1186). This may be an indication that he is preparing the environment in which to set his *dúnad* 'closure', a poetic device where the poet repeats words found at the beginning to indicate the end of the poem. *Saltair na Rann* and the Old English *Christ III*, contained in the tenth-century Exeter Book (fols 20b–32a; Krapp and Dobbie 1936), also conclude shortly after the description of the judgment. They both have passages describing the misery facing the bad and the happy existence awaiting the good. Blathmac's words *dagathair* 'good father' (l. 1188), *imnocht* 'completely naked' (l. 1196) and *sírgnás bithifernn* 'long lasting familiarity of eternal hell' (l. 1200) could conceivably belong to such a context. Towards the end of *Saltair na Rann*, nouns describing the conditions that the sinners will endure in hell include *úacht* 'cold' and *gorta* 'hunger' and *crith for détaib* 'chattering of teeth' (l. 8360), which resonate with the words used by Blathmac. Though this is speculative, the combination of words pointing to a *dúnad* and the thematic parallels with *Saltair na Rann* and *Christ III* could indicate that Blathmac was nearing his conclusion.

DIPLOMATIC TEXT

260
Ar attat laiṫi rioġḋa donaiḃ noeḃaib andaġdilaṇ — *or:* rioṫḋa
biṫs$_{i}$ digdi der( )a mbroin in morċaṫ sleiḃi s$_{i}$oin

261
Ceru ṁa re riġ na riog(ṇiṭ)ṛe foirndeċt na aībfior — *or:* (ṃi)ṛe
as caċ ɔa boing fior f(.i̇r..)o doiniḃ ⁊ deṁnaiḃ

262
crvṫ meaḃass re cr̄ an caṫ ni dō feiṫ ṅac deīmneṫ — *or:* meaḃais
co mbreiṫ fir f̄ agniṁ cert co miaḋaṁla mesemnaċt
ol as

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263
Olas iosa miastꝫ caċ illaiṫi mesa f^{i} a firb^{a}th
ceiṇṃoir firioṉ an tā ⁊ ġ̄ nāō bas travcar

264
As biaṣ band ṃḃvada i llaitiv naṇ ṃ^{o}bvaṇa
eatarsgꝫfer ḡ mbert coirci cv$_{i}$ndf̄ fri c^{v}itne[

265
Foid̄f̄ fo tvaid cᵛaid cost̄ an coirci dia oġlosḡ
for a leit ndeis comᵃḋ cert do bret̄ leis acᵛitnS̄

266
Scaṛf̄ c̣o̍lg s̄ᵢ ⁊ cait̄ fria findvdh
[..]c̣oiser cᵛit̄neS̄ai claind an coimde in̄a iotlo[

267
[.]s̩ d̩o ṁac dna ni ba bᵉg mᵢa̍s̩tq̨ in da mᵒⁱt̄red
s̩c̣arf̄ mq̨ⁱg nat ais a tnv cairca geala fⁱ a minḍ[

268
Dv̩fo cerr f̄ a leiṭ ndes acaorċa iar na nglainmẹ̄s̩ *or:* Dẹfo
d̩o chv̄ niferN̄ dᵒg bᵉg foiḋfiḋior an gaḃq̨ⁱt̄red.

269
IṆ[.]a̍ l̩l̩a[ṭr̩]a̍ as bivr̩s̩a̍ as dot ṁac it parvvla *or:* [.f̣.b̩ || [.f̣a̍] || a̍b̩
[.....](...)iosa cr̄ geal fa deiS̄ᵢ rotsamlastq̨

270
o̍i̍s̩ [.]n pẹ̄c̣aiḋ dolᵢg(.)ḍvᵢḃ ā coirce ⁊ an gaḃair
[..](..) a̍e̍[...]b̩ ḍ[.]s̩aib doiN̄ an cᵛit̄neS̄ na glāċæoiṝ *or:* o̍̄ᵢe̍o̍a̍ᵢb̩

271
[...]b̩a̍ q̨ f̣ᵢa̍ḍa̍ q̨ s̄ᵢ fⁱs na hingru nis fitir *or:* b̩i̍b̩ a̍s̩ || b̩a̍s̩a̍ || ṃa̍c̣ || l̩a̍ṭ
[...]n̩a̍ṭ f̣e̍ṭa̍ṭq̨ s̩o̍m sᵢv boċta ⁊ aḋailcniv́ *or:* n̩a̍

272
[...]e̍[..] a̍ᵢs̩ pẹ̄c̣a̍iḍ s̄ᵢ f̣o̍c̣[.]l̩ n̩ainḃfial nesamain *or:*]e̍a a̍i̍s̩
[..]ṛa̍ taṛla̍i [.]i̍nd d̩o ṃẹ̄irg cid in q̨ aillsᵢõ do // firfeir[*or:* c̣q̨/f̄a̍/c̣o taṛḃa̍ᵢs̩ || ⁊i̍nd d̩i̍/o̍ᵢ/c̣e̍n̩

273
[.....]d̩a̍e̍n̩ḍ[.]go̍[.]a̍ a̍s̩ f̣q̨sᵢ̄gi̍ do firbᵒta *or:* c̣/t̪a̍eṛc̣ᵢ/d̩e̍/a̍ṛa̍ d̩ᵢa̍/tṛi̍[..] || a̍ṛ/i̍
[.....](.)n̩sᵢõ n̩i c̣i̍a̍ ṃẹ̄s̩a̍ṃ adid roilli *or:* h̩i̍ cᵢ̣d ṃẹ̄s̩a̍ n̩i

274
[.]o̍[.....]doiḃ c̣o̍ gle e̍[...]d̩[...]a miaḋaṁlae *or:* [..]pẹ̄c̣[|| e̍s̩o̍m || a̍[.]n̩ d̩[|| b̩ia
[.....]l̩o̍l̩c̣gn̩[..]a̍ oṛ[...]ᵢ[...]asa̍(.)roillisᵢot *or:* íṛo ||]q̨s̩[.]n̩/ṛo̍n̩/s̩asa̍

275

[. . . . .]ḟẹiḃ ḅạ ṛ[. . .. . .](..) ḍọ[.]at rō goṛ̈tsvṛ *or:* ḍạ ḅ[
[. . . . .]ọṣ[. . .]ẹ[. . . .]d(. . . ..)[. . .](.)a do ḍaġ̇tvqa$_i$ *or:* t(

276

Baḍ[. . .] dẽn̄ ẏ[..]ṛ[..]ɋ lụ[.](. . . . .)[..]ṇiç ṛon iotaigsv *or:* ḅ$_i$ || ạ[||]ṛṇɋ liẏ[|| lẹ ḥon || iur/s
ṇ$_i$[..]ɋ ḍiṣ̄ ḟọṛṃ c^{i}ḍẹ ṇ$_i$ do doṛtaiḃ daghḋiġe *or:* ṃ || r̄ç || ọ gị
Ro ḃa

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277

Ro ḃa cen ṇ(
niḅḥẏ ṃḅ(*or*: ṇị̇l *or* ị̇ṇl

278

Ḅasạ(
nĩ ṛạ(

279

Ṇi ġ(
n(

280

(
(. . . . .)d iaṛ(.)ṃ ṛ(. . . . .)ṛṃ(

281

(..)ạḅsõ dam ɔ̣it gaị(. . .) clɋ ni(*or*: gaṣ(
ç̣eb inloḃɋ in naċ dv ni dech̄ ḍọ(

282

NI meis$_i$ fē cia atbeir dogṛeṣ(
ḟor mḃoċtaī feiṣ̄$_i$ batɋ ḷ(

283

Na cv$_i$nḡ̃ ni arra ḋam mes(*or*: air
ar ni bæi liḃ diamtha bi (

284

Do ḃera forra cen acht ṣ$_i$ṛ(
7 foiḋfiḋivs iɋṣ̄$_i$ dv[. . .](

285
Timqtq deṁna in tan miṣ[.](
air do reraċṭaṭ ạlli ḍọ[.](*or*: ⁊(

286
Raġ[.](.)leo naċ ḍoṣeṣ(*or*: ḍo ṣeṇ/feiṛ(
ar r(.)ṣ cqṣaṭ ḍiṭ[..](*or*: ḍiċeṇ(

287
Mairg ɔimreġa ḷ[..](
la an golġaị[.]ị Aọṣ(*or*: ạlọṣ(

288
B[.]rg deṃa(. . . .)[.]ṛg(*or*: deṃāḍ[
(

289–290 missing

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291
)[. . . ..]ḷọ
)[. . .]ḍ[. . .] *or:*]ḍạ[..]ḷ

292
)
)

293
)
)

294
)
)

295
)[..]ṛ[.](. . . . .)[..](.)[. . .]ạṇ(
)[. . .]fiġ[..](. . .)[. . . . .](..)[..]ṭạṛg(

296
)[. . . . .]f̄[.]ī[..]ṃạ[. . . . .]ṇiṇġein (.)
)[. . . . . ..]ạiṛ

297
)[. . . . .]b̥q̣t̥ạ[. . . .]n̥inġein
)[. . . . .]r̥ī̤[. . . .]ạn̥ daġatair

298
)[. . . . .]ạgm̥aca *or*: l̥ạgạ̣raca
)[. . . . .]c̥o̤[.]l̥e̤

299
)[. . . . .]ạt̥hc̥om̥saṇ
)[. . . . .]aid̥ i̥o̤m̥noċt

300
)[..]o̤g b̥[. . . .]ạd̥[.]r ạb̄raibh
)[. . . . .]s̥i̤rgn̥as bitifiorn̄

301
)[. . . .]t̥[.]g[..]a
)[. . . . .](.)b̥re

302
)[.]r̥ ại̤f̤[..]d̥e̤d̥e̤r̥
)[. . . . .]e̤n̥[..]i̤f̤ī̤d̄ *or:*]e̤r̥[

303
)[..](..)r̥vċt
)

Variant readings by Ní Shéaghdha 1999
Only significantly divergent readings will be listed.

260a: rioghdha
261b: Maire
261c–d: fair. do
262d: mesamnacht
263b: ce fi[. . .]noir
264a: lan d(o)na uadha
264c: (on) mbert
264d: c*r*uit*h*ne*cht*
266c: do coiser
266d: iot*h*loinn
267a: d(u)a
267c: na tais
268a: Duso ferr f*orra* a
268b: t*r*ogb*r*eg
269a: (C)o lla(thi) a bas bi ur(ch*ra*)

270a: D(aes) [a]n pecaidh dob[uird]uibh.
270c: < . . . > s aesaibh d < . . . > aibh
270d: glanchaoir
271a: M < . . . > a ba(s) maith (s)ar sin.
271c: (as) nach fetar (tarc)uomsiu.
272a: < . . . > t as pec < . . . > an tan sin.
272c: < . . . > ar tarbas (a) rind do meirg.
273a–b: < . . . > cruaidh do g < . . . > tha. as fars(i)g
273c–d: Iosa Cr*ist* < . . . > nsion hic < . . . > . mesa ni
274a–b: < . . . > doibh comairle / < . . . > *cht* a miadhamhlae
274c–d: < . . . > lo < . . . > o < . . . > at / < . . . > as[. . .]roillisiot
275a–b: < . . . > feibh do br < . . . > / < . . . > dot atron < . . . > gort*aid*hsur
275c: < . . . > rel < . . . > eo < . . . >
276a–b: (Bear) < . . . > den u < . . . > ar l < . . . > / < . . . > on iotaigsu
276c: (m) < . . . > ar < . . . > *cht* < . . . > arm o d < . . . > i
279a: Ni sh [. . .]
281a–b: [. . .] aos o dam < . . . > d it ga[. . .] / clar m[. . .
281c:] cel in
283a–b: arraidham / nil s[. . .]
286a: Ragha [. . .]leo nach thioses [. . .]
287c: a (lo) [. . .]/
288a: Borg de [. . .]
291b: [. . .]a(i)r(e)ch
292b: [. . .]da[. . .]l
294b (= 294d): [. . .](ain)
294d (= 295b): [. . .](ro)[. . .]ain
295b (= 295d): < . . . > igh [. . .]tur[. . .]
297d (= 298b): < . . . > (agan)aca
298b (= 298d): < . . . > ceile
298d (= 299b): < . . . > c a(i)sa(n)
299b (= 299d): < . . . > a iomnocht
299d (= 300b): < . . . > adir a br*eth*aibh
300d (= 301b): < . . . > th < . . . > a
302b: < . . . > er
302d: < . . . > fidh
303b: < . . . > ucht

NORMALISED TEXT

260 (ll. 1037–40)
Ar at·tát laithe rígdae
donaib nóebaib a ndagdílae.
Bith sí dígde dér a mbróin
in mórchath Sléibe Sïóin.

261 (ll. 1041–44)
Ce ru·má ré ríg na ríg,
[ní t]re ḟoirndecht ná anfír;
os cách, con·abboing fír f[air],
do doínib ocus demnaib.

262 (ll. 1045–48)
Cruth memas ré Críst in cath
– ní don·fét nach deinmnetach –:
co mbreith ḟir fora gním cert
co míadamlae meisemnacht.

263 (ll. 1049–52)
Ol is Ísu míastar cách
i llaithiu mesa fria ḟírbráth,
céin·mair fírióndae in tan
ocus cach n-óen bas trócar.

264 (ll. 1053–56)
Is [é] biäs band mbúada
i llaithiu na mórbúana.
Etar·scarfaider cach mbert
corcai chuindfig fri cruithnecht.

265 (ll. 1057–60)
Foídfid fo thúaid – crúaid costud –
in corcae dia ógloscud;
fora leth ndes – comrád cert –
do·bérthar leis a chruithnecht.

266 (ll. 1061–64)
Scarfaid colg sin ocus cáith
fria findud…
†[Do] coiser† cruithnechtae claind
in Coimdiu inna ithlaind.

Translation

260
For on the day of the King
the saints have their good recompensations.
The great battle at Mount Zion will be
the compensation for the tears of their sorrow.

261
Although the king of kings should be victorious,
it is not through violence or injustice;
and everyone, truth can defeat him,
whether human or demon (lit. 'of men and demons').

262
The way Christ will win the battle
– a thing which shows us that he is not hasty –:
with judgement of man in accordance with his proper actions (lit. 'doing, acting'),
with estimation of honourable behaviour.

263
Since it is Jesus who will judge everyone
on the Day of Judgement according to his true judgement,
happy is the righteous one at that time
and everyone who is merciful.

264
It is [he] who will strike a victorious blow
on the day of the great harvest.
Each bundle of empty oats
will be separated from wheat.

265
He will send to the left – harsh manner –
the oats to be completely burnt.
To his right side – a fitting saying –
he will have the wheat brought.

266
He will separate then awn and chaff
in order to find...
He will strew out the produce of wheat,
the Lord, in his threshing barn.

267 (ll. 1065–68)
[Is] do mac dná – níba bréc –
miästar in da mórthrét.
Scarfaid – mairg nád·ais a thnú –
caírcha gela fri mindu.

268 (ll. 1069–72)
Du·foícherr fora leth ndes
a cháercha íarna nglanmes.
[Is] dochum n-ifernn drogbréc
foídfidir in gaborthrét.

269 (ll. 1073–76)
[Inna] llá[thr]a as·biur-sa,
is dot mac it parbula.
[. . . . . .] Ísu Críst gel
fadeisin rod·ṡamlastar.

270 (ll. 1077–80)
Oís in phecaid dolig duib
in corcae ocus in gabuir.
[Is de] áesaib desaib daínib
in chruithnecht, na glanchaírig.

271 (ll. 1081–84)
[As·béra] ar fíada íar sin
frisna hingru nís·fitir,
[ol] nad·fetatar-som síu
bochtu ocus adailcniu.

272 (ll. 1085–88)
[As·béra] aís peccaid sin
focal n-ainbfíal n-esamain
'[. . . . .]·tarlae rind di meirg?
Cid i·n-áraillsem do ḟírḟeirg?'

273 (ll. 1089–92)
'[. . . . . dáen/crúaid] d[o] go[th]a
is fairsinge do ḟírbrotha,
[. . . . .]nsem ní,
cía mesam adid·roilli.'

274 (ll. 1093–96)
[. . . . .] dóib co glé,
[. . . . .]a míadamlae
[. . .] olcgníma or[. . .]
[. . . .] asad·roilliset.

267
[It is] your son, then, – it will not be a lie –
who will judge the two great herds.
He will separate – woe to him who does not fear his wrath –
bright sheep from goats.

268
He will put on his right side
his sheep after they have been purely judged.
[It is] to the hell of evil lies
that the herd of goats will be sent.

269
[The interpretations] that I utter,
they are parables of your son.
[. . .] bright Jesus Christ
himself has so compared.

270
The oats and the goats (are)
the folk of dark, black sin.
Of the fine, just people (are)
the wheat, the pure sheep.

271
Our Lord [will say] after that
to the impious (that) he does not know them.
[Because] they did not know here
the poor and the needy.

272
The people of sin then [will say]
a shameless, bold word:
‘[. . .] happened to be a point of rust (?)
In what did we deserve your true wrath?’

273
‘[. . .] of your voice
and the extent of your true anger.
[. . .] we [. . .]ed something (?).
Who is the worst who has deserved it?’

274
[He will say] to them clearly
[. . .] (of his?) honour.
[. . .] evil deeds [. . .]
[. . .] that they have deserved it.

275 (ll. 1097–100)
'[. . . . .] feib ba [. . . . .]
[. . .]do[.]at ro·ngortaigsur
[. . . . .]
[. . . . .] do dagthúarai.'

276 (ll. 1101–4)
'Bá[..] demnu [..] ar lú
[. . . .]nic ro·n-ítaigsu.
Ní·tardisid form chride
ní do dórtaib dagdige .'

277 (ll. 1105–8)
'Ro·bá cen [. . .]
[. . .]
nibu [. . .]
[. . .]'

278 (ll. 1108–12)
'Bá-sa [. . .]
[. . .]
ním·ra[. . .]
[. . .]'

279 (ll. 1113–6)
'Ní·g[. . . . .]
[ ]
n[
[ ]'

280 (ll. 1117–20)
[ ]
[ ] íarum
[ ]

281 (ll. 1121–24)
'[Ro·g]ab-som dam conid·gai[b]
[a] clár n-i[. . . . .]
cebin lobar i nnach dú
ní·dechuid do[m chéilidiu].'

282 (ll. 1125–28)
'Ní meise fén – cia at·beir –
dogrés [. . . . .].
For mbochtáin feisin bátar
ḷ[. . .].'

275
[. . .] how was [. . .]
[. . .] (when?) I had been starving.
[. . .]
[. . .] of good food.

276
[May he/they/you be with the] devils [. . .]
[. . .] I had been thirsty.
You have not given upon my heart
anything of the pourings of a good drink.

277
I was without [. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .] was not [. . .]
[. . .]

278
I was [. . .]
[. . .]
you have not [. . .] me [. . .]
[. . .]

279
[. . .] not
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

280
[. . .]
[. . .] then
[. . .]

281
He has attacked me so that he takes it,
a board [ ]
although I might have been a sick person in any place,
you have not gone to [visit me].

282
It is not I myself – although it is being said –
always [. . .]
your own paupers, they were
[. . .]

283 (ll. 1129–32)
'Ná·cuingid ní arrai dam,
mes[. . .]
ar ní·boí lib diamthae bí
[. . .].'

284 (ll. 1133–36)
Do·béra forru cen acht
sír[. . .]
ocus foídfidius íar sin
du[ ].

285 (ll. 1137–40)
Timartar demnai in tan
mis[ ]
air do·rérachtat a llí
do[ ]

286 (ll. 1141–44)
Reg[ait] léo nach do ses[. . .]
[ ]
ar r[o]s·carsat dit[ ]
[ ]

287 (ll. 1145–48)
Mairg con·imrega l[a . . .]
[ ]
lá in golgairi i los
[ ]

288 (ll. 1149–52)
Borg deman[dae]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]

289–290 missing

291 (ll. 1161–64)
)
[. . . . .]lo
)
[ ]d[ ]

292–294 missing

283
Don't seek any commutation from me,
[. . .]
since it was not with you when you were alive
[. . .]

284
He will bring upon them without 'but'
[. . .]
and he will send them afterwards
to[. . .]

285
The demons will be pressed/gathered at this time
[. . .]
because they have abandoned their lustre
[. . .]

286
They will go with them any [. . .]
[. . .]
because they have loved them [. . .]
[. . .]

287
Woe he who will accompany [. . .]
[. . .]
the day of wailing [. . .]
[. . .]

288
A demonic fortress [. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

289–290 missing

291
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

292–294 missing

295 (ll. 1177–80)
)
[. . .]r [. . .]an(
)
[. . .]fig[. . .]targ(

296 (ll. 1181–84)
)
[. . . . .]forsin[..]ṃaṇ[. . . . .]n-ingin
)
[. . . . . ath]air

297 (ll. 1185–88)
)
[. . . . .]barta[r. . .]n-ingin
)
[. . . . .]rin[. . . .]in dagathair

298 (ll. 1189–92)
)
[. . . . . ..]dagmaca
)
[. . . . .]co[.]le

299 (ll. 1193–96)
)
[. . . . .]athchomsán
)
[. . . . .]aid imnocht

300 (ll. 1197–200)
)
[..]og b[. . .]ạḍ[.]r a brethaib
)
[. . . . .]sírgnás bithifernn

301 (ll. 1201–4)
)
[. . . .]t[.]g[. . . .]a
)
[. . . . .]bre

302 (ll. 1205–8)
)
[ ]ṛ aif[..]deder
)
[. . . . .]en[. . .]ifinder

295
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

296
[. . .]
[. . .] on the (?) [. . .] daughter
[. . .]
[. . . fath]er.

297
[. . .]
[. . .] daughter
[. . .]
[. . .] the good father.

298
[. . .]
[. . .] good sons.
[. . .]
[. . .]

299
[. . .]
[. . .]rebuke.
[. . .]
[. . .]es stark naked.

300
[. . .]
[. . .] (on?) his judgements.
[. . .]
[. . .] perpetual frequentation of eternal hell.

301
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

302
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .]

Normalised text (contd.)	*Translation (contd.)*
303 (ll. 1209–12)	303
)	[. . .]
[. . .]rucht	[. . .]
[ ]	( )

NOTES: P. 141

Stanza 260

While the final lines of p. 141 of the MS, and especially the lines containing st. 261, are — aside from a small tear — for the most part readily legible, it takes some effort to make sense of all the words of stanzas 260–2. The preceding passage was concerned with the signs of doom and the revenge for the passions of the saints. The stanzas immediately before the present section told of the slaying of Enoch and Elijah (st. 258) and how the Archangel Michael would fight the Antichrist (st. 259). According to the Irish account *Antichrist* (Herbert and McNamara 1989: 150), the end of the world will happen three and a half years after the destruction of the Antichrist by the Archangel Michael.

For the initial section of the stanzas edited here, Blathmac draws on eschatological passages in the Bible. There are echoes of the prophecy of Zacharias 14:1–2: *1 Ecce dies ueniunt Domini, et diuidentur spolia tua in medio tui. 2 Et congregabo omnes gentes ad Hierusalem in proelium. . .* '1 Behold the days of the Lord shall come, and thy spoils shall be divided in the midst of thee. 2 And I will gather all nations to Jerusalem to battle . . . ' There are also echoes of the prophecy of Joel 2:1–2: *1 Canite tuba in Sion ululate in monte sancto meo conturbentur omnes habitatores terrae quia uenit dies Domini quia prope est 2 dies tenebrarum et caliginis dies nubis et turbinis. . .* '1 Blow ye the trumpet in Sion, sound an alarm in my holy mountain, let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: because the day of the Lord cometh, because it is nigh at hand, 2 a day of darkness, and of gloominess, a day of clouds and whirlwinds . . . '

Several key words of these passages are found in Blathmac's poem: Sion is mentioned in st. 260, st. 260–2 are concerned with the final battle before Judgement Day, the Day of the Lord is probably referred to in st. 260. The trumpet was mentioned a bit earlier in l. 954 *sifais int aingel dagthob* 'the angel will sound a good trumpet'. The first couplet of st. 260 develops the idea of the reward that is in store for the saints. This is based on Revelation 11:18: *Et iratae sunt gentes et aduenit ira tua et tempus mortuorum iudicari et reddere mercedem seruis tuis prophetis et sanctis et timentibus nomen tuum pusillis et magnis et exterminandi eos qui corruperunt terram.* 'And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest render reward to thy servants the prophets and the saints, and to them that fear thy name, little and great, and shouldest destroy them who have corrupted the earth.'

The second couplet links this idea with the notion of the cries for help and revenge of the persecuted, as expressed in Psalm 9:12–15: *12 Psallite Domino qui habitat in Sion; adnuntiate inter gentes studia eius 13 quoniam requirens sanguinem eorum recordatus est; non est oblitus clamorem pauperum. 14 Miserere mei, Domine: uide humilitatem meam de inimicis meis 15 qui exaltas me de portis mortis ut adnuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion.* '12 Sing ye to the Lord, who dwelleth in Sion: declare his ways among the Gentiles: 13 For requiring their blood he hath remembered them: he hath not forgotten the cry of the poor. 14 Have mercy on me, O Lord: see my humiliation which I suffer from my enemies. 15 Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death, that I may declare all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.'

All these passages vary the themes of judgement, battles and the Day of Judgement, but Blathmac does not simply follow any of them directly. Instead, he combines passages and paraphrases them to create a pastiche of biblical imagery.

An entirely different proposal for this stanza has been made by a reader. This alternative will be presented and extensively discussed in one block at the end of this section.

1037 *ar at·tát*: We analyse MS *attat* as the 3 pl. of the substantive verb *at·tát* 'they are', preceded by the conjunction *ar* 'since, because'. Although in most cases Blathmac maintains hiatus in verbal forms, his treatment of hiatus seems to be so arbitrary (cf. Stifter 2015: 72–6) that the contracted variant *at·tát* is in the realm of plausibility. The expected form *at·taat* with hiatus occurs in l. 471. Other alternatives, e.g. reading an otherwise unattested compound verb **ar·attat* (from *att* 'swelling'?), are considerably less satisfying. Constructions with the verbs *ar·tá* 'to be before; to be in store for' or *ar·tét* 'to compensate for' do not work for syntactic or morphological reasons.

laithe rígdae: There is a small tear in the MS around the words *laiti rioġda*, but no better reading suggests itself. The middle consonant of *rioġda* could also be a *ṫ*, but the sense would require an emendation to *rígdae* anyway. We interpret *laithe rígdae* 'royal day' as a temporal accusative 'on the day of the Lord', a reference to the Old Testament prophecies cited above. Elsewhere in the poems of Blathmac, Judgement Day is called *llaithe mesa* 'day of judgement' (l. 1050), *bráth* 'judgement' (ll. 472, 525) and *laithe na mórbúanae* 'day of the great harvest' (l. 1054). Another variation is, for example, found in *Saltair na Rann*, namely *laithe na lánchaingen* 'the day of full law-suits' (l. 8225).

1038 *donaib nóebaib a ndagdílae*: This line is octosyllabic. There is no possibility to reduce the syllable count, unless one were prepared to take the extreme measure of emending *do* for *donaib*, or to delete the possessive pronoun *a*. Both are clearly written in the MS and required by the sense. The legal term *díl* 'requital, recompense, retribution; atonement, reparation; satisfaction, sufficiency; act of satisfying (a debt), paying'

in the plural compound noun *dagdílae* seems to be used here to translate the singular Latin *merces* 'reward' of Revelation 11:18, mentioned at the beginning. *Rígdae* of line *a* does not make perfect rhyme with *dagdílae*, but Blathmac occasionally permits himself poetic licences of this sort (Carney 1964: xxxii). Under this interpretation, the word order of the first couplet is V – $NP_{temp.}$ – PP – S. While this deviates from the expected order, in which the subject should come immediately after the verb, Blathmac does occasionally display a certain freedom in the scrambling of constituents (Stifter 2015: 99–100).

1039 *bith sí dígde dér a mbróin*: The phrase *dígde a mbróin* occurs also in Blathmac's first poem, ll. 375–6. A reader draws attention to the fact that in both passages the meaning 'compensation' fits better than the primary meaning 'deprecating (anger), asking pardon, praying forgiveness; beseeching' given in *eDIL* s.v. *dígde* (dil.ie/16311). All examples of 'compensation' are recorded in *eDIL* under the separate headword *díge* (dil.ie/16313), but the suggestion is made there that it is 'perh. the same word as dígde', which is surely correct. Lines 375–6 of Blathmac's poems *luid dano do dígdi a mbróin | dia cachtuir i mBaibilóin* can therefore be understood as 'he went, indeed, to compensate for their sorrow | from their captivity in Babilon'. This phrase has also a close parallel in a marginal poem to *AU* s.a. 516 (*recte* 517), *digal dia seacht mbliadan | ba si digde a chridhe* 'vengeance after seven years' time, | it was the compensation of his heart', although 'prayer of his heart' would make equally good sense. The quatrain from which these lines are taken is not contemporary with the events of 517 A.D. to which it refers, but has the appearance of normal Old Irish of the eighth or ninth century (Qiu forthcoming). Another parallel, *ba sí dígde Dé* (Murphy 1956: 20 st. 4), probably contains a jussive subjunctive. Murphy (1956: 21) translates 'let God's pardon be sought thus'. In light of the above argument, 'let it [i.e. the contents of the three preceding lines] be the compensation of (= from) God' is also a viable translation. Another parallel between the latter poem, *M'óenurán im airiuclán*, and Blathmac's poems is the use of the expression *cen acht* (see commentary on l. 1133). Murphy (1956: 178–9) assigns this poem to the eighth or ninth centuries.

dér a mbróin: In the Old Testament, tears are a stock ingredient of the laments and supplications made by the suppressed and persecuted to God, e.g. Isaiah 38:5, Lamentations 2:18.

1040 *in mórchath Sléibe Sïóin*: From usages such as in Joel 2:1 mentioned above, where Sion, properly a hill beside Jerusalem, is mentioned in eschatological contexts, the idea could arise that it would serve as the site for the final battle. For instance, in the *Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday*, the location of the gathering on the day before Doom is at Mount Sion: *IS é airrdina an láe ria mbrath .i. rí idhan na hinogbála .i. énmac ri[g] nimi ⁊ talman ⁊ ithfrinn, co n-imut diairme aingil ⁊ arcaingil nime .i. nói ngraidh nimi, ina choimidecht co mullach sleibhi Sioin do mes a ngnim.*

idir maith ⁊ *olc. ar cloinn eisidhain Adhaimh isin lo sin.* 'This is the token of the day before doom, to wit, the pure King of Glory, the only son of the King of heaven, earth and hell, with a countless multitude of angels and archangels, to wit, the nine ranks of heaven, in His company (will go) on that day to the summit of Mount Zion to judge their deeds, both good and evil, for Adam's impure children.' (Stokes 1907: 314–5 §19).

1037–40: Instead of the interpretation discussed in the foregoing, a reader recommends the following emendation of the stanza:

> *Ar at·tá tláithe rígdae*
> *donaib nóebaib dagdíglae;*
> *bith sí dígde dér a mbróin*
> *in mórchath Sléibe Sïóin.*

For which the proposed translation is:

> 'For there is the royal consolation of goodly vengeance for the saints; the great battle at Mount Zion will be compensation for the tears of their sorrow.'

This alternative involves the separation of MS *attat laiii* into *at·tá tláithe*, which has the advantage over our proposal of avoiding the contraction of the hiatus of 3 pl. *at·taät* to *at·tát*. The meaning of *tláithe* in *eDIL* (dil.ie/41009) is 'feebleness, weakness'; it occurs with this negative meaning earlier in the second poem of Blathmac, in l. 925 *is flaith do maic cen tláithi* 'it is the kingdom/rule of your son without weakness'. The reader suggests that in the present context, however, it is used with the meaning 'consolation' as in the derivative verb *tláthaigid* 'to console, appease'. In the second line, the possessive pronoun *a* together with its nasalisation *n-* before the following word has to be deleted, and the MS's *dagdila* is emended to *dagdíglae* 'of goodly vengeance', which gives a neat rhyme with *rígdae*. This emendation also chimes in with the emphasis on revenge in the preceding section, namely *bethus dígal dígrais dé* 'they shall have unassailable vengeance of it' (l. 1023), *dos·fé in soismid slúagach* 'the leader of hosts will avenge them' (l. 1027), and *fuil cach noíb do·fiästar* 'the blood of every saint will be avenged' (l. 1032). For *dígde* in the third line, the reader argues for the translation 'compensation' in line with what has already been discussed and adopted above in the commentary on l. 1039.

This alternative proposal has a number of strengths (reading *at·tá* for *at·tát*; linking the stanza with the theme of vengeance that is so prominent in the immediately preceding section; achieving a perfect rhyme between *rígdae* and *dagdíglae*), none of which, however, clinches the argument incontrovertibly in its favour. At the same time, there are also some weaknesses. *eDIL* (dil.ie/41013) cites no examples of the verb

tláthaigid in the meaning 'to console' from texts earlier than the Middle Irish period. The genitive *dagdíglae* 'of goodly vengeance' at the end of l. 1038 depends on *tláithe* 'consolation' in the middle of the preceding l. 1037. Such a wide tmesis of the constituents of a nominal phrase (as opposed to the scrambling of the basic constituents of a sentence) is very unusual. No other example in the poems of Blathmac springs to mind. Finally, this alternative proposal necessitates a number of emendations, whereas our own interpretation avoids any interference with the transmitted text, apart from trivial adaptations of the endings.

In the final analysis, both interpretations of st. 260 have arguments in their favour and in their disfavour. We have decided to retain our original proposal with minor adaptations, but the alternative must also be taken into consideration.

Stanza 261

The first couplet prophesies Christ's victory in the final battle. The precise relationship of the second couplet to the first remains uncertain, but it is clear that it speaks about the Final Judgement that will be meted out to men and demons alike. To make sense of the stanza as a whole, one probably must not interpret each couplet as a separate unit, with a syntactic break between them, but rather line *a* serves as a forethought, and the adverbial phrase in line *b* already belongs together with lines *c* and *d* as the main idea of the stanza. Parts of the train of thought remain unexpressed. The stanza can be paraphrased perhaps as 'even if the king of kings is victor [he will not act like a tyrant]; [therefore] it is not through violence of untruthfulness that everyone of men and demons on whom the truth [of Christ's judgment] falls finds themselves [judged]'. Perhaps an alternative solution for the illegible first word of line *b* (here read as *[ní t]re*) will eventually produce a more satisfactory interpretation.

1041 *ce ru·má ré ríg na ríg*: The allomorph *ru·* for *ro·* in pretonic position is only found rarely in Blathmac's poems. Aside from the present line, it occurs in *ru·fes* (l. 35), *ru·llá* (l. 440) and *ó ru·llá* (l. 706). Note that in two of the four instances it occurs in positions where, as Thurneysen phrases it, it 'has the minimum amount of stress [. . .] between a particle and the verb' (*GOI* 63; cf. also Stifter 2014, especially 217–32). *·má* is the 3 sg. s-subjunctive of *maidid* 'to break'. The logical subject of this sentence, namely *cath* 'battle', is not expressed, but it is in the following stanza in l. 1045.

1042 *[ní t]re ḟorndecht ná anfír*: The reading of the first word of the second line is problematic. While the final *-re* of the word is readily visible, only the tips of three minims before that can be seen projecting out of a large blot that has obscured most of the text. Additionally, traces of the minims can be seen shining through the blot. This could be an *i*, but the free space between the *m* and the *r* is comparatively wide, so that it is not impossible that the minim actually belongs to an *a*, as Ní Shéaghdha

read it, followed by a now invisible *i*. However, the resulting nominative *Maire* makes no sense in the sentence; within the fictional setting of the poem — the poet speaking to the Virgin Mary — the name could only serve as a phatic interjection, but for its formally correct expression in Old Irish grammar, namely the vocative, the necessary vocative particle *a* is missing. Apart from one dative in a narrative context (l. 75), all other 24 occurrences of *Maire* in Blathmac's poems are in the vocative. The alternative reading *mire* 'madness, frenzy' would agree semantically with the other two abstract nouns of the line, namely *forndecht* 'violence' and *anfír* 'untruth', but in this way the line would remain syntactically isolated within the stanza. Therefore we suggest the emendation *[ní t]re* 'it is not through'. Cf. *tri oirndnecht no nimbrathe* (Gwynn 1914: 142, §13), if this stands for *tri foirndecht na n-imráite* 'through violence of thoughts', as suggested by Binchy's 'per violentiam (?) cogitationum' (in Bieler 1975: 263). Reading MS *na* as the disjunctive conjunction *ná* 'nor' necessitates a negative particle at the beginning of the line.

1043 *os cách*: Following a reader's suggestion, we take MS *as* to stand for *os*, preceding an absolute nominative (Binchy 1960: 78–9). Reading the copula *is* instead produces syntactically awkward sentences.

1043 *con·abboing fír f[air]* (the *-air* of *fair* secured by the rhyme with *demnaib*) is an instance of a prepositional relative construction with stranded preposition (for which see Ó hUiginn 2013), instead of the regular Old Irish construction *fora·comboing* [·koɱboŋ'g']. Another example of a relative with stranded preposition, which is very rare in Old Irish, but becomes more common in the modern Gaelic languages, is found in l. 323 of Blathmac's poems (Stifter 2015: 100), namely *nacha·rultis námait lais* 'on account of which the enemies could not chase them', in a negative construction. The present relative clause is positive. The reading *con·abboing*, relative augmented 3 sg. present of *con·boing*, for MS *ɔa boing* is to be preferred over *conna·boing*. The augment expresses potentiality here.

1044 *do doínib ocus demnaib*: The prediction that judgments will be delivered both on men and on demons on Doomsday is borne out further down in the poem, especially in the very fragmentary stanzas from 284 onwards.

Stanza 262

1045 *cruth memas*: *Cruth* is the independent dative of *cruth* 'form, shape' used as the conjunction 'how, in the manner in which'. Since this entails a nasalising relative clause, the reading of the following verb as *memas* with a relative ending is adopted here, although the form in the MS could also be read as *meaḃais* = normalised *memais* with a grammatically unexpected non-relative ending.

ré Críst: Christ is here identified as the battle leader and is implicitly equated with the 'king of kings' mentioned in l. 1041.

1046 *ní don·fét nach deinmnetach*: This line which is perfectly legible in the MS is problematic. In the interpretation of the line, we follow a suggestion by Liam Breatnach (pers. comm.). MS *don feith* is taken as a spelling (corrupted by a copyist who did not understand the form) for *don·fét*, i.e. the verb *do·fét* 'to tell, relate, show' with a 1 pl. infixed pronoun. Other interpretations, such as *do·feith* 'to come, to go' (*eDIL do-feth*), or *do·feid* (*eDIL do-fed*) 'to lead, escort; take precedence over', do not yield sufficiently good sense. Even less likely is the hypothesis that *nídon* is the negative of the copula + infixed pronoun 1 pl. class C, in which case *feith* would have to represent the predicate of the copula clause. None of the multiple etymons of *feith*, *féith*, *feth* or *féth* fit the context. The verb *do·fét*, for which *eDIL* has no separate headword, but which it includes as a variant with preverbal substitution in the entry *ad-fét*, occurs one more time in Blathmac's poems, namely in l. 69. There it construes, just like its more prominent 'sibling' *ad·fét*, with the preposition *do* to express the indirect object, whereas in the present line the infixed pronoun fulfils this function.

Ní is the neuter indefinite pronoun in its specialised use for 'thing', recorded in *eDIL* under dil.ie/33146, followed by a relative clause. *nach* is the 3 sg. pres. ind. dependent negative of the copula, *deinmnetach* 'impatient, hasty' provides the predicate of the clause.

1047 *co mbreith ḟir fora gním cert*: Following the recommendation of a reader, we understand *fir* as the genitive singular of *fer* 'man'. If it were taken as the adjective *fír* 'true', the possessive *a* of the object of judgement would have to refer back to *cách* 'everyone' of the previous stanza, for lack of any suitable referend within the stanza. However, since *cách* encompasses 'men and demons' (ll. 1043–4), this would imply that judgment would also be passed on demons, which can hardly be the case.

1048 *co míadamlae meisemnacht*: *Míadamlae* 'honour, dignity, glory', here interpreted as 'honourable behaviour' following a reader's recommendation, is a preposed genitive. Here it probably underlines the notion that Christ's judgement will be objective, i.e. depending only on how honourably a person has led his life. Alternatively, the abstract *míadamlae* could stand in for the adjective *míadamail* and refer to the 'dignified act of judging' by Christ. In this and the following stanzas, Blathmac uses a variety of words to refer to 'judgement' and the 'act of judging': *breth*, *bráth*, *mes*, *meisemnacht*. These may variously refer to the judicial process and to the result of the deliberation, but which is meant in a given line cannot always be decided. Likewise, the English translation does not always bring out the subtle distinctions, if the poet intended there to be any.

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Stanza 263

1049 *ol is*: The information regarding the syntax of the conjunction *ol* is confusing in the way it is presented in *GOI*, and misleading in *eDIL*. While Thurneysen rightly states that 'The causal conjunctions **fo bíth**, **dég** and **ol** [...] are followed by a nasalizing relative clause' in *GOI* 318, the examples he provides later in the chapter on causal conjunctions in *GOI* 559 only consist of non-relative forms of the copula. *eDIL* (dil.ie/33757), on the other hand, states that *ol* is 'foll[owe]d by absol[ute] form of v[er]b (rel[ative] form in 3 s[ingular of the] cop[ula])'.[11] Almost all examples quoted by *eDIL* (dil.ie/33757), including the copula, are indeed non-relative, even though *all* verbs after *ol* 'because' in the Old Irish glosses that allow a formal distinction are relative (*Ml*. 29c10, 67d12 (leniting relative clause), 86d3, 91a10, 97d1, 101c16, 105d9; *Sg*. 40a16 (with the one exception of *Sg*. 167a4 *ol atá*)). In the case of the copula, both relative (*Ml*. 76a4, 121c15; *Sg*. 25b8, 90a7) and non-relative forms (*Wb*. 6c8, 13a13, 32a6; *Ml*. 56c17; *Sg*. 75b5 (2×)) are found. The MS reading *as* for the present line is ambiguous. Of the 84 occurrences of *as* in the MS text of Blathmac's poems, 79 stand for non-relative *is*, and only 4 represent the relative form. In comparison, the spelling *is* is rare in the MS, 11 times representing non-relative *is*, 3 times representing relative *as*. When followed by a relative construction, one might expect causal *ol* to require a nasalising dependent clause (cf. *GOI* 318) which should result in **nÍsu* in the present case. Weighing up all the evidence, it was decided to read *as* as the non-relative form here. See l. 1083 for *ol* + negative verbs.

míastar: The verb has to be read with two syllables here, as against l. 1066 where it has the expected hiatus *miästar* < **mi-u̯es-* < **mi-μes-* < **mi-mes-* and counts for three syllables.

1050 *fria f̈írbráth*: This phrase, as it is transmitted in the MS, is made up of four autosemantic syllables. In order to arrive at the correct syllable count for the line, while at the same time avoiding to have to interfer with the fundamentally straightforward text, we suggest to contract the phrase to two syllables, approximately *fríf̈írbráth*. Alternatives to this highly unusual proposal have been recommended by a reader, namely to delete *fria* and to read *fírbráth* either as an independent dative ('Jesus ... will judge everyone ... *by* his true judgement') or to read *fír bráth* as two words. In the latter case, the resultant parisyllabic rhyme *cách* : *bráth* (*deibide nguilbnech*), although rare, has parallels in the poems of Blathmac (ll. 267–8 *Dé* : *cé*; ll. 269–70 *cenn* : *tenn*; ll. 873–4 *tríst* : *Críst*). The reason why we do not adopt this recommendation is that

[11] The way in which it is presented seems to imply that 'non-relative' is meant where the author of the lemma speaks of 'absolute'.

Blathmac does not otherwise use independent datives with instrumental meaning. On the other hand, *fri* with various instrumental or local connotations is common in these poems (e.g. ll. 210, 261, 486, 543).

1051 *céin·mair fíriónd*ae: In Blathmac's poems, the verbal idiom *céin·mair*, translated in *eDIL* s.v. *maraid* dil.ie/31563 as 'long lives, hence happy, fortunate', construes with the accusative: *céin·mair in macraid* (l. 81), *céin·mair cech ndúil* (l. 535); if *canais·moir* (l. 133, *sic* MS) can be read as *céin-us·mair*, the logical subject of the sentence is expressed by an object infixed pronoun. In *céin-do·mair* (*sic*?, MS *cein do mhair*, l. 825), however, it looks as if a possessive pronoun has been infixed. This reflects a tendency to reinterprete *mair* as a noun, cf. *cenmair ina flaith* 'prosperity in his reign' (*Baile in Scáil* 27), or *cen mo mair .i. cēn a cena*, *mair uita* [. . .] *.i. is fleth* [= *fled*] *mo betha* '*cen mo mair*, that is, *cen* from [Lat.] *cena* 'meal', *mair* [means] life . . . , i.e. my life is a feast' (*OM* 218). In ll. 533 and 725 the subject is expressed through a headless relative clause. While the case of *fíriónd*ae cannot be determined, the second conjoined subject *cach n-óen* in l. 1052 is unambiguously marked as accusative.

MS *firion̄* can either be understood as containing an *n*-stroke or an suspension stroke. The reading *fíriónn* with geminate *nn* would both be isolated in Irish literature and leave the line one syllable short of the required 7. A trisyllabic reading **fírïón* is unlikely, cf. disyllabic *frián* in stanza 25 of *Tiughraind Bhécáin* (Kelly 1975: 86). Therefore it has been expanded as the acc.sg. *fíriónd*ae 'righteous, holy' (*eDIL* s.v. *fírénda*, *fírénta*).

in tan: *Tan* 'time' is used three times (l. 567, 1137, and here) by Blathmac not as the conjunction corresponding to English 'when', but as a meaningful noun. In all three instances, it occurs in rhyming and therefore stressed position. The lack of palatalisation, which is confirmed by rhyme in two of the three instances (in the third, the rhyming word is missing), but which goes against the expected temporal dative or accusative of an *ā*-stem, suggests that synchronically the form may have been felt to be a nominative.

1052: *trócar*: The spelling of *trócar* with the apparent diphthong *au* in MS *travcar* is a hypercorrection and as such out of character with the rest of the MS text of the poems. For instance, *gó* 'falsehood, lie' (ll. 426, 675, 703, 842, 857) is never found in archaic orthography as *gau*. It is always in a rhyming position with *o*, usually a genitive in *-o*, which secures the spelling. The promise of happy life in eternity for the just and the merciful is reminiscent of the Beatitudes, especially Matthew 5:7 *Beati misericordes: quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur* 'Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy'.

Stanza 264

From the brief account of the final battle in st. 260–2, Blathmac moves on to a long section of the poem that is devoted to the Final Judgement. It is based on an amalgamation of two originally unconnected passages from the Gospel of Matthew, namely the parable of the wheat and the tares and the judgement. Both sections describe the Son of Man associated with angels at the end of time, which may have been one factor in associating the two parables and equating their metaphors, i.e. the wheat/tares on the one hand, and the sheep/goats on the other (pers. comm. Elliott Lash). The parable of the wheat and the tares,[12] which is the starting point for the two quatrains 264 and 265, is found at Matthew 13:24–30:

> *24 Aliam parabolam proposuit illis dicens: Simile factum est regnum caelorum homini qui seminauit bonum semen in agro suo. 25 Cum autem dormirent homines, uenit inimicus eius et superseminauit zizania in medio tritici et abiit. 26 Cum autem creuisset herba et fructum fecisset, tunc apparuerunt et zizania. 27 Accedentes autem serui patris familias dixerunt ei: Domine, nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo? Unde ergo habet zizania? 28 Et ait illis: Inimicus homo hoc fecit. Serui autem dixerunt ei: Vis, imus et colligimus ea. 29 Et ait: Non, ne forte colligentes zizania, eradicetis simul cum eis et triticum. 30 Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania et alligate ea fasciculos ad comburendum; triticum autem congregate in horreum meum.*
>
> '24 Another parable he proposed to them, saying: The kingdom of heaven is likened to a man that sowed good seeds in his field. 25 But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way. 26 And when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared also the cockle. 27 And the servants of the goodman of the house coming said to him: Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? whence then hath it cockle? 28 And he said to them: An enemy hath done this. And the servants said to him: Wilt thou that we go and gather it up? 29 And he said: No, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it. 30 Suffer both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers: Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn, but the wheat gather ye into my barn.'

The meaning of this parable is explicitly explained shortly afterwards in Matthew 13:36–43:

> *36 Tunc dimissis turbis uenit in domum et accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius dicentes: Dissere nobis parabolam zizaniorum agri.*

[12] The Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate uses the English term cockles instead of tares.

> *37 Qui respondens ait: Qui seminat bonum semen, est Filius hominis. 38 Ager autem est mundus. Bonum uero semen, hii sunt filii regni. Zizania autem filii sunt nequam. 39 Inimicus autem qui seminauit ea est diabolus. Messis uero consummatio saeculi est. Messores autem angeli sunt. 40 Sicut ergo colliguntur zizania et igni conburuntur: sic erit in consummatione saeculi.*
>
> '36 Then having sent away the multitudes, he came into the house, and his disciples came to him, saying: Expound to us the parable of the cockle of the field. 37 Who made answer and said to them: He that soweth the good seed, is the Son of man. 38 And the field, is the world. And the good seed are the children of the kingdom. And the cockle, are the children of the wicked one. 39 And the enemy that sowed them, is the devil. But the harvest is the end of the world. And the reapers are the angels. 40 Even as cockle therefore is gathered up, and burnt with fire: so shall it be at the end of the world.'

The parable of the wheat and the tares has also parallels with the separation of wheat and chaff (Matthew 3:12):

> *Cuius uentilabrum in manu sua; et permundabit aream suam et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem conburet igni inextinguibili.*
>
> 'Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his floor and gather his wheat into the barn; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.'

The prophecy of the judgement comes immediately before Christ's Passion in Matthew 25:31–46:

> *31 Cum autem uenerit Filius hominis in maiestate sua et omnes angeli cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem maiestatis suae. 32 Et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes et separabit eos ab inuicem, sicut pastor segregat oues ab hedis. 33 Et statuet oues quidem a dextris suis, hedos autem a sinistris. 34 Tunc dicet rex his qui a dextris eius erunt: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi. 35 Esuriui enim et dedistis mihi manducare; sitiui et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram et collexistis me; 36 nudus et operuistis me; infirmus et uisitastis me; in carcere eram et uenistis ad me. 37 Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes: Domine, quando te uidimus esurientem et pauimus; sitientem et dedimus tibi potum? 38 Quando autem te uidimus hospitem et colleximus te; aut nudum et cooperuimus? 39 Aut quando te uidimus infirmum aut in carcere et uenimus ad te? 40 Et respondens rex dicet illis: Amen dico uobis, quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis*

minimis, mihi fecistis. 41 Tunc dicet et his qui a sinistris erunt: Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. 42 Esuriui enim et non dedistis mihi manducare; sitiui et non dedistis mihi potum; 43 hospes eram et non collexistis me; nudus et non operuistis me; infirmus et in carcere et non uisitastis me. 44 Tunc respondebunt et ipsi dicentes: Domine, quando te uidimus esurientem aut sitientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infirmum uel in carcere et non ministrauimus tibi? 45 Tunc respondebit illis dicens: Amen dico uobis: Quamdiu non fecistis uni de minoribus his nec mihi fecistis. 46 Et ibunt hii in supplicium aeternum; iusti autem in uitam aeternam.

'31 And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty. 32 And all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: 33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. 34 Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. 35 For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: 36 Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me. 37 Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? 38 And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and covered thee? 39 Or when did we see thee sick or in prison, and came to thee? 40 And the king answering, shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. 41 Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels. 42 For I was hungry, and you gave me not to eat: I was thirsty, and you gave me not to drink. 43 I was a stranger, and you took me not in: naked, and you covered me not: sick and in prison, and you did not visit me. 44 Then they also shall answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister to thee? 45 Then he shall answer them, saying: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me. 46 And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting.'

In both the biblical account and in Blathmac's narrative agricultural metaphors, especially connected with cereal-processing, play a central role.

For cereal-processing in Ireland, with which Blathmac would probably have been familiar, see the description in Kelly (1997: 240–2).

1053 *Is [é] biäs band mbúada*: The line is a syllable short and asyntactical in the MS. By introducing the subject pronoun *é* after the copula, a frequent construction in Blathmac's poems, a smooth sentence is arrived at. *Biäs* is the relative 3 sg. reduplicated future of *benaid* 'to strike'. Blathmac uses a similar phrase earlier in l. 378 of the first poem, *ba óen dia búadaib prímband* 'it was one of his victories of eminent deeds', featuring the plural of *búaid*.

1054 *mórbúana*: Following Stüber (2015: 116, 208), the genitive singular *búana* is here taken to be that of an *i*-stem *búain*, replacing earlier *búano*. Accordingly, the rhyming word *búada* also has to be a genitive singular, replacing earlier *búado*. The ending *-a* may have been introduced mechanically during the textual transmission so that *-o* may have been written for both words in the original (cf. Stifter 2015: 71). An alternative solution is to emend the genitive plural *búadae* (cf. the plural *búadaib* in l. 378) and the *ā*-stem genitive singular *búanae*. *Pace* Stüber (2015: 116), the genitive singular *búana* in *Sg*. 62b10 (and in *Thes* ii, 334.3) does not prove an *i*-stem. Innovative *-a* occurs ten times as the ending of the genitive singular of *ā*-stems in the St Gall glosses (11a1 (2×), 63b5, 66b24, 78b3, 88.3, 137b9, 193b2, 207b9, 207b24), against eleven instances of conservative *-ae*. In the case of *i̯o*- and *i̯ā*-stem nouns and adjectives, the statistics are almost equal: beside 111 examples of *-ae*, there are 92 instances of *-a* where the ending *-ae* would be expected in Early Old Irish.[13] Thurneysen's idea that the verbal noun of *bongaid* was the *ā*-stem *búan* is accordingly still valid.

1055 *etar·scarfaider*: The verb *scaraid* 'to separate', which dominates the following stanzas as a *leitmotif*, appears here for the first time in the compound *etar·scara* 'to separate'. *Etar·scara* construes with the preposition *fri* already in *Wb*. 8b3 or *Ml*. 79b2.

bert: *eDIL* (dil.ie/5735), as well as Irslinger (2002: 391), give the gender and stem class of *bert* as a feminine *ā*-stem, but also as a masculine *o*-stem. Since it has to be the subject of the passive verb here, the nasalisation after *cach*, if original to the text, shows that it is neuter. The divergent genders and stem classes in later Irish sources are, then, a consequence of the loss of the neuter. However, since, as a reader points out, *cach* tends to nasalise any noun in later Irish (cf. the introductory comments in *eDIL* (dil.ie/7528)), it is not excluded that the nasalisation was introduced during the transmission of the text.

1056: Blathmac's expression *corcae cuindfech* 'empty oats' is a literal translation of *auena fatua* 'wild oat' (Kelly 1997: 234), the Classical Latin name for a group of wild, economically valueless grains that can cause

[13]Statistics extracted from Bernhard Bauer's database of the St Gall Priscian Glosses, URL: http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/forms.php (accessed 15 Sept 2019).

a significant reduction in the yield of crop fields. Since this plant is very similar to cultivated crops, it cannot be easily removed from the field. The best way to deal with it is to allow it to grow to maturity along with the wheat and then separate and destroy it at harvest time. The plural of the adjective *cuintbecha* on its own glosses *auenae* in the Philargyrius glosses on Vergil's *Eclogues* (*Thes* ii, 48.26; 363. V.37), where it is in turn glossed by *zizania*. *Zizania*, the word used for the weed in the Vulgate, is a borrowing from Greek. It is traditionally translated into English as 'tares' or 'weeds'. In the following stanzas 265 and 270, Blathmac — rather unfortunately — uses *corcae* without the qualifying adjective in the specific sense of 'tares', thus mirroring the usage of the Philargyrius commentary where the simplex *auenae*, normally 'oats', refers to weed, and not to crop.

cruithnecht: The ending of *c*^{v}*itne[* is concealed in the binding of the MS, but the rhyme with *mbert* and the continuing theme make *cruithnecht* the obvious solution.

Stanza 265

This stanza and 266 paraphrase Matthew 3:12 (see above).

1057 *foídfid fo thúaid*: *Fo thúaid*, which usually means 'north(wards)', is here doubtless used in the sense of 'to the left', translating Matthew 25:33 *a sinistris* 'to the left'.

crúaid costud: The cheville 'hard (is the) gathering' serves as a negative comment on the foregoing.

1058 *in corcae dia ógloscud*: *Ógloscud* is an equivalent of Greek 'holocaust'. However, whereas a holocaust in the ancient Greek sense is an offering of one's entire possession in a situation of ultimate need, with the hope of divine intervention in one's favour, here (as in the modern use of the term) the 'complete burning' is a term of destruction and punishment.

1059 *fora leth ndes*: MS *leith ndeis* has perhaps arisen under influence from the feminine word *deis* 'right-hand side'. In l. 1069, the rhyme proves that *des* has to be read, and accordingly this has been emended here as well.

comrád cert: The favourable sense of the cheville 'fitting conversation' contrasts with the negative one in l. 1057.

1060 *do·bérthar leis a chruithnecht*: The MS has *do*$\overline{bt}$ which at a first glance seems to be *do·breth* 'was brought'. Since this makes neither sense chronologically (the future is expected, not the preterite), nor metrically (the line is a syllable short), we emend the future passive *do·bérthar*. We assume that in the exemplar this had been abbreviated as *do*$\overline{bt}$. The copyist missed the second suspension stroke by a slip of the eye which produced the extant form.

Stanza 266

In the processing of cereal, the step after collecting the sheaves on the field is threshing, which frees the grains from the straw which can then be removed. This happens at the drying kiln (Kelly 1997: 240–1). The Irish word for the threshing floor is *ithland*, a compound of *ith* 'grain' and *land* 'land, ground; building', which has exact cognates in OW *itlann*, W *ydlan*. Threshing is followed by winnowing which separates the chaff (*cáith*) and the awn (*colg*) from the wheat. In winnowing, the grain, which is still polluted by small particles, is thrown into the air with the help of a winnowing fan. The wind carries off the unwanted light particles, whereas the heavy grains fall to the ground again. This stanza describes this process, continuing the paraphrase of Matthew 3:12 as outlined above in stanza 265.

1061 *scarfaid*: The writing is very faint. We considered the alternative reading *scanfaid*, the future of an unattested verb **scannaid* 'to winnow'. The compound verb *fo·scanna* 'to toss, shake, winnow' appears to lend support to such a notion, as well as the nouns *scann* 'membrane, winnowing fan', *scannán* 'membrane, film'. However, appearances can be deceptive. The nouns seem to be attested only in the modern Gaelic languages and are probably loans from Old Norse *skán* 'bark, crust' (*LEIA* S-33), itself related to *skinn* 'skin'. Contrary to *VKG* ii, 613, the root of *fo·scanna* and *do·inscanna* 'to begin' is probably that also found in *sceinnid* 'to jump', i.e. PIE **skend-* 'to leap, jump' (*LIV* 554, *KP* 574–5, *LEIA* S-32). For the present line, it suffices to operate with the verb *scaraid* 'to separate', specifically since this ties stanzas 264–7 together like a *leitmotif*: wheat and tares, grain and chaff, sheep and goats will all be separated, like the blessed and the sinners will be separated from another before the final judge.

Sin occurs here in its rare use as the temporal adverb 'then'. Other instances in Blathmac's poems are in ll. 487, 509, 977 and 1085.

1062 *fria findud*: The line breaks off abruptly. For once, the loss of text is not due to damage to the paper, but the scribe left a section intentionally blank. While the reason for this remains obscure, it may be speculated that already his exemplar showed the loss of text here. If this was the case, it can be further speculated that this passage stood on the last folio of the exemplar which may have carried signs of wear on its outer folios. Depending on whether *fria* 'for their' has to be read with one or two syllables, three or four syllables are missing from the line, among them a di- or trisyllabic rhyme with *cáith*. Combinations of vowel-final prepositions + possessive pronouns can be mono- or disyllabic in Blathmac's language, depending on the metrical need (Stifter 2015: 74 n. 92). *eDIL* (dil.ie/22144) records only one other instance of the verbal noun *finnad/findud*, in the Early Modern Irish tale of *Cath Maighe Léna* (Jackson 1938: 56 n. 1). Notwithstanding the lack of some words, the context suggests that the meaning of *findud* here was 'act of finding out'. This example may indicate that for the meaning 'to find out', the verbal noun

of *ro·finnadar* was the innovative *findud* already in Old Irish, whereas the inherited *fius* was reserved for the much more frequent usage 'to know'.

1063 †*[do] coiser*†: *Coiser* or *cosser* is comparatively securely legible, although the *c* is very faint. The metre requires another syllable for the line. The page layout is such that there is space for approximately two letters before *coiser*, but the present condition of the MS does not allow us to determine which they are. With the reading *do* we tentatively follow the proposal by Ní Shéaghdha, although it is not clear whether she actually saw anything or just followed her instinct. Finding a satisfactory analysis for *[do] coiser* has proved challenging. If, as is usual with Blathmac, a strong syntactical break occurs between the two couplets of the stanza, it follows that *coiser* must be part of a finite verb, of which *in Coimdiu* is the subject. For a finite verb, an additional preverb such as *do·* is necessary to account for the apparent 'prototonic' appearance of *·coiser*. The context makes one expect a future verb. A form of *con·sern* 'to spread out, strew', or of a further compound thereof, would be semantically attractive in the context of the deposition of grain in the barn, but no appropriate form is morphologically justifiable. As far as we can see, no future forms of the verb *sernaid* or its compounds are attested in Old Irish (cf. the absence of relevant forms in *KP* 601). This is a very striking gap. Clearly, there can be no semantic factor that would block the creation of a future of *sernaid*. From the point of view of verbal stem formation, a long *é*-future would be expected (McCone 1997: 48). MS *coiser* could stand for *coisér*, but this has the appearance of the first person singular, whereas a third person **·coiséra* is expected. An emendation to *con·séra* would produce a morphologically correct form, while at the same time filling the syllable count for the line, but it would mean a significant deviation from what the MS has. A formation from the H3 verb *sreïd* 'to scatter, hurl, cast', which would have an *f*-future, is excluded. Analysing *coiser* as a nominal form, probably preceded by a preposition, leads to no satisfying solution either. Lines 1063–4 would be left with a very awkward syntactical structure. Furthermore, the nominal formation based on the compound *con-ser-* is *cossar* with a non-palatalised *s*, even where syncope occurs. In conclusion, for want of a better solution, we translate this difficult form as 'he will spread out', simply because the context leaves hardly an alternative, but we put *[do] coiser* between cruces.

cruithnechtae claind: *Cruithnechtae* is a preposed genitive, *cland* is used in its original meaning 'plant, produce of a plant', like in l. 772 and, metaphorically, in l. 402. In l. 597 *A Maire a grían ar clainde* 'Mary, son of our children', the first line of the second poem, it occurs in its better known transferred meaning.

1064: *in Coimdiu*: The MS has *coimde* which could formally be a short dative of *Coimdiu*, or a genitive *Coimded* of which the final consonant was lost.

Neither is syntactically satisfactory, and we interpret *in Coimdiu* as the subject of the couplet.

inna ithlaind: The last two or three letters of *ithlaind* (MS *iothlo[*) are illegible.

Stanza 267

The narrative moves on entirely to the account of the Judgement Day as presented in parable form in Matthew 25:31–46 (see above). All the nations are gathered before Jesus who separates them into those who are blessed or cursed, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. Goats, like sheep, are economically important animals in the world of the Bible and are regarded as clean. Why they were chosen to represent the wicked in this parable is something of a mystery. Perhaps the notion derives from Ezekiel 34:17 and 39:18 where rams are used as a simile for oppressors and tyrants. Blathmac combines the animal imagery with the previous image of the wheat and the tares to enhance the drama of the judgement. The parables emphasise the polar opposition among men between the good and the wicked. The motif of the sheep and the goats is rare otherwise in medieval Irish texts that describe the Day of Judgement. They are mentioned in *Cáin Domnaig*, an eighth-century text (O'Keeffe 1905: 200). There the separation takes place on Sunday, whereas traditionally the Day of Doom is scheduled for a Monday: *I ndomnach etarscarfas Críst in dá trét.i. trét na n-úan n-endac .i. na nóeb* ⁊ *na fírían, fri gaburtrét na pecthach ndiúmsach in domuin.* 'On Sunday, Christ will divide the two flocks, namely, the flock of innocent lambs and of saints, and of the righteous from the goat-flock of the proud sinful ones of the world.'

1065: *[Is] do mac*: The clause-initial copula has disappeared from the MS, except, perhaps, for a faint trace of the *s*, but there is enough space for it at the beginning of the line to render its original presence there very likely, probably in the spelling *As*.

dná: The reduced form *dna* of the particle *danó*, probably *dná* if stressed, is rare in Old Irish texts, but it becomes more frequent in Middle Irish. It occurs two more times in the MS of Blathmac's poems. In l. 375 *luidh dna do dighdhi ambroin* it could be emended away to *luid danó do digdi a mbróin* by assuming elision between *digdi a*. Note however that elision is not an obligatory feature of Blathmac's scansion (Stifter 2015: 80). In l. 807 *is é dna do·forsat sel* (MS *as he dna do forsat seal*), however, there is no metrical option for emending to *danó*.

1066: *miästar*: Historically correctly, the verb is to be scanned with a hiatus here to achieve three syllables, against disyllabic l. 1049 *míastar*.

1067: *mairg nád·ais a thnú*: *Mairg* 'woe' can be followed by a noun in the accusative (l. 968) or nominative, but here it governs the headless relative clause *nád·ais*. Other examples for this construction in Blathmac are ll. 481, 529, 1145. The defective verb *ad·ais* 'to fear' is only found in the present tense. It loses its preverb in dependent position, perhaps

under influence of the homonym *ad·ágathar*. *Tnú* is defined in *eDIL* (dil.ie/41026) as 'envy', but here an intense outward emotion must be intended for which the meaning 'fury, wrath' seems more appropriate. This meaning allows its etymological unification with *tnú* 'fire' (*eDIL* dil.ie/41025) which perhaps goes back to the PIE root **tep-* 'to be hot' (cf. Stifter forthcoming).

1068: *fri mind[u]*: The MS has *fria*. Since it is not evident why the wicked group should be specifically distinguished by the possessive pronoun *a* 'his', i.e. Christ's, we follow the suggestion of Liam Breatnach (pers. comm.) to regard it simply as a modernisation for *fri*. The final letter of *mindu* is concealed in the MS, but the rhyme with *tnú* makes its reconstruction inevitable. *Mindu* is the accusative plural of *mend* 'small animal', particularly 'kid'. The inherited meaning of the word **mendo-* was 'small of an animal', probably without preference to any specific animal; cf. W. *myn*, *mynnan* 'kid', Corn. *min* 'goat', Bret. *menn* 'young animal'; VLat. *mandius* 'foal, cow'; Tyrolean German *manz, menz* f. 'barren cow'. Did Blathmac have kids or goats in mind here, or the young of the sheep (in which case the *-a* of *fria* could be the 3 pl. possessive)? To meet the requirements of the rhyme, Blathmac could have used the more specific *gabru* 'goats'. As has been seen several times in this section, Blathmac does not shy away from word repetition in order to conjure up a motival weft, cf. the repeated occurrence of *cruithnecht* or forms of *scaraid* in the preceding stanzas. On balance, however, it is hard to see why Blathmac should have deviated from the unambiguous goats of his New Testament model.

Stanza 268

1069 *Du·foícherr*: The second letter of the first word has been rendered as *v* in the diplomatic edition of the MS *dvfo cerr*, although there is some doubt. The MS seems to employ the common *v*-shaped variant of *u*, but it is set unusually high, and the left stroke is perpendicular, whereas normally the gradient of the left stroke mirrors that of the right. What is visible, could also be the upper portion of a tall *e*, with the lower portion lost through the deterioration of the MS. There does not appear to be in the MS a trace of the *i*, which is needed for *du·foícherr*, the future of the irregular verb *do·cuirethar* (*GOI* 409, 470).

1070 *íarna nglanmes*: Even though *glan-* 'clean, pure' could be utilised here simply as a semantically bleached first compound member to achieve a disyllabic word, it can be speculated if *glanmes* serves as a technical term for a judgment that declares the judged pure.

1071 *[Is] dochum n-ifernn drogbréc*: The copula is missing (there is, in fact, not enough space for it in the MS), but it is required to achieve the full syllable count. In the first poem, 'hell' is a single place (ll. 84, 452, 472). In the second poem, it is preponderantly expressed as a plural (ll. 696, 718, 1071, 1200), with one exception in l. 896. Nasalisation on

drogbréc may only appear to be missing. After *n*, nasalisation need not be expressed, or the double *nn* of *ifernn* actually contains the original nasalisation. Roma (2018) has observed that nasalisation was altogether not as consistently marked, esp. in the eighth century, as commonly assumed. The guttural of *drog-*, instead of normal *droch-*, has been assimilated in voice to the following voiced *b*, even though from the point of view of rhyme a voiceless fricative would be expected to match the *th* of *gaborthrét*.

1072: *gaborthrét*: The spelling *gabor* with *o* has to be supplied for MS *gabair* in order to facilitate rhyme with *drogbréc*.

Stanza 269

1073 *[Inna] llá[thr]a*: Only *lla( )a* is reasonably recognisable on the image. At the beginning of the line, a capital N or maybe a capital IN can be barely made out. Alternatively, this could also stand for the negative copula *ní*. The translation of *láthra* 'arrangements, dispositions' as 'interpretations' is an educated guess to make sense of the line. Both options for the initial word can be framed in such a way as to make sense: *inna lláthra as·biur-sa* 'the interpretations (of the biblical metaphors) which I utter, they are parables by your son himself'; and *ní lláthra as·biur-sa* 'it is not interpretations (i.e. speculations, lies, heresies) that I say, but they are parables by your son'. For the defensive attitude of the second option, compare l. 745 *ní scél n-eris deit in sé* 'this (what I am saying right now) is no heretical tale for you'. Because the second option results only in a hexasyllabic line, we have chosen the first option.

as·biur-sa: For the rhyme with *parbula*, the enclitic nota augens *-sa* has to be treated as if it were an independent word. Another such case can conceivably be found in l. 1091. The end of the very deteriorated line can perhaps be read as *]nsem-ni*, i.e. a 1 pl. *s*-preterite + 1 pl. nota augens which rhymes with *adid·roilli*, but in view of the bad state of the MS nothing definite can be said.

1074 *is dot mac it paruula*: While this line is perfectly legible, understanding *paruula* on the face of it as the Latin word for 'small girl' does not make any sense in the context. Instead, this is a spelling or a copying error for pl. *parbala* 'parables'. The couplet may be inspired by Matthew 13:13 *ideo in parabolis loquor eis* 'therefore do I speak to them in parables' and 13:34–5:

> 34 *Haec omnia locutus est Iesus in parabolis ad turbas et sine parabolis non loquebatur eis* 35 *ut impleretur quod dictum erat per prophetam dicentem: Aperiam in parabolis os meum, eructabo abscondita a constitutione mundi*.
>
> '34 All these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitudes: and without parables he did not speak to them. 35 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying:

> I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world.'

The latter, itself a quote from Psalm 77 (78):2 *Aperiam in parabolis os meum; loquar propositiones ab initio* 'I will open my mouth in parables: I will utter propositions from the beginning', occurs immediately after the parable of the wheat and the tares, as it does in Blathmac's poem.

1075 *Ísu Críst gel*: This is apparently a nominative and thus the subject of the couplet. Possibly an epithet for Christ, such as *ar fíada* 'our Lord' has been lost at the beginning of the line, or a fronting construction involving the copula, such as *is é* 'it is he'. Three or — allowing for elision — four syllables have been lost. Insofar as it is legible, this stanza contains no form of alliteration. It is possible, however, that one of the lost syllables alliterated with *Ísu*.

1076 *fadeisin rod·śamlastar*: The infixed pronoun in MS *rotsamlastar* is ambiguous. It could be taken at face value as the class A 2 sg. pronoun *-t* 'you'. However, the scribe of MS G50 very often writes pretonic, lenited *-d* with the letter *t*. Accordingly, this word could also be *rod·samlastar* with a class C 3 sg. masculine or neuter infixed pronoun. The latter has been adopted since it yields the best overall sense. The reference of 'it' is probably the utterance as such. The alternative interpretation of the first word as *fá deisin* 'under his right (hand)', featuring the word *deisen* 'right hand' which is only attested in Blathmac's poems (ll. 548, 756; Stifter 2015: 98–9), has been rejected for lack of sense. Furthermore, *dess* 'right hand' construes with the preposition *for*, not with *fo* 'under'.

Stanza 270

1077: *Oís in phecaid dolig duib*: The whole line is the predicate of a copula clause with unexpressed, 'virtual' copula. Its subject is the following line *in corcae ocus in gabuir*. The spelling *oís* for 'folk, people' preponderates 23:11 in Würzburg, whereas in Milan exclusively *aís* is found. Like in the Würzburg glosses, Blathmac makes use of both spellings of the word.

1079 *[Is de] áesaib desaib daínib*: The first word or words is illegible in the MS. The dative case of *áesaib* requires a preposition before it; syntactically the preposition *de* 'from', indicating the origin or appurtenance of persons, in a copula clause (cf. *eDIL* dil.ie/14787, section XXV (a) (α)), makes the best sense. There is enough space before *áesaib* to accommodate four letters. If the copula is realised, elision has to be applied between *de áesaib*, i.e. *is d'áesaib*. Conceivably, the first word could have just been *de* without elision, but a lot of free space after it would then have to be assumed. The MS has *doin̄* which superficially looks like *doínib* 'people', but since there is already a dative plural noun with fundamentally the same meaning earlier in the line, namely *áesaib*, the last word of the line has to be an adjective. It is easily understandable that

a later scribe would have mistaken the rare word *dáen* 'delicate, fine' (s.v. *dáin* in *eDIL* (dil.ie/14228)), which did not survive into the modern language, with the far more common *doíni*. Although spelt *doin̄* in the MS, the rhyme with *glanchaírig* (MS *glāċaoir̄*) requires the emendation *daínib*.

1080: *in chruithnecht, na glanchaírig*: The metre necessitates an asyndetic construction for the two conjoined subjects.

Stanza 271

Whereas Blathmac's first poem, *Tair cucum, a Maire boíd*, is essentially an elegiac-narrative monologue by the poet, albeit addressed to a fictionalised interlocutor, the second poem contains two passages of dialogue with direct speech, both modelled closely on the text of the Scripture. One is the short conversation between the Virgin Mary and Archangel Gabriel (st. 202–5) after the Evangelist Luke's Annunciation (Luke 1:28–35 and 42; Ó Dochartaigh 2015: 168–72); the other, considerably longer one encompasses stanzas 271–83 and stages the scene when Christ the Judge condemns the wicked to punishment. It amounts to a vivid exchange in which the sinners try not so much to justify their deeds as to demonstrating their ignorance of their shortcomings in life, attempting to rebut all responsibility *a priori*. While this forms only the second and shorter half of the scene in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 25:41–6; 6 verses), where precedence and emphasis are given to the just and their reward (Matthew 25: 34–40; 7 verses), Blathmac turns this into a dramatic scene that is entirely devoted to the chastisement of the wicked. The drama is played out through a dialogue between Christ and the sinners with constantly changing speakers. The beginning of lines *a* and *c* has suffered dramatically from the deterioration of the MS, and the text is accordingly very uncertain at these points.

1081 [ ] *ar fíada íar sin*: The word missing at the beginning must be a verb of saying. The two very faint letters before *ar* 'our' could be *ba*. If this reading is correct, the MS may have originally contained *As*$\overline{ba}$, an abbreviation for *as·béra* 'he will say'. The resulting line has eight syllables, but elision is possible both between *as·béra ar* and *fíada íar*. *Fíada* 'lord' has a final *-a* in the MS, but given the late transmission this does not rule out an earlier **fíado* (for the question, cf. Griffith 2005, especially pp. 63–4).

1082 *frisna hingru*: While the wicked are otherwise characterised as 'sinners' (*oís in phecaid*, ll. 1077, 1085), here the poet uses the adjective *ingor* 'undutiful, unfilial, impious' for them which accords better with Christ's accusation that they lacked compassion during their lives.

Nís·fitir 'that he know them not' is reported speech, using a main clause construction without formal indication of clausal dependency. This has a parallel also in Matthew 7:23: *Et tunc confitebor illis: Quia numquam noui uos, discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem* 'And then will I

profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, you that work iniquity.'

1083 *[ol] nad·fetatar-som*: The beginning is almost completely faded. The context logically demands a causal conjunction before the verb. Since *nad·fetatar-som* is in a dependent construction, the conjunction *ar* is excluded. There is no example of *úaire* in Blathmac's poems. This only leaves *ol*, which is followed by dependent negative verbs, cf. *ol nad·n-archós* 'because it was not hindered' (*Ml.* 97d1) or *ol nach[an]·diagar-ni* 'because we are not avenged' (*Ml.* 101c16).

Síu is used as a local adverb 'here, in this world'.

1084 *bochtu ocus adailcniu*: The substantivised adjectives *ingru*, *bochtu* and *adailcniu* have the substantival ending *-u* of the accusative plural of the *o*-stems, secured by rhyme. Already in Old Irish, the adjectival ending of masculine accusative plurals is *-a* from where it later intrudes also into the nominative plural. However, as in the Milan Glosses, substantivised forms of masculine accusative plural adjectives actually preponderate over truly adjectival ones in Blathmac's poems. There is considerable variation in the second syllable of this adjective, namely *adailcn°*, *aidilcn°* and *adlaicn°*, with or without syncope, anaptyctic vowel and palatalisation, attesting to considerable intraparadigmatic variation in the inflection and derivation of this etymon. For want of a secure etymological starting point (cf. the hesitant statement in *LEIA* A-17), we decided against emending to some other, by necessity hypothetical, form and kept the MS reading.

Stanza 272

1085 *[As·béra] áes peccaid sin*: Given that the object of the sentence is *focal* 'word, statement', it is easiest to restore the missing three syllables at the beginning of the line as *as·béra* 'will say'. This has the added advantage of creating linking alliteration with the last word of the preceding stanza, *adailcniu*, and of creating anaphora with stanza 271, while at the same time underlining the emotional stress that pervades the scene by pushing forward the narrative.

Sin is used here in the temporal sense 'then', varying the more common expression *íar sin* 'after that' of stanza 271. Cf. l. 1061, and cf. *síu* in l. 1083.

1086 *focal n-ainbfíal n-esamain*: The second half of *focal* is difficult to read, but a word for a type of utterance makes best sense in the context. The etymological spelling of *ainbfíal* 'shameless' for the more common *anbal* emphasises its derivation from *fíal* 'decorous, seemly'. Perhaps it also implies a reanalysed, etymological pronunciation /ˈanʲvʲial/ instead of /ˈanvəl/.

1087 *[. . . . .] tarlai rind di meirg*: No definitive solution can be proposed for this difficult line. Two syllables are lacking for the full count, both

probably stood in the large space before *tarlai*. There remains a larger gap than usual between *tarlai* and *rind*, but probably nothing was lost there. *Tarlai* could stand for *·tarlae*, the augmented prototonic preterite of *do·cuirethar* 'to put; befall, happen'. If so, a conjunct particle is required before it. How this can be squared with the final letters *]ra* or *]ca* that can still be vaguely discerned before *tarlai* remains unclear for the moment. An alternative reading instead of *tarlai* would be *tarbas*, the augmented preterite passive *of do·adbat*, i.e. 'has been shown'. However, the fourth letter looks much more like an *l* than like a *b*, for which reason we adopt the reading *tarlai*.

rind: For the next word, the reading *rind* has been tentatively adopted, even though there are grave doubts surrounding the first letter. If the beginning is really *ri-*, the two letters would take up less space than usual. *Do·cuirethar* commonly construes with the preposition *do*. The conjugated preposition *dúnn* 'to us' would fit the context, but it is hard to see how the letters visible in the MS could be aligned with this.

di meirg: The next word is also very dubious. It is not excluded that our adopted reading *di* is just an artifact of the stain in this area. In any case, a preposition does make sense syntactically before *meirg* 'rust', the only word in this line whose reading is beyond doubt. Since it is difficult to see how 'rust' could meaningfully fit into the context of the narrative or the dialogue, it stands to reason that it forms perhaps part of a cheville. *Rind di meirg* could be taken to mean 'a weapon-point of rust'. Perhaps this is some sort of idiomatic expression, but for what? No parallel could be found. *eDIL* dil.ie/31807 records many examples of the idiomatic collocation *cen meirg* 'without rust', particularly from poetry. It is, however, very difficult to detect *cen* in the blotch immediately before *meirg*.

Given that the first couplet announced, almost like a stage direction, that it is now the sinners' turn to speak, it is likely that this line is already the first part of their direct speech. If it parallels in any way the sinners' feeling of bewilderment over their punishment that is evident in the following line, a question such as '(why) has a weapon-point of rust happened (to us)?' can be pieced together from the disjointed elements identified so far.

1088 *cid i·n-áraillsem do fírfeirg*: That the line is direct speech is proven by the verb in the first person plural. The verb *·áraillsem* introduces the idea of merit and stresses the doctrine that the treatment one receives on the Day of Judgement is deserved through one's deeds in life. The verb stands in a prepositional relative construction, literally 'what is it in which we have deserved?'. This part of the dialogue has nothing that corresponds in Matthew 25. The poet inserted it for dramatic effect.

Stanza 273
The whole stanza continues the direct speech of the sinners.

1089 *dáen/crúaid*: Ní Shéaghdha believed to see *crúaid*. While a word for 'harsh' doubtlessly fits the context, we can neither confirm nor reject the presence of *crúaid* in this line. From a different angle, the remnants of letters could also be *dáen* 'delicate, fine'.

d[o] go[th]a: The rhyme with *fírbrotha* requires restoration of *gotha*, the genitive singular of *guth* 'voice', a word that fits in the context of a verbal altercation. In both cases, the original may have had the ending *-o* of the genitive singular which was mechanically replaced by *-a* during the textual transmission. The syllable before *gotha* has been tentatively restored as *do* 'your', in parallel with *do fírbrotha* in the next line, although it could theoretically also form part of the preceding word.

1090 *is fairsinge do fírbrotha*: Elision has to be applied in *do fírbrotha* to achieve a regular heptasyllabic line. The two phrases *X do gotha* 'the (harsh?) X of your voice' and *fairsinge do fírbrotha* 'the extent of your true wrath' appear to be paralleled with each other. In this case, the initial *is* of line *b* is best regarded as the short allomorph of the conjunction *ocus* 'and'. *Is* for *ocus* occurs also in ll. 364, 543, 650 and 718, always conjoining two closely paralleled phrases. The two phrases probably supply the object of the 1 pl. verb that is lost in line *c*. Alternatively, *is* may be the copula whose subject would be expressed in the fronted phrase in line *a*. However, the resulting sentence, 'the (harsh) X of your voice, it is the extent of your true wrath', lacks lucidity.

1091 *]nsem ní*: Ní Shéaghdha saw the words *Ísu Críst* at the beginning of the line. Despite hard efforts, we have been unable to detect any trace of this. Furthermore, the name would make no sense in the direct speech of the sinners. *-nsem* is possibly the ending of an augmented 1 pl. *s*-preterite of a W2 verb, referring to something that the sinners *have* done in the past, e.g. *coínid* 'to mourn', or *do·rochoíni* 'to despair', or *sluindid* 'to name', *do·sluindi* 'to deny', if the *d* was suppressed before the *s*. The letter before the final *i* looks like a *h*, but the deictic particle *hí* in this position is syntactically unjustified. Since a rhyme with *adid·roilli* is required, we interpret the two letters as the neuter indefinite pronoun *ní* 'something'. This would have to be the object of the preceding verb, but note that it was argued above that the first couplet supplies the object. It is therefore not excluded that *-ni* is the 1 pl. *nota augens*. Cf. l. 1073, where unstressed *-sa* of *as·biur-sa* seems to make rhyme with *parbula*.

1092 *cía mesam adid·roilli*: The line appears to consist of a self-contained question even though the subject of *adid·roilli* is unclear. The 3 sg. neuter class C infixed pronoun 'it' refers to the condemnation to punishment. The line continues the motif of merit that was introduced in the previous stanza.

Stanza 274

This stanza belongs to the narrative frame and prepares for the change of speakers back to Christ.

1093 *dóib co glé*: Before *doib*, several specks are visible in the MS that could be letters, but they are unidentifiable at the moment. Since *glé* is the last word of the line, three or four syllables, depending on whether *doib* has a hiatus, are missing. The line may have begun with the 3 sg. future of a verb of 'saying, telling, relating, answering', the subject being Christ.

1094 *a míadamlae*: *Míadamlae* could be a genitive like in l. 1048, in which case another noun, possibly in a prepositional phrase, would have to precede it, e.g. 'through/with the X of his dignity'. Of the missing three syllables at the beginning of the line, only the letter *d* is recognisable; everything else is beyond legibility for the moment. *Míadamlae* 'dignity' was already mentioned in l. 1048 where, however, it referred to the 'honourable behaviour' of the person judged, not of the judge.

1095 *olcgníma*: Only the first three and the final letter of this word are partly visible, but hardly any other emendation is conceivable. The meaning 'evil deeds' fits the context perfectly. *Olcgníma* cannot have been the last word of the line, but a mono- or, less likely, disyllabic word rhyming with *·roilliset* is needed. Accordingly, a word or words of two or three syllables are lost before *olcgníma*. It can be speculated that one syllable would have been *a n-* 'their'.

1096 *asad·roilliset*: The MS contains a hole — just about wide enough to cover one letter — after *asa-*. In parallel with *adid·roilli* in l. 109, it is assumed that the original text contained a neuter infixed pronoun class C. In pretonic position, the first preverb of *ad·roilli* alternates freely with *as·* (*GOI* 496). This alternation is amply evidenced in the Old Irish glosses, e.g. in *Ml.* 61b17. Since the verb, whose subject doubtlessly are the sinners who 'have deserved' their judgement because of their 'evil deeds', is in the 3 pl., the entire stanza must be narrative, and cannot form part of a direct speech by Christ.

Stanza 275

This direct speech by Christ is modelled on Matthew 25:42–3. In contrast to the model, where the entire utterance is contained in two Biblical verses, Blathmac rolls it out over what appear to be seven stanzas (275–81), devoting one stanza to each idea. The stanza is too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction. Just enough is preserved to reveal that Christ speaks about being hungry and not being fed.

1097 *feib ba*: The conjunction *feib* 'like, as' appears to introduce a copula clause.

1098 *ro·ngortaigsur*: *eDIL* dil.ie/26430 only cites the meaning 'to salt; to inflict pain, hurt, vex, embitter' for *gortaigid*. This seems to be the first

attestation of *gortaigidir* with a deponent ending and in the denominal meaning 'to be hungry, starve', from *gortae* 'hunger'. The nasalising construction may be due to a temporal clause 'when I have been hungry'.

1099 Nothing usable remains of line *c*. It possibly started with the negative *ní·* and a statement that the sinners did not provide (e.g. *ní·tardaisid*) something, parallel to line *c* of the following stanza.

1100 *] do dagthúarai*: Maybe a word with the meaning 'bits, crumbs, morsels', such as *(min)míra* or *bruara*, came before *do dagthúarai* 'of good food'.

Stanza 276

The poem continues in the same sequence as Mt. 25:42 and speaks of Christ who was thirsty, but was not given anything to drink.

1101 *Ba[. . .] demnu [..] ar lú (ar lus)*: For the verse-opening *ba*, compare l. 1109 *bá(-sa)* 'I was' and l. 1005 *ro·bá* 'I have been'. This would mirror the repetition of *eram* 'I was' in Matthew 25:35–6, 43. Alternatively, it oculd be a 3 sg., 2 pl. or 3 pl. imperative of the copula, i.e. *bad* or *bat*. The accusative *demnu* 'devils' in this position of the sentence is perhaps triggered by a preposition, e.g. *la*, that is no longer visible. Together with the copula, the intended expression could be *bad/bat la demnu* 'let him/them/you be with the devils', i.e. 'may the devils have him/them/you', corresponding to the damnation in Matthew 25:41 and 46.

The letter before *lu* has been read as the compendium *ar*, but it is not excluded that the lower part of the letter is only the suprascript *i* of l. 1103 *cride* that has been accidentally merged with whatever stands above it. In that case, the reading of the present letter is unclear.

lú/lus: The final word of the line is either monosyllabic *lú* or *lus*, for which there is a multiplicity of interpretations. Given the context, *lu* could be an instance of the verb *luïd* 'to drink' (*KP* 525–7; *eDIL* s.v. *lús(aid)* (dil.ie/31111)), but the exact analysis (1 sg. *lú* contracted from *luu*? a verbal complex *ar·lú*?) is unclear. Alternatively, *lú* could be the dative of the rare word *ló* 'water' (*eDIL* dil.ie/30380). Or, if the reading is *ar lus*, this could be *los* 'tail, butt, end' in a prepositional phrase. Because of the unresolved issue of the rhyming word in l. 1102, no decision is possible at the moment.

1102 *ro·n-ítaigsu*: After the deponent verb *ro·ngortaigsur* in l. 1098, a parallel deponent 1 sg. augmented preterite **ro·n-ítaigsiur* would be expected, but the — not very clearly legible — reading seems to be *·ítaigsu* with an absolute (!) active ending. The *r* of *ro·* is only an educated guess for what is very blurred in the MS. No sense can be made at the moment of the letters before this.

1103 *ní·tardisid form chride*: Only isolated letters are legible in the MS, but the line can be reconstructed with confidence on metrical and thematic grounds. The verb *·tardisid* is the prototonic 2 pl. augmented preterite of *do·beir* 'you have given', the first attestation of this form with the syncope in right place, cf. the 3 pl. *ní tartisset* (*Wb*. 1b17), in contrast to *ni thardsaid* (*LU* 2345) which shows syncope in analogy to the deuterotonic form *do·ratsaid*. The expression *form chride* 'upon my heart' must stand for 'to me'. The suprascript *i* of *cride*, if it is there at all, is merged with the descender of the putative *ar*-compendium in the line above.

1104 *ní do dórtaib dagdige*: This line has *ní* 'something' followed by a partitive construction with *de*, against the alternative construction *ní* + genitive in l. 1129 and l. 738 *ní condalbae*.

NOTES: P. 143

Stanza 277

Christ's monologue continues. The poet combines the paraphrase of Matthew's account of the Judgement with the Deeds of Mercy, two of which have been mentioned already, i.e. giving food to the hungry and giving drink to the thirsty. Matthew mentions six of the seven Deeds of Mercy, also called Corporal Works of Mercy, omitting only the one which refers to burial of the dead. St. 40 also refers to these Deeds of Mercy:

Dánad túarae do cach bocht,
étach úad do cach imnocht,
ar for·roíchan mac Dé bí
ba ferr cách do thrócairi.

'The giving of food to every poor person,
clothing from him to every naked one,
for the son of the living God has taught
that everyone would be the better for (practising) mercy.'

1105: *Ro·bá cen*: Although not more than two words remain of this couplet, it is almost certain that the poet paraphrases here Mt. 25:43 *nudus et non operuistis me* '(I was) naked, and you covered me not'. It seems that instead of 'naked', Blathmac used an expression such as 'without clothing'. Since no suitable words for clothing, garment start with *n-* or *m-*, we suspect that *n*, the last visible letter, belongs to a phrase such as *na étach* 'any clothing' (or *nach n-étach*, since OIr. neuter *na* is always represented by *nach* in the MS). *Ro·bá cen* is the substantive verb, also recognisable syntactically by the following prepositional phrase.

1107: *nibu*: Instead of elaborating the theme of the first couplet, as the poet does in st. 275–6 and perhaps in 278, he seems to introduce a new theme in the second couplet. This could conceivably correspond contentwise to Matthew 25:43 *hospes eram et non collexistis me* 'I was a stranger and

you took me not in', but the expression would be negative, not positive, and the subject needs to be in the third person.

Stanza 278
Still Christ speaking.

1109 *Ba-sa*: The addition of *-sa* points to *ba* being the 1 sg. past of the copula, not the corresponding form of the substantive verb *bá*, although the latter cannot be excluded. If Blathmac follows the order of the Gospel, this stanza corresponds to Matthew 25:43 *infirmus et in carcere et non uisitastis me* '(I was) sick and in prison, and you did not visit me'. Since the sick person is the topic of st. 281, here the person in prison must be meant. If the poet disregarded the order of the elements in the Gospel of Matthew, it could also correspond to *hospes eram et non collexistis me* 'I was a stranger and you took me not in' in the same Bible verse.

1111 *ním·r[*: This must be what remains of a negative (*ní*) augmented (*r(o)-*) preterite verb with 1 sg. infixed pronoun (*-m*), probably corresponding to Matthew 25:43: *non uisitastis me* 'you did not visit me', e.g. *ním·radallsaid* (with prevocalic *ro* instead of formally expected **·árallsaid* or **·áirllesaid* < **·ad-r(o)-ell-as-aid*). If it is *non collexistis me* 'you took me not in', the verb could be *ním·ragbasaid* or *ním·ringbasaid*.

Stanza 279
What little remains, suggests that this is still part of Christ's sermon to the sinners.

1113 *Ní·g[*: This is likely to be a verbal form, either the present or past tense of a simple verb.

1115 *n[*: This could be another negative particle, anaphorically continuing the sequence of negative expressions that is visible since stanza 276.

Stanza 280
Since the following stanza still continues the address of a plurality of people, i.e. the sinners, by one person, i.e. Christ, st. 280 probably also formed part of the monologue.

1119 *íarum*: The only word that can be recognised in this stanza is 'then'.

Stanza 281
This is still Christ's monologue.

1121 *[Ro·g]ab-som dam conid·gai[b]*: At the beginning of the preserved section of this line, there appears what looks like the lower parts of an *a* and a *b*, followed by the 3 sg. *nota augens -som*. The only word ending in *-ab* in Irish is the conjunct 3 sg. preterite of *gaibid* 'to take'. Since

there is space for one syllable before that, it is most natural to emend either *ro·gab* or *ní·gab*. The preverbal particle could contain an infixed pronoun. *Dam* is probably the 1 sg. of the conjugated preposition *do* 'to me'; *dam* 'ox' or *dám* 'company' are less likely. The idiom *gaibid do* means 'to attack, to go for'. *Conid* could be the conjunction *co*^{N}· 'so that' + class C 3 sg. neuter infixed pronoun, or *co*^{N}· + 3 sg. of the copula 'so that it is'. As is normal in the MS, pretonic lenited *-d* is written *-t*. The final word has been tentatively restored as *·gaib*, echoing the verb at the beginning of the line, but it could also be *·gair*, or a noun, if *conid* is a form of the copula.

1122 *[a] clár ni[*: There is no trace of the possessive pronoun or article *a*, but the hole and the space before *clár* are wide enough to accommodate it. *Ni[* can be a noun or adjective starting with *ni-* or with *i-*, preceded by nasalisation.

1123 *cebin lobar i nnach dú*: We follow the suggestion by Liam Breatnach (pers. comm.) to read MS *ceb in* as the conjunction *cia* + 1 sg. past subjunctive of the copula. For the spelling of the ending *-in*, cf. *commin* (*Wb*. 24a11), *combin* (*Ml*. 91b7), *námmin* (*Wb*. 17d23), *nombin* (*Ml*. 20a4). This corresponds to the first part of Matthew 25:43 *infirmus et in carcere et non uisitastis me* '(I was) sick and in prison, and you did not visit me'.

1124 *ní·dechuid*: The abbreviation *dech-* is commonplace for *·dechuid*, which at a first glance looks like the augmented 3 sg. preterite of *téit*. However, the sense dictates a verb in the second person plural, referring to the sinners. *eDIL* quotes no example of such a form, except for the younger, manifestly 'Middle Irish' form *dechabair*. Given the attested *·dechommar* and *·dechotar* for the first and third plural, *·dechuid*, homonymous with the third singular, could be expected. The unexpected plural stem allomorph *·decho-* that underlies these forms, beside the singular stem *·dechud-*, can be explained via a complex chain of restructurings.

Based on the singular stem *·dechud-* << Proto-Celtic **dekou̯āt-* < **de-kom-u̯āt-* (*KP* 675–9), the expected forms for the 1 pl. and 3 pl. are **·dechdammar* and **·dechdatar* (see *GOI* 68 §108 for the special syncope rule that reduces the number of unstressed sybllables in Proto-Celtic *dekou̯āt-*). In analogy to deuterotonic *do·códmar* and *do·cótar* < **kou̯ād-ontor*, and under influence from the relationship between the unaugmented sg. *luid* vs. pl. *lodmar*, *lotar* (stem *lud-*), the new forms **·dechodmar*, *·dechotar* were created. The 3 pl. *·dechotar* < **·dechod-tar* was in turn reanalysed as *·decho-tar*, as if built on a stem **·decho-*, on the basis of which the attested 1 pl. *·dechommar* and the now attested 2 pl. *·dechuid* are easily explained (cf. Bergin 1904: 140).

All attested forms of the augmented stem of *téit* presuppose that the inherited stem **dechoth-* /ˈdʲexoθ-/ < **dek(o)u̯āt-* (PIE root **u̯et-* 'to

turn oneself', cf. *KP* 675, 677; *LIV* 694) has been replaced by **dechod-* /ˈdʲexoð-/ as if it contained the root **u̯ed^{h}-* 'to lead' (*KP* 678; *LIV* 659). Otherwise the third person plural, the crucial pivot for the explanation given here, would have been **·dechottar* /ˈdʲexotər/ with a voiceless dental, and the necessary reanalysis would have been impossible.

do[m chéilidiu]: This must correspond to *non uisitastis me* 'you did not visit me'. Since the finite verbal action is expressed by *ní·dechuid* 'you have not gone', the remainder of the concept must be rendered by a verbal noun construction + possessive pronoun to express the object. The dative verbal noun must end in *-u* for rhyme with *dú*, and it must have three syllables. The only suitable candidate is the neuter *i̯o*-stem *céilide* 'visit'. For the construction, cf. ll. 591–2 *acht do·dichis-siu [. . .] do chélidiu cucum-sae* 'if only you could come for a visit to me'.

Stanza 282

This stanza corresponds to the end of Christ's address to the sinners in Matthew 25:45: *Tunc respondebit illis, dicens: Amen dico uobis: Quamdiu non fecistis uni de minoribus his, nec mihi fecistis*. 'Then he shall answer them, saying: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me.'

1125 *cia at·beir*: We understand the somewhat unmotivated *cía at·beir* as a cheville-like insertion, similar in nature to l. 185 *ce no·láthrae* 'although you may explain it' and l. 929 *ce chot·certae* 'though you may correct him', that is, a hypothetical objection to the addressee's stance, contrived by the speaker as a straw man argument to make his own position look stronger. Since it is often difficult to distinguish between *rr* and *ir* in the MS, the attested form could be *at·beir*, i.e. 3 sg. present + 3 sg. neuter infixed pronoun Class B, or *at·berr*, i.e. 3 sg. passive present + 3 sg. neuter infixed pronoun class B. The lack of the rhyming word prevents a decision. If it is *at·berr*, this would have to be regarded as a modernisation for *as·berr* since no third person infixed pronoun is allowed in a passive verb.

1127 *for mbochtáin feisin bátar*: Standing at the end of the line in stressed, rhyming position, *bátar* must be the substantive verb, not the copula.

Stanza 283

1129 *Ná·cuingid ní arrai dam*: We identify *arrai* as the genitive singular of *arrae* 'payment', the verbal noun of *ar·ren* 'to pay or hand over on behalf of another, or to pay over (something) in place of (something else)' (cf. Binchy 1962: 51). In ecclesiastical contexts, *arrae* is the technical term for penitential commutation, i.e. the substitution of a shorter and usually more intensive discipline for the normal penance prescribed by canonical or monastic rules. Christ is telling the sinners here that there will be no last-minute reprieve or reduction in penance from him. The genitive

arrai is dependent on pronominal *ní*, i.e. 'anything of payment = any payment'. This use of substantival *ní* 'something' followed by a genitive finds a parallel in l. 738 where we read *ní condalbae* 'something of familial affection' as a cheville. Carney has the syntactically impossible nominative *in chondalbae* instead, which he translates as 'in kin-love', but the MS has undoubtedly *ni*, not *in*. We interpret this construction as a rare variant of *ní* + partitive *de* (*eDIL* dil.ie/33145 section (b)) or as an alternative to the construction of adjectival *nech*/*na* + noun. The only parallel outside the poems of Blathmac that *eDIL* provides is *ni gua em … a crand* 'a false thing […] is the tree' from *In Tenga Bithnúa* §59 (Stokes 1905: 120–1), where *ní* is clearly followed by the genitive of *gáu* 'lie'. *eDIL* records this under 2 *ní* 'thing' (dil.ie/33146).

1130 *mes[*: This word can be restored in several ways: *meisse* 'I', or *messam* 'worst', or *mess* 'judgement', all of which are used by Blathmac elsewhere in his poems.

1131 *ar ní·boí lib diamthae bí*: We follow the suggestion of Liam Breatnach (pers. comm.) to read MS *diamtha* as the conjunction *dia* 'when' + 2 pl. past of the copula. This is a previously unattested form.

Stanza 284

With this stanza at last, the poem switches back from dialogue to narration. It develops the theme of Matthew 25:46 *Et ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum: iusti autem in uitam aeternam* 'And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting'. As has been his practice throughout, Blathmac only focusses on the sinners, but says nothing about the more pleasant fate of the just.

1133 *Do·béra forru cen acht*: The context, after Christ's speech to the sinners, suggests that *do·beir* is here used in the legal sense of 'passing (a judgement)'. *Cen acht* 'without a doubt' (lit. without a 'but') occurs also in ll. 815 and 845, i.e. only in the second poem.

1134 *sír[*: The two letters after the *s* can be made out only faintly. This word probably expresses the object of *do·béra* 'he will pass judgement', and may have been a compound such as *sírchéssad* 'permanent suffering' (cf. Matthew's *supplicium aeternum*) or *sírphían* 'permanent pain', or a more general word for 'judgement'. Cf. *sírgnás* in l. 1200, which is coordinated with *bithifernn* 'eternal hell'.

1135 *Foídfidius* is a rare 3 sg. future verb *foídfid* 'he will send' + suffixed 3 pl. pronoun *-us* 'them'.

1136 *du[*: An expression such as 'to hell' could be expected, but the common *dochum n-ifernn* (cf. l. 1071) is excluded since *dochum* is never written with initial *du-*. Perhaps it is the conjunction *dú* '(the place) where', cf. l. 1123.

Stanza 285

1137 *Timartar demnai in tan*: *Timartar* is the contracted 3 pl. passive reduplicated *s*-future of *do·immoirg*. The reduplication of the root is regularly lost in an unstressed syllable. For *in tan* see l. 1051.

1138 *mis[*: A word in the semantic range of *miscais* 'hate' or *miscad* 'malediction' would fit the context.

1139 *air do·rérachtat a llí*: *Do·rérachtat* 'they have abandoned' is another example of the consistent use of the ending *-at* for the 3 pl. of *t*-preterites in Blathmac's poems. The other instances are l. 51 *íarmi·foächtat* 'they inquired' (restored from MS *iar mi foacht*), l. 177 *con·gartat* 'they summoned' (MS *congarta*), l. 183 *at·n-ortat* 'they beat him', l. 406 *da·bertat* 'they brought it', l. 926 *do·rairrngertat* 'they prophesied' (MS *do rairrngiortsat*). There is no trace of the ending *-atar*, transferred from the suffixless preterite, which *GOI* 423 wrongly gives as the standard Old Irish ending. The sentence refers to the demons' primeval uprising against God. The double *ll* of *a llí* indicates that *a* is the 3 pl. possessive pronoun, i.e. 'their own (original) splendour (in the proximity to God)'.

Stanza 286

1141 *Reg[ait] léo nach do·ses[..]*: This line is syntactically problematic. The ending of the verb after *raġ-* is obscured in the MS. In theory, the ending of any person is possible. Since the subject of the second couplet appears to be a third person plural, and since the theme of the passage is 'they', either the sinners or the demons, we tentatively emend the ending of the 3 pl. *regait*, but 3 sg. *regaid* is also conceivable. We normalised MS *raġ-* to OIr. *reg-*; cf. *con·imrega* with expected *e* in l. 1145. *Léo* either refers to the demons who accompany the sinners to hell, or vice versa.

MS *do seṣ[* is reminiscent either of a verbal form, or of a partitive construction *di* + noun, neither of which should be syntactically possible after the adjectival indefinite pronoun *nach*. The stem *do·ses-* looks like the subjunctive stem of *do·seinn* 'to hunt, pursue', or, if it is rather *do·sen-*, the future stem of *do·sní* 'to impel' or 'to neglect' (cf. *eDIL* dil.ie/18471), or of *do·snig* 'to shower'. The sense of neither of these is immediately compelling.

1143 *ar ros·carsat dit[..*: The emendation *ros·* for MS *r(.)s* is trivial. The reading of the final letters is very uncertain.

Stanza 287

1145 *Mairg con·imrega l[a . . .]*: *Con·imrega* opens a headless relative clause; for this construction after *mairg* see l. 1067. The *l[*, which is very faint, probably belongs to the preposition *la* 'with', indicating the object of accompaniment. A monosyllabic word is required that probably refers to the devil or associated folk. *Olc* 'evil (one)' would have the advantage of providing alliteration with *con·imrega*.

1147 *lá in golgairi i ló*: The MS has monosyllabic *lá* 'day' instead of expected disyllabic *laë*. The line offers two opportunities for elision, namely *lá* (= *laë*?) *in* and *golgairi a/i*. It is therefore possible that the text originally contained the old disyllabic form of 'day'. *Lá in golgairi* is reminiscent of the proverbial 'weeping and gnashing of teeth' (*ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium*) of which Matthew 8:12 speaks.

The letter after *golgairi* is a capital A in the MS. Aside from the beginning of the stanzas, the use of capital letters is extremely unusual in the MS. It is restricted to a handful of sacred names, but it does not occur with function words. It seems that the next two letters are *os*, but no sense can be made of this.

Stanza 288

1149 *Borg deman[dae*: The letters are only partially legible. The large *B* at the beginning of the line and the *g* are clear; only a part of ligature *r* is visible. Since *o* is the only vowel after which ligated *r* is ever written, *borg* 'fortified town, stronghold' is certain. We suggest emending the following *dema[* or *deman[* to the adjective *demandae* 'demonic'. No parallel could be found so far for the striking expression *borg demandae* 'demonic fortress'. The next word seems to contain *rg* (a repetition of *borg*?), but the rest is lost.

Stanzas 289–90

On the bottom of p. 143 there is space for four lines, that is, two stanzas. These stanzas are lost due to the loss of the entire width of the paper.

NOTES: P. 144

The vertical extent of the stanzas was determined by comparing the ruler on the right-hand side of other odd pages on the ISOS images. The readings are very tentative.

Stanza 291

Only isolated letters are discernable.

1162 *]lo*: If this line really ends in *-lo*, l. 1161 possibly ended in *dó* 'to him, for him' or *gó* 'falsehood, lie'.

Stanzas 292–4

The text is missing.

Stanza 295

1177–8 *)[. . .]ṛ(. . . . .)[. . .](.)[. . .]ạṇ(*: Too fragmentary. It is not even clear if *-an* is the end of the line.

1179–80 *)[....]fiġ[..](...)[.....](..)[..]ṭaṛg(*: There are only three etymons in Old Irish that contain the sequence *fig-*, namely *figor/fiugor* 'figure, type, symbol' and its derived verb *fiugraid* 'to prefigure', *figell* 'vigil', and *figid* 'to weave'. Except for the third, the first two words have been used before by Blathmac.

Stanza 296

1181–2 *)[.....]f̄[.]ī[..]ṃa[.....]ṇiṇġein[...](.)*: The sequence *f̄[.]ī* could stand for *forsin*. Given that words for family members are prominent in this and the following stanza, perhaps *ma[* is part of *máthair* 'mother'. The one word that is securely identifiable here is the accuative of *ingen* 'daughter, girl'. The initial nasalisation allows to postulate the accusative article with some confidence. The word reoccurs in the following stanza, again in line *b*. Every previous instance of *ingen* occurred in association with Mary. Blathmac associates Mary with Judgement Day in ll. 567–8 *ara·sóerthar lat in tan | nach carae nod·coínfedar* 'that at that time be saved by you (Mary) any friend who shall have keened him'. Perhaps Blathmac is speaking about some kind of intervention on behalf of the faithful by Mary at the time of Judgement. It would be fitting if the poet returned to her directly at what was probably the end of his two poems, in order to lay the foundations for *dúnad*, the correct conclusion to the poem.

1184: *]aiṛ*: From what little remains, st. 296 and 297 seem to be thematically linked. Both have line *b* ending in *ingein*, whereas line *d* in st. 297 has *dagathair* 'good father'. Perhaps the parallelism goes so far as to allow to restore the end of l. 1184 *]air* to *athair*.

Stanza 297

1185–6 *)[.....]bṭaṭa[....]ṇiṅġein*: The middle sequence *]barta[* could be part of a verbal form, e.g. a prototonic 3 pl. passive of *do·beir*.

1187–8 *)[.....]ṛī[....]aṇ daġatair*: *Athair* occurs commonly as an expression for 'God the Father' in Blathmac's poems.

Stanza 298

1190 *]aġmaca*: The letters are comparatively well legible. Perhaps they form part of *dagmaca*, a late variant of acc.pl. *dagmaccu* 'good boys'?

1192 *]ce[.]le*: Very uncertain.

Stanza 299

1194 *]athchomsán*: The word *athchomsán* 'rebuke, reproach' is faintly visible at the end of the couplet.

1196 *]aid imnocht*: *Imnocht* 'stark naked', which forms the last word of the stanza, may have referred to the plight of the sinners in hell. The word

before it could be a 3 sg. verb or an agent noun or the genitive *pecaid* 'of sin'.

Stanza 300

1198 *]aḍ̇ir ạbr̄aibh*: The last word probably stands for *brethaib* 'judgements'. The letters before it could form part of a passive ending.

1200 *]sírgnás bithifernn*: *Sírgnás* is the 'perpetual frequentation'. The mention of *bithifernn* 'eternal hell (lit. 'hells')' suggests that the overall theme continues that of the End of Days. 'Perpetual frequentation of eternal hell' is, incidentally, the last fully comprehensible phrase in Blathmac's poems which thus end on a less than cheerful note.

Stanza 301

Too fragmentary to allow any interpretation.

1202 *)[....]t[.]g[....]a.*

1204 *)[.....](.)ḅre.*

Stanza 302

1206 *)ṛ ạiḟ[..]ḍ̣eḍ̣eṛ.*

1208 *]ẹṇ[...]i͟fi͟d̄*: Provided that the reading is correct, the forms in *]deder* and *]ifid(er)* look like passives, the latter one clearly in the future. This indicates that Blathmac is still talking about the end of days.

Stanza 303

1210 *)[..](..)ṛuċt*: The ending looks like the dative singular of an *o*-stem or like a singular of a *u*-stem. Potential candidates are *brúcht* 'bursting forth' or *drúcht* 'dew' or compounds thereof, or *rucht* 'a tunic, garment' or *rucht* 'a noise of some sort, cry'.

ABBREVIATIONS

KP Stefan Schumacher, *Die keltischen Primärverben: Ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon*. Unter Mitarbeit von Britta Schulze-Thulin und Caroline aan de Wiel, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 110 (Innsbruck, 2004).

LIV Martin Kümmel and Helmut Rix, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, second ed. (Wiesbaden, 2001).

OM Pádraic Moran (ed.), *De Origine Scoticae Linguae (O'Mulconry's Glossary): An Early Irish Linguistic Tract, Edited with a Related Glossary, Irsan*, Nouveau Recueil des Lexiques Latin-Français du Moyen Age 7 (Turnhout, 2018).

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THE QUOTATIVES OLD IRISH *OL* / *OLSÉ* AND MIDDLE WELSH *HEB* / *HEBYR*

Abstract

The etymologies of Irish *ol(sé)* and Welsh *heb(yr)* and the relationship between their short and long forms remain controversial. While *ol* is clearly of non-verbal origin, *heb* and *hebyr* may be forms of a verb or verbs meaning 'say' or 'follow', or may have fallen together with such verb(s). But *hebyr* may also be compared to the syntactically and prosodically similar *olsé* and be analysed as preposition *heb* 'past' + demonstrative *-yr* < **sin*. If so, *hebyr* may be a deictic quotative 'beyond that' equivalent to *olsé* 'beyond this, moreover'. *Heb*, if not a verb, may have been extracted from *hebyr*, just as *ol*, according to Quin, was extracted from *olsé*. Alternatively, *heb* may be a conjunction 'and this, moreover, namely', cognate with the Irish conjunction(s) *sech*. In an Appendix it is shown that the definite article was very rare before personal names in early Welsh (unlike Middle Irish), casting further doubt on the theory of Pedersen and Thurneysen that *y(r)* in 'heb y Peredur' etc. is the article.

One of the Modern Welsh words for 'says, said' — *eb* (also *ebe*, *ebr*, and *ebra*), used (like *medd* 'says') to quote direct speech — is attested in just one Old Welsh manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153 (*c.* 900).[1] This has seven examples of *hepp* and one of *hep* in its glosses on Martianus Capella, such as *hepp Philologia* and *hep Geometria* (Falileyev 2000: 83). The Old Breton cognate *hep* is similarly rare, occurring only in Angers, Médiathèque Toussaint, MS 477 (dated 897), in two glosses on Bede: *hep Augustus* and *hep Teopil in suo libro* (Fleuriot 1964: 9 and 209).

The nineteenth-century Celtic philologists derived *hep(p)*, Middle Welsh *heb*, from IE **sek*^{w}- 'say, speak' (as in Old Irish *seichid* 'declares' and Welsh *ateb* 'answer', *gohebu* 'communicate', and *gwrtheb* 'reply, refuse') and this 'obvious' derivation remains the standard one (Schumacher 2004: 565–8).

A different approach to *heb* — a comparison with Old Irish *ol* — was suggested by Strachan (1909: 97) in his posthumous *Introduction to Early Welsh*, §151, s.v. *heb* 'says':

> This word, of adverbial origin and uninflected, is used like Ir. **ol** to give the very words of the speaker, **heb ef** *says he*, **heb wynt** *they say*, etc.

[1] On its date see O'Sullivan (2011: 36).

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> Before a proper name **heb** is followed by **y, yr,** e.g. **heb y Goewin, heb y Gwenhwyfar, heb yr Arthur**. The same is not infrequently found before a pronoun, e.g. **heb y mi** R[ed] B[ook] 32, 7, **heb yr ynteu** RB. 245, 181 = **heb ynteu** W[hite] B[ook] 386, p. 217, **heb yr ef** WB. 386 = **heb ef** RB. 245, **heb yr wynt** WB. 185 = **eb wynt** WB. p. 93[a]; cf. Mod. W. **ebr**. No satisfactory explanation of this has yet been given.

The two novel aspects here are (i) that *heb* is regarded as 'of adverbial origin' (a 'perverse' statement according to Morris-Jones (1913: 377)) and (ii) that Strachan does not endorse the 'obvious' explanation of *y/yr* as the definite article, an explanation which to some extent remains current (e.g. Thurneysen 1918; Schumacher 2004: 568). I shall discuss (ii) later. In respect of (i), Strachan possibly had in mind an adverb not from IE **sek^{w}-* 'say, speak' but from its homonym IE **sek^{w}-* 'join, follow' (as in Irish *seichithir* 'follows' (: Latin *sequor*) and possibly in Middle Welsh *gohebu* 'pass by, refuse'). The latter root may in fact be ultimately identical with **sek^{w}-* 'say, speak'.[2] From **sek^{w}-* 'join, follow' come the Irish and Welsh prepositions *sech* and *heb* 'without; past', and the Middle Welsh and Middle Breton adverbs *heibyaw* and *hebiou* 'past' (cf. Hamp 1958–9). Some such form might come to be used to indicate quoted speech — compare the semantics of the Welsh quotative *yn ôl X* 'according to X', literally 'in the track of/following X' — and this idea may have passed through Strachan's mind.[3]

Pedersen, who was already able to use Strachan's 1909 book, silently rejected his 'adverbial origin' for *heb* and derived it from **sek^{w}-* 'say' in the traditional way (*VKG* i viii and 129; *VKG* ii 620–1). Apparently following but reversing Strachan's line of thought, he suggested that Irish had used the cognate verb *sech-* 'say' in the same way as the Welsh verb *heb*, and that *sech-* 'say' got misinterpreted as the homophonous preposition *sech* ('past, beyond') and was then superseded by the synonymous preposition *ol*, giving rise to a verb *ol* 'says', with *olse/olsé* owing its *s* to a hypothetical *s*-preterite **sech-s-* (presumably from **sek^{w}Vst-*?).[4] This clever hypothesis has won no support (cf. García Castillero 2017: 71).

Thurneysen (1918), on the other hand, in a generally overlooked note, maintained that Welsh *heb* 'inquit' is not a verb, despite appearances, but 'die Präposition oder Konjunktion *heb* = ir. *sech*', so that Middle Welsh *heb y Peredur* 'says/said Peredur' is really 'nämlich der (erwähnte) Peredur'.[5] This statement is confusing: Welsh *heb* is attested as a preposition (one which

[2] Rix (2001: 526 n. 1). The two meanings of Welsh *gohebu* ('communicate' and 'pass by, refuse') may reflect the two roots: Lewis (1931: 173), and *GPC* s.v. *gohebaf*. *Gohebu* should possibly be added alongside Irish *seichithir* in *LEIA* S-62 and Schumacher (2004: 564).

[3] In mentioning Welsh *ôl* I do not mean to imply that it is related to any of the Irish words *ol*, although that has been suggested; see Thurneysen (*GOI* 301–2 and 559); *LEIA* O-18; and references in García Castillero (2017: 68 n. 5).

[4] *VKG* ii 141. Cf. Meid (1970: 109) = (2015: 130). One problem here, as noted by García Castillero (2017: 71, n. 6), is that *seichid* forms a long-*i* preterite (see n. 15 below).

[5] Here Thurneysen seems to equate the preposition *sech* with *sech* 'namely' (*eDIL* s.v. 3 *sech*), but see *GOI* 550 and *LEIA* S-62. He compares the *y* in *heb y Peredur* with OIr *intí* 'the aforesaid' +

lenites — unlike *heb* 'says'), but not as a conjunction, unlike Irish which has one or possibly two distinct conjunctions: *sech* 'namely'[6] and *sech* 'besides, moreover'.[7] A further problem with Thurneysen's suggestion is his mistaken assumption that the article could be used before personal names in Middle Welsh, as in German *der Peredur* (see Appendix below).

In classifying Irish *ol* 'says, said' as 'adverbial' Strachan agreed with received wisdom at the time, subsequently rejected by Quin as 'patently impossible, *ol* being unstressed and adverbs in Irish being stressed' (Quin 1960: 98). Quin preferred to identify *ol* with the preposition *ol* 'beyond', and suggested that *ol se/ol sé*, originally meant 'beyond this, furthermore', with *ol* + stressed neuter accusative pronoun *se/sé* < **sio(d)* (*GOI* 304), as in *co se/sé* 'so far' and *la se/sé* 'while'. This then developed the meaning 'says, said' in (later attested) phrases such as *olsi Cuchulaind* 'furthermore/says Cú Chulainn' (TCD MS H 2.16 (1318; Yellow Book of Lecan), col. 586.1). Finally a defective verb *ol*, as already in Old Irish *ol Dia* 'says God', was extracted from *ol se/ol sé*, after the second element was mistaken for a personal pronoun.[8] Quin was unsure that the *e* was lengthened 'before, say, the eleventh century' (Quin 1960: 101). Breatnach (2003), however, has shown that it was already long in Old Irish, which helps Quin's case.

There have been two main objections to Quin, neither of them insuperable.

(i) Meid (1970: 108–9) = (2015: 130) has questioned the proposed semantic development from 'beyond that' to 'he said'.[9] Here recent work on 'new quotatives' and their semantic sources can usefully be compared, as seen by García Castillero (2017: 72–3), who links *ol* 'says' with *ol* 'than' and the English quotative *like*, as in 'He was *like*, "You must be joking"' (cf. French *Il est genre* [...], etc.). A rather similar proposal was made by Brian D. Joseph

personal name, sometimes preceded by the article alone 'in later MSS.' (*GOI* 299). A major difference, however, is that MW *y(r)* + PN only occurs after *heb* (and no other *verba dicendi*) whereas OIr *intí* + PN occurs in many contexts.

[6] *eDIL* s.v. 3 *sech*, used with the copula in *sech is*, etc. This conjunction is differentiated from the preposition *sech* by Thurneysen (*GOI* 550, §883). The meaning 'namely' was questioned by Binchy (1960, 86–7), but see below, n. 55.

[7] *eDIL* s.v. 2 *sech*, equated with the preposition by Thurneysen (*GOI* 550, §882). Semantically 'moreover Peredur' would be as plausible a quotative as 'namely Peredur'.

[8] Quin (1960), passim, accepted by Griffith (2013: 57): 'While the syntax of *ol* is clearly verbal in Old Irish, its origin is equally clearly prepositional/adverbial *ol* (Quin 1960).' If taken as an originally present tense verb, *ol* would be peculiar in form, since it could only be conjunct (the same applies to W. *heb*, and on this account Thurneysen (1918) objected to taking *heb* as a verb). Arguably, however, a conjunct would be appropriate since 'says he' in Indo-European may have been sentence-initial (Dressler 1969) — unlike Welsh and Irish *heb/ol* — and the conjunct may have been used for inherited sentence-initial verbs in Celtic, as reflected in the Old Irish responsive (Sims-Williams 1984: 170–1). On the syntax of *heb/ol* see below. If taken as an originally past tense verb, *ol* could perhaps be a suffixless preterite (cf. *sích* 'said'), a category which had no absolute/conjunct distinction. (The non-palatal /l/ of 3 sg. *ol*, if proclitic (see below), might be attributed to 'depalatalization, common in clitics', to quote Schrijver (1997: 24), in another context). For *se* see *GOI* 303–4 and *eDIL* s.v. 1 *so* and for the vowel *é* (lengthened under the stress) see Breatnach (2003: 138 and 140). The latter agrees with Quin that 'the *sé* most likely was historically the demonstrative' (Breatnach forthcoming). On the etymology of *se* see Schrijver (1997: 22–7) and Katz (2001: 3).

[9] Quin (1960: 98), does indeed write 'beyond that', but means 'beyond this'.

for the Hittite quotative particle *-wa(r)*, which he would connect not with the verb *weriya-* 'say, speak' (Rix 2001: 689), but with adverbial *iwar* 'like' (Joseph 1981; Joseph and Schourup 1982/3; Joseph 2003a; Joseph 2003b; cf. Hock (1982: 63 and 70); Hoffner 1993). In fact new quotatives offer a smorgasbord of semantic possibilities. The main four types are illustrated by the following three, collected in Hackney, London in 2005/6 — 'and **this is me** "what. what's your. what's your problem?", and **he goes** "I don't like you", and **I was like** "I don't like you" yeh' (Fox 2012), supplemented from California by 'And **she was all** "Were you in the church?" and **I was all** "yeah"' (Rickford *et al.* 2007: 4).[10] The 'beyond this, furthermore' explanation of *olsé* belongs in the first, 'demonstrative deictic', category of quotatives, also exemplified by Parisian French *T'es là 'ah euh euh'* as well as London English *This is me 'let's go now'* (Cheshire *et al*. 2013; Cheshire and Secova 2018). The inclusion of the verb *be/être* again makes these examples slightly different from *olsé*, but compare various 'demonstrative deictic' quotatives translatable as 'on that', 'to that', etc., for example Finnish *Mä vaan **siihen** että 'buhuu'*, lit. 'I just **to-that** "boohoo"' (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: xiv; Buchstaller 2014: 20–2). 'Bare deictics' have also been noted in West African languages, for example *Mel ninɛ* 'Mel said' (lit. 'Mel **this**') in Adioukrou (Güldemann 2008: 351). Sanskrit *íti* 'so, thus' — which Quin himself compared as being 'used at the end of a word, phrase or sentence to indicate direct speech, though an ordinary verb of saying is frequently added' (Quin 1960: 98) — has been categorized as a 'deictic quotative' by Hock (1982: 46), quoting examples with 'say' omitted such as Vedic *'prá vaya ápa vaya' **íti** āsata taté* 'they sit at the spread-out (sacrifice) (saying/thinking) "weave hither, weave thither"' (cf. Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: xviii). The construction is in fact an obvious one; compare Milton's verbless quotative ***Thus** Satan* (*Paradise Lost*, II.988). Typologically and semantically, therefore, the 'beyond this, furthermore' proposal is viable, and is particularly supported by parallels involving prepositions, such as the Finnish example above.

(ii) The lack of lenition after *ol*, a problem noted by Quin (1960: 98–9) himself, has been raised as an objection by Rasmussen (1999: 109–12), who would reconstruct an ablative **ól-o-ts* 'beyond that, furthermore', and by Kortlandt (2007: 113–15), who proposes **ol-est-*, that is, **ol* plus the particle by which he would explain the non-lenition in deuterotonic verbs (cf. Sims-Williams 2017c: 371). Perhaps the simplest way to explain the unlenited *s* of *olsé* is to suppose that as *ol-sé* came to be regarded as a verb 'says/said' (which must have occurred before its plural *ol-seat* was created in the Old Irish period), the *s* was generalized following the rule that non-relative deuterotonic verbs retain the radical (for whatever reason). Alternatively, if we suppose that the *s* of *olsé*

[10] Starting from the last, 'all, totally' type (Buchstaller 2014: 20 and 22) might lead one to connect *ol* with OIr *uile* 'all' from **ol-yo-*, although of course *she was all* and *olsé* are differentiated by the presence/absence of the verb *to be*, inter alia. (It is syntactically difficult to see the copula *is* in *olsé*, although see Kortlandt (2007: 114), rejected by García Castillero (2017: 71–2).) On *uile* see Katz (2001: 5) and De Bernardo Stempel (2003), and cf. *GOI* 500. Joseph and Schourup (1982/83) note that Tok Pisin *olsem* 'like' < English *all [the] same* introduces indirect speech and that *qhe* 'like' in the Tibeto-Burman language Lahu is a quotative following direct speech.

was originally lenited, it is conceivable that **olṡé* 'beyond that, furthermore' became understood as **ol^{h}-é* 'furthermore he/they', with *é* taken as the Old Irish 'he/they' pronoun, that **ol^{h}-é* spawned an analogical feminine **ol$^{(h)}$-sí* 'furthermore/says she' (with /h/ unrealizable before /s/), and that in due course the analogy of this *ol-sí*, coupled with the ambiguous patterns heard in *os é* 'and he'[11] and *is é* 'it is he', led to *ol-sé* 'says he' replacing **ol^{h}-é*,[12] eventually giving rise to *ol* + non-pronominal subjects, as in *ol Día*. Given the frequency of *he said ~ she said ~ they said* patterns in reported speech, it is likely enough that *she said* influenced *he said*. Compare Hausa, where the feminine deictic quotative *cêe* seems to have been generalized at the expense of the masculine (Güldemann 2008: 368–9).

In a discussion of previous explanations of *heb* and *ol* (other than Thurneysen's), Dottin (1927) remarked that the use of adverbs and prepositions, rather than verbs, when citing direct speech was natural enough, comparing French *selon*, *suivant*, *d'après*. Yet he noted various objections, and argued that Breton *e-mez-an* 'dit-il' might be a stronger example of the use of a preposition in this function, if *mez* could be connected with prepositions such as Gothic *miþ* and Greek *meta* (despite the non-cognate dentals) rather than with Welsh *medd* 'says' and Irish *midithir* 'judges', as is surely more likely (cf. Hamp 1976: 72–3).[13] Dottin's ideas did not win acceptance.[14] Nevertheless, there is a general similarity in the way in which *ol* and *heb* are used, as seen by Strachan, Pedersen, and Dottin. The similarity lies in both (a) syntax and (b) prosody.

(a) *eDIL* s.v. 6 *ol*, describes its usage as follows:

> Used like Lat. inquit in direct oration and always parenthetical, generally after the opening words of the speech reported, in 3d pers. sing. or pl. (exceptionally with 1 s. pron.) and with force of present or past. In Glosses often used to refer to the speaker of words reported in the Lat. text. Often tautological, preceded by a vb. of saying introducing the quotation [...]

Since this entry was originally published in 1940, some excellent further examples have come to light in the Old Irish *Gospel of Thomas*, where sentence-initial verbs introducing direct speech (*Sích* 'said', *As-bert* 'said', and *Fris-gart* 'answered') contrast with examples of *ol* following the opening

[11] Probably *os é* also meant 'and they' originally (Binchy 1960: 79 n. 2).

[12] Cf. Quin (1960: 97 n. 8 and 101–2). A role for *ol-sí* had earlier been suggested by Havers (1911: 33) and Thurneysen (1917: 57). See also Kortlandt (2007: 114) and García Castillero (2017: 58 and 70–2). The replacement of *é* with *sé* in *olsé* was part of a wider trend, not discussed here (McCone 1997: 177). In this process an important role was assigned to *olsé* by Greene (1958: 111), quoted and commented on by Breatnach (forthcoming).

[13] Among Welsh parallels, note *'Pwy bynnac', med seint awstin, 'a garo y nep nys karo yntev [...]'* (NLW Peniarth 3ii (s. xiii/xiv), p. 32.4–5); *'A gόybythed paȣb', med Crist [...]* (BL Cotton Titus D.xxii (s. xv^{1}), fol. 5r3–4) (my punctuation). According to Morris-Jones (1913: 378), Middle Welsh *heb* was used 'in reporting a conversation' and *med* 'in citing authors [...] or in quoting an expression of opinion [...] or an answer not necessarily true'. Cf. *met paȣb* in *CBT* I 9.121.

[14] Vendryes (1928: 106); cf. Hemon (1975: 243–4), citing Ernault (1890: 476), and Schumacher (2004: 482–3).

words of a speech, for example, *Sích in suí Sacharias: / 'Berith in mac uaim'*, 'Said the sage Zacharias: "Take the boy away from me"' versus *'Anaid-si frium-sa', ol Ísu, / 'céin conid rís'*, "'Wait for me a while", said Jesus, "until I reach him"'.[15] In Middle Welsh compare the contrast between *dywedut* and *heb(yr)* in the following typical passage:

> Sef a oruc Scuthyn, kyfuodi y vynyd a *dywedut*: 'Tidi,' *heb* ef, 'ny wassanaethy di hediw. Miui', *heb yr* Scuthyn, 'a uyd gwassanaethwr hediw.'[16]
>
> 'Scuthyn arose and *said*: "You", *said* he, "shall not wait today. I", *said* Scuthyn, "shall be waiter today."'

Admittedly, there are examples of initial *Ol* and *Heb* but they are comparatively rare.[17]

(b) Quin (1960: 96 and 100) noted evidence that '*Ol* and its successors [i.e. *al*, *ar*, *or*, etc.] are unstressed (proclitic) at all stages of the language' and that *olse/olsé* (> Modern *arsa* etc.) suffered a 'loss of stress at some period which cannot be fixed'. There are several indications that *heb* was similarly proclitic. Old Welsh *hepp* appears with *-pp* in seven out of the relevant eight glosses on Martianus Capella. The scribe of this manuscript doubles consonants to indicate that a preceding vowel is short (Schrijver 1998–2000). In the normal course of events one would expect stressed OW *hep* to be pronounced [he:b], following the rules of the New Quantity System. The spelling *hepp* indicates a pronunciation [heb], presumably due to proclitic shortening. Furthermore since there is evidence that words in *h-* could lose the *h-* if unstressed (Haycock and Sims-Williams 2017: 30) it is significant that *heb* 'says/said' is sometimes written without *h-* in Middle Welsh. In fact the two MSS which head Huws's chronological list of the earliest Middle Welsh prose MSS (Huws 2000: 58), namely NLW Peniarth 44 and Llanstephan 1 (s. xiii med., by the same scribe), have 66 examples of *ep* and 2 of *eb* 'says', versus none of *hep* or *heb*. By contrast *hep/heb* occurs regularly in these MSS for the preposition 'past, without', presumably because this bore more stress.[18] Admittedly, other 13th-century prose MSS usually retain the *h-* in *heb/hep* 'says' (sometimes through orthographical conservatism?), but there are occasional examples without it: NLW Peniarth 30, col. 319 *ep* (versus 8 examples of *hep/heb*); NLW 5266B, p. 190 *eb* (versus 70 *hep/heb*);[19] NLW Peniarth 16iii, fol. 44r *eb* (versus 20 *hep/heb*).[20]

[15] Carney (1964: 90–105, §§29 and 42). On *sích* see ibid., 157, and Breatnach (1986: 191–2), also Schumacher (2004: 567–8). Very oddly, Hamp (1975: 173), says that 'The syntax in which [*sích*] is found is that of Welsh *heb*(*yr*)' — the reverse of the truth.

[16] Evans (1988: 7).

[17] See Quin (1960: 95) and García Castillero (2017: 62 n. 3) on *Ol Patraéc*. Welsh examples are *Heb er amdyffynnur* in *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Wiliam 1960: 47), and *Heb y Brawd wrthyf yna* in Dafydd ap Gwilym (see below). Cf. Davies (1995: 199–229).

[18] There are occasional MW examples elsewhere of the preposition written without *h-*, e.g. *eb herlit* in BL Add. 14931, p. 16, beside *heb erlit* p. 10, and *ep echueith* in the poem in NLW Peniarth 29 (*CBT* VI 27.26 (p. 431)).

[19] *eb* is in a later hand according to Lewis (1942: 123 n. 7).

[20] There is no phonetic distinction between *-p* and *-b* for /b/. On the whole *-p* is typical of the earlier MSS. A turning point seems to come with BL Add. 14931, which has 7 *heb* versus 1

Such spellings again suggest that *(h)eb* was unstressed, even though it is not normally joined onto the next word, unlike very short proclitics like the definite article *y* and relative *a.*

Thus Strachan's comparison of *ol* and *heb* is supported by their similar syntax and prosody. Pedersen, however, was probably over-ingenious in his attempt to establish a close connection between them. It is easier to consider them simply as typologically comparable speech-tags. After all, clitic-shortening of quotatives is found in other languages, e.g. Czech *pravy* 'said' > *prý* 'they say'.[21]

Despite the convergence between *heb* and *ol*, one point in favour of regarding *heb* as a verb, which seems to have passed unnoticed, is the isolated survival of a clear 3 sg. form *ny heb* 'he does not speak' in a poem by Madog ap Gwallter (second half of the 13c).[22] Moreover, there are a few examples where *heb* '[he] says' occurs as a speech-tag without any following pronoun.[23] If *heb* really is a preposition, forms such as *ny heb* and the examples of bare *heb* might be explained as verbs created out of a non-verbal quotative. This is not impossible: Quin's explanations of Irish *ol*, and in particular *olseat* 'they say', with added 3 pl. ending *-at* (Quin 1960: 102; García Castillero 2017: 61), provide a parallel.

If the quotative *heb* did originate as a preposition, it must have evolved into a distinct word. This is shown by the phonetic divergence between *ep/eb* 'says' and *hep/heb* 'past, without' in the thirteenth-century manuscripts cited above, and also by the formal distinction between *(h)eb ef* 'says he' and the conjugated preposition *hebdau* 'without him' (Sims-Williams 2013: 45).

A possible further approach is to suppose that *heb* 'says/said' is the result of a merger between the verb *heb* < IE *$*sek^w$*- 'say, speak' (as in *ny heb*) and the preposition *heb* 'past' < IE *$*sek^w$*- 'join, follow' (see below).

The *-y(r)* of *heby(r)*

Where Strachan was agnostic about the *y(r)* in *heb y Gwenhwyfar* and *heb yr Arthur*, Pedersen (*VKG* ii 179 and 621) argued that it is the definite article (in

hep, and NLW 5266B which has 70 *heb/eb* versus 1 *hep* (p. 56). However, *hep* is preferred in NLW Peniarth 16iii, NLW Peniarth 14ii, and NLW Peniarth 14iii. There seems to be an effort to distinguish *heb* 'says' and *hep* 'without, past': BL 14931 has 20 examples of the latter, and NLW 5266B has 9. Compare NLW Peniarth 8i (s. xiii/xiv), p. 43.27–29, where *eb* 'says' and *hep* 'without' contrast: "'hynn yssyd ryved gennyf i", **eb** y|kawr, "pa delw y|genit ef ual y|kedernhey di **hep** gyt dynyawl o vrv y|wyry". "Duw", **eb y**|rolant, "ay gorvc"' (my punctuation). There are similar passages on pp. 44, 66, and 84. In NLW MSS Peniarth 8i–ii, 7, and 21 (all four s. xiii/xiv), *eb*, occasionally *ep*, is common.

[21] Hock 1982: 63; Martinková and Janebová 2017.

[22] *CBT* VII 33.62. Cf. Lewis (1931: 173 and 251). For the verbal noun *hebu* see *CBT* II 28.32 and IV 9.173, Daniel (1999, no. 4.26 (Casnodyn)), and Roberts and Lewis (1927: 2 (Rhys Fardd, 15th c.)); for 1 sg. pres. *hebaf* see *CBT* II 3.71, III 13.58, and IV 9.174; and for 1 sg. impf. *hebwn* see *CBT* V 26.144. The idea that some of these contain a verb *hebu* 'sleep' (Lloyd-Jones 1931–63: 771) has not been accepted. Schumacher (2004: 568) argued that *hebu* and *hebaf* were artificial poetic creations, based on 3 sg. *heb*; he underestimated the extent of such verbal forms.

[23] See below, n. 35. It is debatable whether these are all scribal errors.

passages omitted by Lewis and Pedersen (1961: 219 and 394)), comparing the use of the article in such proper names as *yr Ysbaen* 'Spain'. Place-names are not the same as personal names, however, and Pedersen provided no Welsh examples of definite articles with personal names, apparently assuming that *yr Arthur* would be as natural expression as *der Arthur* in German. The same assumption was made by Thurneysen (1918), discussing *heb y Peredur* 'nämlich der (erwähnte) Peredur', in the context of his argument that *heb* is a preposition or conjunction.

It is a problem for Pedersen that there are no parallels for the use of the article after other *verba dicendi*, e.g. ***Dywawt yr Arthur* or ***Atebawd y Peredur.* In fact it is extremely difficult to find Middle Welsh examples of definite article + personal name, despite the rather vague entry in the *Grammar of Middle Welsh* (*GMW* 26 (§29); cf. the Appendix below). The commonest exception is in the definite article + substantive + demonstrative construction, e.g. NLW Peniarth 44 (s. xiii med.), p. 23 *yr lleyr hɷnnɷ* 'to that Llyr', NLW Llanstephan 1 (s. xiii med.), p. 33 *Ar llyr hɷnnɷ* 'and that Llyr', NLW Peniarth 16iii (s. xiii[2]), fol. 35v *er arthur hɷnnɷ* 'that Arthur'. Here the article is required by the demonstrative; we do not find ***y Llyr* and ***er Arthur* without *hwnnw* (nor ***Arthur hwnnw* etc. without the article). Note, too, that while Welsh and Irish avoid the article before *Duw/Día* (as noted by Pedersen), *heb y Duw* 'said God' is common in Middle Welsh,[24] corresponding to Old Irish *ol Dia* 'says God'; this again suggests that *y* is not the article. Another such anomaly is *heb y paɷb* 'says everyone' (Oxford, Jesus College 111 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 179r, col. 725:38 and fol. 179v, col. 726:18), for Welsh *pawb* never occurs with the article (unlike Irish *cách*). Compare *met paɷb* 'says everyone' (*CBT* I 9.121).

Such considerations, coupled with the occurrence of *heb y(r)* with following pronouns, make it attractive to explain *heby(r)* as a verb (e.g. Morris-Jones 1913: 377; Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 394; *GMW* 154), even though Middle Welsh scribes usually leave a space after *heb*, typical spacings being *heb yr arthur* and *heb yduw*, with *y(r)* treated in the same way as the proclitic definite article, which is sometimes joined to the following word. This may well be because some scribes associated the *y(r)* with the article, consciously or unconsciously. Or possibly the spacing originated as a way of showing that *heb* was unstressed, for the natural way of (mis)pronouncing ***hebyr arthur* and ***heby duw* would have been to stress the penultimate *e*.

In *heb y(r)* the schwa *y* has generally been assumed to be epenthetic (e.g. Sims-Williams 2018a: 104 n. 244 and 162), as is implied by the modern spelling *ebr*, as well as being required by the etymologies such as **sek*^{w}*-re* proposed by those who regard *heb y(r)*, *ebr*, as a verb.[25] Compare the epenthesis in Middle Welsh words such as *gobyr*, *llwybyr*, and *wybyr* (Modern *g(w)obr*,

[24] *VKG* ii 179; Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 219. See e.g. NLW Llanstephan 27 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 83v11–12, NLW Peniarth 32 (s. xiv/xv), p. 248.4, NLW Llanstephan 3 (s. xv[1]), p. 419.

[25] This precise reconstruction was first given by Morris Jones (1913: 377). After the loss of **-e* at the apocope, an epenthetic vowel would break up the awkward **-br* cluster. Lloyd-Jones (1912: 201) admitted the possibility of a reconstruction with a vowel between **b* and **r*. Such

llwybr, *wybr*). In strict verse epenthetic vowels did not count as syllables, so it is a possible objection that *heb y(r)* scans as a disyllable in its three rare occurrences in fourteenth-century poetry: *'Oes,'* ***heb yr*** *un, 'syberw wyd'* "'Yes", said one, "you are noble"' (Iolo Goch (Johnston 1988: no. II.31)), *'Wt!'* ***eb y*** *gwen, ateb gwych* "'Get away with you!" said Gwen, a good reply' (Llywelyn ab y Moel (Daniel (1998, no. 13.25)),[26] and ***Heb y*** *Gwen, dan len loywlwys* 'Said Gwen, under a shining fair mantle' (Gruffudd Llwyd (Ifans 2000: 101, no. 6.45)). A possible way of explaining away the disyllabic scansion might be that *heby(r)* had no traditional syllable count, having apparently been avoided by the pre-fourteenth-century professional poets, along with 3 sg. *heb*, which is only attested in a poem by the thirteenth-century friar Madog ap Gwallter, as noted above.[27] With words like *gobyr*, *llwybyr*, and *wybyr* it was easy for poets to know that the *y* was epenthetic, even without their craft tradition, because derivatives like *gobreu*, *llwybreu*, and *wybren* proved it (in isolation *gobyr* etc. were aurally ambiguous and it would not be obvious whether they should be counted as poetic monosyllables or disyllables). *Hebyr*, on the other hand, had no such derivatives, and its *-yr* was temptingly similar to the (syllabic) definite article.

That *hebyr* might be a verb does not seem to have occurred to the nineteenth-century pioneers; it is not mentioned, for instance, in Dottin's comprehensive monograph *Les désinences verbales en R en sanskrit, en italique, et en celtique* (1896). The idea is probably due to Lloyd-Jones (1912: 201–2), who makes the case fully, without reference to any earlier scholar. Admittedly it had already been briefly mentioned by his friend Ifor Williams (1908: 40; 1910: 33), but that was in student textbooks where any acknowledgement to Lloyd-Jones would have been inappropriate. It appears again in the *Welsh Grammar* of their teacher Morris Jones (1913: 377), whose lack of acknowledgment cannot be taken as implying that it was his own idea, since he rarely cited authorities, partly for the sake of concision (cf. Sims-Williams 2016: 134 and 136).

Lloyd-Jones's cogent objections (1912: 201) to the 'definite article' explanation of *heb y(r)* were as follows:

a vowel would be lost and replaced by a non-syllabic epenthetic vowel (cf. Latin *imperator* > *ymherawd(y)r*); see Rodway (2013: 91).

[26]Variants *heb gwen*, *ebe gwen*, *hebyr gwenn*, and see p. 162 where Daniel notes that *eb y* does not include the article. *Gwen* is capitalised, as a proper name, by Lewis *et al.* (1937: no. LXIX.25), and I have adopted this in translating since 'said a girl' does not make good sense in context. In either case, if *y* were the article we would expect *Gwen* or *gwen* to be lenited (as in Daniel (1998: 35, Atodiad i.9) *Heb y wen o ben bonedd*). *Ebr* in *Ebr y Brawd wrthyf yna* ('The Friar said to me then'), in the edition of Dafydd ap Gwilym by Parry (1963: no. 137.19), is monosyllabic, but this reading lacks MS support and must be rejected in favour of *Heb y Brawd wrthyf yna* (*DafyddapGwilym.net* no. 148.19) because *ebr* / *hebyr* is not found before a definite article until Modern Welsh, e.g. *ebr un* [...] *meddei'r llall* [...] *ebr y trydydd* (Wynne (1703: 8); versus *eb y truan*, ibid.: 34); see David Willis, *Corpws Hanesyddol yr Iaith Gymraeg 1500–1850*, s.v. *ebr* <http://people.ds.cam.ac.uk/dwew2/hcwl/hafan.htm>.

[27]Lloyd-Jones 1931–63: 770. Apart from the pre-fifteenth-century poetic examples already quoted, note only *'O bwy?' heb ef, 'O ba beth?'* (Dafydd ap Gwilym (Parry 1963: no. 50.22; *DafyddapGwilym.net* no. 95.22)), and *Ab Ieuan deg, eb un dyn* (Dafydd y Coed (Daniel 2002: no. 7.28)).

> *a*) that *-yr* is found only in conjunction with *heb*, not, for example, with *dywed* 'he says'; *b*) that, if *-yr* is the definite article we should expect mutation of the initial consonant of a feminine name, whereas we find *y Gwenhwyfar*; *c*) that the article would hardly be prefixed to personal pronouns, and *yr* is found followed by *ynteu*, *hitheu*, *wynt*; *d*) that *yr* occurs before the indefinite *un* without reference to any foregoing person.

With regard to the last point, note Iolo Goch's *'Oes,' heb yr un, 'syberw wyd'* above and the following examples in prose:

> National Library of Wales, Peniarth 11 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 19r23 *Paham heb yr vn o|r myneych*, fol. 124v20 *heb yr vn o|r lleill*, fol. 140v24 *heb yr vn o|r marchogyon*, fol. 146r25 *heb yr vn ohonunt*, fol. 164r7 *heb yr vn o|r morynyon*, fol. 165r7 *heb yr vn o vorynyon yr argl͛ydes*, fol. 171r22 *heb yr un o|r morynyon*, fol. 202v10 *heb yr vn o|r marchogyon*, fol. 223v12 *heb yr vn o|r morynyon*, fol. 226v26 *heb yr vn o|r marchogyon urdolyon*, fol. 238r14 *argl͛yd heb yr vn o|r meudwyeit*, fol. 267r5 *Myn vym|penn i heb yr vn*; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 167v, col. 680:12 *argl͛yd heb yr vn o|r morynyon*, fol. 178r, col. 722:38 *Och heb yr un o|r g͛raged*, fol. 180r, col. 729:1 *Je argl͛yd heb yr vn*, fol. 187r, col. 757:7 *Argl͛yd heb yr vn mi a|e hedrycheis*, fol. 207r, col. 837:16 *Y mae heb yr un*.[28]

Note also that *rei* 'some' serves as the plural of *un*, and in that usage is used without the article (*GMW* 93). It is therefore difficult to see the article in *heb y rei* 'said some' in *Bown de Hamtwn* in NLW Peniarth 5 (s. xiv med.) 141r, col. 327:12–13 and Jesus College 111 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 223v, col. 898:4.

In Middle Welsh *hebyr* mainly occurs before vowels (and *h-*) and *heby* before other consonants.[29] Such preconsonantal loss of *-r* does not occur in

[28]Contrast: "'Meir" *hep ỽn* onadunt wynteu' in NLW Peniarth 14i (s. xiii^2), p. 30.

[29]*Heb yr* can also appear before an implied prosthetic **y-* (Oxford, Jesus College 119, fol. 98r14 *heb yr scuthyn*) and before *r-* (NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 33r, col. 117:20 *heb yr rolant*; NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 75r, col. 68:32, fol. 80r, col. 87:29, fol. 108v, col. 197:24 *heb yr rolond*). *Heb yr* is also frequent before *y/i/j-*, especially in the name *Yessu/Iessu*, but note also NLW Peniarth 14i, p. 21 *hep er yago* and NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 39v5 *Heb yr Ieuan*. However, *heb y* also occurs in this environment: NLW Peniarth 14ii, pp. 66, 68, 72, 78 *hep e ioseph* (versus *hep yr Yessu* pp. 68, 71, 73, 76, 78); NLW Peniarth 14iii, p. 87 *hep e iudas*; NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 57r, col. 209:1 *heb y|iudas*, fol. 60v, col. 224:1 *eb y|Judas*, fol. 60v, col. 224:8 *eb y|Iudas*, fol. 60v, col. 224:21 *eb y Judas*, fol. 60v, col. 224:32 *eb y Iudas*; NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 9r14 *heb y iudas*, fol. 9r17 *heb y iudas*, fol. 9r21 *heb y iudas*, fol. 16v42 *heb y / Iosep*, fol. 146v, col. 350:8 *heb y / Juor*, fol. 146v, col. 350:24 *heb / y iuor*; Oxford, Jesus College 20, fol. 42v7 *heb y Jesse*; NLW Peniarth 15, p. 2:11 *heb y Jevan*; NLW Llanstephan 27, fol. 108v4 *heb y iessu*, fol. 109v3 *heb y iessu* (cf. 109v7 *heb yr iessu*), fol. 113r20 *heb y Joseph*, fol. 116r1 *heb y Joseph*; Oxford, Jesus College 111, fol. 128r, col. 528:22 *heb y iesse*, fol. 217r, col. 873:14 *heb y Josian*, fol. 217v, col. 874:26 *heb y iosian*, fol. 221r, col. 888:6 *heb y iosian*, fol. 224v, col. 902:2 *heb y iosian*. The *heby* forms suggest a consonantal pronunciation of the following *y/i/j-*. In the later Middle Ages consonantal forms such as *Siesu(s)* and *Sioseb* appear, *Sywdas* already occurring the the Red Book of Hergest (*c*. 1400); see Parry (1963: 433) and below, p. 115 and n. 83.

the case of other verbs such as *gŵyr* 'knows' and *gwelir* 'is seen, one sees'. According to Williams (1910: 33), 'the *analogy* of the article would suffice to change hebyr to heby before consonants' (my emphasis; this passage is omitted in Williams (1922: 31)). According to Lloyd-Jones (1912: 202), however, 'the loss of *r* before consonants is due *to the same cause* as the disappearance of the *r* of the definite article' (my emphasis). This seems a better explanation of *heby*. In the case of the definite article, the *-r* was presumably lost because *yr* was proclitic; the same was probably true of *hebyr*.[30]

The relationship between *heb* and *heby(r)* remains obscure. Lloyd-Jones (1912: 202) derived *heb* from *hebyr* (as did Morris-Jones (1913: 377)). Instead of invoking the loss of deponent inflection, he suggested confusion with the article by way of explanation:

> when -yr became mistaken for the article, it was deemed unnecessary for pronouns to be preceded by it, and hence arose *heb arall*, *heb ef*, *heb hi*, &c.

An obvious objection is that only forms without *-yr* occur in Old Breton (e.g. *hep Augustus*) and Old Welsh (e.g. *hepp Philologia*), making it is difficult to regard *heb* as a development from *hebyr* within Welsh (see Schumacher 2004: 568). It is conceivable, however, that Breton once had a form corresponding to *hebyr* and that its lack of attestation in Old Breton is only due to the paucity of Old Breton texts: for example only the innovative form *guid* 'knows' happens to occur in Old Breton, and the more archaic *goar* (: Welsh *gŵyr*, Cornish *gor*) is not attested before Middle Breton (Schumacher 2004: 701). Despite the lack of surviving cognates in Breton and Cornish, Welsh *hebyr* could thus be a Brittonic relic, and could have existed side by side with *heb*; after all, OW *hep(p)* and OBr *hep* are only attested in one MS each. The vagaries of manuscript attestation are underlined by the fact that while the [*hep/hepp* + personal name] construction occurs in Old Welsh, it is superseded by [*heby(r)* + personal name] in the extant thirteenth-century Middle Welsh manuscripts, and only starts to reappear at the turn of that century (see below): presumably [*hep/heb* + personal name] occurred in speech all along, but did not find its way into the extant manuscripts.

Hebyr has also been explained as due to misinterpreting [*heb* 'says/said' + *yr* 'the' + noun] as [*hebyr* + noun], with the supposed verb *hebyr* being generalised to other positions, for example before pronouns, as in *heb yr ef* 'says he' (Schumacher 2004: 568). An objection here is the lack of models for creating a verb of the shape *hebyr* (apart from *gŵyr* 'knows' which is hardly similar — its *y* is [ɨ] and its diphthong is certainly not analysable as *gŵ-yr*). Also, if, for example, *heb yr arglwyd* 'said the lord' were misinterpreted as *hebyr arglwyd*, the latter would then mean 'said lord', owing to the apparent lack of a definite article, presenting a further problem. Such misinterpretation would only be possible when a double article was used: only then could **heb yr arglwyd y wlat* 'said the lord of the land' be reinterpreted as **hebyr arglwyd y wlat* 'said

[30]For a possible reflection of *hebyr* + consonant (*eb yr maccwy*) see below, n. 38.

the lord of the land'. But the double article is *extremely* rare in Middle Welsh (*GMW* 25; Ó Gealbháin 1991; Mac Mathúna 2013: 166 n. 34).

It may be preferable to regard both *heb* and *hebyr* as old forms which came to be treated as alternatives, distributed according to context. The usage in thirteenth-century manuscripts is as follows — always in prose, for 3 sg. *(h)eb(yr)* does not occur in poetry before the mid-fourteenth century, apart from the one example of *ny heb* in the second half of the thirteenth century.[31]

S. xiii med.

In the translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth in NLW Peniarth 44 and NLW Llanstephan 1, only *ep/eb* occurs, and then only before the 3 sg. pronouns *ef* and *hy*, never before nouns or personal names.[32] The speaker in these texts may be identified in the following manner:

> Ac ena *e dywaɷt Meɷryc*, 'Nyt oes le, arglwyd', *ep ef*, 'y emlad ar gwyr raccɷ.'[33]
>
> 'And then *Meurig said*, "There is no reason, lord", *said he*, "to fight with those men."'

The usage of *hep/heb/ep* in the legal manuscripts BL Cotton Caligula A.iii and NLW Peniarth 29 and 30 is similar, except that these also have examples where *hep/heb* is followed by the definite article + noun, e.g. *hep er haɷlɷr* 'says the plaintiff', also *hep e llall* 'says the other'. Personal names are hardly to be expected in legal texts, of course. (The slightly later legal manuscripts BL Cotton Titus D.ii and BL Add. 14931 (s. xiii^2) are similar.)

S. xiii^2.

In NLW Peniarth 14i we have the same constructions, but also *hep* + *ɷn* 'said one', *hep* + 3 pl. *wynt*, *hep* + the conjunctive pronouns *enteu*, *hitheu*, *wynteu*, and two examples of *hep* + *er* + personal name: *hep er yago ebostol* 'said James (the) Apostle' (p. 21)[34] and *hep er ystyphan* 'said Stephen' (p. 23). These are cases of *hep er* (*hebyr*) rather than *heb* + definite article. There are *no* examples of *hep* + personal name without *er*. NLW Peniarth 17 (*Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan*) is similar, with *hep ef*, *hep enteu*, and 5 cases of *hep* + *y* (or *e*) + personal name, as are the *Mabinogi* fragments in NLW Peniarth 6i and 6ii with 5 cases of *hep* + *y* + personal name. In NLW 5266B (*Brut*

[31] *CBT* VII 33.62, noted above. The earliest MS examples of any part of the verb in poetry are in NLW Peniarth 3i (s. xiii^2), p. 4, which has the verbal noun *hebu* and 1 sg. *hebaf* in the lines *Ty hebof nyt hebu oed tev. my hebot ny hebaf vynhev* (Lloyd 1950–51: 96–7, IIb14–15; cf. *CBT* IV 9.173–4).

[32] Cardiff 1.363 (s. xiv^1), which is closely related to NLW Llanstephan 1, is similar.

[33] NLW Llanstephan 1, p. 102 (punctuation added). In the absence of quotation marks, speech-tags were important in medieval texts. See Moore (2011: passim).

[34] The article is not expected before *ebostol* 'apostle'. See *GPC* s.v. (also s.v. *efangelystor*) and Lewis and Pedersen (1961: 219); cf. Mac Mathúna (2013: 161); Uhlich (2013: 439). Contrast English where it is compulsory in *the apostle Paul* but not, e.g., in *Colonel Johnson* (Hewson 1972: 108–9).

Dingestow) there are numerous examples of *heb ef*,[35] but also *heb hi* and *heb wynt/eb ỏynt*, and two examples with personal names: *heb yr ỏlfin* (p. 213) and *heb y peanda* (p. 309). NLW Peniarth 14ii has *heb/hep* followed by *ef* (once *hef*!), *hi*, *hitheu*, and *wynt*, and 13 examples of *hep/heb* + *e(r)* + personal name.[36] The third manuscript in that codex, NLW Peniarth 14iii, has *heb/hep* followed by *ef*, *hi*, *hitheu*, *wynt*, and *wynteu*, one example of *heb* + definite article *e* + *lleyll* ('say the others'), and two examples of *hep/heb* + *y* or *e* + personal name.

S. xiii/xiv

In the MSS which Huws (2000: 58) assigns to this period, we continue to have *(h)eb* + definite article + noun (e.g. *eb y|wrach* 'said the crone' (NLW Peniarth 21), *eb y melinid* 'said the miller' (NLW Peniarth 7)), *(h)eb* + pronoun (*ef*, *wynt*, *yntev*, *hithev*, *wyntev*, etc.), and a few examples such as *heb cyerlmaen* and *heb Iudas* (NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 21v, col. 72:24 and fol. 60v, col. 223:31), *heb yessu* (NLW Peniarth 14, p. 134.12), and *heb iessu* (NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 31r20), where *heb* immediately precedes a personal name — something not seen in the previous period, but presumably old in view of the Old Welsh evidence. Alongside the latter, however, there are many more examples of the type *eb yr oliver*, *eb y|rolant*, and *eb y turpin*, and throughout the fourteenth century *heby(r)* remains the norm before personal names. We start to see examples of *heb y(r)* before pronouns: *eb yr hi*, *eb yr wynt*, *heb yr hitheu* (all NLW Peniarth 7); and note further in NLW Peniarth 6iii (which may rather be s. xiv[1])[37] *heb yr ynteu* once, beside six examples of *heb ynteu*.

In other words, by *c*. 1300, the thirteenth-century distribution — *hebyr* + personal name versus *heb* + pronoun (including *un* 'one') and *heb* + definite article + noun — has been superseded, with examples now appearing of *heb* + personal name and *hebyr* + pronoun.

A possible explanation is suggested by the optional occurrence in this s. xiii/xiv period (lacking in s. xiii) of *heb/hebyr* before demonstrative pronouns: *eb yr hwnnw* in NLW Peniarth 8i, pp. 12.21 [twice], 12.29, 13.16, 50.11, 57.28, and NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 6r, col. 9.16 and fol. 15r, col. 45.20. Contrast *eb hwnnw* in NLW Peniarth 8ii, pp. 10.28 and 11.8 and *eb honno* in NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 63r, col. 234.15. Middle Welsh demonstrative pronouns were regularly used without the article, e.g. *o kyghor hỏnnỏ* 'on the advice of

[35] At NLW 5266B, p. 141 *heb* is used without following pronoun or other subject, possibly in error; Lewis (1942: 94) supplies the pronoun (*heb* occurs with *ef* earlier and later on the same page — *Rhyddiaith y 13g* needs correction here). Compare pp. 193, 207, and 254 where *ef* has been inserted after *heb* (Lewis 1942: 125 n. 5, 134 n. 7, and 164 n. 5), also NLW Peniarth 7 (s. xiii/xiv), fol. 16r, col. 49:12, *heb ef*, where *ef* has again been inserted, and NLW Peniarth 5 (s. xiv med.), fol. 67r, col. 35:3 *heb*. On bare *heb* without *ef* in anaphora see Morris Jones (1913: 377), and Sims-Williams (2018a: 165).

[36] NLW Peniarth 16iii, by the same hand, is similar but lacks examples with personal names.

[37] Cf. Sims-Williams (2017b: 79 n. 1): 'In unpublished corrigenda to [Huws 2000] Huws moved NLW Peniarth 6iii (in *Rhyddiaith y 13g*) to the s. xiii/xiv period, but he now places it even later, in s. xiv[1]'. Readings of NLW Peniarth 6iii are from *Rhyddiaith y 13g* and those from the other s. xiii/xiv MSS are from *Rhyddiaith 1300–1425*, verified in the case of NLW Peniarth 21 from the corrected text in Sims-Williams (2017a).

that [man]' (NLW Peniarth 44, p. 56), *ar honno y dodet hauren [...] ar hõnnõ y dodet madaõc* 'on that [girl] was placed [the name] Hafren [...] on that [boy] was placed [the name] Madog' (NLW 5266B, p. 25), *A dyfod ar hõnnõ* 'and coming up to that [man]' (NLW Peniarth 6i, p. 1), but the article could be used before demonstratives in various constructions, e.g. *yr ystwffwl hwnn, **a'r hwnn** draw* 'this pillar and **the one** yonder' (*GMW* 83). It is therefore possible that some ambiguity arose as to whether a phrase like *eb yr hwnnw* 'said that [man]' contained *heb* + definite article + *hwnnw* or *hebyr* + *hwnnw*. The ambiguity could lead to innovations like *heb yr ynteu* 'said he' on the one hand (following the pattern *eb yr hwnnw*) and, on the other, *heb Iudas* 'said Judas' (following the pattern *eb hwnnw* — unless of course *heb Iudas* is a throwback to the Old Welsh construction). The use of the definite article before other pronominalia (*GMW* 85) could also be a factor; *Dyoer hep e llall* "'God knows", says the other' (BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, fol. 162r, col. 2, also NLW Peniarth 29, p. 49 and BL Add. 14931, p. 24) and *nac ew heb y llall* "'No", says the other' (BL Add. 14931, p. 40), for example, could have influenced the rise of *heb yr ynteu*, etc.

If we suppose that Middle Welsh speakers had a choice between two alternative forms of the quotative, *heb* (actually attested in Old Welsh as *hep(p)*) and *hebyr*, it possible to guess why the latter had been avoided in certain contexts in the earliest extant Middle Welsh:

(1) Since *hebyr* could be confused with **heb yr* (i.e. *heb* + article), *heb ef/hi/wynt* might be preferred to **heb yr ef/hi/wynt*, since the article was not used before pronouns, as seen by Lloyd-Jones (1912: 202). Also *heb yr hawlwr* 'says the plaintiff' and *heb y maccwy* 'says the lad' would be likely to supersede **heb yr yr hawlwr* and **heb yr y(r) maccwy* either through elision/haplology and/or because **heb yr yr hawlwr* and **heb yr y(r) maccwy* would seem to include two articles.[38] Hence in s. xiii med. texts we only see *heb* + pronoun and *heb* + article + noun.

(2) In s. xiii^2 texts we see, in addition, *hebyr* + personal name. *Hebyr* may have been allowable here precisely because definite articles were *not* used before personal names,[39] so that there was no ambiguity. Hence *heby(r)* could survive in this position before personal names which indeed remained the most common context for *heby(r)*.

(3) In s. xiii/xiv texts, we occasionally get forms like *heb Iudas*, although *hebyr* remains the norm before personal names. In addition, possibly

[38]For another case where phonetic repetition induced a change (dissimilation in **yn **yn** erbyn* 'against us' > *yn **yn h**erbyn*) see Sims-Williams (2010: 49). In extant Middle Welsh, *yr* before consonants (except when *yr* = *'r* after vowels) is rare (there are no examples in *Brut Dingestow* (Lewis 1942), a very long text), but note *eb yr maccwy* 'said the lad' in NLW Peniarth 7 (s. xiii/xiv), fol. 14r, col. 41:20 (versus *eb y maccwy* at ll. 24–25), and *yr brenhin* in NLW Peniarth 21, fol. 4r 1:25 (by the same scribe). The Old Welsh form before consonants was *ir*: Falileyev (2000: 94–6).

[39]See Appendix. In a case like Oxford, Jesus College 119 (s. xiv med.), fol. 132r8 *heb yr arglõyd Iessu* 'said the lord Jesus', the definite article *yr* is of course part of the phrase 'the lord Jesus'. ***Hebyr yr arglõyd Iessu* with *yr* twice was not an option.

> under the influence of ambiguous phrases like *heb yr hwnnw* where *yr* could be interpreted either as part of a verb *hebyr* or as an optional article accompanying the demonstrative, we start to get examples of *hebyr* before pronouns, e.g. *hebyr ynteu* 'said he'. It is not possible to rule out the possibilities that these 'new' *c*. 1300 constructions — *heb Iudas* and *hebyr ynteu* — were a throwback to what either existed in Old Welsh (*hepp Philologia*) or may have existed (*hebyr* + pronoun), nor that the difference between the 's. xiii' texts and the 's. xiii/xiv' texts is due to dialect differences rather than chronology, but such hypotheses are not necessary.

The etymology of *hebyr*: two possibilities

1. Hebyr *as a verb*

Lloyd-Jones (1912: 201–2) derived *hebyr* from IE **sek^{w}-* 'speak', and explained the *-yr* as a deponent ending that had resulted from confusion with IE **sek^{w}-* 'follow', which is deponent in Latin *sequor* and Irish *seichithir*. (It is worth adding here that the latter root probably appears in Welsh *gohebu* 'to pass by, refuse').[40] Ifor Williams's earlier note on *heb yr* (1908: 40) — 'the full form of heb = *said.* Cognate with L. sequor. In dialects, *eb* and *ebra*' — may imply a semantic development of 'say' from 'follow' or it may be a condensed version of Lloyd-Jones's explanation. It excited the ire of Vendryes (1910a: 109):

> dire que *heb* 'dit-il' est apparenté au latin *sequor* résulte, il faut l'espérer, d'une simple bévue.

When in 1910 Williams again compared *heb yr* with *sequor*, 'where the final *r* of the deponent corresponds perhaps to the *r* in hebyr' (Williams 1910: 33), Vendryes reacted similarly:

> si *heb* a un correspondant en latin, ce ne peut être qu'(*in*)*seque*.[41]

Vendryes did not, however, connect the *-yr* of *hebyr* with the article, explaining it on the analogy of *gŵyr* 'knows', the 3 sg. of the stem *gwydd-*. According to Vendryes, just as an impersonal **widri* 'one knows' < **wid̥r* 'they know' (Sanskrit *vidúr*), whence Irish *-fitir* 'he knows', gave Welsh *gŵyr* '*one knows' (> 'he knows'), so in the same way *heb(y)r* was the impersonal '*one says' (> 'he says') of the root **sek^{w}-* 'say' (Vendryes 1913: 141; cf. Vendryes 1927: 94).[42] So far as Irish *-fitir* is concerned, there is a problem in that one would not expect **d* to escape lenition before /r/ and result in OIr *t* /d/, as pointed

[40] See above, n. 2.

[41] Vendryes (1910b: 388). Williams (1922: 31) omitted the offending passage. Vendryes (1928: 105) is more clearly in favour of comparing *heb* and *inseque*.

[42] Comparable explanations of *gŵyr* (not mentioning *heb(y)r*) are given by Pedersen (1909: 112–13), Lewis and Pedersen (1961: 310), Thurneysen (*GOI* 74 and 436), and Meid (1972–3: 346–8). Following this path *heb(y)r* could theoretically be a plural form in origin.

out by McCone and Schrijver, despite Vendryes's dubious appeal to Old Irish *cretar* 'relic' < **kred-ro-*.[43] A possible way round this is to reconstruct his hypothetical 'they know' form as **wintri* with **nt* (> Old Irish *t* /d/) introduced from the regular 3 pl. ending. This would not produce Welsh *gŵyr*, however, which the deponent suffixless preterite **wid-r-e* reconstructed by McCone and Schrijver explains nicely.[44]

If we start from a comparable 3 sg. suffixless preterite **sek^{w}-r-e* (or **sek^{w}-e-r*) we get *hebyr* regularly. This would originally have meant 'he said',[45] contrasting with 3 sg. present *heb* (OW *hep(p)*) 'says'. That tense distinction could have existed in Old Welsh and Old Breton. It would explain why the two Old Welsh and Old Breton manuscripts have only *hep(p)*; 'says' rather than 'said' is the meaning required in all their glosses. Whether any distinction of tense is maintained in Middle Welsh is hard to tell, since in most contexts 'says' (present and historic present) and 'said' are equally possible.[46] Among the poetic examples quoted earlier, Madog ap Gwallter's *ny* ***heb*** 'he does not speak' has to be present, and Llywelyn ab y Moel's *'Wt!'* ***eb y*** *Gwen* and Gruffudd Llwyd's ***Heb y*** *Gwen* have to be past in context. The context is little help with Iolo Goch's *'Oes,'* ***heb yr*** *un*[47] and Dafydd ap Gwilym's *'O bwy?'* ***heb*** *ef, 'O ba beth?'*, but Dafydd y Coed's ***eb*** *un dyn* is presumably present. In Dafydd ap Gwilym, however, we have ***Heb*** *y Brawd*, which must be past in context ('said the Friar'), so apparently the poets used *heb* and *heby(r)* more or less interchangeably so far as tense was concerned. For practical purposes, languages do not need to differentiate between present and past in speech tags (as shown by Irish *ol*, Breton *eme*,[48] and Latin *inquit*),[49] so *if* there was originally a tense distinction between *heb* and *hebyr*, it is not surprising that it broke down.

As seen by Lloyd-Jones, Ifor Williams, and Morris Jones, a possible reason why *hebu* 'to say' < IE **sek^{w}-* 'say' might form a deponent was its close similarity to (and perhaps ultimate identity with?) IE **sek^{w}-* 'follow', which, being deponent in Irish and Latin, had presumably also been deponent at an early stage in Brittonic. It is even conceivable that the original meaning of *hebu* 'say, speak' was 'follow' rather than 'say'; 'follow' would make sense as a quotative in reporting a conversation.

[43] Vendryes 1927: 94 (cf. *GOI* 74). See McCone (1994: 171) = (2005: 230), whose explanation of *-fitir* is criticised by Schrijver (2017: 681 n. 10). According to Lloyd-Jones (1912: 202), quoting Windisch, *ro-fitir* 'knows' owes its *t* /d/ to the influence of *creitid* 'believes' (< **kredd-*).

[44] McCone (1986: 238) (citing Schmidt (1964)), Cowgill (1983: 83), and Schrijver (2017: 679 and 680 n. 5) (who notes **wid-e-r* as a workable alternative).

[45] The present meaning of *gŵyr* is a peculiarity of that deponent preterite 'which possesses the archaic feature of expressing present meaning ("has found out > knows")' (Schrijver 2017: 679).

[46] A common state of affairs with *verba dicendi*, e.g. 'I says' (in reporting a conversation) and 'She said [...] and I'm like [...] I explained. And she's like [...]' (Moore 2011: 51–2).

[47] Johnston (1993: 6) translates 'said one'.

[48] Hemon (1975: 244).

[49] For an etymological survey of *verba dicendi* see Buck (1915: 3 n. 1; 1949, 1255–8).

2. Hebyr *as preposition + demonstrative*

Before deciding in favour of the above etymology of *hebyr*, it is worth considering whether it cannot be aligned more closely with Irish *olsé* < preposition *ol* 'beyond' + *se* 'this' < **sio(d)*. Besides **sio-*, Celtic had a demonstrative, **sin* < **sīm*, which underlies the definite article *sindo-* > OIr *(s)in(d)*, Old Breton and Cornish *in*, Old Welsh *ir* (cf. De Bernardo Stempel 1986; Schrijver 1997: 46–8; Katz 2001: 4; De Vaan 2015: 48). This has secondary *-n* > *-r* in Welsh and to some extent in Breton (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 218–19; Jackson 1967: 150 n. 4 and 798–801). A combination of the Welsh preposition *heb* 'past, beyond' (< **sepV-* < **sek^{w}V-*: Irish *sech*) and the demonstrative **sin* 'that' could give disyllabic *heb yr* 'beyond that, furthermore' quite regularly. This would be a near equivalent of *olsé.* Compare Pedersen's theory, quoted at the beginning of this paper, and Thurneysen's apparent equation of *heb* in *heb y Peredur* with the Irish preposition and conjunction(s) *sech*.

Why should the *y* of *hebyr* < **-sin* become schwa rather than /ɨ/? Possibly this is is comparable to the development of the speech-tag *olsé* to unstressed *arsa* in Irish (Quin 1960: 100, quoted above). Proclitic **sin* would develop to Middle Welsh *y(r)* with schwa and *-(r)* in the same way as the proclitic article **sindos* developed to Old Welsh *ir*, Middle Welsh *y(r)*, also with schwa. If *(h)eby(r)* is derived from **sek^{w}-* 'past, beyond' + **sin* 'that', the difficulty of explaining its disyllabic scansion in Middle Welsh is removed.

Both the above explanations of *hebyr* have their merits, but the second avoids the need for special pleading to explain away its disyllabic scansion.

The etymology of *heb*: further possibilities in the light of *ol*

On explanation 2 above, whereas *heb* 'says' might be in origin a verb like Irish *seichid*, *hebyr* would be a prepositional phrase like Irish *olsé*. This looks less economical than supposing that *heb* and *hebyr* are both verbs in origin. On the other hand, if it is true that IE **sek^{w}-* 'say, speak' (underlying *heb* 'says') and the homophonous IE **sek^{w}-* 'join, follow' (underlying the preposition *heb* 'past, beyond, without') are ultimately identical (Rix 2001: 526 n. 1), we should not be surprised if they sometimes fell together. The homophony of the Welsh verbs *gohebu* 'communicate' and *gohebu* 'pass by, refuse' provides a parallel.[50]

Yet if *hebyr* like *olsé* indeed originated in a prepositional phrase, it may be worth hypothesising that OB *hep* and OW/MW *hep(p)*, *heb*, 'says' were extracted from a preform of *hebyr* 'beyond that' in the same way as *ol* 'says' was extracted, following Quin's theory, from *olsé* 'beyond this'. If so, Strachan's comparison between *heb* and *ol* would be spot on; neither of these quotatives would have a verbal origin.

Since the quotative *hep* 'says' occurs in both Old Welsh and Old Breton, it may go back to these languages' common ancestor. This may imply (on the present argument) that a preform of *hebyr* 'beyond that, says' existed at

[50]See above, n. 2.

a much older period than the Middle Welsh texts in which it is first attested. Quin (1960: 102) noted exactly the same chronological disparity in Irish, and found it 'disturbing' but acceptable: the type *ol Día* 'says God' is attested much earlier than the type *olsi Cuchulaind* 'furthermore/says Cú Chulainn' from which it derives, on his theory.[51]

In the Brittonic case the extraction of a quotative *heb* 'says' from *hebyr* 'beyond that' (< IE *sek^w- 'follow') is more straightforward than that of *ol* 'says' from *olsé* 'beyond this' because a verbal stem *heb-* 'says' (< IE *sek^w- 'say') already existed in Brittonic,[52] whereas there is no evidence for an ancient Irish verb *ol-*. Indeed the extraction is so straightfoward as to make it thinkable that the quotative *hep* arose independently in Welsh and Breton, after the languages had diverged.

Alternatively, it is not impossible that two similar-looking but independent quotatives co-existed: MW *hebyr* 'says' from a prepositional phrase 'furthermore' < 'beyond that' and OW/MW/OBr *hep* 'says' from a conjunction meaning 'besides, moreover' (Irish 2 *sech*)[53] or 'namely, and this' (Irish 3 *sech*).[54] If Irish 3 *sech* is correctly derived from *se* 'this' (< **sio(d)*) + *'ch* 'and' < *$*k^we$*,[55] a corresponding OW/OBr conjunction *hep(p)* is a conceivable quotative: *hepp Philologia* 'and this Philologia' and *hep Augustus* 'and this Augustus' would be similar to 'Mel this' in Adioukrou and other 'bare deictics' quoted above.

APPENDIX
DEFINITE ARTICLE + PERSONAL NAME IN PRE-1400 WELSH

Since *y(r)* in *heb y Peredur* etc. has often been explained as the definite article (e.g. Thurneysen (1918)), the purpose of this Appendix is to examine the evidence for the use of the article before personal names in Middle Welsh.[56] In looking for examples of *y* + *personal name*, we must pass over special

[51] García Castillero (2017: 71) objects that the *olsi Cuchulaind* type is 'something of a secondary development'. A variation on Quin's proposal would be to suppose that the development was *ol* + *se* 'furthermore' → *olsé/olsí* (*ol* + pronoun) 'says he/she' → *ol* + noun or personal name (instead of the pronoun), as already in Old Irish, with the *olsi Cuchulaind* type arising in Middle Irish. In addition to the *olsi Cuchulaind* syntagm, note the Middle Irish formula *arsé ar Adam [...] arsí ar Eua* discussed by Mac Cana (1984), who translates 'said he said Adam [...] said she said Eve'. I am grateful to Prof. Tomás Ó Cathasaigh for this reference.

[52] Even if the 3 sg. simple verb in *ny heb* in *CBT* VII 33.62 (cited above, n. 22) is dismissed as deriving from the quotative, transparent compound verbs like *gǒrthep* 'answer' (2 sg. impv., *CBT* II 3.66) would have made it easy to interpret *hebyr* as containing a verb *heb* 'says'.

[53] Above, n. 7.

[54] Above, n. 6.

[55] *GOI* 304 and 550. Binchy (1960: 92) objected that *'ch* would not be attached to a stressed element, but see Watkins (1963: 11) and Charles-Edwards and Kelly (1983: 153). As to whether **sio(d)* would give Welsh and Breton *he-* see Schrijver (1997: 24–5). The following suggestion assumes that *hep(p)* escaped the delabialization seen in *ac* 'and' etc. (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 44).

[56] The use of the article in general in Welsh is a larger subject, discussed by R. M. Jones (1975–6) and Bob Morris Jones (1991–2), and more remains to be said (compare the book-length treatment of *Article and Noun in English* by Hewson (1972)).

cases like *yr Yessu hon* 'this Jesus' (NLW Peniarth 14ii (s. xiii^2), p. 71) and *y Margarit hwnnw* 'that Margarit' (NLW Peniarth 8i (s. xiii/xiv), pp. 70.24 and 71.15), where the demonstrative requires the article at all periods of the language. So similarly, when epithets or titles come between the article and the name, for example *y Parchedig Isaac Jones* and *y brenin Arthur*, Welsh uses the article, like many other languages, e.g. English 'the Reverend Isaac Jones' and French *le roi Artu*.[57]

The article is also not unexpected before a 'diminutive or pet name', as noted by Morris Jones, citing fifteenth-century examples of *y Gutto* (for Gruffudd) and *y Bedo* (for Maredudd),[58] and it often occurs before nicknames, e.g. *y Bwa Bach* 'the little bow', and names of horses, e.g. *y Du* 'the Black'.[59] Since most attestations of nicknames with the article are late (fifteenth century onwards), an earlier nickname, *y Delffled*, may be mentioned here. In the thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth (the *Brutiau*), and in most later ones, Geoffrey's Saxon kings *Edelbertus* of Kent and *Edelfridus* of Northumbria both appear as *Edelflet* or occasionally as *Elflet*. NLW Peniarth 21 (s. xiii/xiv) has generally *Edelflet/Edlflet*, but once apparently *Delflet* in the phrase *gadv ydelflet* 'permit to Delflet' (fol. 37r, col. 2.12) where the related text in NLW Peniarth 23 (s. xv/xvi) has *gadv y Edelffle<t>* (fol. 99r).[60] Similarly NLW Peniarth 45 (s. xiv^1) normally has *Edelflet*, but has *Gadu y delflet* (p. 265) in this phrase. After the verb *gadu* one expects the preposition *y* (or *e* in thirteenth-century orthography), so possibly the preposition and the initial vowel of the name have been run together in NLW Peniarth 21 and 45. Nevertheless, it is likely that some textual confusion ensued, giving rise to the form *Delflet* alongside *Edelflet*. In the *Brut* in BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v i (s. xiv^1), *Delflet* is already the regular form and *Edelflet* occurs only once (fol. 101r). Edelbertus is at first called *Delflet* (fol. 99v19: *Pan wybu delflet*), but subsequent mentions of *Delflet* (Edelfridus) include the article, for example *gwedy gwybod or delflet* (fol. 100r7) and *gadu yr delflet* (100v16).[61] The most likely explanation for the article is that *y Delflet* was taken to be a nickname. In Middle Welsh *del* had negative connotations and *ffled* (fem.) meant 'deceit' (it is used of the

[57] *GMW* 26; Morris Jones 1991–2: 195–6; Thomas 1996: 183–4. With article + adjective/title + personal name (*y gwir Iesu*, *y brenhin Arthur*) compare English where *the great Toscanini*, *the painter Turner* are normal, but not **the Toscanini*, **the Turner*. Languages vary greatly in the use of articles before personal names, e.g. German *die Anna*, Hungarian *az Anna*, Italian *la Maria, il Mario*, Portuguese *a Mariana*, Armenian *Anin* ('the Ani') (some of these are colloquial only, and they have different nuances of meaning). These examples are taken from *https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/definite-articles-with-proper-nouns.2834983/* and *https://www.quora.com/In-which-regions-do-people-in-different-languages-speak-about-acquaintances-as-the-and-then-their-name* (both accessed 17 June 2018). See also Hewson (1972: 22 and 108–9).

[58] Morris Jones 1931: 12.

[59] For discussion see Sims-Williams (2018b).

[60] In Sims-Williams (2017a: 140), I should possibly have printed *ydelflet* as *y* | ᴅ*elflet*.

[61] See *Rhyddiaith 1300–1425* and Parry (1937: 99v–100v). *Y Delfled* is also the form used later by Gutun Owain in the Black Book of Basingwerk (NLW 7006D, fol. 187v–189v), and in Oxford, Jesus College 141 (fol. 46v, etc). I have used unpublished transcripts by Dr Katherine Himsworth.

Saxons in *Armes Prydein*),[62] so a nickname *Y Ddelfffled* would mean 'Dirty Trick' or similar. If *Delflet* is a nickname, the use of the article does not require any special explanation.

Leaving such cases aside, only two relevant examples of *y* + personal name are cited in Simon Evans's *Grammar of Middle Welsh* §29: *yr Iessu* (without reference) and *y Lleuelys* in *Cyfranc Lludd a Lleuelys*, two forms already noted by Ifor Williams (1922: 11 and 16). How typical are these? *Y Lleuelys* occurs just once in the *Cyfranc*, and then only in the 'Mabinogion' version in the White Book (*c*. 1350) and in the Red Book (*c*. 1400), which is very close to the White Book and may derive from it or, more likely, from its exemplar (Roberts 1975: xxiii n. 1; cf. Rodway (2004: 97)):

> M℧yhaf oe vrodyr y karei lud ylleuelys
> (White Book, NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 48v, col. 192:14–15)
>
> M℧yaf oe brodyr y karei lud ylleuelys
> (Red Book, Oxford, Jesus College 111, fol. 174r, col. 706:1).[63]
>
> 'Greatest of his brothers Lludd loved the Lleuelys.'

The 'Mabinogion' version of the *Cyfranc* was extracted from the Llanstephan version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* and adapted to make a separate tale.[64] The article does not occur in the earlier MSS of the *Cyfranc* — NLW Llanstephan 1 (s. xiii med.), p. 59 ('Lle℧elys hagen a karey ef en wuyhaf oy ℧rodyr'), Cardiff 1.363 [Hafod 2] (s. xiv[1]), fol. 46v12–13, and BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v i (s. xiv[1]), fol. 32r5–6 — nor in the later NLW Peniarth 23 (s. xv/xvi), fol. 28r. It may have been introduced *c*. 1350 in the White Book itself, or a little earlier, if the Red Book was copied from an exemplar of the White Book rather than from the White Book itself. On the basis of the use of the article in other languages one might guess that *y Lleuelys* indicates affection ('der Lleuelys') or is a way of saying 'the aforesaid Lleuelys'. Or *Lleuelys* may have been regarded as a pet form of the name *Lleu*.[65] Or there may be influence from *y lleu* 'the fair one', in the story about how Lleu got his name, in the same two manuscripts.[66] Since Lleuelys is nowhere else referred to with the article, however, there must be a suspicion that *ylleuelys* is a scribal error (a miscopying of *y|karey|**lleuelys***?).

The same is true in the case of the apparent article before *Beli Mawr* in the first line of the *Cyfranc* in the Red Book, but not the White Book (which only has the preposition *y* 'to', not the Red Book's *y* + *'r*):

> Y Beli ua℧r vab manogan y bu tri meib. (White Book)
>
> Yr beli ma℧r uab manogan y bu tri meib. (Red Book)

[62] Williams and Bromwich (1972: 31).

[63] Cf. Roberts (1975: l. 15).

[64] Roberts (1975: xxx–xxxi). For parallel texts of the passages discussed below see Randell (2009: 274–5).

[65] For *-el-* as a diminutive compare perhaps *Cu(h)elyn* and *Llywelyn.*

[66] Williams (1951: 80 and 275–6).

As Roberts points out, this may be influenced by the earlier Llanstephan version: *Ac yr bely hɷnnɷ ebɷ try meyb* 'And to that Beli were [born] three sons' (NLW Llanstephan 1, cf. Cardiff 1.363 *Ac yr bely hɷnnɷ e bɷ try meyb*, NLW Peniarth 23 *ac ir beli hwnnw y bv drimeib*).[67] Probably the author of the 'Mabinogion' version had started to copy something like **Yr Beli hwnnw* before remembering that *hwnnw* was inappropriate at the start of the free-standing tale and had to be omitted. The White Book then omitted the *r* (regarding it as ungrammatical without *hwnnw*?), though failing to lenite *Beli* after the preposition, while the Red Book scribe left the article in by mistake. Simon Evans included *Y'r Beli mawr* in his *Gramadeg Cymraeg Canol* (Evans 1951: 15), but, significantly, omitted it in the English revision (*GMW* 26).

I can find only three examples comparable to *y Lleuelys* and *Y'r beli maɷr* in all the prose in thirteenth-century manuscripts, even though these manuscripts include texts such as saints' Lives and *Brutiau* which are full of personal names.

(i) The first exception occurs in the version of *Mabinogi Iesu Grist* in NLW Peniarth 14ii (s. xiii^2). Leaving aside the special cases of *yr Yessu hɷn* 'this Jesus' (p. 71), where the article has to be used with *hwn*, and *hep yr Yessu* (passim), where *hep yr* is the quotative, *Yessu* occurs throughout without the article, with one exception on p. 78 (italicised below):

> Ac odena y dissymythus ioseph gyt a meir a **yessu** ac a doethant capharnaum trwy arɷordired rac digassogyon. A phan do eth **yessu** eno yd oed eno gur kyuoethauc en glaf wan ioseph y enw a niueroed eny gwyn aɷ ac en drycyruerthu amdanau. Paham hep yr **yessu** urth ioseph na rody di waret y hwn ac ef en ɷn enw a thi. Pa allu e syd ym mi y waret idau ef hep e ioseph. Kymer y lliein y syd yg kylch dy ben*n* hep yr **yessu** a dos yu dodi ar wynep y marw a dywet ***yr yessu*** ath ellung ac ene lle ef a uyd yach ac a gyuyt e marw oe wely. Ac ar e geir hɷnnɷ e kerdus ioseph hyt en ty e marw a dodi am ben y marw y wisc a vuassei am y ben*n* ehun ac ar henne kyuodi y marw oe wely a gouyn pa le yd oed **yessu**. Ac odena yd aethant hyt

[67] Roberts (1975: 8). Cf. Williams (1922: 11). Roberts (1975: xxii) also quotes Cotton Cleopatra B.v i *Ac y bu pedwar meib idaw* and NLW 5281B (s. xvi ex.) *Ac y hwnnw y bû petwarmeip*, and cf. Elis Gruffudd (Roberts 1975: 17): [...] *na bu J Eli Mawr onid tri o veibion.* The wording is similar in the Dingestow version: *Ac y hvnnv y bu tri meib* (Lewis 1942: 44; Himsworth 2015: Appendix D, vol. iii, 133–4). Randell (2009: 275) quotes *Ac yr beli hwnnw i bu bedwar o veibon* from the Black Book of Basingwerk (NLW 7006D). Welsh does not have a definite article syntagm like *Alfred the Great* that might be invoked to explain *y[']r Beli mawr*. *Mawr* in the title *Gwawt Lud y mawr* is different; it refers to *gwawt*, not *Lud*: 'The song of Lludd, the big one' (on the syntax see Haycock (2013: 132)).

> ym bethlem ac yd oed ioseph eny dy y gyt a
> meir a **yessu**.[68]
>
> 'And thence Joseph departed together with Mary and Jesus and they came to Capernaum along the shorelines to escape their enemies. And when Jesus came there there was a rich man there who was very sick, Joseph by name, and crowds wailing and lamenting over him. "Why", said Jesus to Joseph, "don't you save this man, and he with the same name as you?". "What power do I have to save him?", said Joseph. "Take the cloth which is around your head", said Jesus, "and go and put it on the face of the dead man and say '*the Jesus* saves you',[69] and immediately he will be well, and the dead man will arise from his bed". And at that word Joseph went to the dead man's house and put the headdress that had been around his own head around the dead man's head, and thereupon the dead man arose from his bed and asked where Jesus was. And thence they went to Bethlehem and Joseph was at home together with Mary and Jesus.'

The definite article is absent from the phrase 'Yr Yessu a'th ellung' in the later copies of *Mabinogi Iesu Grist* in NLW Peniarth 14iv (s. xiv[1]), p. 134.13, the White Book of Rhydderch (NLW Peniarth 5 (s. xiv med.), fol. 20r36), and the Red Book of Talgarth (NLW Llanstephan 27 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 101r23). It could well be a scribal error in NLW Peniarth 14, with *dywet yr / yessu* influenced by *hep yr yessu* both in the previous line and in an earlier sentence; a line-break is a common environment for scribal errors. If *yr / yessu ath ellung* really is correct, the article may have some special nuance in Jesus's speech, perhaps 'the famous Jesus, the Jesus who is being talked about', or, as in some much later examples of *yr Iesu*, *yr* may be hypocoristic, expressing a special familiarity, like *der/die* + personal name in some German dialects.[70] Or possibly Jesus is treating his own name as a nickname (cf. *y Bedo*, etc), as if *Iesu* were a short form of *Iesus*. Jesus is playing with the name of Joseph, and may therefore be playing with his own name as well. On the whole, a scribal error, influenced by the preceding *hep yr Yessu*, seems likely.

(ii) In *Historia Regum Britanniae* II.16 §33, Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions the two sons of Gorbodugo, *unus Ferreux, alter Porrex*, and their rivalry. *Brut Dingestow* (NLW 5266B (s. xiii[2]), pp. 37–8) translates as follows:

> Ac y hɔnnɔ y bu deu uab. Porrex. a Feruex. a guedy marɔ eu tat y kyuodes teruysc y rygthunt am y urenhynyaeth. A cheissyaɔ **or** porrex llad feruex o urat. A gɔybot hynny **or** Feruex <a> fo hyt

[68] *Sic* MS. Cf. Williams (1912: 248).

[69] The Latin is 'Salvet te Christus' in Tischendorf (1876, 109). However, Tischendorf quotes a version which has 'Salvet te Iesus' (cf. McNamara *et al*. (2001, II:879)), which agrees with Joseph's words to the sick man later.

[70] https://www.quora.com/In-which-regions-do-people-in-different-languages-speak-about-acquaintances-as-the-and-then-their-name (accessed 17 June 2018).

> yn freinc. A dyuot a phorth y gan suardus ỏrenhyin [*sic*] freinc ac ymlad a phorrex y uraỏt.
>
> 'And to that (one) were [born] two sons, Porrex and Feruex. And after their father died, a struggle arose between them over the kingship. And **the** Porrex tried to kill Feruex by treachery. And **the** Feruex learnt that and fled to France and came with aid from Suardus king of France and fought with Porrex his brother.'

The definite articles are also found in two closely related manuscripts of the Dingestow Version, NLW Peniarth 45 (s. xiv[1]) and 46 (s. xiv med.), but not in the other manuscripts of the Dingestow Version, nor in the Llanstephan Version and *Liber Coronacionis Britanorum*, which are both related to the Dingestow Version at this point.[71] One other text which is particularly close to NLW 5266B and NLW Peniarth 45–6 is NLW Peniarth 263 (s. xv[1]),[72] and this also includes the article, although slightly differently:

> Ac y hỏnnỏ y bu deu vab. porrex. a fernex. A gỏedy marỏ eu tat y kyuodes teruysc yrygthunt am y vrenhinyaeth a cheissaỏ **or** porex llad **y** ffernex o vrat. A gỏedy gỏybot hynny o fernex fo hyt yn freinc. A dyuot a phorth y gan suardus vrenhin freinc. Ac ymlad a porex y vraỏt.

Presumably the article was introduced into the passage in the ancestor of the four manuscripts, no later than the second half of the thirteenth century. Perhaps the peculiar names *Porrex* and *Feruex* were imagined to be nicknames (like *y Delflet*, discussed above); compare Latin *sorex* 'shrew-mouse' and *vervex* 'wether, mutton-head'. Or the purpose of the article may be to underline the contrast between *the one* brother and *the other* brother (if so it is a very rare usage).[73] Or it may have a sense like 'the aforesaid', comparable with the occasional use of the article 'with anaphoric force' in Middle Irish, mentioned in *eDIL* s.v. 1 *in* III B (a), as in *A n-Inis moccu Ché[i]n ro-baí in Gartnán* 'The aforesaid Gartnán was in Inis moccu Chéin' and *Is ferr in Cathal 7 Leth Moga do t[h]esarcain oldás in cochall* 'It is better to save the aforesaid Cathal and Leth Moga than the cloak'.[74]

(iii) In XII.18 §206 an angel advises Cadualadrus to send his son Iuor and his nephew Yni to Britain. In XII.19 §207 they duly go there. According to *Brut Dingestow* (NLW 5266B, p. 316):

[71] See concordance in Himsworth (2015: Appendix D, Vol. iii, p. 100), and Sims-Williams (2017a: 31, and 2017b: 12 (stemma) and 30).

[72] Cols. 144–5. Transcript by Richard Glyn Roberts in *Rhyddiaith y 15g*. On this text see Roberts (1977–8). The other Red Book versions do not have the article.

[73] Even though a binary contrast occurs in both cases, the article in *y deu lu* 'the(?) two hosts' [...] *y deu uroder* '(the?) two brothers' in *Branwen* — discussed by Mac Cana (1958: 81 n. 1), who thinks the article here is 'used generically rather than to particularize' — is hardly comparable.

[74] Binchy 1963: lines 3–4; Jackson 1990: lines 525–7 (cf. his note on *in Cathal* on p. 57: 'This construction, known elsewhere, with virtually meaningless article, is perhaps a stereotype of an archaic usage when it had a trace of its old demonstrative force — "this Cathal"'). Cf. Uhlich (2013: 439) and n. 5 above.

> AC yna wedy kynnullaỽ **or** iuor uab catwaladyr ac ini y keuynderỽ yr hyn a allassant o longeu ỽynt a doethant hyt yn enys prydein.
>
> 'And after **the** Iuor son of Cadwaladyr and Ini his cousin assembled as many ships as they could, they came to the island of Britain.'

The article is not found in any other manuscript, not even in NLW Peniarth 45–6, which have *o* (NLW Peniarth 263 does not get as far as XII.19). It could mean something like 'the aforesaid', but equally well it could be a scribal error (with *or* anticipating the *-or* of *iuor*?). Since *Iuor uab* is followed by the dependent genitive *Catwaladyr*, the definite article seems grammatically odd.

Searching through the prose manuscripts which Daniel Huws dates s. xiii/xiv (i.e. *c*. 1275–*c*. 1325), I see no further examples of *y(r)* + personal name. Nor, after a more cursory search, have I noticed any in the fourteenth century to add to *ylleuelys* in the White and Red Books and *Y[']r beli maỽr* in the Red Book, apart from the following articles, most of which precede *Iesu*.

(i) In the later version of *Mabinogi Iesu Grist* in NLW Peniarth 14 (s. xiv[1]), pp. 101–90, after Joseph heals the man by reciting the words *Iessu ath iacha* ('Jesus heals you'),

> ynteu a gyfuodes y uynyd ac a ouynawd 'pwy **yr** Iessu'. (p. 134)
>
> 'He got up and asked "Who is **the** Jesus?"'

This could be a scribal error error for **pwy yw Iessu?*[75] However, since the sick man may be ignorant as to the significance of *Iessu* (e.g. whether it is a title or a name or common noun), his use of the definite article seems appropriate.

(ii) A similar special case occurs in *Cronicl Turpin*. In the early copy in NLW Peniarth 8i (s. xiii/xiv), Roland tells a pagan that he believes in Christ. Then:

> Pan gigleu y pagan enwi crist y gouynnws yntev pwy oed grist. (t. 42)
>
> 'When the pagan heard Christ being named, he asked who Christ was.'

Later manuscripts, starting with NLW Peniarth 9 (s. xiv[1]), fol. 2r, have this in direct speech:

> A phan gigleu y pagan enwi crist y gouynỽys ynteu pỽy **y** crist y credy di idaỽ.[76]

[75]Compare *pỽy oed Iessu?* in the White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Talgarth texts (both cited above). The Latin is *quaerebat quis esset Iesus* (Tischendorf 1876: 109) or *quaerens quis esset* (McNamara *et al*. 2002: II.879).

[76]Compare NLW Peniarth 10 (xiv med.), fol. 28v (where the article was later deleted) and Oxford, Jesus College 111 (s. xiv/xv), fol. 96r, col. 401.2; *GMW* 74–5; Williams (1969: 227–8). The Latin is 'Quis est *ille* Christus, in quo credis?' (or '*Ille* quis est Christus?' in the verse version): Schmidt (1996: 84 and 87).

> 'When the pagan heard Christ being named, he asked "Who/What is **the** Christ you believe in?"'

Since *Crist* means nothing to the pagan, he may mean: 'Who or what is this "christ"?'. Normally, *Crist* is *not* preceded by the article. The defining relative clause may be a factor.

(iii) NLW Peniarth 5 (s. xiv med.), fols 1–57, now part of the White Book of Rhydderch, is an originally independent manuscript 'written presumably for use by a cleric' (Huws 2000: 244–5). Six times the scribe (Scribe A) shows a tendency to introduce the article before *Iessu* where other copies of the same texts lack it: *y | iessu* occurs in his texts of *Ystoria Pilatus* (11r11, *peis y | iessu g{ri}st*),[77] *Mabinogi Iesu Grist* (fols 18v15, 18v30, 19v40, 20r11), and *Efengyl Nicodemus* (fol. 32v31; cf. NLW Llanstephan 27, fol. 114r3, which has plain *Jessu*). Much more often this scribe omits the article, but clearly he was familiar with its use before *Iessu*, as in later Welsh (see Sims-Williams (2018b)).

(iv) Scribe C of the White Book appears to have the article just once in his copy of *Bown de Hamtwn*: *ar yr iessu grist* ('?for the sake of the Jesus Christ', NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 131r, col. 287.14), as does the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College 111, fol. 217v, col. 874.22). This shared reading was probably due to a miscopying by their archetype of **ac yr iessu grist* 'and for the sake of Jesus Christ', where *yr* is not the article but *yr* 'for the sake of', translating *pur Deu!* in the French.[78]

(v) In *Amlyn ac Amic* in the Red Book (Oxford, Jesus College 111, fol. 271v, col. 1088.31–2), *o rat yr iessu grist* 'by the grace of Jesus Christ' is a clear example of the article.[79]

Turning to poetry, there are no relevant examples of the article in the Hengerdd[80] nor in Beirdd y Tywysogion. Obviously *y Lusiffer* in Llywelyn Fardd II (*CBT* VI 10.26) and *a'r Sathan* in Madog ap Gwallter (*CBT* VII 33.10) do not count, since Lucifer and Satan are titles.[81] In fact the only relevant examples of the article in *CBT*, both with *Iessu*, occur in the religious poems ascribed to Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch (fl. 1282). The date and authorship of this corpus is uncertain,[82] but obviously the poems cannot be later than the Red Book of Hergest (*c.* 1400) where both poems appear. One of them (*CBT* VII 39) begins at follows in the manuscript (*R* 1160.17–20):

[77]NLW Llanstephan 27 breaks off before this point, and the wording in NLW Peniarth 7, fol. 63v, col. 236.10–11 (*y beis a | vv am Jessu*) is different.

[78]See Watkin (1958: 111, n. on l. 1581); Poppe and Reck (2009: 65–6, n. on l. 488). In *Rhyddiaith 1300–1425* at NLW Peniarth 5, fol. 131r 287.24, *Ac myn <y> iessu grist* is a slip for MS *ac my<n> iessu grist.*

[79]Williams (1982: 32, n. on l. 97).

[80]I.e. the corpus defined in Isaac (2001).

[81]In Prydydd y Moch *o Dir yr Helet* (*CBT* V 10.32) does not refer to the character Heledd; see note in the edition. I am grateful to Professor Ann Parry Owen for use of her concordance to *CBT*. For references in *CBT* to *Iesu* and *yr Iesu* see the list in Costigan (2002: 200–2).

[82]McKenna (1981); McKenna (1991, 53–4 and 232–3) (the attributions in NLW Peniarth MS 10 are also dated s. xv/xvi by Johnston and Parry Owen (1999: 35)); *CBT* VII 410.

> Naȣd ytat armab rof amgalon . naȣd
> y glan yspryt kywyt kofyon . naȣd **y**
> **iessu** caru coron tangneued; cared disgybled
> ae disgyblon. Naȣd ygroc deheu donyeu dan
> uon [...]

This is modernized as follows in *CBT* VII 39.1–5:

> Nawdd y Tad a'r Mab Rhad rhof a'm galon,
> Nawdd y Glân Ysbryd cywyd cofion,
> Nawdd **y Iesu** caru, coron – tangnefedd,
> Caredd ddisgybledd a'e ddisgyblon!
> Nawdd y grog ddeau, ddoniau ddanfon [...]

and is translated as follows by McKenna (1991: 213), cf. Costigan (2002: 59):

> The protection of the Father and the Son of grace between me and
> my enemies,
> The protection of the Holy Spirit is the aim of my thoughts,
> The protection of beloved Jesus, the crown of peace,
> The chastisement of sin and its followers!
> The protection of the true gift-granting cross [...]

Although it is noted in the edition (*CBT* VII p. 445) that the third line is arguably a syllable too long, it is not emended. Lewis (1931: 97) and McKenna (1991: 212), however, silently omit *y* before *Iessu* in their earlier editions, perhaps correctly. The scribe may have mechanically included *y* after *naȣd*, as in the other lines. He was clearly careless, for in line 10, *Naȣd [y] myr a Meir a'e morynion* ('The protection of the seas and of Mary and her maidens'), he omits the article (*naȣd myr ameir ae morynyon*). It is significant that *naȣd Jeuan* ('the protection of John') occurs in line 17 without the article. The form *y* before *iessu* rather than *yr* is unusual but not suspiciously so; when the article or *heby(r)* precedes *Iesu*, forms with *-r* are nearly always used in Middle Welsh MSS, e.g. in NLW Peniarth 14, p. 71 *yr Yessu hȣn* and p. 78 *yr Yessu* (discussed above), both with the article, and *hep yr Yessu* at pp. 68, 71, 73, 76, and 78 (twice), but there are exceptions, such as *y iessu* in Scribe A's part of the White Book (see above) and *heb y iessu* 'says Jesus' twice in the Red Book of Talgarth, NLW Llanstephan 27 (s. xiv/xv), fols 108v4 and 109v3 (cf. fol. 109v7 *hebyr iessu*).[83] (This convention does not operate so rigidly with names like *Iesse*, *Ioseph*, and *Iudas*, before which the *-r* is frequently dropped.)

The other 'Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch' poem (*R* 1164.13 = *CBT* VII 42.15) includes the line *Bot yn dir talu ger bronn yr Iessu* 'That it is necessary before Jesus to pay the price'.[84] This is less problematic, but again we do not know how much older than *c*. 1400 the poem is.

[83] See above, n. 29. In the later poets note Johnston (1995, no. 1.366) *Rhan miragl y Iesu* (Lewys Glyn Cothi); Thomas (2002, no. 8.32) *Ond, er y Iesu, yn ei drwsiad* (Dafydd Epynt); Lake (2004, no. 62.22) *Trwy y Iesu y troesont* (Lewys Morgannwg).

[84] Cf. Lewis (1931: 79). Cf. translations by Conran (1967: 124) and Costigan (2002: 64).

The two other examples of *yr Iesu* in the Red Book and in manuscripts derived from it are definitely late fourteenth-century. Bleddyn Ddu (fl. 1331–*c*. 1385) has *Achladdur iessu ar issaf / waelawt a ch<l>udbȯll tyw~~ll~~awd arawd araf* (*R* 1249.31–2), that is,

> A chladdu'r Iesu ar isaf – waelawd
> Achluddbwll tywawd, arawd araf
>
> 'And burying Jesus on the lowest bottom of a grave of sand, a sad tale'

and Madog Dwygraig (s. xiv[2]) has *Jaȯn y rodes yr iessu* (*R* 1270.36), that is, *Iawn y rhoddes yr Iesu* 'Well did Jesus give [...]'.[85] There are two or three further examples of *yr Iesu* in the late fourteenth-century Cywyddwyr, but as the manuscripts are late they cannot be relied on so much as the Red Book.[86]

What is striking is that the definite article does not occur with personal names other than *Iesu* in the extant fourteenth-century poetry.[87] In the fifteenth century, however, we start to see it before pet names, such as *y Bedo* and *y Guto*. *Yr Iesu* may have a similar nuance, capturing the personal affection for Jesus characteristic of late medieval vernacular religion (e.g. Woolf (1968: 159–79)).[88] The most probable explanation is that it started to be used before personal names in an affectionate or familiar way in the fourteenth century and that the reason why it is mostly attested with *Iesu* in the fourteenth century is the large amount of religious poetry extant, on the one hand, and, on the other, the poets' avoidance of hypocoristic forms before the fifteenth century, except occasionally in satires (see Sims-Williams (2018b)).

It is clear, then, that Middle Welsh *hebyr* is unlikely to be based on a use of the definite article before personal names since that usage is hardly attested before the end of the Middle Ages.

Abbreviations

CBT	Gruffydd, R. Geraint (general ed.), 1991–96: Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion, 7 vols (Cardiff).
DafyddapGwilym.net	http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/index_cym.php.
R	Evans, J. Gwenogvryn (ed.) 1911. *The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog).
Rhyddiaith y 13g	Isaac, G. R., Rodway, Simon, Nurmio, Silva, Kapphahn, Kit, and Sims-Williams, Patrick 2013: *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg, Fersiwn 2.00*. https://cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/11163

[85] Daniel 1994, no. 1.35–36; Edwards 2006, no. 3.9.

[86] With the fifteenth-century poets, *yr Iesu* becomes more common, although *Iesu* is more frequent. See Sims-Williams (2018b).

[87] Statement based on searching Dr Ann Parry Owen's unpublished concordance to fourteenth-century poetry, s.vv. *y*, *yr*, and *'r* + capital letter.

[88] But much earlier in Irish: note *Ísucán* (Quin 1981).

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THE PREPOSITIONAL INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE[1]

Abstract

This paper traces the development of a syntactic structure in the modern Gaelic languages in which an interrogative pronoun is followed by an inflected preposition, e.g. Mod. Ir. *cé leis a raibh tú ag caint*?, Scot. Gael. *cò ris a bha thu a' bruidhinn?* ('with whom were you speaking?'). It is argued that the underlying structure in such clauses is that of the old prepositional relative, but that the syntagm of stressed interrogative + preposition + relative particle has been replaced by a copular structure consisting of an unstressed interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun. The chronology of this syntactic development is outlined and variant alternative structures involving interrogative + prepositional pronoun are examined.

Introduction

In this paper we will be concerned with the history and development of a syntactic structure found in Modern Irish and in the other modern Gaelic languages. The structure in question is the prepositional interrogative relative clause, a construction corresponding to that found in English, as exemplified by: *to whom are you speaking? with what will I fix it?*, or their more common

[1]Earlier versions of this paper were read at the Thirteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies in Bonn, July 2007, and at the Tionól of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, November 2013. I am grateful for comments and questions I received from members of the audience on each occasion. For comments on and corrections to an earlier draft of this paper and for providing me with further references I am grateful to Liam Breatnach, William Gillies, Mícheál Hoyne, James McCloskey, Peadar Ó Muircheartaigh, to my co-editor, Barry Lewis, and to an anonymous peer reviewer. In collecting the examples I present in the paper, I have benefitted greatly from being able to search the Irish texts made available in *Corpas Stairiúil na Nua-Gaeilge* which forms part of the Royal Irish Academy's *Foclóir Stairiúil na Nua-Ghaeilge* project (*http://corpas.ria.ie/*) and from those available in Dr Ciarán Ó Duibhín's *Tobar na Gaedhilge* (*http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~oduibhin/tobar/index.htm*). I have similarly benefitted from being able to consult the Scottish material found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, *Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG)*, University of Glasgow (*http://dasg.ac.uk/corpus/*) and for examples from the Classical Irish period, Dr Katharine Simms's Bardic Poetry Database (*https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/*), has been invaluable. I am also grateful to Professor McCloskey for giving me access to his collection of examples drawn from Modern Irish texts. Needless to add, any errors or other shortcomings in the presentation and interpretation of this material are my own responsibility. I should point out that this diachronic study is written in the framework of 'traditional grammar'. I am aware that relative clauses in Irish and their construction have received much attention from grammarians of the generative and other theoretical schools and while I have benefitted from some of the insights such studies have provided, this paper is not set in such a theoretical framework.

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colloquial variants: *who are you speaking to? what will I fix it with?*[2] Our study will also deal with examples of the construction in indirect questions, e.g. *I don't know what I'll fix it with*.

This type of clause is described in *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (*GGBC*), §27.10, where it is stated that an interrogative pronoun (e.g. *cé, cá, cad* or *céard*) followed by a prepositional pronoun or by a compound preposition with a possessive adjective[3] requires a following indirect relative clause. Among the examples given in this work to illustrate the construction are the following: [1] and [2] with prepositional pronoun, [3] and [4] with compound preposition and possessive adjective.[4]

[1] *cé* ***dó*** *a dtabharfaidh mé an duais?* 'to whom will I give the prize?' (*GGBC* §27.10)

[2] *cad* ***chuige*** *a bhfuil tú anseo?* 'why [i.e. for what] are you here?' (*GGBC* §27.10)

[3] *cé* ***ina choinne*** *a raibh tú ag imirt?* 'against whom were you playing?' (*GGBC* §27.10)

[4] *cad* ***ina thaobh*** *ar labhair sé?* 'why [i.e. for what] did he speak?' (*GGBC* §27.10).

As formulated in *GGBC*, however, the rule needs to be modified, for there are instances in which the combination of the interrogative and pronominal forms of the preposition *ag* can be followed by a direct relative clause. A direct relative will be the normal construction in cases where the interrogative and prepositional pronoun form the compound subject antecedent of the clause, e.g.:

[5] ***cé acu*** *a rinne é?* 'which of them did it?' (*GGBC* §13.30)

[6] ***cé acu*** *is fearr leat?* 'which of them do you prefer?' (*GGBC* §13.67 (f))

[7] ***cé agaibh*** *a mharaigh í?* 'which of you killed her?' (*SMN* 63).

This also applies to cases where a choice of alternative clauses is introduced by *cé acu* 'whether, if', as in exx. [8] and [9]:

[2]On this construction in Modern Irish see *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí*, second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1999 [1960]), §§276, (iii), (iv) (= pp. 661–2); S. Ó Searcaigh, *Comhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1939), §§206–8; C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás na Gaedhilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), §§498–9; M. Sheehan *Sean-Chaint na nDéise*, Part 1, second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1944 [1906]), 211; M. Sheehan, *Gile na mBláth* (Dublin, 1912), 83–4 n. 110; G. O'Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish, Part 1* (Dublin, 1919), 138–40; *DIL* s.v. 1 *cía* (h); James McCloskey, *Transformational Syntax and Model Theoretical Semantics*: *A Case Study in Modern Irish* (Dordrecht, 1979), 94–7, and 'Resumptive pronouns, Ā-binding and levels of representations in Irish', in A. Rouveret (ed.), *Resumptive Pronouns at the Interfaces* (Amsterdam, 2011), 65–119.

[3]Alternatively referred to as a 'possessive pronoun'. I adhere to this traditional designation as the grammatical status of the possessive is not at issue in this paper.

[4]Where translations have been provided by the editors of texts I generally make use of them (sometimes with minor modification). Otherwise, as in these examples here, translations are my own.

[8] *níl a fhios agam* ***cé acu*** *a ghlacfaidh Peig Eoin nó a dhiúltóidh sí é* 'I don't know if Peig will accept Eoin or refuse him' (*GGBC* §13.83)

[9] *ní eol dóibh* ***cé acu*** *a d'fhág sé an tír nó a chuaigh sé ar a sheachaint* 'the don't know if he left the country or went into hiding' (*GGBC* §29.2).[5]

Although conforming to the conditions outlined in *GGBC*, it is clear that the underlying syntax of exx. [5]–[9] is fundamentally different to that exemplified in [1]–[4]. For the indirect relative to be triggered in such interrogative clauses, the prepositional pronoun following the interrogative should not be coreferent with the subject of the verb. Furthermore, this prepositional pronoun will normally be in the third person singular masculine, even if its referent is feminine or plural.[6] Likewise, with a compound preposition, the pronominal element will be expressed by a possessive adjective which also must be third person singular masculine.[7] Under these circumstances, the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun or compound preposition *may* be followed by the indirect relative.

MODERN IRISH: EXAMPLES

Examples of this construction are found in most of the dialects of Irish spoken into the twentieth century, e.g.:

Cork

[10] *Níl puínn seanachais le fáil ar* ***cad as*** *n-a dtánadar* 'There is no lore available to tell where they came from' (*SAL* 1)[8]

[11] *agus ní fheadar* ***cé dho*** *go dtúrfainn é le cimeád* 'and I don't know to whom I should give it to keep' (*Cairbre* 374)

[12] ***cé 'n-a choinnibh*** *go raibh an t-uisge-fé-thalamh 'á dhéanamh* 'who was being plotted against' (*Niamh* 264)

[13] ***cad as*** *go bhfuileann tú ag teacht?* 'where are you coming from?' (*CChléire* 73, s.v. *cad*)

[14] ***cad chuige*** *gur iarrais orm é?* 'why did you ask me for it?' (*GBroc* 119).

[5]Where the clause following *cé acu* contains a resumptive prepositional pronoun, however, the indirect relative construction will be used, e.g. *agus gan fios* ***cé aca*** *a raibh an buaidh* ***aige*** 'and it was not known which of them had won' (*PMB* 20).

[6]*GGBC* §§13.19,13.30–31; *GCF* §338; *CGT* §206. The third person plural, however, is used in the case of the preposition *idir* for which there are only plural pronominal forms, e.g. *cé eatarthu a bhfuil sé?* 'which of them is it between?' (*GGBC* §13.30). Cf. further n. 16 below.

[7]*GGBC* §§13.19. Note, however, that the possessive adjective is not found in some of our examples, e.g. [26]. This is discussed below.

[8]*N-a* (< *ina)* is a variant form of the indirect relative particle which is found beside the more usual *go* in the Irish of West Cork. See *SnaG* 526, §8.59 and our discussion on the origin of the indirect relative marker below.

Kerry

[15] ***canathaobh*** *go raibh sé ann an t-am san d'uíhe* 'why was he there at that time of night' (*LSC* 143)[9]

[16] *I gcúntais Dé* ***cad as*** *go bhfuil siad ag teacht?* 'In the name of God, where are they coming from?' (*Oileánach* 334)

[17] ***Cad air*** *go bhfuileann tú ag cuíneamh?* 'What are you thinking about?' (*SB* 25)

[18] *Ach óm baisce nár thugas fios d'aoinne* ***cad fé*** *go rabhas ag gáiridhe* 'But, by heaven, I did not let anyone know what I was laughing about' (*Peig* 133)

[19] ***cé air*** *gur ceart a bhaodhachas a bheith?* 'who should be thanked for it?' (*FBF* 271).

Clare

[20] ***Cad air*** *a dtugann tu tor gobáiste?* 'What do you call a head of cabbage?' (*LSE* 129)

[21] *Níl fhios agum* ***cé haige*** *ar fhág sé i n-a dhiaig é* 'I don't know with whom he left it behind' (*LSE* 263).

Galway

[22] ***cé leis*** *a ndíolfadh muid iad?* 'who would we sell them to?' (*STL* 91.32)

[23] ***cé go dtí*** *an rabh tú anocht?* 'to whom did you go tonight?' (*GCF* §338)[10]

[24] ***Cé dó*** *a dtabharfadh Baba a cuid airgid ... ach dá haon deirfiúr Neil?* 'Who would Baba leave her money to ... but to her only sister Neil?' (*CCille* 106)

[25] ***cé uaidh*** *a bhfuair sé an t-airgead sin?* 'from whom did he get that money?' (*CC-CRua*, 7-01-06)

[26] ***Cé le haghaidh*** *a bhfuil na buidéil sin?* 'what are those bottles for?' (*CC-RM*, 7-05-03)

[27] ***cé faoina chomhair*** *a bhfuil tú dhá dhéanamh?* 'who are you making it for?' (*IIA* §8.65)

[28] ***cé mar gheall*** *a dtiocfadh sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin* 'for what reason she would come to them seeking lodgings' (*ÉaB* 160)

[29] ***Céard faoi*** *a raibh sé ag caint?* 'What was he talking about?' (*CC-Sp*. 7-10-3).

Mayo

[30] ***cé aige*** *a bhfuil a fhios* 'who knows' (*PMB* 232)

[9] *Canathaobh* = *cad ina thaobh* (cf. ex. 4 above).
[10] *Recte*: *a rabh tú anocht* (?).

[31] ***Cé air*** *a mbíodh fonn grinn nó gáire* 'Who would be in the humour for fun or laughter?' (*AMSO* 26)

[32] ***cé leis*** *a dtaomfa mé é?* 'with what will I empty it?' (*Béaloideas* 9 (1939), 90).

Donegal

[33] ***Ca leis*** *a rabh tú ar bád?* 'Who were you onboard with?' (*GT* §501)

[34] ***cé dó*** *a n-inseochadh sé é?* 'to whom would he tell it?' (*CSS* p. 3)

[35] ***Cé roimhe*** *a bhfuil eagla ort?* 'Who are you afraid of?' (*SJS* 99)

[36] ***Cárb as*** *a dtáinig tú?* 'Where have you come from?' (*SAB* 224)

[37] *Acht ar ndóighe tá a fhios againn* ***cé uaidh*** *a dtug sé é* 'But of course we know who he got it from' (*CaF* 60.13)

[38] ***C'air*** *a rabh sé a'stánadh?* 'Who was he staring at?' (*CiD* 87)

[36] ***cé fá dtaobh de*** *ar úirt sé sin?* 'who did he say that about?' (*GRGI* §404).[11]

Tyrone

[39] ***C'aige*** *a bhfuil a fhios ...?* 'Who knows?' (*SML* 113).

Antrim

[40] ***Cad as*** *a dtáinig tusa indiu ...?* 'Where did you come from today?' (*SaR* 20).[12]

MODERN IRISH: DISCUSSION

The syntactic structure illustrated by our examples is noteworthy and raises a number of questions. Why, in the first place, are these clauses formed in such a manner? In other interrogative clauses the interrogative pronoun will be followed by its referent and, where this is governed by a preposition, the following indirect relative clause will normally contain a resumptive prepositional pronoun (or a compound preposition with a resumptive possessive adjective), e.g.:

[41] *níl a fhios agam cén* ***seomra*** *ar chodail sé* ***ann*** 'I don't know which room he slept in' (*GGBC* §27.10)

[42] *cé hiad na* ***garsúin*** *a raibh an troid* ***eatarthu****?* 'who are the boys who were fighting with each other?' (*GGBC* §27.10).

Where the preposition governs a pronoun, however, the order of constituents is inverted. The prepositional pronoun follows the interrogative directly and precedes the indirect relative clause, as in examples [1]–[4]

[11] In examples taken from this work I have normalised the orthography from the author's phonetic transcriptions of the spoken language.

[12] Cf. the variant *co as a dtainig thu indiu* (*SaR* 50).

above. *GGBC* §27.10 attempts to explain this syntax by suggesting the underlying structure of examples such as [1] and [3] above would be:

[43] *cé a dtabharfaidh mé an duais dó*, and

[44] *cé a raibh tú ag imirt ina choinne*

respectively. These postulated structures would place a resumptive prepositional pronoun or possessive adjective after the verb, and thus adhere to the normal syntactic arrangement of other interrogative relative clauses (cf. exx. [41] and [42] above).[13] While this may help us to understand how such clauses are to be construed, it does not explain why, in the first place, their constituents are arranged quite differently to other interrogative or relative clauses.[14]

A second question that arises is why an indirect relative clause should be required in this construction. In other cases where the antecedent of a relative clause is a prepositional pronoun or compound preposition the normal syntactic structure used is that of the direct relative clause, e.g.:

[45] *an dó a thabharfaidh mé é?* 'is it to him I will give it?' (*GGBC* §27.10)

[46] *is ina choinne a bhí mé ag imirt* 'it was against him I was playing' (*GGBC* §27.10).

Where the prepositional pronoun is preceded by the interrogative pronoun, however, a different structure is called for. *GCBC* states the rule thus: 'the indirect relative particle is used in a sentence beginning with an interrogative pronoun (in combination with the copula or free-standing) + a prepositional pronoun + relative particle. But if the copula replaces the interrogative pronoun it is the direct relative that is used.'[15] Even though we have seen that the rule as stated is not observed in examples such as [5]–[9] above, it is clear that the underlying syntax of our construction must be fundamentally different to clauses in which a prepositional pronoun is fronted with the copula.[16]

[13]Examples conforming to the structure postulated in *GGBC* and exemplified by [43] and [44] are well attested in Modern Irish dialects and are discussed below.

[14]A somewhat similar explanation is offered by O'Nolan, *Studies*, 138.

[15]My translation (*GGBC* §27.10: 'Úsáidtear an mhír choibhneasta neamhdhíreach in abairt dar tús forainm ceisteach (i gcumasc leis an gcopail nó saor) + forainm réamhfhoclach + mír choibhneasta. Ach má chuirtear an chopail in áit an fhorainm cheistigh is é an leagan coibhneasta díreach a úsáidtear.') A similar rule is stated for clauses with compound prepositions.

[16]A further question is why the prepositional pronoun must be in the third person singular masculine, but this is probably due to the fact that *cé* used on its own is felt to be masculine in gender. Nevertheless, we occasionally find examples that adhere to the principles of *constructio ad sensum*, where the prepositional pronoun agrees with the referent rather than being in the third person singular masculine, e.g. *cé* ***acub*** *a bhfuil sí ach ag aineiseoirí an tsaoghail*? 'who, but life's wretches have it [the Irish language]?' (*FBF* 370); *cé* ***chuici*** *a bhfuil tú ag brath a ghabháil* 'who do you intend to ask for in marriage' (lit. 'to whom [fem.] do you intend going?', *CiD* 69), *níor lig siad a leas ar cairde nuair a mheall siad aisti cé* ***aige*** *nó* ***aici*** *a d'fhágfadh sí an teach* 'they didn't neglect their own interest when they enticed her to reveal the person to whom she would leave her house' (*STL* 263), *Ní feasach mé cé* ***dó*** *nó* ***dóibh*** *a bhí an milleán ag dul* 'I don't know which person or people are to be blamed' (*GB* 133).

EAST MUNSTER AND THE DIRECT RELATIVE

Such questions are also prompted by certain developments in the syntax of the construction evident in the modern spoken language. The examples given above [10]–[40] are taken from the writings or transcribed recordings of native speakers of Irish born *c*. 1850–1920 AD and represent the majority of areas in which Irish was spoken in the first half of the last century. It will be noted, however, that the Irish of East Munster (Waterford) is not represented therein. Commenting on the use of the construction in this dialect, Sheehan remarks:

> When the interrogative relative is linked with a preposition it is followed by the absolute form of the verb. We do not say, e.g. *cia leis a bhfuil* (or *go bhfuil*) tu *ag caint?*, but *cia leis athá tu ag caint*; nor *cad air a raibh* (or *go raibh*) *sé ag trácht?* but *cad air a* [*do*] *bhí se ag trácht?* So too *cia dhó thug tu é? Cia uaidh a fuair tu é*?[17]

That is to say, in this dialect of Irish such clauses require the direct relative construction. That this usage is systemic and not the result of confusion between the different types of construction is shown by the fact that speakers of the dialect recorded by Sheehan were well capable of using the indirect relative in the other types of clause in which it is required.[18] Sheehan subsequently discussed this feature in a lengthy note he added to his book, *Gile na mBláth*, pointing out that while the indirect relative was the norm in West Munster, Connacht and Ulster, the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun was construed in his own dialect as a complex subject antecedent, and thus required the direct relative.[19] His arguments evidently did not move Gerard O'Nolan, who dismissed this syntax out of hand as a corruption of the idiom.[20]

Both Sheehan and O'Nolan were writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, and their accounts of usage in other dialects were probably correct for the time. The indirect relative was the normal construction in the other Munster dialects, as evidenced by our exx. [10]–[21] taken from the recordings or writings of speakers such as Amhlaoibh Ó Loinsigh (1872–1947), Seán Ó hAo (1861–1946), Peadar Ó Laoghaire (1839–1920) and Pádraig Ó Murchú (1873–1950) from Irish-speaking districts in West Cork; Seán Ó Conaill (1853–1931), Tomás Ó Criomhthain (1855–1937), Peig Sayers (1873–1958) and Muiris Ó Súilleabháin (1904–50) from West Kerry, and Stiofán Ó hEalaoire (1858–1944) from Clare. However, even in the works of some of these prominent exponents of Munster Irish, the direct relative construction, so frowned on by O'Nolan, was not unknown:

[17] Sheehan, *Sean-Chaint na nDéise*, 1 (Dublin, 1944), 211.

[18] See Sheehan, *Sean-Chaint*, 210–11.

[19] M. Sheehan, *Gile na mBláth* (Dublin, 1912), 83–4 n. 110.

[20] 'The Déisi forms are corruptions of the true idiom and are highly undesirable. They allow such questions as cia leis atá sé ag cainnt? Cia chuige chuireann tú na leabhra san. Cad air atá sé ag trácht. W. Munster, Connaught and Ulster are against these forms.' (O'Nolan, *Studies*, 138–9).

[47] *B'fhéidir ...nárbh fhios* ***cé aige*** *bheadh rud* 'Perhaps it wasn't known who might have something' (*LSC* 89)

[48] *Do bhí sé le clos ag an mbeirt an uair seo chomh maith, agus ná féadfaidís a aimsiú* ***cad as*** *a bhí sé ag teacht*. 'The two of them could also hear it at this time but could not establish where it was coming from' (*Allagar* 75)

[49] ***Cé leis*** *is deárthach é?* 'Who is he like?' (*Peig* 194)[21]

[50] *An bhfuil fhíos agaibh* ***cad air*** *a bhíos ag cuimhneamh?* 'Do you know what I was thinking about?' (*FBF* 165; cf. 17 above).[22]

While we encounter such instances of the direct relative in these sources, the indirect construction was still the more usual construction in the material recorded from those speakers, but by the time of Diarmuid Ó Sé's account of the Irish of West Kerry (2000), based on the speech of younger generations of informants,[23] the direct relative construction had become the norm in the dialect. Among the examples listed in this work are:

[51] ***cad air*** *a bhí sí ag sceamhaíl?* 'what was she giving out about?' (*GCD* §691)

[52] ***cé ina theannta*** *abhaile a bhís* 'in whose company did you come home?' (*GCD* §691).

Use of the indirect relative, on the other hand, seems largely confined to the causal interrogative *canathaobh* (< *cad ina thaobh*) 'why',[24] e.g.:

[53] ***canathaobh***, *na daoine ná raibh aon taithí riamh acu*, *gurb iad is measa* 'why is it that those who never had any experience are the worst?' (*GCD* §710).

It is also found sporadically elsewhere. This shows that in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, over a small number of generations, the use of the direct relative construction had established itself at the expense of the indirect relative in this type of clause, reflecting in large measure the development that had already taken place in East Munster at an earlier period.

The development is not confined to the dialects of Munster. In the Irish of West Galway the indirect relative would still appear to be the norm in the prepositional interrogative clause, but the use of the direct construction has also been attested for some time, e.g.:

[21] Cf. also p. 197. This can be contrasted with the use of the indirect relative in *n'fheadar cad leis gur dheárthach iad* 'I don't know what they are like' (*Allagar* 82).

[22] So also *FBF* 43.

[23] While the exact dates of birth of Ó Sé's informants are not listed, most appear to have been born in the first half of the twentieth century; cf. *GCD* 7–8.

[24] The syntax of clauses governed by *canathaobh* is discussed below.

[54] ***cé faoi*** *bheadh sibh ag magadh?* 'who would you mocking?' (*Dúil* 177)[25]

[55] ***cé aige*** *atá na hoileáin sin anois?* 'who has those islands now?' (*CC-Ros Muc* 5-09-09)

[56] *ach* ***cé uaidh*** *a ghoidfeas mé í?* 'but from whom will I steal it?' (*CC-Sp* 7-22-01)

[57] ***Cé as*** *a bhí an tseanbhean sin?* 'Where was that old woman from?' (*CC-LCA* 1-35-20)

[58] ***Cé le haghaidh*** *atá siad sin?* 'What are they for?' (*CC-LCA*, 2-03-14).

The use of the direct relative in clauses such as these can of course be seen in the context of the gradual erosion of the indirect relative construction and its replacement by the direct construction. While this is a tendency that would nowadays appear to be more marked among younger speakers, it is one that has been in evidence in Irish for some time.[26] Nevertheless, among older speakers the use of the direct relative appears to be somewhat more prominent in the prepositional interrogative than elsewhere, and this recalls the systemic nature of its distribution in the Irish of East Munster.

SCOTTISH GAELIC

That the replacement of the indirect by the direct construction in these interrogative clauses is of a somewhat different order to the loss of the indirect construction elsewhere is also shown by the situation in Scottish Gaelic. Many speakers and writers who otherwise use the Scottish indirect relative construction across its range, select the direct relative in this type of clause:[27]

[59] *agus ge b'e* ***cò leis*** *a bha e, cha b'ann leis-san* 'and whosever it was, it wasn't his.' (*DDonn* 68)

[60] *Fhuair mi a-mach* ***cò às*** *a thàinig am Bulgarian jam* 'I found out where the Bulgarian jam came from' (*Klond.* 119)

[61] ***Cò mu dheidhinn*** *eile a dh'fheumas tu smaoineachadh?* 'What else must you think about?' (*Klond.* 155)

[62] ***Cò comhla ris*** *a bha thu a'danns an oidhch' eile?* 'Who were you dancing with the other night?' (*Klond.* 74)

[63] ***cò air*** *a chaidh do thogail?* 'on what were you reared?' (*UB* 51).

[25]Cf. also *cé aige atá an gheonaíl sin* 'who is that whining coming from?' (*Dúil* 43); *Cé leis a cheapann sibh a bheith ag cocaireacht* 'Who are you trying to be cheeky to?' (*Dúil* 188); *cé leis atá mé ag caint* 'who am I speaking to?' (*Dúil* 198).

[26]On this development see *SnaG* 526, 607; *GCD* §626–7; *IIA* §8.80–83; *GRGI* §683, and M. Ó Siadhail, *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation* (Cambridge, 1989), 313–14.

[27]Scottish Gaelic retains the old prepositional relative construction in indirect relative clauses. This construction is in Modern Irish subject to a number of restrictions (*GCBC* §27.17) and confined largely to the written register. The development of the Irish indirect relative construction is discussed below.

These can be contrasted with the indirect relative construction in:

[64] *a fheadhainn **aig a** robh a' cheilp* 'those who had the kelp' (*UB* 77)

[65] *dannsa **ris an** can sinn Dannsa Chlaidheamh* 'the dance we call the Sword-Dance (*Tocher* 17 (1975), 10)

[66] *Sin an t-àite **as an** tàinig e* 'That is where he came from' (*Arran* §235)

[67] *Bha fear a bha ag obair còmhla ris **air an** robh Fionnlagh* 'There was a man working with him who was called Fionnlagh' (*Klond.* 227)

[68] *Dè an seòrsa staid **anns an** robh am bàta aige?* 'In what sort of state was his boat?' (*Klond.* 215).

The situation obtaining in modern spoken Scottish Gaelic, however, is rendered somewhat more complicated by the fact that the old prepositional relative is sometimes retained in prepositional interrogative clauses. This will be discussed in its historical context below.

Manx

Manx presents a somewhat similar picture. As in Scottish Gaelic, the prepositional interrogative, consisting of interrogative particle + prepositional pronoun, is followed by the direct relative, e.g.:

[69] ***Quoi rish** eisht nee shiu Jee y hoylaghey?* 'To whom then will ye liken God?' (*VG* Isiah 40:18)

[70] *as **quoi marish** t'ou er n'aagail ny reygyryn shen dy chirree ayns yn aasagh?* 'and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?' (*VG* 1 Samuel 17:28)

[71] ***quoi liorish** ta nyn mooinjer hene dy chastey ad?* 'by whom do your children cast them out?' (*VG* Matthew 12:27).[28]

While the prepositional relative is retained in this structure, albeit with the direct relative as is the case in Scottish Gaelic, elsewhere in Manx it has been largely abandoned in favour of a syntagm of antecedent + prepositional pronoun + direct relative, e.g.:[29]

[72] *yn dooiney **rish** chreck mee yn wooa* 'the man to whom I sold the cow' (*GML* §105)

[73] *ny greeshyn, **orroo** hie eh seose gys thie'n Chiarn* 'his ascent [the stairs] by which he went up to the house of the Lord' (*VG* 1 Kings 10:5).[30]

[28] Cf. also *GML* §107.

[29] Vestiges of the old prepositional relative with indirect relative and eclipsis are attested in Early Manx; cf. C. Lewin, "'Manx hardly deserved to live": perspectives on language contact and language shift', *ZCP* (2016), 141–205, at 160.

[30] On this construction see Lewin "'Manx hardly deserved to live"', 160–1. Note that in this Manx construction the prepositional pronoun agrees with its referent, e.g. *rish* and *orroo*

or by an alternative strategy in which a direct relative clause + resumptive prepositional pronoun is used, e.g.:

[74] *yn dooiney chreck mee yn wooa* ***rish*** 'the man to whom I sold the cow' (*GML* §105).[31]

INTERROGATIVE WITH RESUMPTIVE PREPOSITIONAL PRONOUN

A second important development is mentioned by Sheehan in his discussion of how the syntax of the interrogative relative in East Munster Irish diverges from that in other dialects. He points to two constructions found in the dialects of Connacht and Ulster that would correspond to the type of sentence [75] we find in the Irish of East Munster:

[75] *Cia* [cé] *leis atá sé ag caint?* 'Who is he talking to?', viz.

[76] *Cia* [cé] *leis a bhfuil sé ag caint?* and

[77] *Cia* [cé] *a bhfuil sé ag caint leis?*

Ex. [76] represents the normal indirect relative (as in our exx. [10]–[40] above), but in [77] we find that the syntagm interrogative + prepositional pronoun + indirect relative has been replaced by a structure consisting of interrogative + indirect relative + resumptive prepositional pronoun, that is to say, that the prepositional pronoun has been moved rightwards towards the end of its clause. This latter structure, of course, brings the prepositional interrogative with pronoun into conformity with other interrogative indirect relative clauses with a resumptive prepositional pronoun referring back to the antecedent of the clause, as in [41] and [42] above.

As such, it can be seen as a predictable development. Sheehan's reference to it being attested in Connacht and Ulster Irish as early as 1912 shows it also

in the examples cited. A strikingly similar type of construction is attested in some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish texts from South-East Ulster, e.g. *an mhuintir* ***leo*** *nach dtainic na cathuigthe iomchar, do thuiteadar* 'those who could not bear the temptations fell'; *tusa* ***ort*** *a mbíonn eagla air uairib* 'you who are frightened at times'. For these and other examples see C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás*, §476 (pp. 398–401) and B. Ó Buachalla 'The prepositional relative clause in SE-Ulster Irish', *Celtica* 15 (1983), 69–77. Ó Buachalla holds that this construction, confined as it appears to be to religious texts, may have been restricted to high-register religious discourse and was not a widespread feature of the dialect.

[31] This construction similar to the Irish indirect relative with resumptive prepositional pronoun is also attested in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. *faigh i o'n fheadhainn a tha thu 'g obair aca* 'get it from the people for whom you are working' (*Lochlann* 5 (1972), 94). This is frequently encountered where the relative clause contains a compound preposition, e.g. *gu dè an fheadhainn a bha sinn còmhla riu*, 'who are the people we were with?' (*Lochlann* 6 (1974), 83). Cf. also *SnaG* 697; but note that in our two examples of the interrogative relative listed above, [61] and [62], the compound preposition + relative particle precedes its verb. This Scottish construction, however, uses the direct relative, as can be seen from the verbal forms *tha* and *bha* in our examples, and is taken by MacLennan to be a relatively recent development in the language; see G. W. MacLennan, 'Some anomalies in the Gaelic dialects of Scotland and Canada', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14 (1986), 128–37, at 129. On the possible dialectal distribution of the two constructions, cf. D. Adger and G. Ramchand, 'Dialectal variation in Gaelic relative clauses', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (2006), 179–92.

to be a feature of long standing, and while examples can be cited from several dialect areas, including Munster, my impression is that this structure would appear to be more prominent in the Irish of Ulster than elsewhere.[32] I give some examples:

[78] *n'fheadaradar* ***cé*** *go gcuirfidís an milleán* ***air*** 'they did not know who to blame' (*GBroc* 62) (Cork)

[79] *dá mbeadh fhios agum* ***cé hé*** *go raibh an tseana-scian sin* ***aige*** 'if I knew who had that old knife' (*LSE* 53) (Clare)

[80] ***cé*** *a bhfuil easpa céille* ***air****?* 'who is lacking in sense?' (*CC-Sp* 7-27-02) (West Galway)

[81] *An bhfuil a fhios agat* ***céard*** *atá mé ag gáire* ***faoi****?*'Do you know what I am laughing about?' (*CC-Forb* 6-03-16) (West Galway)[33]

[82] *i riocht agus go sílfeá go mbeadh a fhios aici* ***céard*** *a mbeifeá ag cuimhneamh* ***air*** 'in such a way that you would think she would know what you were considering' (*PMB* 25) (Mayo)

[83] ***cé*** *bhfuil an chrois* ***fána choinne*** 'who is the cross for' (*GRGI* §403) (Donegal)

[84] ***cé hé*** *rachfá* ***chuige*** *ach mac do dhearthára féin* 'who would you go to but your own brother's son' (*UGV* 210) (Tyrone).

These and other developments have recently been addressed by James McCloskey in his study of resumptive pronouns in Irish and their underlying syntax.[34] One of the important observations he makes in this work is that in the prepositional interrogative clause the interrogative and immediately following prepositional pronoun form a closely bound stress unit. The stress falls on the prepositional pronoun, to which the weakly accented interrogative (*cé* or *cá/ca*) is bound in what amounts to a form of proclisis. This bound unit will not tolerate the insertion of any other element between its two members. If any other element is placed after the interrogative, it will result in the prepositional pronoun being moved to the end of its clause. Hence the presence of the pronoun *é* in our examples [83]–[84] above can be seen to trigger the rightward movement of the prepositional pronoun in each case. In like manner, the use of the compound interrogative *goidé/caidé*, found mainly in the northern dialects of Irish, calls for the same syntax, e.g.:

[85] ***caidé*** *a bhfuair sé greim* ***air*** 'what did he catch hold of' (*CSS* 13)

[86] *thuigfeadh sé* ***goidé*** *a rabh sí cosamhail* ***leis*** 'he would understand what it was like' (*FGI* 16)

[32] See L. Lucas, *GRGI* §§402–4 and McCloskey 'Resumptive pronouns', 99–101. Note also *cé a bhfuil an tae ina chomhair?* 'who is the tea for?', cited without comment in *GGBC* §13.81.

[33] Note further the use of the direct relative construction in this example.

[34] 'Resumptive pronouns', at 98–108.

[87] ***goidé*** *chuir sé an rópa* ***fríd****?* 'what did he put the rope through?' (*GRGI* §402).[35]

This condition is of course not present in all examples listed in [78]–[84] above in which the prepositional pronoun has been postposed rather than preposed, but it is clear that such re-arrangement presented an alternative strategy in Modern Irish for the formation of these clauses.

Both the replacement of the indirect by the direct construction exemplified by [54]–[58] above, and the re-arrangement of its constituents as in [78]–[84], suggests some degree of instability in the formation of such interrogative relative clauses. This doubtless has to do with their origin and subsequent history, to which we will now turn our attention.

ORIGIN

We can trace the origin of the Modern Irish direct and indirect relative constructions back to the Early Irish period. Historically, the Modern Irish (and Scottish Gaelic) direct relative derives from the Old Irish leniting relative clause. In Old Irish this construction was initially confined to clauses in which the antecedent was the subject or the direct object of the following relative verb, but in late Old Irish and in the course of the Middle Irish period was extended to clauses that followed fronted prepositional phrases, and also to certain conjunctions or nouns that would formerly have required a nasalizing relative clause.[36] The lenition of the initial of the verb which marks the affirmative direct relative would itself appear to be a relatively late and analogous development in Old Irish which subsequently spread as the primary manner of formally marking a relative verb over a wide range of sentences.[37] Note that initial relative lenition predates the development of the relative particle *do* (> *a*) which first appears in Early Modern Irish.[38] The negative relative particles *nach* and *na/ná* are derived from the Early Irish forms *nách* and *nád* respectively.

The indirect relative derives from the old prepositional relative clause, in which a syntagm consisting of preposition + relative particle *a* + verb is

[35]This condition does not attach to *céard/créad* which in origin is a composite interrogative pronoun (< *cía rét*) but can be followed directly by the prepositional pronoun and relative clause, cf. ex. [28] above. This, however, is a compound of very long standing and clearly was regarded as a single unit when the rule came into force. In Kirwan's catechism of *c*. 1830, we encounter examples such as *Goidé uaidh a bhfuair sí na grásta sin?* 'From whom did she receive those graces?' (*Kirwan* §38) and *Goidé dhó a dtug Dia na haitheanta?* 'To whom did God give the commandments?' (*Kirwan* §240), but in this text the interrogative *goidé* is also used where simple *cé* would be expected, e.g. *Goidé hiad na beoibh?* 'Who are the "living"?' (*Kirwan* §129), and clearly is seen as a single entity; on this see W. Mahon's comments in *Kirwan*, p. 215. With regard to the East Ulster phrase *caidé/goidé as nach ...* 'why... not?', see the discussion on *why*-clauses below.

[36]*GOI* §506; R. Ó hUiginn, 'The Old Irish nasalizing relative clause', *Ériu* 37 (1986), 33–86, at 69–75.

[37]On the initial lenition of verbal forms, see *GOI* §495(b).

[38]On this, see B. Ó Buachalla 'The relative particle *do*', *ZCP* 29 (1962–4), 106–13.

used (*GOI* §492). While this construction is still widely employed in Scottish Gaelic,[39] Irish has innovated and although matters of detail and chronology remain to be worked out, the broad outlines of the development seem clear. The Modern Irish indirect relative particle, of which there are some dialectal variants (i.e. *a*, *na*, *go*), evolved from the prepositional relative through the generalisation of a particular preposition with the relative particle as a non-specific relative marker. In the combination of preposition and relative particle, the preposition lost its semantic force, and the unit became a generalised relative marker. The nature of the relationship between antecedent and following clauses now had to be defined by the introduction of a resumptive prepositional pronoun. Contrast, for instance, [88], in which the preposition *ag* + relative retains its full force in a possessive construction, with [89], in which a resumptive prepositional pronoun (*aige*) echoes the preposition found with the relative particle that precedes the verb (*agá*), and [90] and [91], in which the resumptive prepositional pronouns (*dhó, orra*) differ from the one preceding the verb (*agá*), which here has to be taken as a generalised relative particle:

[88] *is beac má ba oirrdearca Concobhar* ***agá*** *roibhi ríghi Uladh* 'Conchubhar, who had the kingship of Ulster, was hardly more eminent' (*CF*[2] 589–590)

[89] *athair muinntire* ***agá*** *raibhe dias mac* ***aige*** 'a father who had two sons' (*TSh*. 3445–6) (*agá* ~ *aige*)

[90] *creúd é an fear so,* ***aga*** *bhfuilid na gáotha agus an fhairge ag umhlughadh* ***dhó*** 'what sort of man is this, that even winds and sea obey him?' (*NT Matthew* 8:27) (*aga* ~ *dhó*)

[91] *bíd mórán do dhaoinibh* ***agá*** *mbí eagla na péine ifreannda amháin* ***orra*** 'there are many people who only have fear of hellish punishment' (*TSh*. 4439–40) (*agá* ~ *orra*).

A further development was the use of this relative marker to denote genitival relationship:

[92] *Ná cuir amugha réd bhiádh an té* ***ag-á*** *bhfuáir Críosd bás* ***ar a shon*** 'Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom [lit. for whose sake] Christ died' (*NT Romans* 14:15)

[93] *Achd créud hé an ní* ***agá*** *ndeachubhair amach* ***dhá*** *fhéuchuin?* 'But what did you go out so see?' (*NT Luke* 7:25)

[94] *ag so an tí* ***agá*** *mbeith* ***a*** *urnaighthe iomlán* 'here is the person whose prayer is complete' (*TSh.* 4534).

The modern indirect relative particle *a* thus derives most likely from the preposition *i* used in relative construction. A by-form *na* (< *ina*) is also attested dialectally in Munster.[40] The West Munster form *go*, on the other hand, derives

[39]But note the alternative construction in Scottish Gaelic involving the use of a resumptive pronoun discussed above in n. 31.

[40]G. Ó Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish*, *Part 1* (Dublin, 1919), 105–6; *SnaG* 526; and ex. [10] above.

from the combination of the preposition *ag* + relative particle, i.e. *aga/agá* > *ga/go*. This construction was also extended to clauses with resumptive possessive adjectives, functioning as a genitival relative as in [92]–[94], and to clauses with resumptive independent pronouns.[41] The prepositional relative construction from which this evolved is confined in the main to the literary language in Modern Irish and is restricted to a number of prepositions.[42] In Scottish Gaelic, on the other hand, it is still widely used (cf. exx. [64]–[68] above).

In Early Irish the prepositional interrogative is expressed by the use of an interrogative pronoun, inflected for gender, followed by a prepositional relative clause (*GOI* §492). The following examples illustrating this usage are taken from Old and Middle Irish texts:

[95] ***Cid asa*** *fordailtea grád túa*[*i*]*the?* 'On what basis have the lay grades been subdivided?' (*Críth Gabl*. 6)

[96] *ben las(a) mbi cuma cip* ***cia las*** *fia* 'a woman who does not care with whom she sleeps' (*BCrólige* §44)

[97] ***cid dia*** *nepirsom aní sin* 'why does he say this?' (*Wb*. 19 d 11)

[98] ***Cid ara*** *tibrind mo mnaí duit* 'Why [i.e. for what] should I give you my wife?' (*LL* 13357)

[99] ***Cid fris*** *tudchabair* 'For what have you come?' (*LL* 33054)

[100] ***Cia forsa*** *ndígéltar iat* 'On whom will they be avenged?' (*LL* 38420–1)

[101] *nícon·fes* ***cīa ō·****tucad* 'it is not known from whom it was brought' (*Sc. M.*[2] 3)

[102] ***cid imma*** *tucad Lis na n-Éices ar in lis-so thes?* 'why was this enclosure to the south called Lis na n-Éices?' (*Acall*. 2714)

[103] ***cia ic á*** *raibe ind fidchell?* 'who had the *fidchell*?' (*Acall*. 7816).

While some of the examples listed here may bear a superficial resemblance to the Modern Irish construction, the two are clearly not the same. The Early Irish construction consists of a fully stressed pronoun (*cid, cía*) followed by an unstressed complex of preposition + relative particle, whereas its modern counterpart is formed by using a weakly stressed interrogative followed by

[41] On the development of the Modern Irish indirect relative see G. Ó Nolan, *Studies*, 108–13; *SnaG* 425, 464; O. Bergin, *TSh*, vocabulary s.v. *go*; D. Greene, 'The development of the construction *is liom*', *Éigse* 10 (1961–3), 45–8, at 48; R. Ó hUiginn 'A note on relative marking in Irish', in P. O'Neill (ed.) *The Land beneath the Sea*: *Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist's Contribution to Celtic Studies in Australia*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 14 (Sydney, 2013), 163–70; and M. Hoyne, 'Why resumption? Resumptive pronouns in prepositional relative clauses', in E. Poppe, K. Stüber and P. Widmer (eds), *Referential Properties and their Impact on the Syntax of the Insular Celtic Languages* (Münster, 2017), 69–100.

[42] *GGBC* §27.17. Note, however, that indirect relative *a* following a noun with locative or temporal force is not followed by a resumptive prepositional pronoun and thus most likely reflects the old prepositional relative with *i* (> *a*); cf. *GOI* §492; *GGBC* §27.11 and Ó hUiginn, 'A note', 168. West Munster *go*, which can also be used in a locative function without a resumptive pronoun, appears to have adopted the syntax associated with *a* (< *i*), which may also appear in such clauses in this dialect; see *GCD* §623–4.

a fully stressed prepositional pronoun and the relative particle. This earlier interrogative + prepositional relative, moreover, is not a bound syntagm in the way its later counterpart is. It will tolerate the insertion of other elements between interrogative and prepositional relative, e.g.:

[104] ***cid*** *dono* ***arnab*** *fo gnímaib no mesemnaiged duine for araile fon innsin* [= *fon indas sin*] 'why (i.e. for what), then, should it not be for his deeds that one person should judge another in that manner?' (*CIH* 350, 11–12).[43]

Despite these fundamental differences, it would nevertheless appear that the structure of our modern prepositional interrogative clause is indeed based on the older construction, save that the simple preposition has been replaced by the third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun to which the interrogative is bound in proclisis.

How and when did this change happen? Two factors are likely to have contributed to the development. In the first place, there is a strong tendency in Irish to replace the simple prepositions by a form based on the corresponding third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun. Thus we find *as* in place of earlier *a*, *roimh*(*e*) in place of *ré*, *tríd* in place of *tré*, etc.[44] The starting point of this substitution is obscure, as O'Brien has pointed out, but while there is evidence to show that this process goes back at least as far as the fourteenth century, the substitution of a form based on the prepositional pronoun for the simple preposition was not carried through to completion nor did it affect all prepositions in all dialects equally.[45] Some prepositions have resisted the change, e.g. Scottish Gaelic *a* 'out of', contemporary Modern Irish *i* 'in', while the influence of the prepositional pronoun on others has only been partial and does not amount to full replacement, e.g. *le* (< *leis*; OIr *la*) *thar* (OIr *dar*), *chuig* (< *chuige*; OIr *co*), *roimh* (< *roimhe*; OIr *re*), *ar* /er^{l}/ (< *air*(*i*); OIr *ar* /ar/), *ag* /eg^{l}/ (< *aige*; OIr *oc* /og/), etc. This development on its own cannot form the basis of the modern interrogative relative, which in all dialects of Irish and Scottish Gaelic contains a stressed prepositional pronoun (cf. exx. [10]–[40], [59]–[63] above), but it may have contributed to it.

The most likely reason that the old construction of interrogative + preposition + relative particle was replaced by the modern syntagm of interrogative + prepositional pronoun + relative particle, is that the modern construction is in origin a petrified copula phrase.[46] Where the copula is followed by a preposition in a minimal interrogative clause consisting simply of copula and preposition, the preposition must take its pronominal third

[43] Cf. also later ***creud*** *fos* ***fa*** *ndealbhthar an Sbiorad Naomh a bhfioghair cholaim*? 'why, furthermore, is the Holy Spirit presented in the form of a dove?' (*Luc. Fid.* ll. 521–2).

[44] On this development see M. A. O'Brien, 'Etymologies and notes', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 168–84, at 175–7.

[45] O'Brien, 'Etymologies', 176.

[46] That is to say, we take *cé* etc. to consist of interrogative + copula, as is evident from past-tense and conditional forms such as *cérb*, *cér* and *cérbh*; cf. M. A. O'Brien, 'Etymologica', in J. Ryan (ed.), *Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* (Dublin, 1940), 87–8, at 88.

person singular masculine form.[47] Such clauses typically occur in 'follow-up' questions, where a context has been established by a preceding phrase or utterance. Consider the following examples from English:[48]

[105] A. *I'm going out tonight.* B. *Who with?*

[106] A. *I need to go to the shop tonight.* B. *What for*?

These are elliptical phrases and represent the syntactic construction known in theoretical syntax as 'sluicing'.[49] Sluicing involves the elision of all elements, save the interrogative pronoun, from direct or indirect questions.[50] Thus our example [105] would stand for *Who are you going out with tonight?* while [106] would represent *What do you need to go to the shop tonight for?*

This construction is well attested in Modern Irish, e.g.:

[107] Q. *Ní aontóinnse an-mhór leatsa anois faoi sin*. A. ***Cé faoi****?*
Q. 'I would not agree greatly with you about that. A. About what?
(*CC-Forb* 6-14-3)

[108] *Arb ag an sagart a bhíodh sé nó* ***cé aige****?* 'Was it the priest who used to have it, or who? (*CC-Teach Mór* 5-08-03).

As such constructions belong in the main to the realm of the spoken language, instances in earlier written sources are not frequently encountered, but the occasional examples we find show that sluicing was also a feature of earlier Irish. The following is taken from Antoin Gearnon's *Parrthas an Anma* (1645), much of which is set out in a question-and-answer format:

[109] *C. An rabhamar a mbraighdeanas?*
F. Do bhámar.
C. ***Cia aige?***

Q. Were we kept captive?
A. Yes, we were.
Q. By whom? (*PA* ll. 1402–5).

The question ***cia aige*** would thus stand for **cía agá rabhamar a mbraighdeanas*. Example [110] is from an eighteenth-century text, cast in the form of a dialogue:

[47] Cf. *GGBC* §13.81.

[48] Examples taken from Cambridge Dictionary's online English Grammar Today https://dictionary.cambridge.org/grammar/british-grammar/speaking/question-follow-up-questions (accessed 20 June 2018).

[49] On sluicing, see J. Ross, 'Guess who?', in R. Binnick, A. Davison, G. Green, and J. Morgan (eds), *CLS 5: Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, April 18–19, 1969* (Chicago, 1969), 252–86; S. Chung, W. Ladusaw and J. McCloskey, 'Sluicing and logical form', *Natural Language Semantics* 3 (1995), 239–82; J. Merchant, *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis* (Oxford, 2001). I am grateful to James McCloskey for these references.

[50] As stated in the original formulation by Ross, 'Guess who', 252: 'This rule has the effect of deleting everything but the preposed constituent of an embedded question under the condition that the remainder of the question is identical to some other part of the sentence or of a preceding sentence.'

[110] *Bhímur a rinnce, do shinneadhmur, do ghabhamur abhrán, bhímur a gáireadh, dimreamur.*
Go dé an cloithe, agus ***cia leis****?*

Q.'we were dancing, we played music, we sang a song, we were laughing and we played.
A. What game and with whom?' (*Conv.* 23)

Likewise, ***cia leis*** in this example would stand for **cia lér imreabhair?* Example [111] is from a sermon written in 1817:

[111] *Is é an ní d'ofráilimíd fuil agus feóil /ar Slánuight*[*h*]*eóra.*
Cia dhó*?*

'What we offer is the blood and flesh of our Saviour'.
To whom?' (*SMN* 3, 112)

So also ***cia dhó*** here would stand for **cia dá n-ofrálaimíd fuil agus feóil ar Slánuightheóra.*

What has taken place in the modern construction is that the syntagm of interrogative + prepositional pronoun, i.e. the sluice, has been taken from such elliptic phrases and imposed on the old prepositional relative, resulting in the preposition being replaced by the pronominal form, but with the syntax of the prepositional relative being retained. Such a development will explain why we now have a prepositional pronoun instead of a simple preposition in the construction, and why the (copular) interrogative is unstressed and bound to the following prepositional pronoun, and it will furthermore account for the use of the indirect relative in the following clause.

CHRONOLOGY

When exactly this development took place is difficult to establish. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *cía*) gives the following from the late-fifteenth-century *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* as an early example:

[112] ***ca as*** *a tangadar* 'whence they came' (*St. Ercuil* 1412).

However, this can hardly be taken as definitive since *as a* in this example is just as likely to represent the preposition *a* + relative particle than the prepositional pronoun with relative particle.

The pronominal construction is not found in the corpus of bardic poetry.[51] As in Early Irish, the old prepositional relative is the only construction used, e.g.:

[113] ***cia ar*** *nach tug a thrócuire?* 'to whom did he not show his mercy' (*Dán Dé* xxv.46)

[114] ***Cia re*** *bhfuil Éiri ac anmhuin?* 'For whom is Ireland waiting?' (*Maguire* II, 1a)

[115] ***Cia dá*** *gcreidfid ... an ealta churadh cholg sídh ...* 'In whom shall the flock of champions with elfin swords put their trust' (*IBP* 43, 17ab)

[116] ***cia ó*** *bhfuighthe fóiridhin?* 'who can help you?' (*Athdhíoghluim* 39, 1d)

[117] ***Cia rér*** *fháiltigh Inis Fáil?* 'Who did Ireland welcome?' (*O'Reillys*, xix, 1a)

[118] ***Cia lé*** *maíter in gním garb/do chath Luimnig na laecharm?* 'By whom of the host of Limerick of the warrior arms is the rough deed boasted?' (*Celtica* 19 (1987), 42, v. 12ab)

[119] ***cia*** *mó* ***fá*** *dtugadh tusa/umhla uait an dula-sa?* 'why shouldst thou, more than they, make submission now?' (*SVBDL* xx, 18cd).

Likewise, the old syntagm of interrogative + preposition + relative particle + verb is the construction we encounter in the writings of Mac Aingil, Ó Maoil Chonaire, Keating, Stapleton, Gearnon and others active in the first part of the seventeenth century. Nor do we have any unambiguous examples of the modern construction in the Irish New Testament (1602/3) or in other religious texts of the period. In all of these texts, the old prepositional relative is the construction preferred.

Our construction, therefore, comes to be established in the literary language only in the post-classical era, but the fact that it is also found in Scottish Gaelic suggests that it may have had a sub-literary existence of longer standing. To trace its emergence, it will be convenient to look in turn at (a) the interrogative + prepositional pronoun and (b) the interrogative + compound preposition, as the manner in which each type of these is constructed is not the same.

[51]There are some examples in the bardic corpus in which the alternative form *leis* is used in place of *lé* in the prepositional relative construction, e.g. *do-sia ar a chorp nó ar a chruth / cia leis nach olc an t-éanghuth* 'who among us is not offended by a single criticism of his appearance or manner' (*Ériu* 64 (2014), 162, v. 8cd); *Do léan cia leis nach cluintir / do chaillis do chéad-mhuintir* 'who has not heard of your sorrow?; you have lost your spouse' (*A. Ó Dálaigh*, poem 52, 2ab). While on the surface this looks very like the Modern Irish construction, on metrical grounds *leis* in these examples has to be unstressed: these grounds are its failure to rhyme with a word in the penultimate line of the stanza in the first case (*deibhidhe*), and its position between the alliterating pair *cia ... cluintir* in the second. *Leis* here must represent the old form *lass*(*a*), reformed on the analogy of (*f*)*riss*(*a*) or perhaps under the influence of the prepositional pronoun.

INTERROGATIVE + PREPOSITIONAL PRONOUN

With regard to the first of these, a problem we immediately encounter in sources of the seventeenth century and later is identifying clear and unambiguous examples of the new construction. This is due to the convergence of simple preposition and prepositional pronoun, alluded to above, which sees many simple prepositions replaced or reshaped under the influence of the third person singular masculine pronominal form. This development serves in many instances to obliterate a formal distinction between the two. Consider the following examples, both taken from the Irish translation of the Old Testament:

[120] ***Cía ar*** *nach bía h-eagla-sa?* 'Who will not fear you?' (*OT Jeremiah* 10:7)

[121] ***cía air*** *nach biáidh eagla?* 'who will not fear?' (*OT Amos* 3:8).

Example [120] with the prepositional form *ar* has the appearance of being the prepositional relative construction, while [121], with the form *air*, looks very much like the pronominal construction. However, as *ar* and *air* are used interchangeably as forms of the simple preposition in this text, the diagnostic for distinguishing the two constructions is lost both with this preposition and others that show a similar convergence.[52]

What might appear to be some clear examples are found in the Irish Old Testament printed in 1685, but translated several decades earlier. In these the interrogative *créd* is followed by the prepositional pronoun *uime*, which is quite distinct from the simple preposition *um* (or) *uim*, e.g.:

[122] ***cred uime*** *gur sibh as deigheanuigh do thabhairt an Rígh ar ais?* 'wherefore then are ye the last to bring back the king?' (*OT 2 Samuel* 19:12).

[123] ***Cred uime*** *nar bheanabhair amach íad?* 'Why therefore did ye not recover them?' (*OT Judges* 11:26).

These can be contrasted with:

[124] ***cred um a*** *ndérna tusa so?* 'Why have you done this?' (*OT Jonah* 1:10),

in which the prepositional relative is used. Rather than representing the new relative construction, however, it is more likely that *uime* in [122] and [123] is being used in each case to translate the English *therefore* or *then* which appear in the text of the King James Bible, on which the Irish translation is based. The third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun *uime* (*sin*) is used throughout the Old Testament in the sense 'therefore, as a result of that, etc.', and these can be taken as further instances of that usage.[53]

[52] In this case both probably represent the old prepositional relative.

[53] For *créd nach/nar* in the sense 'why ... not?', cf. *cred nach bhfuáir mé bás a n-uáir tháinic mé amach as an mbolg?* 'why did I not die when I came from the womb?' (*OT Job* 3:11), and the discussion on *why*-clauses below.

The earliest clear examples I have been able to find in the corpus of texts provided by the Royal Irish Academy's *Foclóir Stairiúil na Nua-Ghaeilge* come from the second recension of *Acallam na Senórach*:[54]

[125] ***Cia aicce*** *a raibhe in bhfithchill darab fuirionn so?* 'Who had the *fithchell* to whom these pieces belonged?' (*AS2*, III, 140)

[126] ***Cia aicce*** *a rabhador...?* 'Who had them?' (*AS2*, II, 184).[55]

These examples, however, are found side by side with the prepositional relative, used in all other cases in what is a very lengthy text.[56] Although this version of the *Acallam* has been dated to the late fifteenth or to the early sixteenth century, our earliest manuscript witness was written *c*. 1680. As its editor points out, the scribe, Pádraig Mac Oghannán, was responsible for introducing some neologisms into his text in the course of transcription.[57] While it is of course possible that the new construction was already in existence at the time this text was composed and that the writer used it in these examples in place of the more usual prepositional relative, it is perhaps more likely that these examples of the modern construction were introduced by Mac Óghannán in the course of transcribing the work from an earlier exemplar. In this text, therefore, the presence of the two constructions may possibly be attributed to issues of transmission resulting in a degree of linguistic layering.

Examples of the new construction are encountered with greater frequency in texts of the eighteenth century, but here again they occur side by side with the older prepositional relative construction. As many of these sources are contemporary compositions, the possibility of linguistic layering cannot be invoked as a reason for the presence of the two in the same text and it must therefore reflect a degree of tension between an older literary syntax and usage in contemporary speech. However, it is also probable that the change from the older prepositional relative to the modern construction did not develop in an even and systemic manner.

Donlevy's Catechism of 1742, also cast in a question-and-answer format, contains many examples of this type of clause. He makes use of both constructions but, quite interestingly, not with the same prepositions. I give examples under each different preposition and list further references below:

Ag

[127] ***Cia aige*** *a bhfuil Cumhacht re Aifrionn do rádh?* 'Who is empowered to say mass?' (p. 424).

[54]http://corpas.ria.ie/. Accessed 25 June 2018.

[55]*Accas Confaitt fén* (*ro feas*) / *cia ris a ttucadh a threas ...?* 'And as for the [battle] of Confait itself (it is known) against whom was it fought ...? (*AS2*, II, 44), is a prepositional relative clause with the permitted alternative *ris a* being used in place of the more usual *ré* in order to secure seven syllables in the line; cf. *BST* §218. So also *AS2*, III, 188. The alternative *leis a* (in place of *lé*), appears in *AS2*, I, 4; III, 133.

[56]Note in particular *cía accá mbíodh* (*AS2*, I, 276); *cia ghá mbaoi* (ibid. II, 31); *cía 'gá raibh* (ibid. II, 87), where *ag* appears in the more usual prepositional relative construction.

[57]*AS2*, I, xxiv–xxv.

A(i)r

[128] ***Cia air*** *ar chóir dhúinn guidhe?* 'For whom should we pray?' (p. 366).

A(s)

[129] ***Creud as*** *a bhfuil ar nDóigh?* 'For what do we hope?' (p. 353).

Do

[130] ***Cia d'ar*** *Ceart an Sásughadh-so do thabhairt?* 'To whom should this satisfaction be given?' (p. 106).

Fo

[131] ***Creud F'ar*** *chuir Dia air an tSaoghal thú?* 'Why did God bring you into the world?' (p. 114).

I

[132] ***Creud ann*** *a bhfuil d'fiachaibh oruinn a bheith umhal dóibh?* 'In what must we be obedient to them?' (p. 82).

Le/Re

[133] ***Cia lé*** *ar cóir dhúinn ar bhfaoisidin bhliaghantamhuil do dheunamh*? 'To whom should we make our annual confession?' (p. 138).

[134] ***Creud ré*** *ar hUngadh é, nó* ***ré*** *ar cuireadh Ola air?* 'With what was he anointed or was oil put on him?' (p. 28).

Go

[135] C. ***Cia chuige*** *a nDírighmid ar nUrnuigh?* 'To whom do we direct our prayers?' (p. 364).

Ó

[136] ***Cia uadh*** *ar cóir dhúinn an tSácramuintsi do ghlacadh?* 'From whom should we accept this sacrament?' (p. 326).

The division between the two constructions in this text is noteworthy. The older prepositional relative is retained consistently with the prepositions *do* (13 exx. in the text), *fo* (< *im*) (61 exx.) and *le/re* (2 exx). The newer pronominal construction, on the other hand, appears with *ag* (2 exx.), *go* (4 exx.), *i* (1 ex.) and *ó* (3 exx.).[58] The examples with *ar* and *a*(*s*) are ambiguous as *air* and *as* could represent either the simple preposition or the prepositional pronoun (cf. exx. [120] and [121] above). Whether this represents the linguistic reality of the period in Donlevy's dialect, or is an attempt on his part to impose some form of standard on a construction that clearly was undergoing change at the time, is not clear.

[58] Although *ó* is the normal form of the simple preposition in this text, a form based on the prepositional pronoun, *uadh*, is found in this function in a small number of cases.

At any rate, by the nineteenth century the new construction had become firmly established in Irish and although we still find examples of the old prepositional relative in texts written at this time, they are in the main confined to works of a religious nature that may well have been influenced by earlier texts of this kind and thus belong to a literary high register rather than reflecting current usage in the spoken language.

INTERROGATIVE + COMPOUND/NOMINAL PREPOSITION

The situation obtaining with compound or with nominal prepositions presents a somewhat more complicated picture. A nominal preposition can be defined as a nominal form used on its own as a preposition (e.g. *chun* < *dochum*, *timpeall, trasna*) or a combination of a simple preposition followed by a nominal form (e.g. *le haghaidh*, *os cionn*, *i ndiaidh*, etc.). As such prepositions govern the genitive case, a pronominal object will be expressed by means of a possessive adjective, e.g. Mod. Ir. *i m'aghaidh*, *lenár n-aghaidh*, *i do dhiaidh*, etc.; Early Irish *for ndochumsi* 'to you' (*Ml.* 53d9), *ana aigid-seom* 'against him' (*Trip.*[2] 313) (*in agaid/aigid*), *ara chind* 'in front of him' (*TBC 1*, 493) (*ar chiunn*). Examples of compound prepositions occurring in relative clauses are difficult to find in Early Irish sources, but where they do occur the syntax used is that of the genitival relative which can take a number of forms (*GOI* §§507–8). Note the following variations, all involving the compound preposition *in agaid* 'against'. Exx. [137] and [138] are found in the commentary on the law text *Bretha Étgid*, while [139] occurs in a digest of early legal material.[59]

[137] *is slán don ti i rucustar agaid* 'it is exempt for the person against whom he brought [him]' (*CIH* 1647.36)

[138] *lethfiach on ti i rucad i n-agaid* 'the person he was brought to oppose is subject to half liability' (*CIH* 1647.41)

[139] *cin fuath inte (= indi) a n-agaid a tecait* 'without hatred of the person against whom they come' (*CIH* 1941.31).

All three examples show variations on the prepositional relative construction. In [137] the preposition *i* precedes its verb and the nominal component of the compound preposition, *agaid*, is moved forward after the head of the relative clause. While one might expect the object to be expressed by a possessive adjective, this is frequently not used in such clauses. That is to say that in such clauses the relative marker on its own can serve to indicate oblique or genitival relationship.[60] In [138] the preposition *i* appears both before the verb and in the compound preposition *in agaid*, which stands at the end of its clause, while in [139] the clause is structured as a prepositional relative with the entire compound preposition and relative particle preceding their verb. In

[59]Cf. L. Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005), 77. I am grateful to Professor Breatnach for drawing my attention to these examples.

[60]*GOI* §507–8, and L. Breatnach, 'Some remarks on the relative in Old Irish', *Ériu* 31 (1980), 1–9.

this latter case the structure consisting of the compound preposition + relative particle has been modelled on that of the simple preposition.[61]

The earliest examples of compound prepositional interrogative clauses that I have in my collection adhere to this latter structure:

[140] *Ar a nadhbharson do sméid Simón Peadar ar an bhfhearsoin, do chum gu bhfiafróchadh sé,* ***cía a dtimcheall*** *ar labhair sé* 'So Simon Peter motioned to him so that he would ask [Jesus] which one he was speaking about' (*NT John* 13:24)

[141] *agus* ***cía a naghaidh*** *ar árduigh tú do ghuth, agus ar thóg tú súas do shúile go hárd?* 'and against whom have you raised your voice and lifted your eyes?' (*OT 2 Kings* 19:22)

[142] *agus dinnis sisi dá mathairchlíamhuin* ***cía a bhfochair*** *ar dhioghluim sí sin* 'and she told her mother in law with whom she had gathered that' (*OT Ruth* 2:19)

[143] ***Cía a ndiáigh*** *a ttáinig Rígh Israel amach?* ***Cía a ndiaigh*** *a bhfuil tú ag lorgaireachd?* 'After whom did the King of Israel come out? Who do you pursue?' (*OT 1 Samuel* 24:14)

[144] *teilgiom crainn, chor go náitheonam* ***cía ar son*** *a ttig an tolcso oruinn* 'let us cast lots in order that we might know on whose account this evil has come upon us' (*OT Jonah* 1:7)

[145] ***cia dochum*** *a tteichfe mé achd chugad-sa?* 'to whom should I flee but to you?' (*PA* ll. 4648–9).

However, as with the simple prepositions, we also find that the compound preposition can be replaced by the corresponding pronominal form, expressed through the use of a possessive adjective. Once again, my earliest example is from the latter part of the seventeenth century:

[146] *Ni heidir libhsi a radh linne ca huair no* ***cia le a linn*** *a ndeacha an Eagluis Romhanach riamh ar seachran* 'you cannot tell us when or during whose time the Roman [Catholic] Church ever went astray' (*Luc. Fid*. ll. 5850–3).

Examples are encountered with somewhat greater frequency in texts from the following century:

[147] ***Cia air a shon*** *a bhfuair sé bás?* 'For whose sake did he die?' (*Donl*. 34)[62]

[148] ***Créad 'na thaobh*** *na dtug Dia anamnacha dhúinn?* 'Why did God give us souls?' (*Teagusg* 7a).

[61] On this point see T. F. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Desiderius* (Dublin, 1941), 254–5.

[62] But contrast this with ***Cia air Son*** *a nDeirthear 'an tAifrionn'?* 'For whom is mass offered?' (*Donl.* 426), without the possessive adjective, found in the same text.

Unlike the simple preposition, however, the replacement of compound prepositions by the corresponding pronominal forms, i.e. with a possessive adjective, does not appear to have been brought to a full conclusion. That is the conclusion suggested by the evidence of the modern dialects: some compounds adopt the pronominal forms wholesale, e.g. Munster *cad ina thaobh*, while others tend to retain the preposition without the pronominal element, e.g. Connacht *le haghaidh* (cf. [26] and [58] above),[63] and Scottish Gaelic *carson*.

A significant difference between the development with simple prepositions and that with compound prepositions is that in the former we find the combination of interrogative + unstressed preposition and relative particle being replaced by a syntagm of interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun. In the latter, on the other hand, the prepositional relative construction already contains a stressed element, namely the nominal constituent of the compound preposition, and moving from one construction to another involves the minimal change of adding an unstressed possessive adjective. It is clear that this change was not always effected and, as we have seen, in many instances the compound prepositional relative without this pronominal element was retained.

In tracing the development from the prepositional to the pronominal construction we find a number of intermediate types that prefigure developments later to come to light in the modern spoken language. In [149], taken from a text of the eighteenth century, we have what appears to be an amalgam of both contructions in which the prepositional pronoun *dó* is followed by the preposition *do* + relative particle:

[149] *A Thighearna,* ***cia dhó dá*** *mbéarfaidh mé creidmheal, ach duit féin amháin?* 'O Lord, in whom should I believe but in yourself only?' (*PA* l. 210).

In this case, *dá* appears to be used as a generalised marker of the indirect relative (cf. [79] above).

In [150] the preposition *ar* occurs twice: first in combination with the negative particle in a prepositional relative construction and then at the end of its clause in the third person singular masculine pronominal form in a resumptive function, this representing a stage in the development of the modern indirect relative clause (cf. ex. [89] above):

[150] ***Cia ar*** *nach ccuirfeadh críthnúdh agus gráin* ***air****, na neithe a theagmhas do réir a thola féin do dhuine?* 'Who would not be terrified and horrified at the things that happen to a person of his own will?' (*BD* ll. 1763–4).

[63]The evidence of examples such as *cé le n'aghaidh a bhfuil sé sin annsin?* 'for what is that there?' (*SLM* 30), *Tá fhios againn cé le n-aghaidh d'imthigh sé* 'we know why he departed' (*IAE* 218), *céard le n-aghaidh ab fhearr a bheadh na páirceanna sin* 'what would those fields be best for?' (*ÉaB* 151), shows that the form with the possessive adjective could also be used in such clauses in the Irish of West Galway. However, in each of the 23 examples I have found in the extended *Caint Chonamara* corpus, the form without the possessive is the only one used. See also the discussion in *IIA* §§8.64–6.

It is interesting to note the position of the prepositional pronoun in this example, which anticipates the alternative strategy found in modern dialects of moving the prepositional pronoun towards the end of its clause (cf. exx. [78]–[84] above). Further earlier examples of this feature are:

[151] ***Cia*** *nach beith iongantas* ***air*** *fa na breitheamhnusuibh so Dé?* 'Who would not be surprised about these judgments of God?' (*BD* ll. 1762–3),

again with the simple preposition *ar*, and

[152] *... ag déunamh amhuruis* ***cía*** *agár labhuir sé* ***na thimcheall*** '... uncertain of whom he spoke' (*NT John* 13:22)

with a compound preposition.[64] Although examples such as these show this incipient tendency to form prepositional interrogatives in the same manner as other indirect relative clauses — i.e. with a resumptive pronominal element placed after the relative marker — adherence to the structure of the old prepositional relative with preposed prepositional pronoun was to remain the norm.

East Munster and Eastern Gaelic[65]

This new prepositional interrogative construction was also to develop in Eastern Gaelic but, for reasons similar to those we encountered in the Irish material, the chronology and detail of its emergence are not always obvious. It is nevertheless clear that it was already in use in Scottish Gaelic by the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the following example from the poetry of Iain Lom Mac Domhnaill (*c*. 1625–1710):

[153] *Cha bhithinn-s ag éigheach /* ***có dha*** *dh'éireadh an call* 'I would not need to proclaim / who the losers would be' (*Iain Lom* 1944–5).

Not only do we find the third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun (*dha*) used in this example but we also note it is followed by a direct relative clause, as in exx. [59]–[63] above, which are taken from more recent Scottish sources. As we have already noted, the use of the direct relative is a feature already well established in the Irish of East Munster nowadays, and one that has advanced greatly at the expense of the indirect relative in some other dialects of Irish. That its use in East Munster is also of long standing is evidenced by the sermons of Fr Wall (*c*. 1778–1834),[66] e.g.:

[64] There is a marked tendency in some dialects to move compound prepositions to the end of the clause, cf. *GRGI* §403 and ex. [83] above, and compare the similar tendency in Scottish Gaelic noted in n. 31 above. Where compound or simple prepositions are moved to the end of the clause, however, they must contain a resumptive pronominal element, e.g. *na* (< *ina*) *thimcheall* in [152] as opposed to *a* (< *i*) *dtimcheall* in [140].

[65] I use the designation 'Eastern Gaelic' simply as a geographical term with reference to Scottish Gaelic and Manx without assigning any further dialectal or historical significance to it.

[66] On this person see P. Ó Macháin, 'Teagasc an Athar de Bhál', *An Linn Bhuí* 11 (2007), 97–131, at 97.

[154] *mar nach fiosach do aoinne ... cad as a dh'eireodh namhad ina choinne* 'because nobody knows from what place an enemy might spring up against him' (*An Linn Bhuí* 11 (2007), 109).

It is one of a number of features that Waterford Irish has in common with Scottish Gaelic.

This syntactic development calls for comment. Sheehan held that the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun in this construction is to be construed as a composite subject antecedent, with the following clause therefore conforming to the syntax of the direct relative.[67] Unfortunately, he does not expand on this theory nor explain how such a development might have taken place. McCloskey, on the other hand, approaches the issue from a theoretical perspective, arguing that the use of the indirect relative in prepositional interrogative clauses can be perceived to be anomalous in that the complementiser used, namely the indirect relative marker, is normally associated with a following resumptive pronoun which it subjects to 'c[onstituent]-command'. In this case, however, the prepositional pronoun is preposed, and as the complementiser fails to c-command it, it also fails to 'bind' it.[68] This being the case, it adopts the syntactic pattern associated with other preposed prepositional pronouns, namely, the direct relative construction. Expressing this in a different manner, we can say that the use of the direct relative following a preposed prepositional pronoun in these clauses was most likely modelled on the syntax of clauses in which a prepositional pronoun is fronted in periphrasis with the copula, rather than being based on the old prepositional relative as it was elsewhere. That is to say that the syntactic structure found in clauses such as

[155] **cé dó a thabharfaidh mé é?* 'to whom will I give it?'

has been adopted from the structure found in examples such as [45] above (*an dó a thabharfaidh mé é?*), rather than that of the underlying

[156] **cé dá dtabharfaidh mé é?*

This would appear to be the best way of accounting for a syntactic development which is first found in Eastern Gaelic and in East Munster Irish, but which is now well established in the Irish of West Munster and is also prominent in Connacht.

Although the new construction had already taken root in Scottish Gaelic by the seventeenth century, it never succeeded, unlike its Irish analogue, in replacing the older prepositional relative completely. In his *Faclair Gaidhlig gu Beurla*, s.v. *cò*, Dwelly gives both

[157] ***cò aige*** *tha fios gu'n d'thàinig e*

[67] Cf. n. 18 above.

[68] McCloskey 'Resumptive pronouns', 104–7. On the terms 'c-command' and 'binding', see A. Carnie, *Syntax. A Generative Introduction*, third ed. (Oxford, 2013), 127–32 and 147–56 respectively.

and

[158] ***cò aig*** *am bheil fios gu'n d'thàinig e*

as possible ways of rendering 'who knows that he came?' into Gaelic. While [157] represents the same syntactic structure as we find in the poetry of Iain Lom (ex. [153] above), i.e. interrogative + prepositional pronoun + direct relative, in [158] we find the older prepositional relative clause. Examination of material in the corpus provided by the Scottish *Faclair na Gàidhlig* shows both constructions existing side by side in many texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The 1783–1802 translation of the Old Testament, for instance, presents us with both possibilities, e.g.

[159] ***cò ris*** *uime sin, a shamhlaicheas sibh Dia* 'to whom, then, will you liken God?' (*ABN*, Isaiah 40:18)

[160] ***Cò dam*** *bheil sibh a' deanamh àbhachd?* ***cò ris*** *am bheil sibh a' deanamh beoil fhairsing?* 'At whom do you sneer and stick out your tongue? (*ABN* Isaiah 57:4),

with direct [159] and indirect [160] constructions respectively. Likewise, both occur in McFarlane's 1819 translation of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

[161] ***Cò aig*** *a tha fios nach toir an Dia sin a chruthaich an saoghal am bàs air an Fhamhair* 'Who knows that the God who created the world will not kill the giant' (*CO* 118)

[162] ***cò aig*** *a bheil fios ciod a dh'fhaodadh iad a dheanamh air boirionnaich bhochda mar tha sinne* 'who knows what they could do to poor women like us' (*CO* 213).

Both are still productive in contemporary Gaelic, cf. exx. [157] and [158] above, and contrast

[163] *Cha robh Ailig Iain a 'tuigsinn* ***cò às*** *a thainig an t-ainm* 'Ailig Iain did not understand where the name had come from' (*DDonn* 116)

with

[164] ***Co as*** *an tàine tusa, a dhuine?* 'Where have you come from, my man?' (*Tocher* 16 (1974), 288)

which show direct and indirect relatives respectively. William Gillies, likewise, points out that both

[165] ***cò ris*** *a bha thu a'bruidhinn?* and

[166] ***cò ris*** *an robh thu a'bruidhinn?*

once again with direct and indirect relative clauses respectively, are acceptable alternatives in the modern language for 'who were you speaking with?'. It is unclear if their use and distribution is dialectal or generational or occasioned by other factors.[69] David Adger, for his part, suggests that both constructions are in the grammar of most speakers, so it is possible that their use is a matter of preference.[70]

Why-CLAUSES

Finally, there is one type of prepositional interrogative clause that semantically and syntactically forms a class of its own and should be discussed separately. Very frequently, the combination of a neuter or inanimate interrogative pronoun with the prepositional relative construction develops the meaning 'why'. Thus in Early Irish we find *cid ara* 'for what? > why?', *cid imma* 'about what? > why?', *cid dia* 'from what > why?', etc.[71] A number of these have survived as set interrogative phrases in Modern Irish and in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. Modern Irish *cad/créad fá*; *goidé/caidé as*; *cad chuige/tuige*; *cad ina thaobh/canathaobh* and Scottish Gaelic *carson*. These can be regarded as set phrases in that the component parts always remain closely bound together, in some cases undergoing univerbation with concomitant phonological change,[72] and in that they do not always follow the normal syntactic patterns obtaining in prepositional interrogative clauses.

While these phrases usually involve the use of preposition/prepositional pronoun + relative particle, in Early Irish we also find the interrogatives *cid* or *crét* followed by a relative clause without any preposition used in this function, e.g.:[73]

[167] ***cid*** *no mbetha im etarceirt a mess im dia* 'on what account should you be about disputing his judgment with God?' (*Wb*. 4c24)

[168] ***cræd*** *fofrīth litir?* 'why were letters invented?' (*ZCP* 12 (1918), 294).

This usage is particularly prominent in negative clauses and endures throughout the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods, e.g.:[74]

[169] ***Cid na*** *tibid innossa* 'why do you not laugh now?' (*LL* 36313)

[69] W. Gillies 'Scottish Gaelic', in M. J. Ball and N. Müller (eds) *The Celtic Languages*, second ed. (Abingdon, 2010 [first ed. 1993]), 230–304, at 290.

[70] D. Adger 'Gaelic syntax', in M. Watson and M. Macleod (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh, 2010), 304–51, at 335. Is it possible that the survival of the old construction in prepositional interrogative clauses was aided by its use in texts of a devotional kind which are of their nature high-register, being based frequently on earlier sources? Recall also that this construction endured in Irish down to the nineteenth century but is found mainly in devotional texts that in many cases are based on earlier exemplars.

[71] Cf. exx. [97], [98] and [102] above.

[72] E.g. *cad ina thaobh* > *canathaobh*, *cad chuige* > (*ca*) *tuige*, *ca tuí*; cf. *LASID* i, 242.

[73] On this usage see *DIL* s.vv. 1 *cía* (n) and *crét* (b).

[74] On this use of the negative see R. Ó hUiginn, 'Zu den irischen Negationen', in E. Poppe (ed.), *Keltologie heute — Themen und Fragestellungen* (Münster, 2004), 111–20, at 119.

[170] *Don fhior is só ar méad a mhuirne/**créad nach** dó budh cuibhdhe cách?* 'why would not all people be more fitting subjects to a man junior in rank if he enjoyed such great popularity?' (*PGB* I, 15d)

[171] ***créud nar** shine an tAthair neamhdha ina a Mhac?* 'Why was the Heavenly Father not older than his Son?' (*Luc. Fid*. ll. 465–6).

Cad fá/créad fá

A preposition, most usually *imm* (*u(i)m*) or its later form *fo/fa*,[75] can also be used with the negative particle, e.g.

[172] ***cread uim nár** sgaoilis féin an gad?* 'why did you not loosen the twig?' (*Mo Chuda* 122).

Where the clause is affirmative, the preposition must always be used in Classical and later Irish, e.g.:

[173] ***Créad fár** aorais gan fhátha / an file áith iongnátha?* 'why do you satirise causelessly the keen marvellous poet?' (*Content*. 22, 7ab)

[174] *a olc **ciodh fa** gceilfeidhe?* 'why should his evil be concealed?' (*Celtica* 18 (1986), 142, 21d)

[175] ***créad uma** n-abra tré fhíoch / réad nach admha led eissíoth?* 'why do you, in your rage, say things which in your instability you deny?' (*Content*. 9, 12cd)

[176] ***créud fá** dtarcuisnigheann tú do dhearbhráthair?* 'why do you regard your brother with contempt?' (*NT Romans* 14:10)

[177] ***Creud fa** ttugmaoid gradh do Dhía?* 'Why do we give love to God?' (*Luc. Fid*. l. 1309)

[178] ***Créud fá** ttugthar Críosd air?* 'Why is he called Christ?' (*PA* l. 972).

Cad fá or *créad fá*, 'why', becomes a set phrase in which the combination of preposition and relative particle is not replaced by a syntagm consisting of prepositional pronoun and relative particle as in most other cases. In this form it endures, being found frequently in texts of the nineteenth century and surviving into the modern language, albeit as a literary form.[76]

In place of the neuter interrogative pronoun on its own, we sometimes find the noun *fáth* 'cause, reason' used in these clauses, e.g.:

[179] *créad an **fáth** fa bhfíafruighionn tú mainm?* 'why do you ask my name?' (*OT Genesis* 32:29).

[75] On the forms of this preposition see T. Ó Ceoinín, 'Tráchtas gearr ar an réamhfhocal *fa*, *faoi*', *Lia Fáil* 1 (1925), 185–90.

[76] Cf. Ó Duinnín, s.vv. *cad*, *créad*; cf. *cad fá ar thréig tú iad?* 'why did you desert them?' (*FGB* s.v. *cad*; cf. also *FGB* s.v. *créad*).

In later sources we frequently encounter what appears to be an amalgamation of the two phrases, from which emerges a hybrid, *créad fáth* or *cad fáth*:[77]

[180] *Fiafruigheas Sir Balbhuaidh* ***créad fáth*** *ar tugadh 'Ridire an Lóchrainn' fair* 'Sir Galahad asked why was he called "the Knight of the Lantern".' (*EMM 50*)

[181] ***cread fáth*** *nach ccuireann sibh dóthchus a n-Dia?* 'why do you not put your hope in God?' (*Pastoral* 29)

[182] ***Cad fáth*** *ar ghlac Iosa Críost colann dhaonna?* 'Why did Jesus Christ assume human form?' (*Aithghear.* 11).

This phrase has survived in some dialects of modern Munster Irish, e.g.:

[183] *is* ***cad fáth*** *lena dtréigfinn-se fíon maith?* 'and why should I abandon good wine?' (*SAL* 441)

[184] ***Cad fáth*** *go bhfuilean tú ag gáirí?* 'Why are you laughing?' (*FBF* 81)

[185] ***Cad fáth*** *go ndeirtear é sin?* 'Why is that said?' (*CChléire* s.v. *cad*).

Cad as/Goidé as

Beside *cad fá/créad fá* we also find *créad as/cad as* 'from what', why', involving the use of the preposition *a(s)*:

[186] ***créud as*** *a ndéunatáoi eugcóir ar a chéile?* 'why do you wrong each other?' (*NT Acts* 7:26)

[187] ***créad as*** *a ccurthaói cathughadh ar an dtighearna?* 'why do you tempt the Lord?' (*OT Exodus* 17:2)

[188] ***Cad as*** *nach nabair se ni nuadh linn*? 'Why does he not say something new to us? (*Gallagher* 53)

[189] ***Cad as*** *a n-deir tú go bhfuil an Eaglais Romhánach Naomhtha?* 'why do you say that the Roman Church is holy?' (*Tuam* 30).

[190] ***Gad as*** *nach dtiomsuigheann tú sluagh, nó cabhlach ar cuan* 'Why do you not gather a host or fleet in a harbour?' (*AM*^{2} 72)

This also develops into a set phrase and survived in the modern language as *caid as* or *goidé as* in the dialects of Mid and East Ulster Irish, e.g.:[78]

[77] It could of course be argued that this represents an orthographic variant of *cad/créad fá* with the irregular spelling of *fá* (preposition + relative particle) being due to the influence of the noun *fáth*. This explanation could possibly be invoked in the case of examples from earlier written texts. *FGB* lists *cad fá* (s.v. *cad*[1] 1(d)), but not *cad fáth*. However, the fact that the phrase *cad fáth* has survived into some modern dialects of Munster Irish (cf. exx. [183–5]) shows that the noun itself is intended. As much is shown by phrases such as *cad fáth do bhuartha?* 'what is the cause of your anxiety' (*FBF* 338), where there is no question of a prepositional relative clause being involved. A distinction, however slight, can be drawn between *cad fé* 'about what?' and *cad fáth* 'why?' Cf. ex. [18] above: *cad fé go rabhas ag gáiridhe* ' what I was laughing about' (*Peig* 133), with *Cad fáth go bhfuilean tú ag gáirí?* 'Why are you laughing?' (*FBF* 81).

[78] See *LASID* iv, 284 n. 14. In all of the examples I have collected the phrase is followed by a negative clause.

[191] ***Caid as*** *... nar chuir tú an gearrfhia do mo iarraidh-sa ...?* 'Why didn't you send the hare to look for me?' (*SML* 75 (Tyrone))

[192] ***Goidé as*** *nach gceannófa bróga damh ...?* 'Why wouldn't you buy me shoes?' (*Béaloideas* 20 (1952), 31 (Tyrone))

[193] ***Goid as*** *nár innis tú dhû ...gur chuir mé mo bhata fríd do chois?* 'Why didn't you tell me that I stuck my stick through your foot?' (*SGG* 14 (Cavan))

[194] ***Caidé as*** *nár —* ***caidé as*** *nár — dhúirt tú do raibh an spéic i do chos?* 'Why didn't you say that the spike was in your foot?' (*UGV* 288 (Antrim))

[195] ***Goidé 's*** *nach dtug tú tárrtháil dó?* 'Why didn't you save him?' (*CÓMéith* 5 (Louth)).

The use of pronominal *goidé/caidé* in some of these examples ([193], [195] and [196]) calls for comment. As already has been noted, the presence of such a form normally requires that the prepositional pronoun be moved rightwards to the end of its clause; cf. exx. [85]–[87] and n. 31 above. It is evident, however, that this has become a fixed phrase in which the normal syntactic development does not take place, as it is probable that *goidé/caidé as nach* 'why... not?' is no longer felt to be a relative construction.[79]

Cad chuige

The combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun in the collocation *cad chuige* likewise forms a set phrase. The close bond between the unstressed interrogative and prepositional pronoun is again evident in the development of *cad chuige* > *tuige/go tuige* (Connacht) or > *cá tuí* (Donegal), which shows assimilation of the interrogative to the prepositional pronoun with concomitant devoicing of the final *-d* of the pronoun.[80] This phrase generally requires a following indirect relative, e.g.:

[196] ***Go tuige*** *a bhfuair sí iad?* 'Why did she receive them?' (*Kirwan* §39)

[197] *Aithneoidh tú* ***cad chuige*** *go bhfuil an chloch so ann* 'You will know why this stone is here' (*GCD* §692)

[198] ***Tuige*** *go ndéanfadh do chapallsa é?* 'Why would your horse do it?' (*SMN* 153)[81]

[79] As with Munster *cad fáth* and *cad fé*, discussed in n. 77 above, it is probable that a distinction can be made between *cá as* 'from where?' and *goidé as* 'why?'.

[80] Note that the univerbated *tuige* can also be used as a noun, e.g. *Bhí tuige leis* 'There was a reason for it', cf. T. de Bhaldraithe, *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1985), s.v. *tuige*. An alternative *creud/créad chuige* is attested in earlier sources, e.g. ***Creud chuige*** *fós a dtugthar Modh do hTaisibh na Naomh?* 'Why are the relics of the saints venerated?' (*Gallagher* 76).

[81] It is to be noted in this source (from the Aran Islands) that the indirect relative clause following (*go*) *tuige* is always introduced by *go* and not by *a*, which is used in other cases. Likewise, in the Irish of South Galway, *go* is frequently used beside the normal indirect relative particle *a*, following the synonymous *cén fáth* 'why', e.g. *Cén fáth go mbíonn an leabhar aige ...?* 'Why does he have the book ...?' (*CC-CRua* 8-07-41). Ó Direáin also notes similar occurrences of *cén fáth go* in the

[199] ***Tuige*** *a bpósfá mise?* 'Why would you marry me?' (*SO* 3)

[200] ***Cá tuí*** *nár labhair tú?* 'Why didn't you speak up?' (*SAB* 104).

Canathaobh

The West Munster phrase *canathaobh* is in origin a compound prepositional phrase in which the possessive adjective has been generalized.[82] While we find it written as *créad na thaobh* or *cad na thaobh* in earlier sources, e.g.

[201] ***Créad 'na thaobh*** *ná tuiteann an Eaglais i n-earráide?* 'Why doesn't the Church fall into error?' (*Teagusc* 21a)

[202] ***cad na thaobh*** *go leigeann tu an suan trom so ort?* 'why do you sleep so deeply?' (*Sonas* 379),

the univerbated form *canathaobh* is already found in texts of the nineteenth century:

[203] ***Canathaobh*** *gur rinnis so nó súd?* 'Why did you do this or that?' (*TST* 78).

Like *cad chuige* it requires a following indirect relative, and although the direct relative is now usual with other prepositional interrogatives in the Irish of West Kerry, the older syntax is retained in clauses governed by this phrase.[83]

Carson

Conversely, with Scottish *carson* (< *cò air son*), we have a compound preposition (*air son*) without the possessive adjective. In contemporary Scottish Gaelic this always requires a direct relative clause:

[204] ***Carson*** *a bha aiseagan a' ruith?* 'Why were ferries operating?' (*Mis*. 11)

[205] *cha robh fhios aig Dòmhnall* ***carson*** *a bha e ga dhèanamh* 'Dòmhnall did not know why he was doing it' (*Klond*. 32).

The use of the alternative prepositional relative clause does not appear to be a possibility here. On the other hand, where the referent is a person, the latter construction may be used, e.g.:

[206] ***Cò air son*** *am bheil mi ag obair?* 'For whom am I working?' (*FTM*, Iulaidh 1882, 3).

Irish of the Aran Islands; cf. S. Ó Direáin, *A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway*, §6.2 (http://aranirish.nuigalway.ie/media/DIASsurvey-2015-11-23.pdf) (accessed 25 June 2018).

[82] On the distribution of this and other such interrogative phrases in Irish dialects see the map in *LASID* i, 242.

[83] On this see *GCD* §710.

Conclusions

The history of the modern prepositional interrogative clause is not uncomplicated. We have argued that the syntax of the construction illustrated in exx. [1]–[4] above, prescribed in *GGBC* and other grammars and still widely used in Connacht and Ulster Irish, is based on that of the old prepositional relative clause, with the older syntagm of stressed interrogative + unstressed preposition and relative particle having been replaced by a copular phrase consisting of unstressed interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun/compound pronominal preposition, i.e. the so-called 'sluice' construction. Such an explanation will answer the two questions we posed at the outset, namely, why the constituents of the clause are ordered in the manner they are and why the indirect rather than the direct relative construction is used in the following clause.

This new construction was clearly in existence by the seventeenth century, but the fact that it is attested in both Eastern and Western Gaelic at that time suggests it had an existence — in the spoken language at least — of longer standing. Nonetheless, we have also noted that the process of replacing the older prepositional relative by the newer pronominal construction was neither effected evenly nor brought to completion throughout the Gaelic world. Some compound prepositions, we have observed, are not replaced by their corresponding pronominal forms (i.e. those containing the possessive adjective), and their structure therefore remains that of the prepositional relative clause. This older construction, moreover, has remained as an optional alternative in Scottish Gaelic.

A significant and long-standing divergence between Eastern and Western Gaelic in the development of the prepositional interrogative is that in the former the direct relative construction is used, while in the latter the indirect relative is preferred. We have seen that the Irish of East Munster agrees with Eastern Gaelic in its use of the direct relative clause, and in the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries this usage was extended to other southern dialects, and is now also frequently encountered in Connacht Irish. In this development the syntax of prepositional cleft clauses has been adopted rather than retaining that of the prepositional relative which we find elsewhere.

Abbreviations and sources

ABN	*Am Bìobull Naomh* (Glasgow, 2016).
Acall.	W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Acallam na Senórach*, in E. Windisch and W. Stokes (eds), *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, vol. 4:1 (Leipzig, 1900), 1–438, ix–xiv.
Aithghear.	I. Furlong, *Aithghearughadh an Teagaisg Críosdaighe Geinearáilte* (Dublin, 1839).
Allagar	T. Ó Criomhthain, *Allagar na hInise*, ed. P. Ó Siocfhradha (Baile Átha Cliath, 1928).

AM^2	E. Ó Muirgheasa (ed.), *Amhráin na Midhe, Cuid a hAon*, new ed. by L. Ní Mhunghaile (Meath, 2015 [first ed. 1933]).
AMSO	S. Ó Ruadháin, *An Mothall sin Ort* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967).
A. Ó Dálaigh	L. McKenna (ed.), *Dánta do Chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919).
Arran	N. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Arran* (Dublin, 1947).
AS2	N. Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), *Agallamh na Senórach*, *I*, *II*, *III* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1942–5).
Athdhiogluim	L. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdhioghluim Dána*, 2 vols, ITS 37 and 40 (London, 1939, 1940).
BCrólige	D. A. Binchy (ed.), 'Bretha Crólige', *Ériu* 12 (1934–8), 1–77.
BD	A. Ó Fachtna (ed.), *An Bheatha Dhiadha nó an tSlighe Ríoghdha* (Dublin, 1967).
BST	L. McKenna (ed.), *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (Dublin, 1944).
CaF	S. Ó Grianna, *An Clár agus an Fhoireann* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1955).
Cairbre	S. Ó Cróinín and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Seanchas ó Chairbre* (Dublin, 1985).
CC	*Caint Chonamara*, collected by H. Hartmann, transcribed by A. Wigger, CD-ROM (Königswinter, 1999). *CC-CRua* = An Cheathrú Rua *CC-Forb* = Na Forbacha *CC-LCA* = Loch Con Aortha *CC-LM* = Leitir Móir *CC-Mine* = Na Mine *CC-RM* = Ros Muc *CC-Sp* = An Spidéal. *CC-TM* = An Teach Mór.
CChléire	B. Ó Buachalla, *Cnuasach Chléire*, ed. J. McCloskey and C. Goan (Baile Átha Cliath, 2017).
CCille	M. Ó Cadhain, *Cré na Cille*, third ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 2007).
CF^2	C. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Cath Fionntrágha* (Dublin, 1962).
CGT	S. Ó Searcaigh, *Comhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1939).
CiD	Séamus Ó Grianna ('Máire'), *Cith is Dealán* (Corcaigh, 1976 [1927]).
CO	P. McFarlane (trans.), *Cuairt an Oilthirich* (= J. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*) (Glasgow, 1819).

Content.	L. McKenna (ed.), *Iomarbháigh na bhFileadh: The Contention of the Bards, Edited with Translation, Notes and Glossaries*, 2 vols, ITS 20 and 21 (London, 1918).
Conv.	J. H. Lloyd, 'Mid-eighteenth-century conversation', *Gadelica* 1 (1912–13), 19–31.
CÓMéith	L. Ó Muireadhaigh (ed.), *Ceolta Óméith* (Dundalk, 1920).
Críth Gabl.	D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Críth Gablach* (Dublin, 1941).
CSS	A. Ní Dhíoraí (ed.), *Na Cruacha: Scéalta agus Seanchas* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1985).
Dán Dé	L. McKenna (ed.), *Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh and the Religious Poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (Dublin, 1922).
DDonn	N. NicLeòid, *Díleas Donn* (Inverness, 2006).
Dinneen	P. Dinneen (ed.), *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1934 [1927]).
Donl.	A. Ó Duinnshléibhe, *An Teagasg Críostuidhe do réir Ceasda agus Freagartha* (Paris, 1742).
Dúil	L. Ó Flaithearta, *Dúil* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1953).
Dwelly	E. Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary* (Glasgow, 1994 [1901–11]).
ÉaB	P. Ó Ceannabháin (ed.), *Éamon a Búrc: Scéalta* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1983).
EMM	R. A. S. Mac Alister (ed.), *Two Arthurian Romances: Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair agus Eachtra an Mhadaidh Mhaoil*, ITS 10 (London, 1910).
FBF	M. Ó Súilleabháin, *Fiche Blian ag Fás* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1933).
FGB	N. Ó Dónaill (ed.), *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977).
FGI	S. Mac Grianna ('Iolann Fionn'), *Filí gan Iomrádh* (n.p., 1926).
FTM	*Fear-tathaich Miosail* (Edinburgh, 1858–1937).
Gallagher	J. Gallagher, *Sixteen Irish Sermons* (Dublin, 1752).
GB	T. Bairéad, *Gan Baisteadh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1972).
GBroc	M. Verling (ed.), *Gort Broc: Scéalta agus Seanchas ó Bhéarra* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1996).
GCD	D. Ó Sé, *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2000).
GCF	T. de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1953).
GGBC	*Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1999 [1960]).
GML	J. J. Kneen, *A Grammar of the Manx Language* (Oxford, 1931).

GRGI	L. Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Guill Irish, Co. Donegal* (Belfast, 1979).
GT	H. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1959).
HLSM	G. Broderick, *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*, vol. 1: *Grammar and Texts*. (Tübingen, 1984).
IAE	C. Ó Gaora (trans.), *In Aimsir Emmet* (= J. Murphy *In Emmet's Time*) (Baile Átha Cliath, 1937).
Iain Lom	A. M. McKenzie (ed.), *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John McDonald Bard of Keppoch* (Edinburgh, 1964).
IBP	O. J. Bergin (ed. and trans.), *Irish Bardic Poetry*, ed. D. Greene and F. Kelly (Dublin, 1970).
IIA	B. Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway*, vol. 3 (Dublin, 2007).
Kirwan	W. Mahon (ed.), *Dr Kirwan's Irish Catechism by Thomas Hughes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
Klond.	I. F. Mac Leoid, *Na Klondykers* (Inbhir Nis, 2005).
LASID	H. Wagner (ed.), *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1958–69).
LSC	S. Ó Duilearga (ed.), *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1948).
LSE	S. Ó Duilearga (ed.), *Leabhar Stiofáin Uí Ealaoire* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1981).
LUC	*Leabhar na h'Urnuigh Choitchionn* (Edinburgh, 1794).
Luc. Fid.	F. Ó Maolmhuaidh, *Lucerna Fidelium*, ed. P. Ó Súilleabháin (Dublin, 1962).
Maguire	D. Greene (ed.), *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir: The Poembook of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
Mis.	I. Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Am Miseanaraidh* (Inbhir Nis, 2005).
Mo Chuda	P. Power (ed. and trans.), *Life of St Declan of Ardmore and the Life of St Mochuda of Lismore*. ITS 16 (London, 1914).
Niamh	P. Ó Laoghaire, *Niamh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1907).
NT	U. Ó Domhnaill (trans.), *Tiomna Nvadh ar dTighearna agvs ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd* (1602).
O'Reillys	J. Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
Oileánach	T. Ó Criomhthain, *An tOileánach*, ed. S. Ó Coileáin (Dublin, 2002 [1929]).
OT	U. Bedell (trans.), *Leabhair na Sean-Tiomna* (London, 1685).
PA	A. Gearnon, *Parrthas an Anma*, ed. A. Ó Fachtna (Dublin, 1953).
Pastoral	S. Ó Scoireadh (trans.), *J. W. Doyle: Pastoral Letter Addressed to the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Deanery of Kilcock to be Read to their Flocks Pastoral Letter* (Dublin, 1825).

Peig	P. Sayers, *Machtnamh Seana-mhná*, ed. M. Ní Chinnéide (Dublin, 1939).
PGB	N. J. A. Williams (ed. and trans.), *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, ITS 51 (London, 1980).
PMB	S. Ó Ruadháin, *Pádhraic Mháire Bhán*, second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1994 [1932]).
SAB	G. W. MacLennan, *Seanchas Annie* Bhán, ed. A. Harrison and M. Nic Gill-Fhinnein (Dublin, 1997).
SAL	S. and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Seanachas Amhlaoibh Í Luínse* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1980).
SaR	A. Mac Greagóir (ed.), *Sgéaltan X Rachreann* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1910).
SB	K. Jackson (ed.), *Scéalta ón mBlascaod* (Dublin, 1939).
Sc. M.[2]	R. Thurneysen (ed.), *Scéla Mucce Meic Dáthó* (Dublin, 1935).
SGG	É. Ó Tuathail (ed.), *Seanchas Ghleann Gaibhle*, Supplement to *Béaloideas* 4 (1938).
SJS	N. Ó Domhnaill and A. Mac Giolla Chomhaill (eds), *Scéalta Johnny Shéamaisín* (Leitir Ceanainn, 2004 [1948]).
SLM	P. Ó Direáin, *Sgéalaidhe Leitir Mealláin* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1926).
SML	É. Ó Tuathail (ed.), *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh: Munterloney Folk-Tales* (Dublin, 1933).
SMN	O. Munck-Pedersen (ed.), *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*, collected by H. Pedersen (Dublin, 1994).
SMND	*Seanmóirí Mhuighe Nuadhad III* (Dublin, 1908).
SO	P. Ó Direáin, *Sgéalta na nOileán* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1929).
Sonas	M. Paodhar, *Sonas na bPeacach agus Mí-ádh na bhFíoraen*, ed. R. Ó Foghludha (Baile Átha Cliath, 1944).
St. Ercuil	E. G. Quin (ed.), *Stair Earcuil ocus a Bás*, ITS 38 (London, 1939).
STL	T. de Bhaldraithe (ed.), *Seanchas Thomáis Laighléis* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977).
SVBDL	W. J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1937).
Teagusg	M. Ó Céiliochair, *Teagusg Créesdéegh Chun Aos Óg no Leanvh do Heagusg* (Cork, 1792).
Trip.[2]	K. Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin, 1939).
TSh.	S. Céitinn, *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis: The Three Shafts of* Death, ed. O. J. Bergin (Dublin, 1931).
TST	M. Paodhar, *Teagasc ar an Sean-Tiomna*, ed. B. Ó Madagáin (Baile Átha Cliath, 1974).

TTebe	G. Calder (ed.), *Togail na Tebe: The Thebaid of Statius* (Cambridge, 1922).
Tuam	*An Teagasg Criostaighe do réir Chomhairle Ard-Easpoig Tuama* (Dublin, 1862 [1839]).
UB	P. Moireasdan, *Ugam agus Bhuam* (Steornabhagh, 1977).
UGV	R. Ní Bhaoill (ed.), *Ulster Gaelic Voices: Bailiúchán Wilhelm Doegen 1931* (Belfast, 2010).
VG	*Y Vible Ghaelgagh* (http://bible.learnmanx.com/).

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THE GRAMMATICAL SOURCES OF THE *DWNED*

Abstract

The fifteenth-century Welsh grammatical tract in NLW Llanstephan 28, known as the *Dwned*, has long been recognised as a realignment of the earlier bardic grammars with Donatus' *Ars Minor*. However, the use of the *Ars Minor* alone does not account for all of the revisions that occur in the *Dwned*, nor does it explain the impetus behind the rewrite. By examining some of the terminological adaptations in the *Dwned* in greater detail, and by situating its creation in both a local and a more international context, this paper identifies a Middle English grammatical tract as a probable source for the Welsh text. A deeper consideration of this Middle English tract, the *Accedence*, in conjunction with the *Dwned*, both illuminates the possible purpose of the *Dwned* revision, and points towards a multilingual, cosmopolitan culture of scholarship in fifteenth-century north-east Wales.

Introduction

The Welsh grammatical tract on pp. 33–69 of NLW Llanstephan 28 (1455–6)[1] begins with the following title (in red ink):

> Llyma Gyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Brydain yr hwnn a elwir y Dwned ynghymraec.[2]
>
> 'Here is the secret of the bards of the island of Britain, that which is called the *Dwned* in Welsh.'[3]

It is the first time that the word *Dwned* is attached to a text of the bardic grammars,[4] although similar forms regularly occur as terms for grammatical

[1] Except where noted otherwise, dates in this article are taken from Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Daniel Huws for granting me access to a draft version of the *Repertory* prior to publication. The dating of Llanstephan 28 is discussed below.

[2] G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones (eds), *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (Cardiff, 1934) (hereafter *GP*), 67. *GP* gives 'yng [Ng]hymraec' in this line; the manuscript reading is restored here.

[3] Translations of Welsh and Latin in this paper are my own.

[4] It should be noted that there are earlier attestations of the term in Welsh, though they are not necessarily connected to the tract under discussion here. The word occurs in the fourteenth century in the Dafydd ap Gwilym poem 'Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym' (www.dafyddapgwilym.net, poem 5, line 1; accessed 16 July 2019); however, scholarly opinion has not reached a consensus on what exactly the phrase *Llyfr dwned Dyfed* means in context. For discussion, see Paul Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* (Columbus, Ohio, 2017), 227–9; also Rachel Bromwich, 'Gwaith

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tracts in other vernaculars.[5] As a result of the widespread popularity of Aelius Donatus' elementary Latin primer, the *Ars Minor*, across medieval Western Europe, various forms of the name *Donatus* underwent semantic broadening, coming to mean elementary grammar books in general.[6] The word comes into Welsh not directly from Latin, but via Middle English *Donet*.[7] This titular reference to a Latin grammarian, borrowed into Welsh from English, and situated firmly within a wider European terminological trend, grants us a microcosmic insight into the *Dwned* as a whole. As this borrowing pattern suggests, we can begin to understand the compilation of the *Dwned* only in the context of its multilingual source texts. A closer examination of some of these sources will serve to illuminate not only the possible purpose of the *Dwned* text itself, but also some of the main concerns and preoccupations of linguistic scholarship and intellectual life in fifteenth-century Wales more broadly.

The *Dwned* is generally characterised as essentially a major fifteenth-century reworking of the medieval Welsh bardic grammars, which had been in circulation for well over a century by the time this edit was made. These tractates, which collect and organise information about the Welsh language as used in bardic poetry, as well as the appropriate forms and subjects of poetic composition, are thought to have been compiled initially sometime in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Ann Matonis has argued that the compilation of the bardic grammars represented a reaction to the Edwardian Conquest of 1282, which spurred on the preservation and codification of traditional material,[8] and perhaps, as suggested by R. Geraint Gruffydd, demanded a re-definition of Welsh panegyric poetry as a whole.[9] More recently, Thomas Charles-Edwards has suggested that at least one section of

Einion Offeiriad a barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10 (1977), 157–80. It is also possible that a reference to the book of Donatus occurs in a twelfth-century poem by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, though this is not settled (see Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen (eds), *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* II (Cardiff, 1995), 292, note to poem 16, line 143 *llyuyr doneit*). In any case, it seems implausible that either early example is referring to the vernacular bardic grammars, as opposed to the Latin *Donatus*. However, *dwned* does eventually come to refer to the bardic grammars specifically: in later manuscript copies, the term regularly serves as a title for the bardic grammars — often, but not always, attached to copies of the version discussed in this article. It also occurs frequently in later poetry, apparently as a reference to knowledge of the bardic grammars. Russell gives fifteenth-century examples in the work of Lewys Glyn Cothi and Tudur Aled (*Reading Ovid*, 227–8); by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word *dwned* is a standard praise metaphor in elegies for dead poets. It is possible that familiarity with the later material has coloured interpretation of the earlier references.

[5]For example, Breton *Donoet*, Provençale *Donatz*, French *Donait*, English *Donet*; see also discussion on p. 173–4 below.

[6]See discussion in Russell, *Reading Ovid*, 227.

[7]*GPC* s.v. *dwned*; Russell, *Reading Ovid,* 226.

[8]Ann Matonis, 'Gutun Owain and his orbit: the Welsh bardic grammar and its cultural context in northeast Wales', *ZCP* 54 (2004), 154–69, at 155–6; Ann Matonis, 'Problems relating to the composition of the early bardic grammars', in Ann Matonis and Daniel Melia (eds), *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp* (Van Nays, California, 1990), 273–91, at 287–8.

[9]R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Wales' second grammarian: Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug', Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, *PBA* 90 (1995), 1–28, at 20.

the grammars, on letters, must have been written down earlier in the thirteenth century.[10]

The earlier bardic grammars are usually classed into two 'recensions', the first associated with a compiler called Einion Offeiriad, versions of which are found in Jesus College 111 (The Red Book of Hergest, 1382 × 1405), NLW Llanstephan 3 (early fifteenth century) and Balliol College 353 (*c.* 1539–49), and a second, expanded recension associated with a later compiler called Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug, found in NLW Peniarth 20 (*c.* 1330).[11] The associations with specific characters are made on the basis of their supposed innovation of metrical forms in each tract; they do not appear to be granted full authorship of the tracts until a much later period.[12] In general, the earliest tracts resemble one another quite closely in terms of structure and organisation; however, the 'Dafydd Ddu' expansion includes a great deal more detail than the 'Einion Offeiriad' version, and changes many of the lexical and metrical examples. Its substitutions and additions are often religious in content.

Both the 'Einion Offeiriad' and the 'Dafydd Ddu' versions can be divided into five main sections: an *ars grammatica* portion, which includes treatments of the letters, syllables and diphthongs, parts of speech, and syntax; a section on metrical rules; metrical faults in poetry; a section which details how to praise different classes of people in poetry; and finally a set of triads, which organise the preceding information as well as some new content into groups of three.

Approximately 78 versions of the texts known as the bardic grammars are extant, preserved in manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.[13] The grammars were regularly re-edited, but the *Dwned* represents

[10]Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The Welsh bardic grammars on *litterae*', in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (eds), *Grammatica, Gramadach, and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2016), 149–60, at 159–60. In this vein, a thirteenth-century author (Cnepyn Gwerthrynion) has been proposed for an earlier version of the grammars, primarily by Iestyn Daniel; for discussion see Iestyn Daniel, 'Awduriaeth y gramadeg a briodolir i Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13 (1985), 178–209. Despite the occurrence of the name in a number of contexts relating to the bardic grammars, including the recently-unearthed *Gramadegau'r Gwysanau*, written in the second half of the fourteenth century and associated with north-east Wales (see Ann Parry Owen, 'Gramadeg Gwysanau (Archifdy Sir y Fflint, D/GW 2082)', *Llên Cymru* 33 (2010), 1–31, at 9–10, and Ann Parry Owen, '*Gramadeg Gwysanau*: a fragment of a fourteenth-century Welsh bardic grammar', in Hayden and Russell, *Grammatica, Gramadach, and Gramadeg*, 181–200, at 186–7), the suggestion has not garnered quite as much attention or tacit acceptance in modern scholarship as the Einion Offeiriad/Dafydd Ddu authorial tagteam, discussed below. Nonetheless, it potentially adds to our picture of a thirteenth-century grammatical tradition in Wales, which may be connected to the prehistory of the extant bardic grammars.

[11]The Peniarth 20 version has long been recognised as significantly different to the Einion Offeiriad text; however, Gruffydd ('Wales' second grammarian', 5) is the first to refer to it as a second recension. On the authorship of the tracts, see also Daniel, 'Awduriaeth', *GP* xvii–xxix on 'Y gwŷr a gysylltir â'r Gramadeg', and J. Beverley Smith, 'Einion Offeiriad', *BBCS* 20 (1962–3), 339–47.

[12]*GP* xvii–xxix; for problems with this approach, see Matonis, 'Problems', 283.

[13]Ann Matonis, 'The Welsh bardic grammars and the western grammatical tradition', *Modern Philology* 79 (1981), 121–45, at 123. For a selection (incomplete) of these manuscripts, see *GP* xiii–xvi; xlvii–lviii.

the first complete structural overhaul of the base text. The primary witness for this text is Llanstephan 28, dated by Daniel Huws to 1455–6, but an early copy is also preserved in NLW Peniarth 51 (*c.* 1460–80), recorded by Gwilym Tew (for discussion of the relationship between these copies, see below).

There are two grammars in Llanstephan 28, and neither is a complete copy of the earlier versions. The first is found on pp. 10–16, and consists of a fragment of the section on letters, as well as the classification of the metres.[14] This section contains a number of innovations, and as a result has attracted a small amount of scholarly interest.[15] The updates to the metrical system include the replacement of older, out-of-date metrical forms like the *englyn o'r hen ganiad* and the *englyn milwr* with intricate inventions, the *gorchest y beirdd* and *cadwynfyr*, as well as the first mentions of the *cynghanedd* system. The changes are attributed to the bardic master Dafydd ab Edmwnd, and (according to later tradition) were introduced at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of *c.* 1451.

Somewhat less attention has been paid to the second grammatical text, the *Dwned*, although it likewise demonstrates significant innovation. This section consists only of a treatment of the parts of speech and syntax, omitting the sections on letters, syllables and diphthongs, metres, metrical faults, praise adjectives, and the triads — meaning that it loses almost all of the portions of the earlier bardic grammars that are purely 'bardic' in orientation.

THE *Ars Minor*

One of the most significant changes in the *Dwned* text is in the reformulation of the parts of speech. The earlier copies of the grammar (Jesus College 111, Llanstephan 3, Peniarth 20, Balliol College 353, Bangor 1, etc.) divide the parts of speech into two main categories: *berfau* (verbs), and *enwau* (nouns), a division which reflects earlier Latin tradition, particularly the work of Priscian.[16] The *Dwned* expands these categories to eight, mirroring the system in the Latin grammatical text known as the *Ars Minor* (see table). The terms already in existence in the earlier grammars (*henw, beryf, raghenw*) are preserved in the *Dwned*. New additions all correspond to the Latin terms found in the *Ars Minor* (*racveryf, cyfranniad, cysylldiad, arddodiad, taflodiad*). These terms, all calques on their Latin counterparts, are apparently introduced for the first time into the linguistic discussion of Welsh, and the bardic-grammatical tradition, via the *Ars Minor*.

The *Ars Minor*, written by Aelius Donatus in the fourth century CE, has long been recognised as a significant source for the bardic grammars in general, and the *Dwned* in particular. The editors of the tract wrote that while no specific

[14] *GP* xlvii; the text is printed in G. J. Williams, 'Gramadeg Gutun Owain', *BBCS* 4 (1927–9), 207–21.

[15] See D. J. Bowen, 'Dafydd ab Edmwnd ac Eisteddfod Caerfyrddin', *Barn* 142 (August 1974), 441–8, at 446–7; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Gutun Owain', in A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes (eds), *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol 2: *1282–ca. 1550*, revised by D. Johnston (Cardiff, 1997), 240–55, at 240–1; G. J. Williams, 'Eisteddfod Caerfyrddin', *Y Llenor* 5 (1926), 94–102; *GP* xliv–xlv.

[16] Matonis, 'Western grammatical tradition', 137–8.

Earlier bardic grammars	*Dwned*	*Ars Minor*[17]
enw	henw	nomen
	raghenw	pronomen
	beryf	uerbum
	racveryf	aduerbium
berf	cyfranniad	participium
	cysylldiad	coniunctio
	arddodiad	praepositio
	taflodiad	interiectio

Table 1: Parts of speech

copy of the Latin exemplar used to create the *Dwned* could be identified, the section on the parts of speech was undoubtedly based on Donatus.[18] This is no great surprise. As mentioned above, the *Ars Minor* was used in Wales, as in most of the medieval West, as the standard primer for elementary Latin education. Nicholas Orme has written that 'most boys in medieval Wales would have begun learning grammar from Donatus or a derivative of him.'[19] The *Ars Minor* deals only with the parts of speech, and is written in a characteristic, pedagogical question-and-answer style.

The imposition of the eight-fold *Ars Minor* division of the parts of speech onto the original bipartite division of the earlier medieval grammars necessitated considerable addition to, and reworking of, the text of the bardic grammars. As a rule of thumb, where it is possible to follow the Welsh exemplars, the *Dwned* in Llanstephan 28 more or less does so; however, where the introduction of new parts of speech means that it cannot, the relevant sections of the *Ars Minor* are imported into the text. Take, for instance, the following paragraph describing the division between strong and weak nouns. First, here is the version of the earlier grammars (taken here from Peniarth 20):

> Deu ryw henw ysyd, henw kadarn a henw gwann. Henw kadarn yw hwnn a sauo drwydaw e hun yn ymadrawd, val y mae *dyn*, ac *eniueil*. Henw gwann yw hwnn ar ny sauo drwydaw e hun yn ymadrawd heb gadarn yn y gynnal, val y mae *gwann, kryf, dewr*.[20]

[17] All text and terminology of the *Ars Minor* is taken from Louis Holtz (ed.), *Donat et la tradition d'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe-IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris, 1981), 585–602.

[18] *GP* lxix–lxx. See also Ifor Williams, 'Awdl i Rys ap Gruffudd gan Einion Offeiriad: dosbarth Einion ar ramadeg a'i ddyled i Ddonatus', *Y Cymmrodor* 26 (1916), 115–46, and Matonis, 'Western grammatical tradition', 121–45.

[19] Nicholas Orme, 'Education in medieval Wales', *Welsh History Review* 27.4 (2015), 607–44, at 635.

[20] *GP* 42. The text of the bardic grammars throughout this paper is reprinted from the edition of Peniarth 20 in *GP*. The reasoning behind selecting this version is discussed below.

> 'There are two kinds of noun, a strong noun and a weak noun. A strong noun is one that stands on its own in speech, like *man*, and *animal*. A weak noun is one that does not stand on its own in speech without a noun supporting it, like *weak, strong, brave.*'

The *Dwned*'s definition is not exactly identical, but the broad strokes are the same:

> Pob henw sydd, nid amgen, henw gwann a henw kadarn. Henw kadarn a saif wrtho e hvn heb nerth gan arall, val y mae *gwr, mab*. Henw gwann ni saif wrtho e hun heb nerth gair arall, val y mae *gwynn, dv, doeth, tec*.[21]
>
> 'Every noun is either a weak noun or a strong noun. A strong noun stands on its own without support from another, like *man, boy*. A weak noun does not stand on its own without support from another word, like *white, black, wise, fair*.'

The paragraph is not found in the *Ars Minor*. It is clear then that here, as was the case for the parts of speech terminology, the aim is to preserve and build upon what already exists in the earlier bardic grammars, even if it is absent in the Latin text. The text of the earlier grammars is by no means inviolable — it can be rewritten, and the meaning altered slightly — but it provides the basic outline for the rewrite.

Material from the *Ars Minor* is only brought in where the earlier grammars are lacking. Often entire paragraphs, consisting of whole sections of the *Dwned*, are imported from the Latin. One such importation occurs in the section on adverbs. The *Dwned* reads: *Beth yw rragveryf? Rran araith a osoter wedy beryf, ac yn gyflawn synnwyr yn ol beryf.* 'What is an adverb? A part of speech which is put after a verb, and the completion of meaning following a verb'.[22] This sentence appears to be taken almost word-for-word from the *Ars Minor*: *Aduerbium quid est? Pars orationis, quae adiecta uerbo significationem eius explanat atque inplet*.[23] 'What is an adverb? A part of speech which, added to the verb, explains and completes its meaning'. Similar examples abound, wherever the new parts of speech are introduced into the *Dwned*. In some instances, untranslated Latin examples are lifted directly from the *Ars Minor*.[24]

Of course, the importation of new content from the *Ars Minor* demands the introduction of new sets of terminology into the *Dwned* text, and in these instances there is no need to negotiate between the earlier bardic grammars (which do not contain these terms) and what occurs in the Latin source material. Again, the Welsh terms in the table below correspond to those found in the *Ars Minor*. Here, however, no forms from the earlier bardic grammars

[21] *GP* 67.
[22] *GP* 72.
[23] Holtz, *Donat*, 595.
[24] See for instance the section on prepositions in the *Dwned*, printed on p. 172 below.

are preserved in the case system terminology (none exist). It is worth noting that the Welsh terms are all intensely Latinate in form — perhaps reflecting an earlier application to Latin rather than Welsh,[25] and their restriction to a grammatical context. In any case, as above, they appear to be brought into the *Dwned* via the *Ars Minor*.

Dwned	*Ars Minor*
nomnadio	nominatiuus
genedio	genetiuus
dadio	datiuus
achwysiad	accusatiuus
bogaid	uocatiuus
aplliaid	ablatiuus

Table 2: Case System Terminology

It is clear that the *Ars Minor*, as has long been acknowledged, did play a significant role in the *Dwned* revision. In spite of its immense importance as a source, however, the content of the *Ars Minor* never completely overwhelms that of the earlier bardic grammars: wherever possible, the terms and definitions set forth in the bardic grammars are preserved, with additions only made as necessary. New material is only introduced from the *Ars Minor* when no corresponding section exists in the earlier grammars.

PENIARTH 20

The regular negotiation between the *Ars Minor* and the earlier versions of the Welsh bardic grammars has some implications for the Welsh source of the *Dwned*. The following paragraph, on interjections, is from the *Dwned*:

> Beth yw taflodiad? Rrann araith a arweddoka dehevwyd meddwl dan lef gyhvddedi. Vn peth a ddamwynia iddi, nid amgen, synnwyr e hun. Pedwar rryw synwyr ysydd i daflodiad, kanis rrai o'r taflodiadav a arweddoka lywenydd, val y mae *vah*, *evax*. Rai a arweddoka dolvr, val y mae *heu*. Rai a arweddoka ryveddwch, val y mae *pape*. Rai a arweddokant ofn, val y mae *atat*. Rai a arweddokant [ ][26] val y mae *hoe*,[27] ac od oes eraill kyffelip vddvnt.[28]
>
> 'What is an interjection? A part of speech which signifies zeal of mind by a cry of complaint. One thing affects it, namely, its own

[25] I am grateful to Barry Lewis for this suggestion.

[26] *GP* inserts square brackets to indicate that a word has been left out of the text. This must be true on the basis of sense, but there is no blank space in the manuscript. The corresponding sentence does not occur in Peniarth 51.

[27] *GP* has emended this to *o*; the manuscript reading is restored here.

[28] *GP* 75.

> sense. There are four kinds of sense to an interjection, since some interjections signify joy, like *vah*, *evax*. Some signify pain, like *heu*. Some signify wonder, like *pape*. Some signify fear, like *atat*. Some signify [ ] like *hoe*, and if there are others, they are similar to them.'

This is a translation of the corresponding paragraph in the *Ars Minor*, and even includes some identical, untranslated Latin examples. The *Ars Minor* reads:

> Interiectio quid est? Pars orationis significans mentis affectum uoce incondita. Interiectioni quid accidit? Tantum significatio. Significatio interiectionis in quo est? Quia aut laetitiam significamus, ut *euax*, aut dolorem, ut *heu*, aut admirationem, ut *pape*, aut metum, ut *attat*, et si qua sunt similia.[29]
>
> 'What is an interjection? A part of speech signifying emotion of the mind through an undisciplined utterance. What affects an interjection? Only meaning. In what is the meaning of an interjection? That we signify joy, as *evax*, or pain, as *heu*, or wonder, as *pape*, or fear, as *attat*, and any other similar ones there might be.'

Normally, as discussed above, this kind of direct importation and translation would be expected only if it were a result of the expansion of the parts of speech, and the section were absent in the earlier bardic grammars. However, a section on interjections does appear in all of the earliest copies of the 'Einion Offeiriad' recension, as follows (text from Jesus College 111):

> Geireu ereill ar ny hanffont o'r dwy rann ymadrawd racko, henw, neu rachenw, a beryf, a arwydockaant tristyt, val y mae *och*, neu lewenyd, val y mae *oi*; nyt ynt ranneu ymadrawd kwbwl, ac ny wnant namyn aghwaneckau ymadrawd.[30]
>
> 'Other words which do not derive from the two preceding parts of speech, noun (or pronoun) and verb, signify sadness, as in *och*, or joy, as in *oi*; they are not complete parts of speech, and they do not do anything but augment a statement.'

This paragraph, which is present in all the early copies of the 'Einion Offeiriad' version, is absent in Peniarth 20, the 'Dafydd Ddu' version. It may be inferred on the basis of his regular alternation elsewhere that the redactor of Llanstephan 28 did not have access to a version of the grammar which contained the section on interjections, and therefore resorted to a translation of the *Ars Minor*. He must therefore have been using Peniarth 20 or a close relative: in other words, the 'Dafydd Ddu' recension. It is possible that the

[29] Holtz, *Donat*, 602.
[30] *GP* 5.

compiler of the *Dwned* was indeed using Peniarth 20 itself. A colophon on p. 69 of Llanstephan 28 notes that the book was written in the year 1455 by Gutun Owain, and that it belonged to Phylip ap Madoc ap Ieuaf ap Ierwerth. Gutun Owain was closely associated with Valle Crucis abbey, where he spent forty years of his life and to whose abbots he composed praise poetry,[31] and coincidentally, the place where Peniarth 20 was likely produced over a century earlier, *c.* 1330.[32] In fact, it is likely that he had access to and made use of Peniarth 20 in other works. Gutun is well known to us not only as a poet himself, and as a genealogist, but as a prolific copyist and editor. Among his many works was the copy of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* found in NLW 7006D (The Black Book of Basingwerk), which was written using Peniarth 20 as a source, according to Thomas Jones.[33] If we take Gutun Owain to be the editor of the grammar rather than merely a copyist (the argument for doing so is discussed further below), it is therefore reasonable to assume that the bardic grammar contained in Peniarth 20 itself was his main Welsh source for the *Dwned*.

CONFRONTING LINGUISTIC REALITIES IN THE *Dwned*

Thus, it is more or less possible to describe a regular system by which the earlier bardic grammars and the *Ars Minor* are synthesised. The earlier bardic grammars took primacy over the *Ars Minor* where possible, with the *Ars Minor* providing supplementary additional material where the bardic grammars were lacking. It is more difficult to satisfactorily explain such a system. Taking the case terminology in Table 2 above, for instance, one is met with an immediate, obvious problem, which is that by this period, the Welsh language (unlike Latin) was not a case language. Introducing terminology for case in order to describe a language that lacked cases would seem to be a rather pointless exercise. To some extent, the *Dwned* attempts to account for this disconnect: it is in the section on case that one encounters some of the most innovative material in the *Dwned* revision — material which belongs neither to the earlier grammars nor to the *Ars Minor*, but appears to be an original composition. Where the *Ars Minor* naturally focuses on inflection as the defining feature of case, the Welsh grammar uses syntactic and semantic criteria. This is evident in the description of the genitive case, given below.

> Genedio a arweddoka ganedigaeth, ac a vydd pan vo dav henw gadarn yn dyvod i gyd, ac vn yn perchennogi ar y llall. Yr vn a vo perchennoc a vydd genedic, val y mae *penn Rys*: *Rys* yw'r genedio iddo. Nev pann vo yn dyvod yn ol svperlliaid radd, val y mae *y dekaf o'r dynion*: *y dynion* yw'r genedio.[34]

[31] Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', 160, 163.

[32] Huws, *Repertory*; Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', 160.

[33] Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952), li.

[34] *GP* 70.

> 'Genitive signifies possession, and it exists when two strong nouns come together, and one belongs to the other. The one that is the owner is genitive, as in *the head of Rhys*: *Rhys* is the genitive to it. Or when it comes after a superlative degree, as in *the fairest of the men*: *the men* is the genitive.'

Of course, as we have seen, no cases are described in the earlier bardic grammars. In the *Ars Minor*, the cases are not defined in this way, but simply given as examples: so for instance *genetiuo huius magistri* (genitive 'of this teacher').[35] These case forms do not exist in Welsh, and so could not be translated into the *Dwned* text. Instead, the explanation of the imported case system is supplemented with an innovative description of a syntactic feature which occurs in Welsh, but not in Latin. The result is that the idea of the genitive becomes intelligible in Welsh from the perspective of function rather than form.

Elsewhere, the solution in the *Dwned* is neither to translate nor to innovate, but simply to replicate the Latin forms exactly as they appear in the *Ars Minor*. Latin examples are scattered throughout the *Dwned*, but they are concentrated most heavily in the sections describing conjunctions and prepositions. The following example is illustrative.

> Pedwar arddodiad a wysnaetha weithiav i achwyssiaid, weithiav i apllaid, nid amgen *in, super, sub, subter*. Pan gyffroo o le i le arall, yna y gwyssnaetha i achvsiaid, val y mae *itur in antiquam silvam*. Pryd na bo kyffro o le i le arall, [yna y gwassanaetha i ablleit][36] val y mae *stans celsa in puppi*.[37]
>
> 'Four prepositions are sometimes subject to the accusative, sometimes to the ablative, namely *in, super, sub, subter*. When it goes from place to place, then it is subject to the accusative, as in "goes into an ancient forest". When it does not go from place to place, then it is subject to the ablative, as in "standing on the elevated stern".'

In this paragraph, the *Dwned* copies lists and phrases wholesale from the text of the *Ars Minor*.[38] Again, the immediate reason is obvious: the linguistic phenomenon under consideration did not exist in Welsh, and so cannot possibly

[35] Holtz, *Donat*, 586.

[36] This insertion is made in *GP* based on the reading in Peniarth 51. It probably represents a correction to the text of Llanstephan 28 by Gwilym Tew; see discussion of the relationship between these manuscripts below.

[37] *GP* 75.

[38] The corresponding section in the *Ars Minor* (Holtz, *Donat*, 600) reads:

> Da utriusque casus praepositiones. In, sub, super, subter. In et sub quando accusatiuo casui seruiunt? Quando uel nos uel quoslibet in locum ire isse iturus esse significamus. Quando ablatiuo? Quando uel nos uel quoslibet in loco esse fuisse futuros esse significamus. In accusatiui casus, *itur in antiquam siluam;* in ablatiui casus, *stans celsa in puppi.*

be described with reference to any Middle Welsh word-forms. What is clear from both of these examples is that the compiler of the *Dwned* appears to have been fully cognisant of those instances in which the description of the Latin language in the *Ars Minor* and the realities of the Welsh language were in conflict with one another. The text presents two possible solutions to this dilemma: either the supplementation of innovative material, explaining the sense rather than the form of a Latin case, or the direct replication of Latin examples. What remains less clear is why, exactly, this exercise was felt to be necessary at all. What was the point of introducing technical terminology to describe forms that do not occur in the language being described? To answer this question, we must first raise another.

THE *Accedence*

To this point, the *Dwned* can essentially be considered a creative synthesis of the *Ars Minor* and the earlier bardic grammars (probably Peniarth 20) with some original insertions, a text which displays a sensitivity to both the bardic and Latin grammatical traditions, as well as the reality of the Welsh language. However, this characterisation does not explain the impetus behind its creation, nor why the text coalesced at this precise moment in time. Donatus and Priscian were both already source texts for the bardic grammars at the time of their compilation.[39] Donatus had been in circulation for some thousand years, and the grammars themselves for well over a century, by the time of the *Dwned* revision. Why, then, were the bardic grammars realigned with the *Ars Minor* in the fifteenth century?

It is worth taking the wider context of the Welsh project into consideration. The adaptation of the *Ars Minor* into a vernacular language was not the peculiar domain of the Welsh.[40] Rather, the production of the *Dwned* fits within a wider trend in the late middle ages. There are earlier examples of the phenomenon on the continent, such as the Provençale *Donatz proensals* by Uc Faidit in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and possibly the Breton *Donoet*, also in the thirteenth century.[41] However, interest in Donatus

> 'Give the prepositions of both cases. *In, sub, super, subter*. When are *in* and *subter* subject to the accusative case? When we signify that either we or whoever go, went, will go into a place. When ablative? When we signify that either we or whoever are, were, will be in a place. In the accusative case, *goes into an ancient wood*; in the ablative case*, standing on an elevated stern.*'

[39] Matonis, 'Western grammatical tradition', 121; *GP* xxxv.

[40] I am not the first to make this observation. In her treatment of the English grammar in NLW 423D, discussed immediately below, Llinos Beverley Smith remarked that 'the medieval Donet was also available in Welsh' ('The grammar and commonplace books of John Edwards of Chirk', *BBCS* 34 (1987), 174–84, at 181), however the exact nature and implications of this apparent connection are not explored, and following the editors of *GP*, the *Dwned* is taken to be a tool for the instruction of aspirant bards.

[41] J. H. Marshall (ed.), *The Donatz Proensals of Uc Faidit* (London and New York, 1969); Gwenaël Le Duc, 'Le Donoet, grammaire latine en moyen Breton', *EC* 14 (2) (1975), 525–65 and 16 (1979), 237–59.

reaches a crescendo in the fifteenth century, with the production of a number of commentaries on the *Ars Minor* and a flurry of translation activity.[42] Two major translations are associated with England in the early fifteenth century: the *Donait françois* of John Barton, written sometime between 1400 and 1409 for the purpose of French instruction,[43] and the *Accedence*, either written or revised by John Leylond in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[44]

The *Accedence* is of particular importance in the Welsh context. Written in Middle English, it is, like the Welsh text in many places, more or less a translation of Donatus' *Ars Minor*, but unlike the bardic grammars, it is intended to teach Latin, and not the vernacular language in which it is written. It was composed or revised before 1428 by John Leylond, who served as a schoolmaster at Peckwater Inn, now a part of Christ Church in Oxford. Leylond's treatise is not a great *summa grammatica*, but an intensely pragmatic and focused work, likely representative of his own experience as a teacher and written to suit his own needs as a schoolmaster. It is reflective of the shift at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth in England towards teaching grammar through the medium of English, rather than French or Latin. The tract enjoyed immense popularity throughout the fifteenth century, and was widely recopied.[45]

In fact, two surviving copies of the *Accedence* come from north-east Wales, both preserved in NLW Peniarth 356 (*c.* 1460–80), which was written by Thomas Pennant, probably at Basingwerk Abbey.[46] In addition, this manuscript contains a number of other Middle English grammatical texts connected with the name of John Leylond, including two different versions of both the *Comparacio* and the *Informacio*.[47] The manuscript seems to have been used as a teaching text: Daniel Huws suggests that it was created during Pennant's youth but later used while he was working as a teacher, probably at Valle Crucis abbey.[48]

This would place Peniarth 356 within a wider tradition of English grammatical teaching in fifteenth-century north-east Wales. A second manuscript, NLW 423D, mostly in the hand of John Edwards of Chirk and probably compiled at Valle Crucis abbey in the 1480s, also contains a copy of the *Informacio*, and also seems to have been used as a teaching text (in this case, for Edwards's son, John Wyn).[49] Glossing in English in this manuscript indicates this was

[42]G. L. Bursill-Hall, 'Medieval Donatus commentaries', *Historia Linguistica* 8.1 (1987), 69–97, at 72–3.

[43]Bernard Colombat (ed.), *Donait françois* (Paris, 2014).

[44]David Thomson (ed.), *An Edition of the Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York, 1984), xii; David Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York, 1979), 11.

[45]Many of these copies are edited in Thomson, *An Edition*.

[46]David Thomson, 'Cistercians and schools in late medieval Wales', *CMCS* 3 (1982), 76–80, at 76–7; Thomson, *Catalogue*, 105–31.

[47]For a complete list, see Thomson, *Catalogue*, 1–2.

[48]Huws, *Repertory*, s.n. Peniarth 356.

[49]Huws, *Repertory*, s.n. NLW 423D. The John Edwards manuscript is also treated in Smith, 'John Edwards', 179–84.

the primary language of instruction.[50] On the basis of these two manuscripts, as well as the sixteenth-century account of the English-language education of Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert in Caernarfon,[51] Orme has noted that 'the use of English for teaching Latin was spreading into grammar schools in Wales, at least in the north of the country'.[52]

Ann Matonis has shown that Gutun Owain was connected not only with both of these places, but with both Thomas Pennant and John Edwards. She writes that Gutun 'copied manuscripts at Basingwerk, and is often referred to as the historian of Basingwerk, but is most closely associated with Valle Crucis where Peniarth 20 is likely to have been produced and where his uncle, Siôn ap Rhisiart, served as abbot from *c*. 1448–1455'.[53] Praise poems and elegies by Gutun for both John Edwards and Thomas Pennant survive. Matonis sees them both as existing in the same social and cultural orbit, which she defines as 'a horizontally and spatially defined group connected by ties of kinship and cultural interests'.[54] The presence of the various Middle English grammatical treatises in Welsh manuscripts of the period suggests that the group Matonis defines, and perhaps one might say more broadly the learned culture of fifteenth-century north-east Wales, operated at least partially in English.

Aspersions have occasionally been cast on the *Dwned* editor's grasp of Latin on the basis of the rampant copying errors in its Latin examples.[55] It seems likely he had at least a grasp of basic vocabulary: after all, he could follow along with the *Ars Minor* competently enough — admittedly a syntactically simple text — and plug the right examples into the right sections.

If we take Gutun Owain to be the original editor of the *Dwned*, it is clear from his work in other areas that he did know English: for instance, Huw Pryce has recently found that he used the printed version of William Caxton's 1480 Middle English translation of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* in some of his additions to *Brenhinedd y Saeson*.[56] It can therefore be assumed that he would have been perfectly comfortable working with Middle English grammatical texts. In fact, if the editor (whatever his identity) were slightly ill at ease in Latin, as G. J. Williams believed, the *Accedence* might have proven to be an attractively intelligible source text, as a complement to the *Ars Minor*.

The discussion in this section of Gutun Owain's professional network, language skills, and probable access to the relevant source material has so far naturally assumed that he was chiefly responsible for the changes made to

[50] Smith, 'John Edwards', 181.

[51] Orme, 'Education', 632. The account is found in Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family*. For more on these manuscripts as teaching texts see Thomson, 'Cistercians and schools', 76–80.

[52] Orme, 'Education', 636–7.

[53] Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', 160.

[54] Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', 168.

[55] *GP* xlvii.

[56] Huw Pryce, 'Chronicling and its contexts in medieval Wales', in Ben Guy, Owain Wyn Jones, Georgia Henley, and Rebecca Thomas (eds), *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies and Texts* (Turnhout, forthcoming). I am grateful to Huw Pryce for granting me access to this chapter prior to publication.

the re-edit of the grammars found in Llanstephan 28. This is not necessarily correct, or at least, it may not be the full picture. It is possible that Gutun was copying from another, earlier source (see further the discussions of the colophon below on p. 185, and of the relationship between Llanstephan 28 and Peniarth 51 below on pp. 181–4), and if so, it is impossible to know how much (if any) of the editorial work represents his original input. Nonetheless, the arguments for Gutun's involvement in the edition could be generalised and applied to other scholars working in the same milieu, if necessary. There are a number of suitable candidates.[57] In the most cautious possible terms, it can be stated that the *Dwned* revision was likely made in north-east Wales, in the mid-fifteenth century, against the backdrop of scholarship taking place in Welsh, Latin, and English. Given the circumstantial evidence for access and linguistic skill, and the copy surviving in his hand in Llanstephan 28, Gutun Owain is at the very least a likely candidate — and if not him, then certainly someone in what Matonis calls his 'orbit'.

In any case, there is no need to rely on the positive identification of the *Dwned* editor to make a case for the use of the *Accedence* in the preparation of his edition. Our evidence for this extends beyond the purely circumstantial. Convergences between the text of the *Dwned* and the text of the *Accedence* are occasionally striking. The *Dwned* introduces a new means by which nouns might be classified, which is not found in either the earlier grammars or in the *Ars Minor*. The following paragraph appears at the start of the *Dwned* text:

> Pa ssawl rrann ymadrodd ysydd? Wyth, nid amgen, henw a rraghenw, a beryf, a rracveryf, a chyranniad, a chysylldiad, ac arddodiad, a thaflodiad. Pedwar o'r rrain a dreiglir, a ffedwar ni threiglir. Y pedwar a dreiglir yw henw, a rrachenw, a beryf, a chyfranniad. Y pedwar ni threiglir yw rracveryf, a chyssylldiad, ac arddodiad, a thaflodiad. Tair rrann a dreiglir ac achos, ac vn heb achos, henw a rraghenw, a chyfranniad ac achos, beryf vnic heb achos.[58]
>
> 'How many parts of speech are there? Eight, namely noun and pronoun, and verb, and adverb, and participle, and conjunction, and preposition, and interjection. Four of these are inflected, and four are not inflected. The four that are inflected are noun, and pronoun, and verb, and participle. The four that are not inflected are adverb, and conjunction, and preposition, and interjection. Three parts are inflected with case, and one without case, noun and pronoun and participle with case, verb alone without case.'

[57] I am grateful to the anonymous *Celtica* reader for drawing my attention to the Trefor family in particular, who seem to fit the bill in several respects: Edward ap Dafydd of Bryncunallt (fl. *c.* 1390–d.1445) and his sons Robert Trefor (fl. *c.* 1429–d. 1452) and Siôn Trefor (fl. *c.* 1440–d. 1493) were all active during or shortly before the 1455 date given in Llanstephan 28; they were closely related to the Edwards family; they were associated with Valle Crucis; and they were praised by Guto'r Glyn for their learning (see notes under 'Patrons and poets list' on www.gutorglyn.net, as well as poems 103, 104, 105 ibid. (accessed 16 July 2019)).

[58] *GP* 67.

In contrast, both the earlier Welsh grammars and the *Ars Minor* only list the parts of speech, before immediately launching into a definition of the noun. The discussion of inflection is wholly omitted. However, the *Accedence* begins with the paragraph below:

> How mony partys of spech byn þer? VIII. Qwech viij? Nown, pronowne, verbe, aduerbe, participul, coniunccion, preposicion, interieccion. How mony byn declynet and how mony byn vndeclynet? IIII byn declynet and iiij byn vndeclynet. Wech iiij byn declynet? Nowne, pronwne, verbe and partycipull. Wych iiij byn vndeclynet? Aduerbe, coniunccion, preposicion and interieccion. How mony byn declynt w^{t} case and how mony w^{t}out case? III wyth case and on w^{t}out case. Wech iij wyth case? Nowne, pronwne and partycipull. Wyn on w^{t}out case? Verbe allon.[59]

This classification of parts of speech by what I have translated as 'inflection', and what Leylond calls 'declension',[60] does occur in other medieval vernacular versions of Donatus, such as the *Donait françois*, and it is originally derived from Priscian.[61] However, it is not always presented in this precise order, with a list of eight parts of speech (noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, interjection) that is then broken down into groups of four (noun, pronoun, verb, participle; adverb, conjunction, preposition, interjection). The order and breakdown of the Welsh and English lists are identical. It is of course possible that both of these works might have separately gone back into Priscian for only this part of their classification system, turning to Donatus for the rest, or that they might have both been influenced by a third, unknown text. But in conjunction with the fact that the *Accedence* was well-circulated in north-east Wales, and very likely known to the redactor, it seems likely that the section on declinability was imported into the Welsh *Dwned* from a text of the *Accedence.* It is also worth noting that the system as outlined does not actually describe the Welsh language: prepositions can be inflected in Welsh, but here they are classified amongst the four parts of speech that cannot be inflected, following the English text.[62] Like the problem of the case system, discussed above, there appears in this section also to be a mismatch between linguistic reality and what is set out in the grammar.

[59]Thomson, *An Edition*, 1. Throughout this article, the *Accedence* text has been taken from the first version in Peniarth 356 (fol. 54v–57v, 48r), as printed in Thomson, *An Edition*, 1–8 (Text A). This version more closely resembles the *Dwned* than the second text, in Peniarth 356 (Text B) (see pp. 185–7 below).

[60]The base meaning of the Welsh term, *treiglo*, is essentially to turn or change in some way. It is used to describe both verbal conjugation and nominal declension in this text, and later comes to be used to designate the system of initial mutations in Welsh. I have therefore opted for the broader translation, although the *Accedence* uses 'declines'. See *GPC* s.v. *treiglaf.*

[61]Thomson, *Edition*, 228, note to line 2.

[62]I am grateful to the anonymous *Celtica* reader for drawing my attention to this point.

Dwned Llanstephan 28	*Dwned* Peniarth 51[63]	*Accedence*	Earlier bardic grammars	*Ars Minor*
		Pronouns		
masgl	massglin	masculyn	-	masculinum
ffemal	ffemin	femyn	-	femininum
neodr	nevtvr	neuter	-	neutrum
-	-	comyn	-	commune
		Nouns		
gwrw	gwryw	masculyn	gwryw	masculinum
banw	baniw	femyn	benw	femininum
neodr	[illegible][64]	neuter	-	neutrum
cyffredin	ky[------]	comyn	cyffredin	-
anwybod	tybius/anwybot	dubyn	-	-
-	-	epycyn	-	epicoenon

Table 3: Terminology for grammatical gender

A CASE-STUDY: TERMINOLOGY FOR GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN THE *Dwned*

We can take this notion a little further by examining an additional selection of the terminology used in the *Dwned*, now with the *Accedence* in mind as well as the *Ars Minor* and the earlier bardic grammars. I have given above the full paradigm of terminology used to denote grammatical gender, as found in two different copies of the *Dwned* and some of its probable source texts.

To this point, I have generally been discussing the *Dwned* as it appears in Llanstephan 28. At this juncture I believe it is important to take the copy of the grammar in Peniarth 51,[65] Gwilym Tew's miscellany (column 2), into consideration as a point of comparison, as the terminology for grammatical gender in the section on pronouns differs slightly in both copies. In addition to its terminological variance, the Peniarth 51 copy contrasts in certain important respects with Llanstephan 28. Most notably, the Gwilym Tew manuscript contains two

[63]Taken from the transcription in Anne Jones, 'Gwilym Tew: astudiaeth destunol o'i lawysgrif, Peniarth 51, ynghyd ag ymdriniaeth â'i farddoniaeth', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Bangor (1980), 180–222.

[64]Unfortunately, this section, which begins at the bottom of p. 71 and continues through to p. 72, is partially illegible (the tops of pages in Peniarth 51 are damaged). However, we know that there would have been five listed, as in Llanstephan 28, and that the first was *gwryw* (Peniarth 51, p. 71: *Pump kenetl henw y ssydd. nit amgen gwryw yw yr hwnn a berthyno. ar wr. val y mae gwynn*), and a later reference is made to *baniw* in the definition of *neodr* (Peniarth 51, p. 72: [...] *beth yw ai gwryw ai baniw* [...]). The definition of *kyffredin* is partially intact, and *tybius/anwybot* completely intact. Given the correspondence with the Llanstephan 28 version in this section, it can be assumed that we would have something like *neodr/nevtvr* here.

[65]Images of the microfilm for this copy are available on the National Library of Wales website, at https://viewer.library.wales/4396882 (accessed 16 July 2019); it has also been edited in Jones, 'Gwilym Tew', 180–222.

of the early sections missing from Llanstephan 28 which are more bardic in orientation: the letters, and the syllables and diphthongs.

The first point to note is that in the *Dwned* treatment of nominal gender, priority is given to the earlier bardic grammars: where a set of terminology already exists in the earlier texts (i.e. *gwryw, benw,* and *cyffredin*), these terms are preserved in the *Dwned* (*gwrw, banw, cyffredin*). *Neodr/nevtvr*, for which no antecedent exists in the earlier grammars, is translated from the *Accedence*. This situation is similar to the negotiation described above in the *Dwned*'s formulation of a system of terminology for the parts of speech, where the established Welsh terms in the earlier bardic grammars are preserved, with new terms brought in to fill in the gaps created by the importation of additional content.

The section on pronouns is one such addition in *Dwned* text, and as such, it does not need to preserve the terminology of the earlier bardic grammars: thus, *gwrw* and *banw* are rejected in favour of *masgl* and *ffemal* in Llanstephan 28, and *massglin* and *ffemin* in Peniarth 51. As was the case above, it is possible that the terms *masgl/massglin*, *ffemin*, and *neodr/nevtvr* were already in use in Welsh.[66] They are probably derived from Latin *masculinum, femininum, neutrum* or perhaps *masculus, femina*,[67] and indeed, the *GPC* describes all of these terms as learned borrowings from Latin.[68] It is notable, however, that the terms which are more Latinate in form are used only where more 'native' terms are not already in place.

Ffemal in Llanstephan 28 requires a little more elaboration. This appears to be a newer form than the rest, and I suggest that it was probably coined in Welsh in this translation of the *Accedence*. Unlike the other forms, it unquestionably comes into Welsh via English rather than Latin;[69] however, as Table 3 shows, the equivalent English term was not used in the *Accedence* as a label for grammatical gender. In general, in Middle English *female* was exclusively a term for biological sex.[70] The word does, however, occur in the *Accedence* text, not as a grammatical label, but a little further into the discussion of gender. It occurs in the definition of the *epicene* gender, in the final sentence of the paragraph given below:

[66] Similar forms are found in two religious poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen: *vascul a femen* (A. O. H. Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff, 1982), poem 9; Henry Lewis, *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (Caerdydd, 1931), poem 1) and *a mascul a bun* (Jarman, *LlDC,* poem 10; Lewis, *Hen Gerddi*, poem 2). The occurrence of these terms in phrases employing, respectively, a Latinate (*femen*) and a native Welsh (*bun*, see *GPC* s.v.) term for 'female' is compelling given the discussion above. However, in context they appear to be denoting biological sex rather than grammatical gender. Additionally, as Henry Lewis notes, both *mascul* and *femen* come from Latin *masculus* and *femina* (Lewis, *Hen Gerddi*, 110).

[67] See previous footnote, and cf. the forms *mascul, femen, neuter* given in the *Auraicept na nÉces*, discussed in Paul Russell, 'Sex, gender, and the early Irish grammarian', in David Cram, Andrew Linn, and Elke Nowak (eds.), *History of Linguistics 1996*, *Volume I: Traditions in Linguistics Worldwide* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1999), 203–13, at 204.

[68] *GPC* s.v. *masgl*[3], *ffemen, neodr*. The terms are listed as borrowings from *masculus, femina*, and *neutrum* respectively.

[69] *GPC* s.v. *ffemal*.

[70] *OED Online* s.v. *female*; cf. *feminine*.

> How mony gendyrs of nownus byn þer? VII. Qwech vij? Þe masculyn, þe femyn, þe neuter, þe comyn of ij, þe comyn of iij, þe dubyn and þe epycyn. How knos þu þe masculyn gendyr? For hyt ys declynyt w^{t} *hyc* as *hyc maijster*. How knos þu þe femyn gendyr? For hyt ys declynet w^{t} *hec* as *hec musa*. How knos þe neuter gendyr? For hyt declynyt w^{t} *hoc* as *hoc scamnum*. How knos þu þe comyn of ij gendyrs? For hyt declynyt w^{t} *hic* and *hec* as nominatiuo *hic et hec sacerdos*. How knos þe comyn of iij gendyrs? For hyt declynyt w^{t} *hic* and *hec* | and *hoc* as nominatiuo *hic et hec et hoc felix*. How knos þu dubyn gendyr? For hyt ys declynyt w^{t} *hic* and *hec* and a *vel* coniunccion comyng bytwene as *hic vel hec dies*, for 'a day'. How knos þu þe epycyn gendyr? For vndyr on voyse and vndyr on articull he comprehendys boþe þe male and þe female as *hic passer* for 'a sparo' both þe he and þe hoo.[71]

The word *female* is used as expected above: as a marker of biological sex, serving to elucidate the relationship between biological sex and grammatical gender. It is not itself a part of the system of grammatical terminology set forth in the *Accedence*. This appears to change when the term *female* is introduced into the Welsh system. In the section on pronouns in the Llanstephan 28 *Dwned*, *ffemal* seems to function as a part of a formalised grammatical system of gender terminology (as indicated in Table 3). Its first appearance in the *Dwned* text, however, is not in the section on pronouns, but in the following explanation of nominal grammatical gender:

> Masgl yw'r peth gwrw, ac a dreiglir a hwnn, ffemal yw'r peth banw, ac a dreiglir a honn [...].[72]
>
> 'Masculine (*masgl*) is the masculine (*gwrw*) thing, and is inflected with *hwnn*, feminine (*ffemal*) is the feminine (*banw*) thing, and is inflected with *honn* [...].'

Here, the new terms *ffemal, masgl* are defined with reference to the more standard Welsh terms *gwrw, banw*. However, it is unclear exactly what is being explained. As in the definition of *epicene* in the *Accedence* (above), this paragraph might be attempting to negotiate the relationship between biological sex and grammatical gender. But it is not obvious whether *ffemal* is acting primarily as a biological or a grammatical referent in the Welsh text. In spite of the term's meaning in English, in the later *Dwned* section on pronouns it is unquestionably grammatical. It might therefore be the case that the glossing here is a negotiation between two overlapping systems of terminology, with this paragraph serving as a kind of bridge between the terminological system employed in the description of nominal gender (i.e. *gwrw, banw*) and the one

[71] Thomson, *An Edition,* 1–2.
[72] *GP* 69.

used in the description of pronominal gender (i.e. *masgl, ffemal,* etc). It is possible that the Anglicised terms were novel (in the case of *ffemal*) or at least unfamiliar (in the case of *masgl*), and had to be explained with reference to the terms used in the earlier bardic grammars. I do not think this confusion needs to be resolved; in fact, some slight confusion over the English terminology for biological sex and grammatical gender might help to explain how a biological English term is borrowed as a Welsh grammatical term.

The 'correction' of *ffemal* to *ffemin* in Peniarth 51, if that characterisation is accurate, is illuminating. It suggests a grammaticalisation or formalisation of gender terminology, and perhaps a deliberate movement away from the more common associations of the English word.[73] It also gestures towards a further complexity, which is the precise way in which the grammars in Llanstephan 28 and Peniarth 51 are related. There is a great deal of overlap between the two texts, but they are not identical. There are points at which the Peniarth 51 grammar departs from the Llanstephan 28 *Dwned*, following instead the earlier bardic grammars. The most obvious example is the reattachment of the section on syllables and diphthongs to the beginning of the grammar in Peniarth 51, but examples are littered throughout the text. For instance, at the very beginning of the text, Llanstephan 28 defines the noun as follows: *Rrann araith a dreiglir, a welir, nev a glywir, nev a deimlir, nev a ddyko henw ar beth, val y mae* angel, dyn, meddwl, prenn ('a part of speech which is inflected, which is seen, or heard, or felt, or which presents a name of a thing, as in *angel, man, wood*').[74] It should by now be unsurprising to learn that this definition comes directly from the *Accedence*: *For all þat I may fele, here or se þat berys þe name of a thyng, þe name þerof ys a nowne.*[75] However, Peniarth 51 gives instead:

> Henw yw pob peth a arwyddokao keternyt nev anssawdd damweiniol i'r keternyt. Keternyt yw pob peth o'r a aller i welet, nev glybot, nev gywrdd ac ef; i welet val y mae *dyn, prenn, maen*; a'r gyvryw bethav hynn heb ev kyvanssoddi: i glybot, val y mae *gwynt* nav *drwsst* nav *lef* a rryw bethav hynn heb ev kyvanssoddi; hevyt kywrdd ac ef val y mae *awyr* nev *liw*.[76]
>
> 'A noun is everything that signifies substance — or a quality accidental to the substance. Substance is everything that can be seen or heard or touched: seen as in *man, wood, stone*; and similar things that are not composed: heard as in *wind* or *clamour* or *cry* and these kinds of things which are not composed; also touched as in *air* or *colour.*'

Note that the examples are identical to those found in the earlier bardic grammars (but not Peniarth 20), here from Jesus College 111:

[73] Cf. the coinage of *ferindscne, banindscne* in the *Auraicept na nÉces*, discussed in Russell, 'Sex, gender', 211.

[74] *GP* 67.

[75] Thomson, *An Edition,* 1.

[76] *GP* 67; Jones, 'Gwilym Tew', 185–6. I have altered the punctuation given in *GP* to better reflect the meaning.

> Henw yw pob peth o'r a arwydockao kedernit, neu ansawd damweinyaw[l] y'r kedernyt. Kedernyt a arwydokaa pob peth o'r a aller y welet, neu y glybot, neu gyhwrd ac ef; y welet, ual y mae *dyn, prenn, maen,* a'r kyfryw betheu corfforawl, kyfanswdedic hynny; y glybot, ual y mae *gwynt*, neu *drwst*, neu *lef*, neu y kyfryw betheu; kyhwrd ac ef, val y mae *awyr*, neu *liw*.[77]
>
> 'A noun is everything that signifies substance, or a quality accidental to the substance. Substance signifies everything that can be seen or heard or met with: seen as in *man, wood, stone*, and similar physical, composed things; heard, as in *wind* or *clamour* or *cry*, or similar things; touched as in *air* or *colour*.'

Peniarth 20 gives a similar definition, but gives *taran* 'thunder' rather than *trwst* 'clamour' as an example of something that can be seen, and omits *awyr* 'air' from the examples of things that can be touched.[78] In Peniarth 51, therefore, this section appears to derive from an Einion Offeiriad-type grammar, and not the Dafydd Ddu-type.[79] This is true of the rest of the text as well, including, significantly, the additional section on the letters and syllables and diphthongs.

The editors of *GP* note that it is 'not impossible' that the copies of the *Dwned* in both Llanstephan 28 and Peniarth 51 derive from the same source, with each of the copyists separately making a number of changes and additions to the original text.[80] If this is correct, then perhaps Gutun Owain was copying an earlier document, and was not the initial editor after all. However, I am not sure this is the simplest explanation. The notion of a shared source gives rise to a number of complexities. For one, the grammar in Peniarth 51 follows the Llanstephan 28 *Dwned* even where, as we have seen, the Llanstephan 28 importation pattern appears to reflect the use of Peniarth 20 as a source document. So in the section on interjections, Peniarth 51 gives an almost identical reading to the one in Llanstephan 28: *beth. yw taǒliat. Rann. ar jaith ni threiglir. a arwyddokao dihewyd meddwl. dan lef gyhuddedic*.[81] 'What is an interjection? A part of speech which signifies zeal of mind by a cry of complaint.' As discussed on pp. 169–71, this is a translation from the *Accedence* reflecting a deficiency that occurs in Peniarth 20, but not the 'Einion Offeiriad' grammars. If we hypothesise that both Peniarth 51 and Llanstephan 28 are copies of an earlier synthesis of the bardic grammars and the *Accedence*, and that on the basis of the noun examples in Peniarth 51 given above (and other correspondences throughout the text), this earlier source used an 'Einion Offeiriad' grammar, then why does the original compiler import the section on interjections from the *Accedence* rather than using the vernacular Welsh version of this

[77] *GP* 3.

[78] *GP* 42.

[79] As noted above, the Einion Offeiriad-type grammar occurs in Jesus College 111, Llanstephan 3, Balliol College 353, etc. The Dafydd Ddu-type occurs in Peniarth 20 only.

[80] *GP* xlvi.

[81] Jones, 'Gwilym Tew', 201–2.

paragraph already in his possession? Further, a shared source assumes continuous re-translation of different parts the *Accedence*, in an apparently haphazard manner, with Gutun Owain drawing in, for instance, the *Accedence* definition of the noun above, sometime *after* the initial act of translation.

It seems more likely that during the preparation of Peniarth 51, Gwilym Tew was using Llanstephan 28 or a copy as his main source or base text, making corrections and additions with reference to the earlier bardic grammars,[82] and bringing to the task either a Latin text or a general knowledge of Latin. The correction of *ffemal* to *ffemin*, and even *masgl* to *massglin*, may simply reflect a preoccupation on the part of Gwilym Tew with forms that were considered to be more formal and Latinate, whether or not he was aware of the *Accedence* or the *Ars Minor*. We do not have evidence that the *Accedence* had made its way from north-east Wales into Morgannwg by *c.* 1460–80, and it is probably easier to imagine that the translation of the *Accedence* into Welsh took place once initially, rather than continuously and randomly over the course of the fifteenth century. The Peniarth 51 corrections to the terminology for grammatical gender reaffirm the notion that the more Latinate terms brought into the section on the pronouns were not in regular use in linguistic discussions of Welsh, and so easily changed; this is in contrast to the terms already in place in the earlier grammars (*gwrw, banw*).

There may be a further point of interest in the system of grammatical gender terms employed by both Llanstephan 28 and Peniarth 51. The grammatical usage of the Welsh term *anwybod* can almost certainly be traced back to the *Accedence*. *Dubyn* is an innovation in the *Accedence*; it has no antecedent in the *Ars Minor*.[83] Similarly, the earlier bardic grammars do not contain an equivalent term. I suggest that Welsh *anwybod* is brought into the grammatical context in the *Dwned* as a translation for Middle English *dubyn* (meaning 'of uncertain gender', from Lat. *dubius*),[84] in order to name a category of grammatical gender first introduced into Welsh linguistic discourse by the *Accedence*. However, the word occurs in Peniarth 51 as *tybius* 'conjectural':

> Tybius yw yr hynn ni wyp[-]y[.] [.]yssby[.] beth yw ai gwryw ai baniw, val y mae []w gwydd naʊ jar ni wyr. neb beth yw []wryw ai baniw onit i dyb Anwybot val y mae colomen kans ni wyr neb bet[] yw kolomen ai gwryw a[] baniw.[85]
>
> 'Conjectural is that which it is not known what it is, whether masculine or feminine, as in gosling or chicken. No one knows what

[82] If the fragmentary grammar on pp. 10–16 of Llanstephan 28 were complete and intact at the time (i.e. including the sections on letters, syllables and diphthongs, and parts of speech), it is possible that Llanstephan 28 could have provided Gwilym Tew with a copy of both source texts — but it is impossible to say for certain.

[83] Thomson, *Catalogue*, 51.

[84] *https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary* s.v. *dubie* (accessed 16 July 2019). Cf. *moth, toth* in Russell, 'Sex, gender', 211t.

[85] Jones 'Gwilym Tew', 188; the translation has been made with reference to *GP* 69, which gives a more complete version of the text found in NLW Peniarth 169.

> it is, whether masculine or feminine, unless it is conjecture. Unknown as in dove, since no one knows what a dove is, whether masculine or feminine.'

Although it is attested in other contexts,[86] '*tybius*' did not achieve popularity as a grammatical term in Welsh; in a sixteenth-century copy of the Peniarth 51 grammar it is glossed by a later hand as *anwybod*.[87] Is it too much of a reach to propose that in Peniarth 51, the term represents another 'correction' towards a more Latinate form, here *dubius* (an artificially unmutated radical form given in the Welsh) — in the same vein as the *ffemal-ffemin masgl-massglin* corrections — with the additional pleasure of the pun on Welsh *tybus, tybius* highlighted by the repetition of *tyb* 'conjecture' in the next sentence? If it is not, then the fact that the form is closer to *dubius* than to *dubyn*, and that *dubius* does not occur as a grammatical category in the *Ars Minor*, suggests strongly that the corrections to Peniarth 51 were being made without reference to the Latin or English texts discussed in this article.

Regardless, whatever we make of *tybius*, it is the term *anwybod* that is used in the following sentence, along with the same example, *colomen*, that is given in Llanstephan 28: *Anwybod yw y peth ni wypo neb beth yw, ai gwrw, ai banw, val y mae* kolomen*, kanis pan welo gwr golomenn, anwybod iddo ef beth yw, ai gwrw, ai banw*.[88] 'Unknown is the thing which no one knows what it is, whether masculine or feminine, as in *dove*, since when a man sees a dove, it is unknown to him what it is, whether masculine or feminine.' Perhaps the doubling up of terminology was deliberate, intended as a kind of gloss for a term that was not well known in a grammatical context. In any case, it is clear that Gwilym Tew had access to a text which used *anwybod* in a grammatical context (as suggested above, likely Llanstephan 28 or a copy). His fairly free and innovative editing practices mean that the grammar in Peniarth 51 is far more than just a mechanical copy of a single document. Like Llanstephan 28 itself, it demonstrates a high level of textual fluidity and editorial input:[89] it is its own sophisticated end-product, which synthesises a number of grammatical sources. Thus, while the Peniarth 51 grammar is interesting as a point of comparison, it is essentially a separate text, with a separate purpose. We will move to the Llanstephan 28 *Dwned* for the remainder of the discussion, and turn from Gwilym Tew back to Gutun Owain.

[86] *GPC* s.v. 'tybus, tybius'.

[87] The gloss, in a later hand, occurs on p. 165 of the copy of the Peniarth 51 grammar made by Roger Morris, Coed y Talwrn in Peniarth 169 (*c.* 1580), viewable on the National Library of Wales website at https://viewer.library.wales/4834734 (accessed 16 July 2019); see also *GP* 69.

[88] *GP* 69.

[89] Cf. Thomas Charles-Edwards' discussion of textual fluidity in *Peredur* in 'The textual tradition of medieval Welsh prose tales and the problem of dating', in Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (eds), *150 Jahre "Mabinogion"* (Tübingen, 2001), 23–39.

PENIARTH 356 AS SOURCE?

If Gutun Owain were using the Pennant copy of the *Accedence* itself, Peniarth 356 (*c.* 1460s–80s), as a source text, a reconsideration of the date of Llanstephan 28 would be in order. The dates given in the colophons to Llanstephan 28, 1455–6, have been subject to some doubt. In particular, Thomas Roberts has argued on a palaeographical basis that the manuscript was probably compiled *c.* 1475,[90] and the editors of the tract believed that the bardic grammar on pp. 10–16 could not have been completed before 1485.[91] Both arguments rest on the assumption that Gutun copied the dates in the colophons from his exemplar. Either proposed re-dating would put Llanstephan MS 28 more firmly within the dates of Gutun's other manuscripts, which are otherwise all thought to date from *c.* 1461–1500.[92]

However, there is reason to accept the date given in the colophons. Ben Guy's recent work confirms that the genealogies in this manuscript did represent 'a product of an early stage in Gutun's career'.[93] Guy also reports Daniel Huws' belief that, given the personalisation elsewhere in the manuscript, it is unlikely that Gutun would have copied the dates blindly.[94] The copy of the *Dwned* in Peniarth 51 is not hugely helpful in answering this question. It is believed to have been written over a long period between 1460 and 1480; but this dating is uncertain, and is based mainly on the *floruit* of its compiler Gwilym Tew.[95] The most that can be said, then, is that it is possible Gutun was working from Peniarth 356, if we are willing to revise the dates of Llanstephan 28, but unlikely.

However, it is also possible that Gutun was working from a now-lost manuscript that also served as an exemplar for both Peniarth 356 and NLW 423D (the John Edwards of Chirk manuscript). Peniarth 356 contains two copies of the Leylond texts, with one group appearing in an earlier part of the manuscript (*Informacio* at fol. 1r–9v; *Comparacio* at fol. 9v; *Accedence* at fol. 48r, 54v–57v) and one in the later (*Informacio* at fol. 167v–168r; *Comparacio* at fol. 163r–164v; *Accedence* at fol. 163r, 165r–167v).[96] The Middle English grammatical tracts associated with Leylond appear to have frequently (though not always) travelled together.[97] The occurrences of

[90] Thomas Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau Gutun Owain, a thymor ei oes', *BBCS* 15.2 (May 1953), 99–109, at 103.

[91] *GP* xlvi.

[92] Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau Gutun Owain', 101.

[93] Ben Guy, 'Medieval Welsh genealogy: texts, contexts and transmission', unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University (2016), 104.

[94] See Ben Guy, 'Writing genealogy in Wales, *c.* 1475–*c.* 1640: sources and practitioners', in Jost Eickmeyer, Markus Friedrich and Volker Bauer (eds), *Genealogical Knowledge in the Making: Tools, Practices, and Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, Cultures and Practices of Knowledge in History 1 (Berlin/Boston, 2019), 99–105, at 109 n. 45.

[95] Huws, *Repertory*.

[96] See Thomson, *Catalogue,* 1–2.

[97] See Thomson, *Catalogue*, 1–2. The *Informacio* occurs with the *Accedence* once in Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson D 328 and twice in Peniarth 356; it occurs independently in NLW 423D, Lincoln 88, and Hatton 58.

duplicate copies in Peniarth 356 suggests to me that transcriptions would have been made from two different manuscripts, each of which contained all three texts.

The earlier copy of the *Accedence* in Peniarth 356 (at fol. 48r, 54v–57v) more closely resembles the *Dwned* than the second (fol. 163r, 165r–167v). This conclusion has been arrived at by close textual comparison. For instance, take the definition of a noun in the *Dwned*: *Beth yw henw? Rrann araith a dreiglir, a welir, nev a glywir, nev a deimlir, nev a ddyko henw ar beth.*[98] 'What is a noun? A part of speech which is inflected, which is seen, or heard, or felt, or met with or which puts a name on a thing.' This seems quite clearly to be a synthesis of the material in Peniarth 20: *Henw yw pob peth o'r a arwydokao kedernyt, neu ansawd damweinnyawl y'r kedernyt. Kedernyt a arwydokaha pob peth o'r a aller y welet, neu y glybot, neu gyhwrd ac ef* [...][99] 'A noun is everything which signifies substance, or a quality accidental to substance. Substance signifies everything which can be seen, or heard, or met with [...]', combined with the definition given in the first Peniarth 356 *Accedence*: *How knos þu a nowne? For all þat I may fele, here or se þat berys the name of a thyng* [...].[100] In contrast, the second *Accedence* is considerably briefer: *How knowe ȝe a noun? For þe Laten of eny þyng ys a noun.*[101] The *Dwned* revision appears to be more or less a translation of the first Peniarth 356 version, perhaps preserving the order of the first two list items in the definition (seeing/hearing) and the impersonal verbs from the Peniarth 20 grammar, but introducing the question and answer format, as well as the final clause of the first Peniarth 356 *Accedence* definition of the noun, *þat berys the name of a thing* [...].[102]

Thomson likewise notes that the first copy of the *Informacio* (fol. 1r–9v) in the Pennant manuscript and the version in the John Edwards manuscript 'are textually close, and their manuscripts are also close both in contents and probably origin'.[103] On these bases, we can tentatively conclude the following: (1) it is likely that both Thomas Pennant and John Edwards of Chirk used the same manuscript to produce copies of the *Informacio*; (2) this same manuscript contained a version of the *Accedence*, copied by Pennant, which closely resembles the translation in the *Dwned*; (3) this manuscript was in circulation within the group of scholars located in north-east Wales in the fifteenth century, and is likely to have been readily available to Gutun Owain.

Whether or not it was Gutun who was chiefly responsible for the re-edit, and whatever the editor's exact sources, the following is clear: all of these grammars, both Middle English and Welsh, were circulating and being reproduced in the same circles around the same period of time, and thus, their compilers probably had access to similar or identical source texts. The

[98] *GP* 67.
[99] *GP* 42.
[100] Thomson, *An Edition*, 1.
[101] Thomson, *An Edition*, 9.
[102] Thomson, *An Edition*, 1.
[103] Thomson, *Catalogue*, 53; see also discussion at 19–20.

north-east of Wales was a key location for grammatical scholarship in the mid-fifteenth century; it is not surprising that significant influence can be detected across the scholarly products that emerged from this centre.

CONCLUSION: THE PURPOSE OF THE *Dwned*

Let us return for a moment to the title of the text in Llanstephan 28: *Llyma Gyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Brydain yr hwnn a elwir y Dwned ynghymraec* 'Here is the secret of the bards of the island of Britain, that which is called the *Dwned* in Welsh.' At this point it is possible to make slightly more of the strange Middle English borrowing introduced at the beginning of this paper. The word *Donet*, from which *Dwned* derives, does appear in the *Accedence* — though as a reference to the *Ars Minor*, and not to the *Accedence* itself:

> All þat byn contenyt in þis leson of þe 'Donet': 'Da preposiciones casus accusatiui, vt *ad, apud,* et cetera;. Wych by þe preposycions þat will serue to ablatiue case? All þat byn contenyt in þis lesson of þe 'Donet': 'Da vtriusque casus preposiciones, et cetera.'[104]

The co-occurrence of the word across both texts is interesting, given what we have seen of terminological borrowing above. It is also worth noting that this paragraph, which occurs at the end of the section on prepositions in the *Accedence*, directs the reader to consult the *Ars Minor* at exactly the point in the *Dwned* where we see the heaviest concentration of Latin examples (as discussed above on p. 172). This suggests that, along with the bardic grammar in Peniarth 20, the *Accedence* may have been the primary source document for the compilation of the *Dwned*, with the *Ars Minor* used as a supplement where necessary (or indeed, where the compiler was directed to do so by the text of the *Accedence*). The choice of a word taken from the *Accedence* for the title of the Welsh text is therefore significant: in fact, I believe that the use of the *Accedence* was absolutely central to the compiler's programme.

If the *Accedence* is indeed as fundamental as I suppose to the Welsh compiler's conception of his own work, the purpose of that document may shed some light on the impetus behind the compilation of the *Dwned*. We saw above that the *Accedence* was created as a pedagogical text, and that it circulated in manuscripts in north-east Wales which were themselves intended to serve as teaching tools. It is not a leap to infer therefore that the Welsh work also had a pedagogical orientation. Recall, however, that the English text was specifically intended to teach Latin to speakers of the vernacular. I would suggest, quite simply: so was the Welsh. The *Dwned*'s pointed affiliation with the *Accedence* makes a similarity of purpose likely, but even more compellingly, such a purpose would supply us with an answer to the question I raised above: what was the point of introducing technical terminology to describe forms that do not occur in the language being described?

[104] Thomson, *An Edition*, 8. See footnote 38 above for the quoted section in the *Ars Minor*.

By analogy with the *Accedence*, the language being described was not Welsh, but Latin. Terminology for the case system was introduced not in order to define grammatical categories that did not exist in Welsh, but to give some sense of how these categories worked in Latin. As we have seen, this could be achieved either by explaining their semantic function (as in *penn Rys*), or simply by plugging Latin examples into the Welsh text. As a pedagogical tool, one can compare this against the continued production and use in the modern period of books like *English Grammar for Students of Latin*,[105] intended (as the title suggests) for English-speaking students of Latin to get a grasp on grammatical terminology in English, which then prepares them to discuss Latin in a linguistically sophisticated way. The name *Dwned* thus not only replicates the form of Middle English *Donet*, but also its meaning: elementary grammar book.

The *Dwned*'s concern with Latin rather than Welsh appears to be borne out by a final paragraph appended to a later copy of the text in NLW Peniarth 158 (1587):

> Ag fal hyn y terfyna y rhwolav gramadeg in iaith Gymraeg, y rain a berthynant i benkerdd o brydydd i gwybod, ag yn anwedig gidag iaith Lading ag ieitho[e]dd dierth o achos bod yn anodd i siar[a]d yn gyfion ymadrodd heb wybod y rhwolau hyn ysydd yn dysgy i doyd[yd] yn gowir. Er hyny, nid mawr anghenRaid yw wrthynt mewn iaith Gymraeg o achos i bod yn ddilwgr ohoni i hvn ag anodd i neb i hadrodd yngham. Eto, er hyny, nid llai grym y radd o gylfyddyd rymadeg, achos peth godidog yw hi, ag ynddi y mae gwraidd pob dysg mewn [i]eithoedd eraill yn sefyll.[106]
>
> 'And so end the rules of grammar in the Welsh language, those which it is appropriate for the chief bard to know, and especially with the Latin language and foreign languages, because it is difficult to utter a statement accurately without knowing these rules, which teach to speak correctly. Despite this, there is not a great need for them in the Welsh language, because it is unblemished on its own and it is difficult for anyone to speak it incorrectly. Still, despite this, a degree in the art of grammar has no less virtue, because it is an excellent thing, and in it lies the root of every kind of learning in other languages.'

Here, the copyist (Robert ab Ifan of Brynsiencyn) seems to indicate, as I have suggested, that the primary utility of the grammatical rules was in the

[105]The book's statement of purpose is illustrative: '*English Grammar for Students of Latin* explains the grammatical terms that are in your Latin textbook and shows you how they relate to English grammar. Once you understand the terms and concepts as they apply to your own language, it will be easier for you to understand what is being introduced in your textbook and by your teacher'. Norma Goldman, *English Grammar for Students of Latin*, third ed. (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2004), 1.

[106]*GP* 88. I am grateful to the anonymous *Celtica* reader for drawing my attention to this paragraph.

acquisition of other languages, particularly Latin. He acknowledges that the grammatical rules laid out in the *Dwned* are not actually particularly useful for Welsh, as we likewise have seen above. The additional paragraph does not appear in Llanstephan 28 and so does not provide any contemporary evidence, but it is interesting in its capacity as an early reading of the *Dwned* as a vernacular Latin primer.

The objection might be raised that Llanstephan 28, unlike the Pennant and Chirk manuscripts, is not an obvious working pedagogical document. Outside of the *Dwned* and the bardic grammar, its other contents, all Welsh (genealogical material, saints' Lives) do not seem to display any particular interest in Latin pedagogy. However, a text can be pedagogical in orientation without necessarily being contained in a document intended for the purposes of classroom instruction; compare, for instance, the earlier bardic grammars themselves, generally conceived of as pedagogical,[107] but often contained in massive anthology manuscripts like Jesus College 111 (The Red Book of Hergest). Rather than a practical 'teaching text', I think the *Dwned* in Llanstephan 28 must be considered as a chiefly scholastic endeavour with a pedagogical orientation.

In his discussion of the *Accedence* text in the context of education in late medieval Wales, Orme notes briefly, 'it does not appear that equivalent texts were produced in Welsh'.[108] This is not correct: as I have argued, the *Dwned* is precisely such an equivalent text. But perhaps this same deficiency was apparent to scholars of the early fifteenth century, and corrective measures sought. It is perhaps useful to think of the *Dwned* as an answer to the *Accedence* rather than purely a derivation of it: an attempt to bring Welsh scholarship into line with contemporary standards and practices.

The failure to understand the *Dwned* as primarily a work of grammatical scholarship, or to account for the *Accedence* as one of its main source texts, has further consequences for the way in which we understand both its contents and the context of its creation. The *Dwned* is usually read in terms of its role in the native bardic tradition. In past scholarship, it has been taken more or less as an incomplete reflex of the bardic grammars. It must be emphasised that in Llanstephan 28, the metrical and the grammatical tract are very clearly separate texts, which occur at different points in the manuscript. The *Dwned* is purely grammatical in orientation, lacking any reference to the more 'bardic' sections of the bardic grammars, i.e. the diphthongs, metres, faults, *prydlyfr*, or triads. It is nonetheless a complete text. I should like to make the following distinction: the *Dwned* in Llanstephan 28 makes use of the bardic grammars, and works within the tradition established by the bardic grammars, but is not itself a bardic grammar.

The miscategorisation (or perhaps more correctly, recategorisation, or reappropriation) of the text began with many of the earliest sixteenth-century copies, which re-attach the *Dwned* to the section on metre, and continued

[107] *GP* xiii; Matonis, 'Western grammatical tradition', 124; Ceri Lewis, 'Einion Offeiriad and the bardic grammar', in Jarman and Hughes, *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 2, 58; Gruffydd, 'Wales' second grammarian', 20.

[108] Orme, 'Education', 636.

through to the twentieth-century edition of the text, in which the *Dwned* is included under the title *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* 'Grammars of the Chief Poets'. This title is reflective of a disconcerting tendency to read the bardic grammars in general (and as a result, the *Dwned*) as the exclusive domain of a class of men, the bardic order, who were concerned primarily with their own native tradition and its preservation. As a result, the grammars have been taken as conservative in function and insular in outlook, not to say parochial. Such a blinkered view of this text does a disservice to the richness and complexity of scholarship and intellectual life in fifteenth-century Wales.

In the fifteenth century, English was starting to become the language of grammatical scholarship and pedagogy — not only in England, but as the John Edwards and Thomas Pennant manuscripts show, in Wales as well. The preservation and promotion of Welsh culture in this period entailed the deliberate alignment of its vernacular scholarly texts with contemporary Latin and English material. The compilation of the *Dwned* suggests not an antiquarian or a backward-looking outlook on the part of its compiler, but rather a continued determination to elevate the Welsh material to the cutting-edge of scholarship. The resultant text successfully negotiates between the linguistic tradition already established by the bardic grammars and the new mode of grammatical scholarship emerging from England in the period. The *Dwned* is the product of a community that appears to have been aware and respectful of its own tradition of vernacular grammatical writing, and at the same time consciously multilingual, cosmopolitan, and intellectually engaged.[109]

ABBREVIATION

GP G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones (eds), *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (Cardiff, 1934).

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[109]I am grateful to Paul Russell, Barry Lewis, and the anonymous *Celtica* reader for their insightful comments and suggestions. Remaining errors, omissions, and miscategorisations are my own.

AN MARCO POLO GAEILGE AGUS FÍNGHEAN MAC CARTHAIGH RIABHACH[1]

Achoimre

This article discusses the connections between the Irish adaptation of Marco Polo's *Travels*, which survives in the Book of Lismore, and the patrons of that manuscript, Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his wife Caitilín. It examines the principal alterations that were made to the text as it was being translated, and suggests that the war between Cublay Khan and two of his close family members was emphasised in the adaptation in order to mirror the struggles of Fínghean against his cousin Cormac, and Caitilín's brother's conflict against their uncle Gearóid Mac Gearailt during the 1460s and 70s. The article argues that the translator used specific narrative techniques to emphasise this episode in the text, that he may have adjusted certain details in order to improve the parallel between Cublay and Fínghean, and shows how the account of the war is expanded within the text as a whole.

Aistriúchán, achoimre agus athscríobh is ea an Marco Polo Gaeilge (MPG) de leagan Laidine *Eachtra Mharco Polo*, dar teideal *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum* (P), a d'aistrigh manach Doiminiceach ó Bhologna darbh ainm Francesco Pipino, idir 1310 agus 1324, ó Veinísis.[2] Ní mhaireann an t-aistriúchán Gaeilge ach in aon lámhscríbhinn amháin, .i. Leabhar Leasa Móir (L), nó *Leabhar Mhég Carthaigh Riabhaigh* mar a thug Míchéal Ó Cléirigh air is é ag cóipeáil as *i ccoinveint na mbrathar i tTeagh Molacca* i samhradh na bliana 1629.[3] Is dóichíde gur scríobhadh i ndeireadh an chúigiú céad déag é d'Fhínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, Tiarna Chairbre idir 1478 agus 1505, agus dá bhean chéile Caitilín (†1506), iníon le Tomás Mac Gearailt (†1468), an t-ochtú hIarla Deasmhumhan.[4] Mar ba mhinic i

[1]Táim fé chomaoin ag an Ollamh Pádraig Ó Macháin a roinn a pháipéar neamhfhoilsithe liom ar scríobhaithe L a thug sé ag comhdháil i gColáiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh sa mbliain 2011, agus ag an Ollamh John Carey as a pháipéar neamhfhoilsithe ar an MPG, a thug sé ag an gcomhdháil chéanna, a roinnt liom chomh maith. Táim ana-bhaoch den bpiarmheasúnóir anaithnid a léigh dréacht don alt so, agus go raibh moltaí fiúntacha aige dhom, agus don Dr Tomás L. Ó Murchú agus an Dr Mícheál Hoyne a léigh dréachtaí déanacha den alt agus go raibh roinnt moltaí eile acu dhom.

[2]Consuelo Dutschke, 'Francesco Pipino and the manuscripts of Marco Polo's *Travels*,' unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993, 239; Andrea Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation of Marco Polo's *Travels*: mapping the route to Ireland', *Ériu* 69 (le teacht).

[3]An Bhruiséil LS 2324–40, fol. 113r.6–8 agus 122r.8–9. Féach chomh maith: Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí, 1700–1850* (Dublin, 1982), 233–4; Brian Ó Cuív, 'Observations on the Book of Lismore', *PRIA* 83C (1983), 269–92, ar lch 285.

[4]Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269–70; Richard Sharpe, 'Medieval manuscripts found at Bonamargy friary and other hidden manuscripts', *Studia Hibernica* 41 (2015), 64–70.

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dtraidisiún an aistriúcháin le linn na meánaoise déanaí in Éirinn,[5] níor fhan údar an MPG dílis do struchtúr, stíl inste ná fiú do thuairiscí an taiscéalaí Veinísigh mar a bhíodar roimis amach i P, ach d'athmhúnlaigh an *Eachtra* ó thalamh chun é a chur in oiriúint dá léitheoirí agus dhein cur síos úrnua ar scéal Mharco Polo ná maireann a mhacasamhail in aon leagan eile den téacs dá bhfuil againn. Pléifear san alt so cuid desna hathruithe is suntasaí a deineadh ar scéal Mharco Polo agus é á thiontú go Gaeilge, agus déanfar iarracht ar iad a mhíniú trí anailís ar chúlra stairiúil na lámhscríbhinne. Díreofar go háirithe ar na cosúlachtaí idir chogadh a throid Fínghean agus Caitilín lena ngaolta agus an t-éirí amach a throid Cúbla Cán lena uncail agus a chol ceathrair fhéin, go bhfuil cuntas air i P. Léireofar conas a cuireadh béim ar an gcuid áirithe seo den MPG agus áiteofar gur deineadh amhlaidh chun cathanna Fínghin agus Caitilín a thabhairt chun cuimhne an athuair.

Tosnóidh an t-alt so le hachoimre gheairid ar aistear stairiúil Mharco Polo, ar thraidisiún téacsach an *Eachtra* san Eoraip agus ar a teacht go hÉirinn. Pléifear an ceangal idir Fhínghean, L agus mainistir Thighe Mo Laige i gCairbre, agus taispeánfar, trí anailís phailéagrafach ar an lámhscríbhinn, ná raibh an ceart ag Ó Cuív nuair a léirigh sé amhras ar phátrúnacht an leabhair.[6] Déanfar mionphlé ansan ar conas go díreach a athscríobhadh an téacs, cad a fágadh ar lár san aistriúchán, cad a méadaíodh, cad a roghnaíodh i dtaobh stíl an phróis, agus pléifear cad a spreag na cinntí so.

Saol agus saothar Mharco Polo

Ceannaí agus taiscéalaí Véiníseach ab ea Marco Polo a thaistil i dteannta a athar is a uncail ó chathair na Véiníse go Beijing na Síne sa mbliain 1271.[7] Nuair a d'fhill sé abhaile sa mbliain 1295, bhí breis is fiche blian caite aige mar fheisire ag Cúbla Cán (Maghnus sa MPG), impire na Mongóile. De réir tuairisce a faightear i ndíonbhrollach an *Eachtra*, dheachtaigh Marco Polo cuntas dá thuras do Rustichello da Pisa, scéalaí Artúraíochta a bhí in aon chillín leis i bpríosún Genoa, sa mbliain 1298.[8] Scaipeadh scéal Mharco Polo go tapaidh ar fuaid na hEorpa ina dhiaidh sin, agus aistríodh an *Eachtra* go Fraincis, Angla-Normanais, Catalóinis, Aragóinis, Tuscáinis agus go Veinísis go luath sa cheathrú céad déag. Ba é an leagan ba thábhachtaí do luath-thraidisiún an *Eachtra* san Eoraip, áfaigh, an t-aistriúchán Laidine (P) a dhein an manach

[5]Tá sé seo pléite ag Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), agus ag Jason Harris, *Adaptations of Roman Epic in Medieval Ireland: Three Studies in the Interplay of Erudition and Oral Tradition* (Lampeter, 1998).

[6]Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 270.

[7]Tá cuntais chuimsitheacha ar shaol Mharco Polo scríte ag J. Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, Connecticut, and London, 1999), 31–67; S. Gaunt, *Marco Polo's* Le Devisement du Monde: *Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge, 2013), 1–39; Henry Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, 2 vols (New York, 1993), i, Introduction, 15–20; Eugenio Burgio and Mario Eusebi, *Per una nuova edizione del Milione* (Roma, 2008), 42.

[8]Thuairimigh Ramusio go mb'fhéidir gur throid Marco Polo ar rámhlong Véiníseach i gCath Curzola, gur gabhadh ansan é agus gur cuireadh i ngéibhinn i Genoa ina dhiaidh sin é. Féach Gaunt, *Marco Polo*, 5.

Doiminiceach Francesco Pipino ó Bhologna idir na blianta 1310 agus 1324. I measc an 141 lámhscríbhinn meánaoiseach ina bhfuil leagan den *Eachtra*, tá leagan Phipino, nó leaganacha a shíolraíonn uaidh, le fáil i 69 ceann acu, nách mór a leath.[9] Maireann ceithre aistriúchán de P ón gceathrú agus ón gcúigiú céad déag, .i. dhá chóip de leagan Fraincise, leagan Seicise, leagan Veinísise agus an MPG in L.[10]

Chomh maith leis an ainm *Pronsiscus* a bheith luaite ina bhfuil fágtha de dhíonbhrollach P sa MPG, agus míreanna beaga Laidine neamhaistrithe a bheith scaipthe ar fuaid an téacs, dhein Pipino dhá athrú struchtúrtha thábhachtacha ar a leagan den *Eachtra* go bhfuil a rian orthu san aistriúchán Gaeilge. Fágann san gur féidir a bheith nách mór deimhnitheach de gur bunaíodh an MPG ar a leagan súd den téacs, is iad so: 1) díonbhrollach nua a chur i dtosach an *Eachtra*, ina ngabhann Pipino a leithscéal fén ábhar neamhchráifeach sa téacs agus ina ngeallann sé dá léitheoirí go bhfuil gach tuairisc ann fíor agus iontaofa, agus gur féidir brath ar chuntas Mharco toisc gur duine stuama, diaganta, macánta is ea é;[11] 2) an téacs a roinnt ina thrí leabhar, struchtúr ná fuil le fáil in aon leagan eile den *Eachtra* ná síolraíonn ó P. Fairis sin, tá roinnt mionathruithe san aistriúchán Gaeilge a shíolraíonn ó dhearúdtaí peannaireachta a faightear i bhfoleaganacha de théacs Phipino a cóipeáladh i Sasana le linn an cheathrú agus an chúigiú céad déag.[12]

Fínghean, L agus Mainistir Thighe Mo Laige

Idir *folia* 121 agus 131 de L a faightear an t-aon chóip amháin den MPG. Tá tosach is deireadh an téacs in easnamh toisc cúpla duilleog a bheith ar iarraidh ón lámhscríbhinn díreach roimis is tar éis an téacs. Má cuireadh díonbhrollach leis an MPG riamh, mar a dhein Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna agus é ag aistriú Mandeville go Gaeilge sa mbliain 1475 i Ros Broin,[13] inar mhínigh an t-údar *log*, *pearsa*, *aimsir* agus *fáth airicc* a aistriúcháin, tá san caillte anois, fóiríor, agus caithfear comhthéacs scríte an MPG a thuiscint trí mhionscrúdú ar an lámhscríbhinn fhéin agus ar na hathruithe a deineadh ar théacs Pipino is é á aistriú go Gaeilge.

[9]Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age: traduction, diffusion et réception du Devisement du Monde* (Turnhout, 2015), 384–5.

[10]Dutschke, 'Francesco Pipino', 279–81, 305–7, 436–7, 449–52 agus 467–8; L. F. De Benedetto, *Il Milione di Marco Polo* (Firenze, 1928), cxliv–cxlv.

[11]Dr Simion a dhein an tras-scríbhinn so a leanas ó Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 983, fol. 1vb, agus is liomsa an t-aistriúchán: 'Cunctis in eo legentibus innotescat prefatum dominum Marchum horum mirabilium relatorem virum esse prudentem, fidelem et devotum atque honestis moribus adornatum, a cunctis sibi domesticis testimonium bonum habentem ut multiplicis virtutis eius merito sit ipsius relacio fide digna.' ('Go raibh a fhios ag gach aoinne a léann é seo gur fear stuama, iontaofa, diaganta, go bhfuil nósanna macánta aige, agus go bhfuil a fhianaise mhaith sin aige óna shearbhóntaí tí ar fad, é an t-uasal Marco réamhráite, eachtraí na n-iontas so, agus gurbh iontaofa an cuntas so aige de dheascaibh a ilshuáilcí.') Léiríonn an dá bhriathar san infinideach agus rangabháil láithreach sa mhír seo, .i. *esse* agus *habentem*, go raibh Marco Polo fós ina bheathaidh le linn do Phipino a bheith á scríobh so.

[12]Beidh mionphlé agam air seo in Palandri, 'Irish adaptation'.

[13]W. Stokes, 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 1–62 and 226–300, ar lgh 2–4.

Cruthaíonn fianaise a d'aimsigh Ó Macháin le déanaí go raibh beirt phríomhscríobhaithe L, .i. scríobhaí gan ainm go dtugtar Scríobhaí A air agus Aonghas Ó Callanáin, ag obair as lámha a chéile i ndéanamh na lámhscríbhinne,[14] rud nár thuig Ó Cuív agus a chuir amhras air fé phátrúnacht an leabhair.[15] Tá ar a laghad trí phointe sa lámhscríbhinn go bhfuil an chomhpháirtíocht so le sonrú ann: 1) ar fol. 201, líníodh duilleog tosaigh *Agallamh na Seanórach* (*Agallamh*) de réir nósanna Scríobhaí A cé gur le hAonghas Ó Callanáin an pheannaireacht;[16] 2) ar fol. 202r, lean Scríobhaí A le hobair Aonghasa i gcóipeáil an *Agallamh*, agus chríochnaigh sé rann a thosnaigh Aonghas a scríobh; 3) ar fol. 200v, líonann Scríobhaí A an leathcholún a bhí fágtha tar éis d'Aonghas *An Agallamh Bheag* a chríochnú, le miontéacs a thosnaíonn *coicc bhruighne hEireann*. Cruthaíonn na trí phointe seo thuas go raibh an bheirt scríobhaithe ag obair le chéile ar an lámhscríbhinn. Agus is iontuisceana as san, má bhí Aonghas ag scríobh d'Fhínghean, mar a thugann sé le fios ina cholafan ar fol. 134rb, *Aonghas Ó Callanáin do scríbh so do Mhag Carrthaig .i. Fínghean mac Diarmada*, gur amhlaidh a bhí á dhéanamh ag a chomhghleacaí, Scríobhaí A, agus gurb aon mhórshaothar amháin í an lámhscríbhinn.

Tá a thuilleadh fianaise againn de san sna ceithre nóta a cuireadh in imeall bheathaí na naomh sa lámhscríbhinn (fol. 42r, 49v, 53r agus 59r), a iarann ar lucht léite na mbeathaí beannacht a thabhairt *ar anmannaibh na lanamhan dár scríobhadh* iad agus *do chuir dá scríobhadh*.[17] Is féidir a shonrú ó fhoclaíocht, leagan amach agus stíl na nótaí seo go léir gur aon scríobhaí amháin a bhreac iad, agus iad ar fad scríte os chionn nó fé bhun tosach beatha naoimh éigin sa lámhscríbhinn. Ach ní hionann an pheannaireacht i ngach aon cheann acu, agus dealraíonn sé gur athscrígh duine éigin cuid den nóta ar fol. 49r, agus go mb'fhéidir gur deineadh amhlaidh ar an gceann ar fol. 42. Díol spéise is ea é leis nár chóipeáil Seosamh Ó Longáin an nóta ar fol. 53r sa dá chóip pháipéir a dhein sé de L sa mbliain 1866,[18] toisc gur mheas sé, b'fhéidir, ná raibh an

[14]D'áitigh an Machánach an méid seo i gcaint a thug sé ag comhdháil ar Leabhar Leasa Móir i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh sa mbliain 2011. Táim fé chomaoin ag an Ollamh Ó Macháin as a thaighde neamhfhoilsithe ar scríobhaithe L a roinnt liom agus tá na trí phointe thuas luaite foilsithe anso lena chead. Féach chomh maith Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Aonghas Ó Callanáin, Leabhar Leasa Móir agus an *Agallamh bheag*', in Aidan Doyle and Kevin Murray (eds), *In Dialogue with the Agallamh: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin, 2014), 114–63, ar lgh 144–7, 160–1.

[15]Ó Cuív, 'Observations', 269–70. Féach chomh maith: D. Ó Corráin, *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium*, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017), ii, 1101–2; S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (New York and London, 2005), 279–80.

[16]Tá dhá stíl éagsúla líníochta ag an mbeirt scríobhaithe: 'scribe A uses single left-hand bounding lines of the columns whereas Aonghas Ó Callanáin uses double-rule.' Foilsím é seo ó chomhfhreagras pearsanta leis an Machánach agus lena chead.

[17]L, fol. 42r agus 59r; L, fol. 49v.

[18]Leabharlann Ollscoil Dhún Éideann LS Dk.1.31; Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, Leabharlann Hardiman LSB 180. Pléann an Machánach na lámhscríbhinní seo in: Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Ealaín na lámhscríbhinní: Leabhar Leasa Móir agus muintir Longáin,' in Pádraig Ó Macháin and Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (eds), *Leabhar na Longánach: The Ó Longáin Family and their Manuscripts* (Cork, 2018), 175–216, ar lch 213.

nóta áirithe sin chomh sean leis an gcuid eile acu.[19] Is deacair a dheimhniú chomh maith an ionann peannaireacht aon cheann desna nótaí seo agus peannaireacht phríomhscríobhaithe L, toisc script na nótaí a bheith níos lú, an dúch a bheith caite, leath don nóta ar fol. 49r a bheith athscríte, agus an t-imeall uachtarach ar fol. 42 agus 49 a bheith gearrtha ag ceangaltóir leabhair éigin. Ach is dócha nárbh é Aonghas a scrígh iad, mar ná fuil príomhthréithe a chuid peannaireachta le sonrú iontu: 1) minimí righine, cúinneacha, cearnacha, gan aon lúbadh iontu; 2) stríoca deas an litir *a* a theacht anuas gan aon lúbadh maol, agus a chrích ar aonleibhéal nách mór leis an mbunstríoca a cheanglaíonn dhá thaobh na litreach; 3) an chéad stríoca ingearach sa litir *g* a bheith righin agus a chrích ar aonleibhéal le bonn an ghnáthmhinim, agus an lúb féna bhun a bheith iata. D'fhéadfadh gurb é Scríobhaí A a bhreac iad agus roinnt gnéithe dá chuid peannaireachta fhéin le tabhairt fé ndeara sna nótaí ar fol. 53r agus 59r, agus sa chuid den nóta ar fol. 49v ná fuil athscríte: 1) stríoca deas an litir *a* a theacht anuas le lúbadh maol go minic, agus a chrích fé bhun an stríoca a cheanglaíonn dhá thaobh na litreach; 2) aon stríoca amháin a theacht anuas go lúbach sa litir *g*, ach gan a bheith iata mar a bhíonn ag Aonghas; 3) formhór an dúigh a bheith donnbhuí. Ach cé ná féidir a bheith deimhnitheach de gurb é Scríobhaí A a bhreac na nótaí seo, mar ní móide gur leor fianaise na peannaireachta so amháin mar chruthúnas air, léiríonn foclaíocht na nótaí gurbh iad an lánú a d'iarr na beathaí naomh so a scríobh (*do chuir dá scríobhadh*) agus gur dóibh a scríobhadh iad (*dár scríobhadh*), agus is iontuisceana as san, toisc Scríobhaí A a bheith ina phríomhscríobhaí ar na beathaí, gur don lánúin chéanna so a bhí sé fhéin ag obair chomh maith.



Aonghas 'a'



Scríobhaí A 'a'



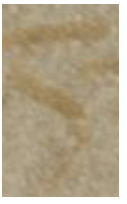
Nóta ar 59r 'a'



Aonghas 'g'



Scríobhaí A 'g'



Nóta ar 59r 'g'

[19]Go bhfios dom níor fhág an Longánach amach, insna cóipeanna a dhein sé de L, ach an méid a mheas sé a bheith scríte ag Ó Floinn air nuair a bhí an lámhscríbhinn aige sa mbliain 1816. Féach Ó Macháin, 'Ealaín na lámhscríbhinní', 214 n. 97.

Tugtar a thuilleadh eolais fén lánúin seo in iargcomharc de dhán a chum Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh d'Fhínghean, agus a cuireadh ar fol. 158 den lámhscríbhinn, ina bhfaightear dhá rann tiomnaithe do bhean chéile an phátrúin, .i. Caitilín iníon Thomáis Mhic Gearailt, Iarla Deasmhumhan.[20] Tráchtann an dán so, *Ní théd an éigin a n-aisgidh*, ar dhleacht Fínghin tiarnas Chairbre a bheith gafa thar n-ais aige óna chol ceathrair, Cormac mac Donnchaidh, a chuaigh thar sinsearacht a uncail, Diarmaid an Dúnaidh Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, athair Fhínghin, nuair a ghaibh sé an tiarnas uaidh sa mbliain 1468.[21]

Léiríonn an rann deireanach san iargcomharc so baint nó báidh a bheith ag an bhfile le Naomh Proinsias, rud a bhí sé ag cur in úil, b'fhéidir, toisc ceangal a bheith aige leis an ord.[22] Níl aon fhianaise ann, go bhfios dom, a chruthaíonn aon nasc a bheith ann idir mhuintir Dhálaigh agus an mhainistir Phroinsiasach i dTigh Mo Laige, ach ar ndóigh, b'í sin an láthair eaglasta is mó a luaití leis na Carthaigh Riabhacha, a bhí ina bpátrúin ar na filí sin. Bhí an mhainistir suite i gcroílár thailte Mhic Carthaigh Riabhaigh, agus is inti sin a cuireadh Fínghean (†1505),[23] a dhearthár Domhnall (†1467),[24] a mhac (†1531) agus mac a mhic (†1576). Díol spéise is ea é leis gur cuireadh túr, seomraí codlata, ospidéal agus leabharlann leis an mainistir le linn don bProinsiasach Éamonn Cúrsach a bheith ina easpag ar dheoise Rois idir 1494 agus 1517,[25] rud a léiríonn infheistíocht shuntasach a bheith déanta ar an láthair le linn na mblianta déanacha de thiarnas Fhínghin i gCairbre.

[20]Brian Ó Cuív, 'A poem for Fínghin Mac Carthaigh Riabhach' *Celtica* 15 (1983), 96–110, ar lch 108: 'Caitilín inghean an Iarla / uirrim gach énmhná *uair sí* / línaidh sin gach teach a dtrialann/ neach dá t*h*igh ní iarann hí.' ('Caitilín, the Earl's daughter, *she got* the respect of every woman; that fills every house into which she journeys; no one asks her to go from his house.') Is le Ó Cuív an t-eagrán agus an t-aistriúchán so, ach leasúchán de dhá fhocal, *uair sí*, déanta agamsa ar an gcéad leathrann. Ní féidir iad so a léamh in L a thuilleadh, ach chóipeáil an Longánach iad ina chóip de L in Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, Leabharlann Hardiman LSB 180, fol. 158v.

[21]Tá mionphlé ar an gcoimhlint so in Ó Cuív, 'A fragment of Irish annals', *Celtica* 14 (1981), 83–104 agus in Ó Cuív, 'A poem', 96–110.

[22]Ó Cuív, 'A Poem', 108: 'Nó gur saerudh le San Froinsés / fine Adhuimh ar fheirg nDé / ní iar sinn áth ar a fholtaibh / do ghnáth is linn obthair é.' ('Until Adam's race was freed from God's wrath by St. Francis we have not asked any advantage because of his grievances; in general he is rejected by us.')

[23]*AFM* s.a. 1576.1; B. Jennings, '*Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum*', *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934), 139–91, ar lch 148 (= lch 12 sa LS): 'Primus hujus Conventus fundator censetur D. Willelimus Jacobi Barry, ab aliis autem et verius asseritur D. mac Carthy Riabach, Princeps Caribrisientium, cujus familiae sepulchrum in choro cernitur.' Níor fhéadas an tuama so a aimsiú ar láthair na mainistreach inniubh, ach tá roinnt tuamaí gan ainm le feiscint fós insna fraitheacha thuaidh agus theas don gcórlainn.

[24]Ó Cuív, 'A fragment', 92, s.a. 1467.11.

[25]James Ware, *De praesulibus Hiberniae commentarius a prima gentis Hibernicæ ad fidem Christianam conversione ad nostra usque tempora per Jacobum Waraeum* (Dublin, 1665), 223: 'coenobii illius campanile, dormitorium, nosocomium, & bibliothecam is de novo construi curavit'; W. Holland, *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross* (Skibbereen, 1950), 363–9.

Thuairimigh Carey go raibh baint ag an MPG leis na Proinsiasaigh i dTigh Mo Laige chomh maith, agus anailís déanta aige ar dhíonbhrollach an téacs,[26] ina ndéantar manach Proinsiasach den Doiminiceach Francesco Pipino:

> Compellor ego, frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia, **ordinis fratrum predicatorum**, a plerisque patribus et dominis meis veridica et fideli translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere.[27] (P)
>
> Baí bráthair rígh **an aibit san Fronses** isin cathraigh in tan-sin. Ba eolach dano isna hilbhérlaibh, Fransiscus a ainm (...) ros tinnta Pronsiscus in leabhar so Mharcuis a Tartairidh a Laitin.[28] (MPG)

D'fhéadfadh an t-athrú so a thabhairt le tuiscint go raibh baint aigesna Proinsiasaigh leis an aistriúchán, agus más amhlaidh gurb í Mainistir Thighe Mo Laige áit tiomsaithe L, go mb'fhéidir gurb í sin log scríte an MPG chomh maith. Is é is mó a thacaíonn leis an dtuairim seo gur athscríobhadh ceann de mhórchathanna an *Eachtra* chun cogaí na lánún, *do chuir dá scríobhadh* agus *dár scríobhadh* an leabhar, a chur i gcuimhne do léitheoirí an téacs. Mar a léiríonn an dá mhír seo thuas, ní i gconaí a bhí aistritheoir an MPG go hiomlán díreach don mbuntéacs, ach athscríbhneoir ab ea hé, gur beag aige sonraí an téacs a athrú ar mhaithe lena leagan fhéin a dhéanamh don *Eachtra*. In aistriúchán an díonbhrollaigh seo amháin, taibhsítear dúinn gur athraíodh *Fransiscus* ina *bhráthair rígh* a bhí *eolach isna hilbhérlaibh*, go raibh teanga na dTartaireach aige, agus gur aisti sin a thiontaigh sé leabhar Mharcais go Laidin. Is tuairiscí nua-chumta iad so go léir, nár scrígh Pipino, agus a chuireann le héagsúlacht an aistriúcháin.

Athscríobh

Is féidir iarracht aithscríte seo an údair a roinnt ina dhá leath sa MPG.

Ar an chéad rud, cé ná fuil teanga an MPG leath chomh ársa le leithéidí *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, go mb'fhéidir gurb í buaic stíl na bréagársaíochta i bprós na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche,[29] d'úsáid an t-údar teanga

[26]Tá achoimre den léacht a thug Carey ar an MPG foilsithe in John Carey, 'The Travels of Marco Polo', in J. Carey, M. Herbert and J. Knowles (eds), *Travelled Tales — Leabhar Scéalach Siúlach: Leabhar Leasa Móir i gColáiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh* (Cork, 2011), 22–5.

[27]Is í an Dr Samuela Simion a dhein an tras-scríbhinn seo ó Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 983, fol. 1r., mar chuid d'eagrán digiteach de leagan Giovanni Battista Ramusio den *Eachtra* atá ar fáil ar líne ar http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/index.html (fuairtheas é 11 Meán Fómhair 2019). Tá a tras-scríbhinn iomlán ón lámhscríbhinn réamhráite le léamh ar http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/testi_completi/P_marcato-main.html (fuairtheas é 11 Meán Fómhair 2019). Easpa mhór i réimse staidéar an *Eachtra* is ea eagrán nua-aimseartha de P.

[28]L, fol. 121ra.1–4 agus 20–2. Is liomsa na tras-scríbhinní go léir ón MPG san alt so. Féach chomh maith W. Stokes, 'The Gaelic abridgment of the Book of Ser Marco Polo', *ZCP* 1 (1896–7), 244–73, 362–438, ar lgh 246–7.

[29]Féach D. McManus, 'The language of the *Beatha*', in Pádraig Ó Riain, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell Historical and Literary Contexts*, ITS Subsidiary Series 12 (Dublin, 2002), 54–73, ar lgh 54–6.

ársa, ó thaobh gramadaí, comhréire agus stór focal de, chun a shaothar a mhúnlú do léitheoirí a bhí cleachtach ar sheantéacsanna Gaeilge a léamh is a thuiscint.[30] Lasmuigh d'fhoirmeacha a bhí ceadaithe agus coitianta i ngraiméar na bhfilí, leithéidí na bhforainmneacha iontáite, *ro* in áit *do*, agus foirceann iolra na faí céasta (*-id*) san aimsir chaite, caithfidh go raibh lucht léite an MPG oilte ar fhoirmeacha stairiúla níos sine ná raibh in úsáid sa teanga chlasaiceach, leithéidí foirceann iolra na faí céasta (*-t(h)a/-t(h)ai*) san aimsir chaite, *in ail fo ro hadhnachtta a sin*;[31] an fhoirm choibhneasta 3 iol. *bíte* den aimsir ghnáthláithreach den mbriathar *atá*, *cu nach dernad doineann na derdun díth do na don fhiallach bite fora lar*,[32] agus foirceann chomhchéim na haidiachta, *meidithir fria hasal cech ae dibh*.[33] Tá seanfhoirmeacha dá leithéidí seo le sonrú ar fuaid an téacs, ach toisc iad a bheith ag titim i léig fiú i dtéacsanna Gaeilge a scríobhadh céad blian sara rugadh Marco Polo, is féidir a bheith deimhnitheach de gur foirmeacha iad a roghnaíodh ar bhonn stíle, ná léiríonn aon *substratum* teangan níos sine a bheith ag an dtéacs, agus caithfear glacadh leo mar mhaisiúchán liteartha agus mar iarracht de chuid an údair blaiseadh ársa a thabhairt dá shaothar.[34]

Ar an dara dul síos, bhain an t-údar lear mór caibidlí amach óna aistriúchán, agus d'achoimrigh formhór na gcaibidlí a d'aistrigh sé. Fágann san gur giorra go mór an MPG ná P má thomhaistear líon na bhfocal sa dá théacs, agus ná fuil san aistriúchán ach trian, nó 35%, den mbunleagan.[35] Ar an dtaobh eile den scéal, mhéadaigh an t-aistritheoir na codanna don dtéacs ina gcuir sé suim agus d'aithscrígh iad le stíleanna dúchasacha próis, á múnlú dá léitheoirí

[30]Tá cuntas ar chóras briathartha an téacs so ag S. Ó Catháin, 'Some studies in the development from Middle to Modern Irish, based on the Annals of Ulster', *ZCP* 19 (1933), 1–47. Tá mionphlé agamsa ar chúrsaí ortagrafaíochta agus teangan an MPG in A. Palandri, 'A study of the Irish adaptation of Marco Polo's Travels from the Book of Lismore', unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Cork, 2018, 31–130.

[31]Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgment', 254; cf. D. McManus, 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', in *SnaG*, 335–445, ar lch 410.

[32]Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgment', 270; *GOI* §784; 296–7; L. Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in *SnaG*, 221–333, ar lgh 296–7.

[33]Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgment', 250; cf. McManus, 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', 387.

[34]Maireann lear mór téacsanna ó thréimse na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche go bhfaightear an stíl bhréagársa so iontu, féach mar shampla: S. Falconer, *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* (Dublin 1953), xxxii agus xliii; G. Quin, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bhás*, ITS 38 (Dublin, 1939), xxiv–xxiv; U. Mac Gearailt, 'Middle Irish archaisms in Early Modern Irish prose', *Studia Hibernica* 38 (2012), 57–116; McManus, 'The language of the *Beatha*', 54–6. Féach chomh maith an plé atá ag McManus ar stíleanna próis na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche (McManus, 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', 335–6).

[35]Cé's gur teangacha difriúla atá ann, cabhrann an comhaireamh so le hobair achoimrithe seo an údair a thuiscint. Baineadh na chúig chaibideal dheiridh de P ó chomhaireamh na bhfocal, chun go mbeadh an t-áireamh so cruinn, mar is amhlaidh ná maireann an chuid seo den MPG a thuilleadh, má aistríodh riamh é, toisc duilleoga a bheith ar iarraidh ón lámhscríbhinn. Ar an gcuma chéanna, ní áiríodh díonbhrollach P ná an cuntas ar aistear na ndeartháireacha Matteo agus Nicolò Polo, go dtráchtann na deich gcaibideal tosaigh den gcéad leabhar de P orthu, i gcomhaireamh na bhfocal, toisc an chuid seo den MPG a bheith ar iarraidh ón lámhscríbhinn chomh maith. Is é, mar sin, líon na bhfocal de P a comhairíodh 39,293, .i. ó thús I.11 *Descripcio Orientalium Regionum et Primo De Minori Armenia* go deireadh III.44 *De Quodam Episcopo Christiano Quem Soldanus Aden Circumcidi Fecit*. Is é líon na bhfocal don gcuid fá seach den MPG 13,812, .i. ó chaibidlí ¶3 go ¶191 (eagrán Stokes).

agus ag leagan béime orthu sa téacs. Is é an áit is mó go bhfuil sé seo le sonrú ann, an cuntas ar an éirí amach a thug Naim agus Cadau ar Mhaghnus Cam, i dtosach an tarna leabhar den dtéacs, cogadh a tharla sa mbliain 1286.[36] Faightear éachtaint gur shnoigh an t-údar teachtaireacht rúnda san athscríobh so agus mionathrú déanta aige ar an ngaol idir Chadau agus Maghnus. De réir P, nia (*nepos*) do Chúbla Cán ab ea Cadau ach deineadh col ceathracha díobh sa MPG, díreach mar a bhí idir Fhínghean agus Cormac mac Donnchaidh.

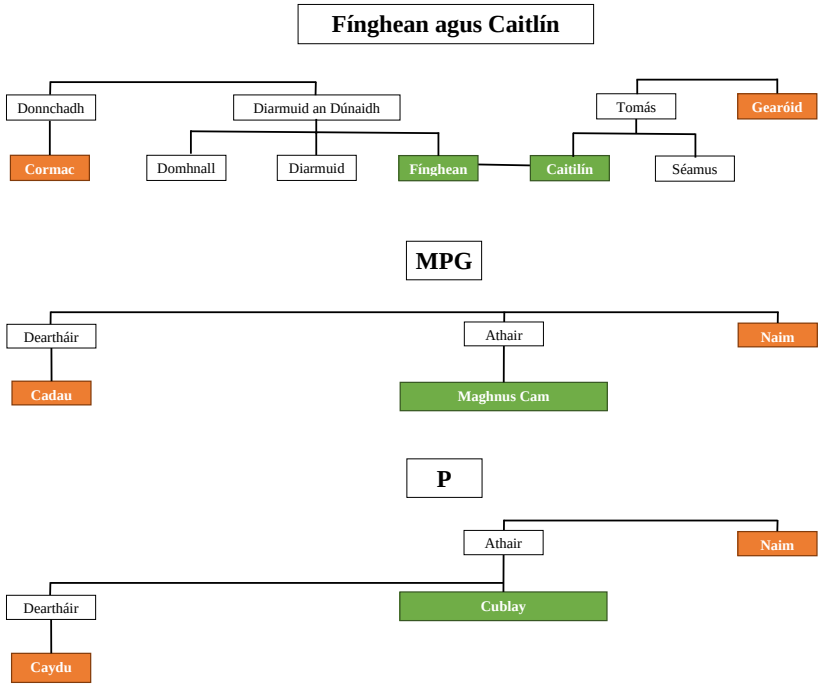
> Adre Maghnus as in tsuidhi rígda i mbuí co ndechsat for leth. 'Naim,' ol na teachta '.i. **bráthair h'athar-sa,** ar ndiúltadh umhla ríghi duit-si. Do-róine ⁊ Cadau .i. **mac a bhráthar**, aenta at aghaidh-si.'[37] (MPG)
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> **Patruus** eius quidam nomine Naiam etatis annorum .XXX., qui multis regionibus et populis preerat, cogitavit, iuvenili vanitate commotus, contra dominum suum Cublay insurgere subito cum esercito maximo; ad hoc autem requisivit regem nomine Caydu, **qui nepos erat Cublay regis,** sed ipsum exosum habebat.[38] (P)

Dar ndóigh, dá mbainfí *.i. mac a bhráthar* amach as bhéal na dteachtairí, agus dá gcuirfí i mbéal an oirisigh é, d'fhéadfaí an abairt a léamh ar shlí eile, .i. gur do Mhaghnus, agus ní do Naim, a thagrann an aidiacht shealbhach *a*. Ar an gcuma so, choimeádfaí an gaol idir Mhaghnus agus Cadau mar atá sa Laidin, .i. gur nia le Maghnus Cam é Cadau: *Caydu, qui nepos erat Cublay regis*. Ach, mura mbeadh an Laidin againn, ní dóigh liom go gcuimhneofaí ar an léamh malartach so, mar is fusa agus is nádúrtha go mór a thuiscint gur do Naim a thagrann an aidiacht shealbhach *a* i *mac a bhráthar* san aistriúchán Gaeilge, toisc: 1) Naim a bheith ina ainmní ag an mbriathar *do-róine*, an briathar a thagann díreach roimis an abairt go bhfuil an aidiacht shealbhach inti; 2) '.i.' a bheith úsáidte i gcaint dhíreach na dteachtairí cheana, san abairt roimis, rud a chruthaíonn pátrún ina gcuid cainte; 3) an tarna *.i*. a bheith curtha i gceartlár friotal na dteachtairí. Fágann san, dar liom, gur fusa go mór a thuiscint gur mac dearthár le Naim é Cadau sa MPG, agus ní le Maghnus, mar atá i P. Agus más uncail le Maghnus é Naim, mar a dhearbhaíonn na teachtairí ina gcuid cainte, '*bráthair h'atharsa*', is iontuisceana as san gur deineadh col ceathracha do Mhaghnus agus Cadau san aistriúchán.

[36] P.II.3.2. Is é an tslí a dhéantar tagairt do théacs Pipino anso agus as so síos: P = Pipino; II = an tarna leabhar; 3 = caibideal a trí; 2 = fo-chaibideal a dó.

[37] L, fol. 124r.17–21; cf. Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 362–3.

[38] P.II.2.1.



Ach, is iad na trí phointe is mó a léiríonn gur leag an t-aistritheoir béim fé leith ar an gcath so ina aistriúchán: (1) méadú ar an gcath i gcoibhneas leis an dtéacs ar fad; (2) athordú ar struchtúr inste an chatha ó leagan Pipino; (3) stíl uamach bhladhmannach an chatha meánaoisigh a chur i bhfeidhm. Agus na pointí seo á bplé sa chuid eile den alt so, áiteofar gur bhain an t-údar leas as chuntas an reibiliúin seo chun tagairt a dhéanamh do chogaí a phátrún.

(1) Méadú

Cé gur achoimre den *Eachtra* atá sa MPG go príomha, is léir gur méadaíodh an chuid seo den téacs níos mó ná aon chuid eile den *Eachtra* san aistriúchán. Má thomhaistear céatadán na bhfocal a úsáidtear sa mhír a thráchtann ar reibiliún Naim agus Cadau san aistriúchán Gaeilge agus i leagan Pipino, faightear go gclúdaíonn an cath 8% den téacs sa MPG agus 3% den téacs i P.[39]

(2) Struchtúr inste an chatha

Agus é ag méadú agus ag athscríobh cuntas an chatha so ina aistriúchán, dhein an t-údar ord inste imeachtaí an chogaidh a athshocrú chomh maith. Léiríonn an chomparáid seo a leanas idir an MPG agus P go raibh an t-údar ag tarrac sonraí ó chaibidlí i bhfad amach ó chéile sa téacs agus á bhfí isteach i bprós leanúnach. Tá mír ó thosach an chatha in MPG tugtha anso thíos taobh le leagan den mbuntéacs Laidine atá athordaithe de réir struchtúr agus

[39] 1053 focail sa MPG, ¶54–66 (7.62%) = tuairim is 8% den MPG; 1295 focail i P II.1–7 (3.3%) = tuairim is 3% de P. Tagrann '¶' dosna haltanna a leag Stokes amach ina eagrán.

ord inste na n-imeachtaí a thug an t-aistritheoir Gaeilge ar an dtéacs. Roinneadh na míreanna so ina bhfo-altanna agus tugadh uimhreacha dóibh chun an comhfhreagras idir an dá théacs a léiriú.

> [1] Feachtus do Mhagnus Cam a gcathair Cambalau co n-fhacad teachta dia shaighit. Beannuighit dó. Fochtus Maghnus scéla dibh. 'Fuigli rúin againn duit,' ar na teachta. Adre Magnus as in tsuidhi rigda i mbuí co ndeachsat for leith. [2] 'Naim,' ol na teachta '.i. bráthair h'athar-sa, ar ndiúltadh umhla righi duit-si. Do-róine ⁊ Cadau .i. mac a bhráthar, aenta at aghaidh-si. [3] Atát ⁊ na cethri rígh fil fo mamus Naim lín a slúaigh ac toigheacht at rigi-si .i. Fuci Orcra ⁊ Cauli ⁊ Barsceel ⁊ Suchitingni ⁊ as-beirit conad fearr a ndlighedh forsin righi annáisi.'
>
> [4–5] Ba tús rigi do Chublay in tan sin,[40] [6] iar mbriseadh cath n-imdha lais for iltíribh. [7] Ba gaeth in tí frisar canad sin. [8] Gnúis rígda lais co ndearcuibh díshoillsidhe. [9] Méd ⁊ calmacht mhíled lais. [10] Do oirdis a bhaill di araili. [11] Ro ráidh dono nach cuirfeadh a choróin ríg dia chind nó gu n-aitheadh forro in fuigiull-sin. [12] Faidhis teachta for ceann a laech ⁊ a ríg n-imfhoicsi ar ba dearb lais dia cuireadh togairm for a shlóghu i gcianuibh a fhis d'fhaghbháil do Naim ⁊ triall teitheadh do fo fhoithribh ⁊ daingnibh. [13] Faidhis coiméd ar na conairibh ar omhun scél d'fhaghbáil do Naim. [14] Ba hé lín in tslúaigh do fhreagair hé .i. dá chath dhég ⁊ .xxx. míle marcach in cech cath dibh ⁊ di troightech um cech marcach. [15] Dia toghairmeadh a shlóghu i gcianaibh ni ria rimh forro. [16] Ro hindleadh ceithri helifainti don righ ⁊ caislén claruigh forro. [17] Téit ann dono i remhthús in chatha ⁊ a meirgi huasa. [18] Di lá for fhichit do oc tinól in mórsluaigh-sin.[41] (MPG)
>
> [2] Patruus eius quidam nomine Naiam etatis annorum .XXX., qui multis regionibus et populis preerat, cogitavit, iuvenili vanitate commotus, contra dominum suum Cublay insurgere subito cum esercito maximo; ad hoc autem requisivit regem nomine Caydu, qui nepos erat Cublay regis sed ipsum exosum habebat. [3] Quatuor igitur provincias tunc obtinuit rex, quarum ista sunt nomina: Fuciorcia, Cauli, Bascol et Sichintin.
> [4] Cepit autem regnare anno domini nostri Iesu Christi .MCCLVI.: [5] causa autem hec est propter quam semel ex quo

[40] Síolraíonn an mhí-thuiscint seo gur phléasc an cath so i dtosach ríocht Chúbla Cán ó dhearúd peannaireachta a faightear i gcóipeanna de P de chuid an ghrúpa δ, gur scríobhadh a bhformhór acu i Sasana. Is é MCCLXXXVI an dáta a faightear i bhformhór na gcóipeanna de P, ach is é MCCLX an uimhir a faightear in Gießen, Universitätsbiliothek LS 218, fol. 82.28, lámhscríbhinn de chuid grúpa δ. Foilseofar a thuilleadh fianaise gur leagan de chuid an ghrúpa so ab ea an eisimleáir a úsáideadh chun an MPG a aistriú i Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation'.

[41] Mo thras-scríbhinn fhéin é seo ó L 124ra.15–rb.1. Tá an mhír chéanna ar fáil idir pharagraif ¶54–6 d'eagrán Stokes.

> regnavit egressus est ad pugnam: anno Domini .MCCLX.[42] [6] nam ante quam regni coronam acciperet, sepe egrediebatur ad bella et in omnibus probiter se gerebat. [7] Concilio pollens et in exercitus ac populi gubernacione providus ac discretus. [8] Faciem habet rubicundam et candidam, oculos nigros. [9] Est autem in armis strenuus, virtute robustus, [10] atque per singula corporis sui membra proporcionis est optime. [11] Iuravit se numquam coronam regiam delaturum nisi de illorum prodicione et audacia se vindicaret. [12] [...] Congregavit [...] millitum et peditum [...] de hiis qui erant vicini civitati Cambalu; causa autem hec fuit quare non convocavit maiorem exercitum: quia subito voluit in hostes ex insperato irruere, ne si diutius fuisset in congregacione amplioris exercitus immoratus ad Nayam noticiam pervenisset et ex hoc aut retrocessisset omnino aut ad tutiora loca suum exercitum transtulisset. [13] Interim autem mandavit rex vias tanta diligencia custodiri ut Naiam preparacionem et adventum ipsius omnino presentire non posset. [14] Cublay rex ascendit in collem cunctosque sui exercitus milites distinxit in .XII. acies, ita ut quelibet acies triginta millia militum contineret. Pedites vero iuxta milites tali ordine collocavit ut in quibusdam aciebus duo pedites tenentes lanceas hinc inde ad unius militis latera ponerentur donec peditum numerus compleretur. [15] nam tantam posset militiam et peditum multitudinem in paucis mensibus congregare quod, pre stupore gentis innumere, quasi incredibile videretur. [16] Rex autem in mirabili castro ligneo erat, quod ab elephantibus quatuor portabatur, ubi erat suum regale vexillum. [17] Cum vidisset autem exercitus Naiam insignia et exercitum Cublay vehementer expavit. [18] in viginti autem duobus diebus congregavit. (P)

Is leor uimhreacha na gcaibideal agus na bhfochaibideal i P go bhfreagraíonn na fo-altanna sna míreanna so thuas dóibh a thabhairt chun gnáthstruchtúr P a chur in úil, agus obair athordaithe seo an aistritheora a thuiscint: [1] = ní hann do; [2] = P.II.2.1; [3] = P.II.5.2; [4] = P.II.1.2; [5] = P.II.2.1; [6] = P.II.1.3; [7] = P.II.2.3; [8] = P.II.8.1; [9] = P.II.2.3; [10] = P.II.8.1; [11] = P.II.3.1; [12] = P.II.3.2; [13] = P.II.3.3; [14] = P.II.4.2; [15] = P.II.3.2; [16] = P.II.4.3; [17] = P.II.4.4; [18] = P.II.3.2.[43] Léiríonn ord na gcaibidlí seo, agus iad tugtha anso de réir mar a eagraíodh sa MPG iad, gur tairrigíodh agus gur meascadh sonraí ó chaibidlí a haon, a dó, a trí, a ceathair, a cúig is a hocht den tarna leabhar de P chun an chuid seo den aistriúchán a scríobh.

[42]MCCLXXXVI i lámhscríbhinní nár cóipeáladh i Sasana, féach fonóta 40 thuas.

[43]Tá uimhreacha na gcaibidlí seo tugtha de réir tras-scríobh Simion: http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/testi_completi/P_marcato-main.html (fuairtheas é 10 Meitheamh 2019).

Ceann desna athruithe is suimiúla sa scríobh so is ea an drámú a deineadh ar fhógairt scéala an reibiliúin do Mhaghnus. Sa MPG, tagann teachtairí go dtí cúirt Maghnuis agus *fuighle rúin* acu dho á chur in úil do go bhfuil a uncail Naim is a chol ceathrair Cadau éirithe amach ina choinne agus go bhfuilid ag tabhairt aghaidhe air lena slua (fo-altanna [1–3]). Caint dhíreach na dteachtairí a thugann an foláireamh so sa leagan Gaeilge, rud a chruthaíonn dráma agus a chuireann beocht le hinsint an scéil. Ní mar sin atá sa leagan Laidine, áfaigh, gurb é an t-oiriseach a thugann le fios go bhfuil scéala an reibiliúin fachta ag *Cublay* ann: *interea Cublay rex cuncta didicit que per illos fuerant ordinata*.[44] Iarracht é seo, is dócha, ar fheabhas a chur ar struchtúr inste na n-imeachtaí seo sa MPG, chun an léitheoir a chur ar tinneall roimis an gcath atá le teacht. Mar chuid den iarracht chéanna, thairrig an t-aistritheoir ainmneacha na dtaoiseach in arm Naim, a ainmnítear sa leagan Laidine tar éis don gcath a bheith críochnaithe, siar go dtí réamhrá an chatha sa leagan Gaeilge (fo-alt [3]). Fairis sin, bhain an t-údar an cur síos ar dhealramh Maghnuis (fo-alt [8]) amach as chaibidil a hocht den tarna leabhar de P, caibideal ná fuil aon bhaint in aon chor aici leis an gcath sa leagan Laidine, agus chuir sé isteach é roimis an gcath sa MPG.

Léiríonn na pointí seo thuas, ní hamháin go raibh an t-aistritheoir ag aithinsint an chatha so, ach go raibh sé á dhéanamh san d'fhonn beocht agus anamúlacht a chur ann, chun go seasódh sé amach ina théacs. D'fhéadfaí comparáid a dhéanamh chomh maith, idir an drámú a deineadh ar fhógairt scéala an reibiliúin do Mhaghnus (fo-haltanna [1–3]) agus an *watchman device* gur scríobh Carney air, agus a d'úsáidtí coitianta i scéalta próis na Sean- agus na Meán-Ghaeilge.[45] Cé nách aon *watchman device* le ceart é seo, mar gurb iad na teachtairí amháin a labhrann agus ní thosnaíonn Maghnus aon chomhrá leo ag fiafraí dhíobh fésna daoine atá ag déanamh orthu, d'fhéadfadh go raibh a mhúnla san sa cheann ag an aistritheoir agus an t-eolas so á bhaint as bhéal an oirsigh aige. B'fhéidir chomh maith gur fágadh Maghnus ina thost le linn na heachtra so go léir chun go mba mhóide meas an léitheora air, amhail is dá mbeadh sé ag machtnamh go húdarásach ar an gcúram, gan focal a rá. Thiocfadh so leis an gcur síos uasal a dheineann an t-údar air i bhfo-altanna [7–11], a thugann an tuairim dúinn gurb é an t-iompar ríoga so fé ndeár a chiúnas.

(3) Stíl

Aithnítear go gcuireadh béim fé leith ar an reibiliún so san aistriúchán trísna hathruithe a thagann ar stíl an phróis le linn an chatha chomh maith. Scríobhadh formhór an MPG le stíl ghonta, atá spárálach ar aidiachtaí agus pras lena tuairiscí, stíl a oireann go maith do leagan amach an *Eachtra*, .i. liosta fada de

[44] P.II.3.1: 'Idir an dá linn, d'fhoghlaimigh Cublay cad a bhí ordaithe acu (Naim agus Cadau).'

[45] J. Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin, 1979), 305–21. Táim fé chomaoin ag an bpiarmheasúnóir a léigh an t-alt so as an pointe seo a dhéanamh.

réigiúin an Oirthir, cur síos ar a dtíreolas, ar a gcathracha agus ar nósanna a n-áititheoirí.[46] Ó thaobh na comhréire dho, úsáideann an stíl seo clásail ghearra, gan puinn fochlásal, agus fágtar briathar an phríomhchlásail ar lár go minic. Tabharfar príomhthréithe na stíle seo fé ndeara sa mhír seo a leanas:

> Atá sruth for fod prouinnse Manguay, Quian a ainm. Uidi .c. lá fora fot .x.m. fora lethed. Dá .c. cathair fora dhíbh taebuibh. Is lia do loingius dó innat srotha in betha.
>
> Fil cathair n-aile isin crích-sin, Sintuy a hainm. .lx. .m. ina timceall, .uii. .m. droicheat fora feadh, fo a ngabhunn bárc cu seol fuirri. Dar leó-sum ní fhuil ar bith cathair is lia laech innas.
>
> Cathair Singuy didiu, inann son ⁊ cathair na talman.[47] (MPG)

Tá cosúlachtaí ag an stíl ghonta so leis an saghas próis a faightear insna línte tosaigh de roinnt mhaith scéalta Sean- agus Meán-Ghaeilge, a thugann prímhfhíricí an scéil leis an rithim agus an sórt clásail ghearr chéanna:[48]

> Boí rí amrae for Laignib, Mac Dathó a ainm. Boí cú occo. Im·dīched in cú Laigniu huili. Ailbe ainm in chon, ocus ba lán Hériu dia airdicus in chon.[49] (*Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*)
>
> Rí amra ro boí for Laignib .i. Rónán mac Aeda, ⁊ Ethni ingen Chummascaig m*ai*c Eogain do Dēsib Muman na fharrad. Co rruc mac dō .i. Mael Fothartaig mac Rónáin, mac is amru tānic Laigniu riam.[50] (*Fingal Rónáin*)

Mar a luadh cheana, faightear i bhfad níos mó tuairiscí agus sonraí i dtaobh na réigiún so go léir i P, agus ábhar an *Eachtra* achoimirthe go leor sa MPG. Ach cheangail Pipino formhór na dtuairiscí a thug sé le fochlásail agus le clásail chomhordaitheacha, agus scrígh sé orthu le rithim próis níos leanúnaí.[51] Fágann san nách é P foinse na stíle gonta so san aistriúchán, ach gurb iad na stíleanna próis a bhí bunaithe agus seanabhunaithe i litríocht na Gaeilge a mhúnlaigh stíl liteartha an MPG.

Nuair a insítear mionscéal nó fo-eachtra a bhaineas le réigiún áirithe nó pearsa sa téacs, éiríonn an stíl seo níos líofa, faightear comhrá díreach idir na carachtair go minic, fiú mura mbíonn san ann i P, agus ligtear d'fhochlásail agus do chlásail chomhordaitheacha eascairt as na príomhchlásail.[52] Sampla den stíl mheascaithe seo is ea an mhír a tugadh thuas chun na hathruithe

[46]Tá cuntas maith ar an stíl seo i dtéacsanna Sean- agus Meán-Ghaeilge in U. Mac Gearailt, 'Litríocht phrós na Gaeilge Moiche,' in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Léann na Gaeilge: Súil Siar, Súil chun Cinn*, Léachtaí Cholm Cille 26 (1996), 7–39.

[47]L, fol. 128vb.7–16. Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 400–1.

[48]Ar an ábhar so féach P. Mac Cana, 'On Celtic word-order and the Welsh "abnormal" sentence,' *Ériu* 24 (1973), 90–120.

[49]R. Thurneysen (ed.) *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* (Dublin, 1935), 1.

[50]D. Greene (ed.), *Fingal Rónáin and Other Stories*, (Dublin, 1955), 1.

[51]Thugas an dá chaibidil de P ar a bhfuil an mhír seo thuas ón MPG bunaithe insan Aguisín.

[52]Tá an stíl líofa so ionchurtha leis an stíl gur thóg Mac Gearailt ceann do sa tarna leagan don *Táin* (Mac Gearailt, 'Litríocht phrós', 23–5).

ar struchtúr inste an chatha a léiriú. Faightear go minic é má dhéantar cur síos ar mhíorúilt nó ar thógaint sáipéil áirithe, ar nósanna seilge agus féastaí na dTairtreach, nó ar fheachtaisí cogaidh agus ar chathanna eile Mhaghnuis Cham.

Ach ina chur síos ar an éirí amach a thug Naim agus Cadau ar Mhaghnus, bheartaigh an t-údar stíl bhladhmannach mhórfhoclach na caithréime a chur i bhfeidhm, stíl phróis ná faightear in aon chuid eile den MPG ach anso. Dar ndóigh, tá an stíl seo le fáil go flúirseach i scéalta catha a scríobhadh ó thréimhse na Meán-Ghaeilge ar aghaidh, leithéidí *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil* agus *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*. Ceann de mhórthréithe na stíle seo is ea clásail fhada, le roinnt fochlásal is clásail chomhordaitheacha, agus sraith d'aidiachtaí aitreabúideacha uamacha i ndiaidh a chéile. Tugtar tuairisc ar sé chath sa MPG,[53] ach cé go mbrostaítear stíl an phróis sna sleachta so ón stíl ghonta a úsáidtear insna tuarascálacha geografacha agus eitneagraifeacha sa téacs, ní chuirtear stíl áirithe seo an chatha i bhfeidhm, lena liostaí fada d'aidiachtaí uamacha, ach i gcuntas an reibiliúin seo amháin. Tá sampla den stíl seo sa MPG sa mhír seo a leanas, taobh le sliocht ó *Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil* chun na cosúlachtaí stíle idir an dá théacs a léiriú:

> Gabhait na slúaig-sin a n-asain gloinidi gorma glaisiaruinn ⁊ a luireca daingne doibrisdi ⁊ a scabail cuana chumdachta fona minnaib sliptha soradhaircc. Sínit a mergeda badbdha breacamlacha risna sleaghuibh seimneca sithfhota, gur iadh gach deaglaech dibh ima rig ⁊ ima thaisech curo línsat na tolcha ⁊ na tuaitheabhraca for gech taebh do uaim, gur comdluthaigseat na catha re cheli in tan-sin, curos tocaib nel niamdha dá ndornclaidbib dathordha ⁊ da muincidib dualacha dergoir corba soighnen solusta a clethe nime os cinn na curad ceachtardha-sin.[54] (MPG)

> Is andsin ro eirghetar Clanna Eogain gu crodha ciallmar curata ima caem-ri im Ceallachan cum an chatha. Ocus do coraighedh gu calma ag na curaduibh bro bhadhbha bith-aluinn bhuan-aicmheil bratac ocus sonn sesmach sith-remhar sleagh ⁊ tor tenn triath-onchonta taisech ⁊ grinne gasda gadhamail gormlann ⁊ lonn-bhuaile ladhach línanart uman laechraid. ár ni rabhutar gorm-ait nait glan-luirecha 'gá n-gasraid. Achtmad inair cuanna coir-tharblaithi ⁊ cotuin ⁊ muincedha maisecha min-gresacha re diden corp ⁊ cnes ⁊ caeim-cenn.[55]
>
> (*Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil*)

[53]¶33 (prós líofa gan a bheith mórfhoclach); ¶61–2 (stíl uamach bhladhmannach an chatha, á plé thíos); ¶112–15 (prós líofa); ¶125–33 (prós líofa); ¶148–51 (prós líofa); ¶156 (prós líofa).

[54]L, fol. 124rb.31–124va.3. Stokes, 'Gaelic abridgement', 336, ¶61.

[55]A. Bugge (ed.), *Caithréim Cellacháin Caisil: The Victorious Career of Cellachan of Cashel* (Christiania, 1905), 6–7.

Léiríonn an tábla so a leanas na hathruithe a thagann ar stíl an phróis sa MPG. Tugadh uimhreacha na gcaibidlí sa MPG de réir mar a faightear in eagrán Stokes iad ar an X-ais, taobh le huimhir ar an Y-ais a léiríonn cén saghas stíl próis a úsáideadh chun an chaibideal san a scríobh. Thuas i mbarra, ar líne uimhir a trí, cuireadh na caibidlí a scríobhadh sa stíl ghonta; sa lár, ar líne uimhir a dó, léirítear na caibidlí a scríobhadh sa stíl mheascaithe; idir eatarthu so, ar líne 2.5 a cuireadh na caibidlí gur scríobhadh cuid díobh sa stíl ghonta agus an chuid eile sa stíl mheascaithe; i mbun an tábla ar fad, cuireadh na caibidlí a scríobhadh i stíl shaibhir bhladhmannach an chatha. Seasaíonn gach diamant ar an dtábla so do gach caibideal de réir mar a scar Stokes iad ina eagrán.

Léiríonn an tábla so an bhéim a cuireadh ar an gcath áirithe seo san aistriúchán, chomh maith leis na teicnící scéalaíochta agus stíle a úsáideadh chun é sin a dhéanamh. Is é a bheidh á áiteamh sa chuid eile den alt so gur bheartaigh údar an aistriúcháin an chuid seo den *Eachtra* a mhéadú agus a mhaisiú chun tagairt a dhéanamh don gcogadh a tháinig idir Fhínghean is a chol ceathrair Cormac mac Donnchaidh sna 1460í. Ach, chun an chomparáid seo a phlé, ní mór cuntas a thabhairt ar na himeachtaí polaitiúla a tharla i gCairbre díreach roim thiarnas Fhínghin.

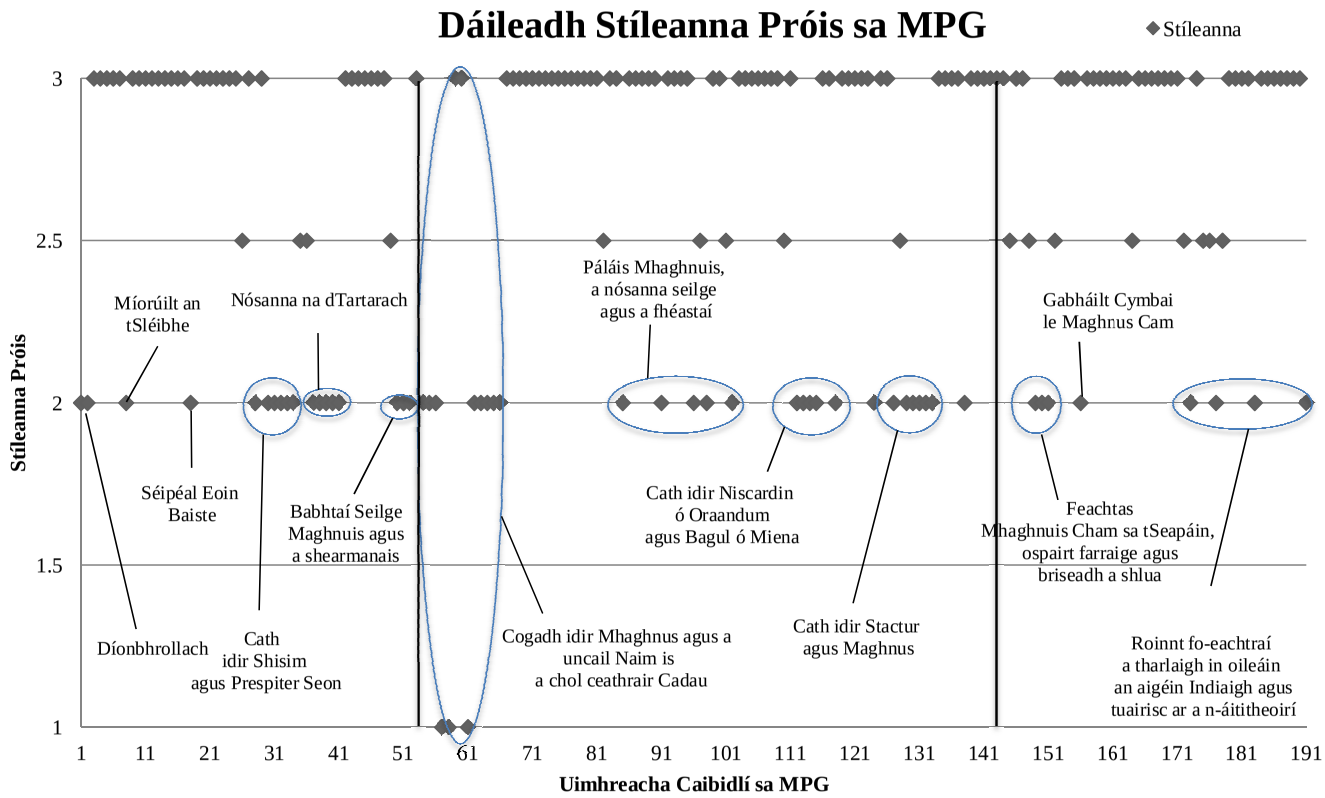
An cogadh idir Fhínghean agus Cormac Mac Donnchaidh

Mac le Diarmaid an Dúnaidh Mac Carthaigh Riabhach agus Aibhlín iníon Thaidhg Mhic Carthaigh Mhúscraighe ab ea Fínghean.[56] Phós sé Caitilín iníon Thomáis Mhic Gearailt, an t-ochtú Iarla Deasmhumhan, a dícheannadh i nDroichead Átha ar an 14ú Feabhra 1468 agus é gafa ag Iarla Worcester. Le linn na coinbhleachta a lean bás an iarla, d'éirigh le Cormac mac Donnchaidh Mac Carthaigh, mac dearthár le Diarmaid an Dúnaidh agus col ceathrair le Fínghean, tiarnas Chairbre a ghabháilt óna uncail do fhéin.[57] Sa mbliain 1468, in aoinfheacht le Gearóid Mac Gearailt, deartháir leis an Iarla Tomás a bhí a d'iarraidh teacht i gcomharbacht air tar éis a bháis, thug Cormac mac Donnchaidh aghaidh ar thailte a uncail, .i. Diarmaid an Dúnaidh, agus dhein creach ar Chairbre, ó inbhear abhainn na Bandan go Ros Ó gCairbre.[58] D'éirigh leis

[56]Ó Cuív, 'A poem', 96–101.

[57]Ó Cuív, 'A fragment', 86.

[58]D. Ó Murchadha, '*Glaislinn* and *Inis na hEidnigi*', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 109 (2004), 11–18, ar lch 113.


Dáileadh Stíleanna Próis sa MPG
Stíleanna
Stíleanna Próis
Uimhreacha Caibidlí sa MPG
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
1
11
21
31
41
51
61
71
81
91
101
111
121
131
141
151
161
171
181
191
Míorúilt an tSléibhe
Nósanna na dTartarach
Páláis Mhaghnuis, a nósanna seilge agus a fhéastaí
Gabháilt Cymbai le Maghnus Cam
Séipéal Eoin Baiste
Babhtaí Seilge Maghnuis agus a shearmanais
Cath idir Niscardin ó Oraandum agus Bagul ó Miena
Feachtas Mhaghnuis Cham sa tSeapáin, ospairt farraige agus briseadh a shlua
Díonbhrollach
Cath idir Shisim agus Prespiter Seon
Cogadh idir Mhaghnus agus a uncail Naim is a chol ceathrair Cadau
Cath idir Stactur agus Maghnus
Roinnt fo-eachtraí a tharlaigh in oileáin an aigéin Indiaigh agus tuairisc ar a n-áititheoirí

an mbeirt seo Diarmaid an Dúnaidh agus a bheirt mhac, Fínghean agus Diarmaid,[59] a threascairt agus a chur i mbraighdeanas.[60] Ghaibh Cormac tiarnas Chairbre chuige fhéin, chuir sé garrastún dá chuid i gcaisleáin Chill Ghobáin, an Mhóintín agus Chúl Méine, agus thug urrann beag i leataoibh do bheathú Mhic Carthaigh.

Níor mhar sin, áfaigh, a d'éirigh le Gearóid Mac Gearailt i gcoinne mhac a dhearthár, Séamus, mac an Iarla Tomáis agus deartháir le Caitlín, mar go raibh tacaíocht fachta ag Séamus ó Mhurchadh Ó Briain, Rí Thuamhumhan, ó Thadhg Mac Carthaigh Mór agus ó Sheán mac Uilliam De Barra. Mhair an socrú so go dtí an bhliain 1477, nuair a d'éirigh leis an mbeirt dearthár, Fínghean agus Diarmaid, a gcol ceathrair a chloí agus a ghabháilt i gcomhar lena n-uncail, deartháir a máthar, Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe. Sa deireadh, mhairbh na Gearaltaigh Gearóid Mac Gearailt sa mbliain 1477 agus dalladh Cormac mac Donnchaidh an bhliain dar gcionn.

Léiríonn na himeachtaí seo go raibh taithí phearsanta ag Fínghean agus ag Caitilín ar chogaí a throid lena ngaolta fhéin, Fínghean a bheith curtha fé chois ag a chol ceathrair ar feadh nách mór deich mbliana agus deartháir Chaitlín a bheith á chosaint féin óna uncail Gearóid le linn na coibhleachta céanna. Agus an leagan úrnua so den *Eachtra* curtha isteach ina leabhar acu, cuimhnímid gur athraíodh an gaol idir Mhaghnus agus Cadau ann agus gur deineadh col ceathracha díobh, mar a bhí idir Fhínghean agus Cormac, gur méadaíodh cuntas an chatha so suas go dtí 8% den téacs ar fad, ó 3% i P, gur athraíodh struchtúr inste imeachtaí an chogaidh agus gur deineadh iarracht ar iad so a fheabhsú le caint dhíreach agus le sonraí a bhogadh timpeall ar mhaithe leis an léitheoir a chur ar tinneall, agus nár úsáideadh stíl próis na caithréime ach sa chath so amháin sa téacs.

Más amhlaidh go raibh údar an MPG ag tagairt do chogadh Fhínghin agus é ag leagan béime ar reibiliún Naim agus Cadau ina aistriúchán, níorbh é an t-aon téacs amháin a bhí á dhéanamh san sa lámhscríbhinn, mar, dar ndóigh tugann an dán *Ní théd an éigin a n-aisgidh*, agus an nóta mínithe a ghabhann leis ar fol. 158, le fios go raibh an cogadh so lárnach i saol na lánún. Ina theannta san, pé báidh nó baint a bhí ag an bhfile seo le Naomh Proinsias gur thiomnaigh sé rann do, tá sé ionchurtha leis an athrú ar ord Pipino ó Dhoiminiceach go Proinsiasach a faightear sa MPG. Más ceart gur scríobhadh an MPG sa chomhthéacs

[59]Ó Cuív, 'A fragment', 93. NB: sna hannála a chuir Ó Cuív in eagar, is é Donnchadh an t-ainm a thugtar ar dhearthár Fhínghin, ach in Annála na gCeithre Máistrí, tugtar Diarmaid ar an bhfear céanna: *AFM* s.a. 1506.12: *Mag Carthaigh Cairbreach .i. Diarmaid mac Diarmada an Dúnaidh mic Domhnaill Riabhaigh d'écc.* Mhol Kenneth Nicholls dom gur iarsma d'annála Domhnaill Uí Fhithcheallaigh é an mhír a chuir Ó Cuív in eagar, cf. K. Nicholls, 'The development of lordship in County Cork, 1300–1600', in P. O'Flanagan and Cornelius Buttimer (eds), *Cork History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), 157–211, ar lch 202 n. 111. Féach chomh maith P. L. Lainé, *Généalogie de la Maison de Mac-Carthy anciennement Souveraine des Deux Momonies ou de l'Irlande Méridionale* (Paris, 1839), 83–4.

[60]A. Cosgrove, 'Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399–1460', in Art Cosgrove (ed.) *A New History of Ireland*, ii: *Medieval Ireland 1169–1354* (Oxford 1993), 569–90, ar lch 582; Holland, *History of West Cork*, 24 and 358; D. Ó Murchadha, 'The castle of Dún Mic Óghmainn and the overlordship of Carbery', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 93 (1988), 73–82, ar lch 79.

stairiúil céanna inar chum Mathghamhain Ó Dálaigh a dhán agus go raibh baint aigesna Proinsiasaigh i dTigh Mo Laige leis an aistriúchán, luífeadh sé le réasún go gcuirfeadh cuntas an reibiliúin mhuinteartha idir Chúbla Cán agus a ghaolta san *Eachtra*, an cogadh a throid Fínghean agus Caitilín lena ngaolta fhéin i gcuimhne do lucht tiomsaithe a lámhscríbhinne agus gurb shin é fé ndeara a mhéadaithe agus a athscríte atá sé san aistriúchán. Más ea, d'úsáid údar an MPG stíleanna éagsúla próis chun cuntas an chatha so a shaibhriú agus chruthaigh sé comhráite meara drámata as tuairiscí leamha an oirisigh a faightear i P. Má tá an anailís seo ceart, tá impleachtaí móra aici do dháta an aistriúcháin, ná féadfadh a bheith tosnaithe roim 1478, sara raibh Cormac mac Donnchaidh cloíte ag Fínghean.

CONCLÚID

Is féidir, dá bhrí sin, na conclúidí seo a leanas a bhaint amach as a bhfuil pléite anso thuas: uair éigin tar éis na bliana 1478, nuair a fuair Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach an ceann is fearr ar a chol ceathrair Cormac mac Donnchaidh, d'aistrigh scríbhneoir, a bhí cleachtach ar sheanfhoirmeacha na Gaeilge agus go mb'fhéidir go raibh baint aige leis na Proinsiasaigh, leagan Pipino d'*Eachtra Mharco Polo* ó Laidin go Gaeilge. Cóipeáladh an téacs so isteach i lámhscríbhinn a tiomsaíodh d'Fhínghean agus a bhean chéile Caitilín, *Leabhar Mhég Carthaigh Riabhaigh*. D'athraigh an t-údar so sonraí sa téacs agus d'úsáid stíleanna éagsúla próis chun béim a leagan ar chodanna áirithe dá aistriúchán. Thairis aon chuid eile den téacs, is i gcuntas an chogaidh idir Mhaghnus agus a ghaolta is mó a faightear athruithe stíle agus aithscríbhneoireacht ón mbunleagan, rud a deineadh, áitíonn an t-alt so, chun tagairt a dhéanamh don gcogadh a throid an lánú *dár scríobhadh* L, Fínghean agus Caitlín, lena ngaolta féin.

AGUISÍN

59
De civitate Synguy non multum grandi et flumine maximo Quian et innumerabili multitudine navium. Capitulum LVIIII.

[1] Post recessum a civitate Syansu ad miliaria .XV. per çirocum habetur |63c| civitas Synguy non multum grandis, sed naves habet multitudine maxima; est enim posita super flumen maius quod in orbe sit, quod dicitur Quian, quod in latitudine habet miliaria .X., alicubi .VIII., alicubi .VI., et habet longitudinis ultra dietas .XC. [2] In hoc flumine plures numero naves sunt quam sint citra mare in omni mari et in fluminibus cunctis, pluresque mercaciones deferuntur per id quam per omnes terras citra marinas in omnibus suis navibus deferantur: ego enim Marchus vidi in portu civitatis huius Singuy naves civitatis ipsius circiter quinque milia que per hunc flumen navigabant. [3] Singule autem naves magne regionum illarum uno sunt solario cooperte,

nec habet navis nisi malum unum pro velo, pondus vero navis ascendit ut plurimum ad numerum et pondus quatuor milium cantarorum; ali|63d|que tamen pondus .XII. milium cantarorum deferunt accipiendo cantarum iuxta modum navium venetarum: sic igitur est navium pondus inter .IIII. et .XII. milia cantarorum intra prefatos numeros addendo aut diminuendo iuxta magnitudinem navis. [4] Canapinis funibus non utuntur nisi pro malo navis et velo eius, sed pilorcas faciunt de arundinibus magnis, de quibus supra facta est mentio, que habent .XV. passus longitudinis; cum his pilorcis quandoque naves per flumina trahuntur, scinduntur enim arundines et scissuras ligant in simul et huiusmodi funes longos faciunt valde; nam alique pilorce habent longitudinem passum trecentorum et fortiores sunt funibus canapinis.

63
De nobili civitate Synguy. Capitulum LXIII.

[1] Synguy autem e‹s›t nobilissima civitas cuius circuitus continet in mensura miliaria sexaginta. [2] Ibi est maxima populi multitudo: sic enim est Mangy provincia populosa quod si populus terre in armis strenuus esset totum alium mundum conquirere et devincere debuisset. [3] Sed mercatores et artifices ibi multi sunt, multique et philosophi inter eos sunt. [4] In hac civitate sunt pontes lapidei circa sex milia tante altitudinis ut sub unoquoque ipsorum galea libere transire valeat atque sub multis pontium predictorum simul due |65a| possint transire galee. [5] In montibus civitatis huius crescit reobarbarum; ibi etiam çinçimber in tanta copia crescit quod pro uno argenteo veneto haberentur .LXXX. libre çinçimbris recentis et optimi. [6] Hec civitas sub iurisdictione sua habet .XVI. civitates magnarum valde mercacionum et artium. [7] Cives Singui vestimentis sericeis ut plurimum induuntur, ideoque ibi multi panni de serico fiunt. [8] Vocatur autem civitas Singuy, id est "civitas terre"; alia vero civitas dicitur Quinsay, id est "civitas celi"; et hec optinuerunt nomina civitates ille quia in orientis partibus sunt nobilissime civitates.

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BRIEF RULES FOR READING IRISH FOUND IN PRINTED BOOKS, 1571–1863*

Abstract

This paper surveys short guides to reading Irish that appeared with Irish-language texts in printed books between 1571 and 1863. These brief rules are situated within the history of writing on Irish grammar and attention is drawn to the information on Irish phonology to be gleaned from them.

Introduction

An interesting and hitherto unexamined feature of printed books in Irish in the period 1571–1863 is the presence in many of them of brief rules for reading Irish. These range in length from a single page or even half a page to longer dissertations of more than a dozen printed pages. They vary in nature from plain alphabets of letters (with or without guides to pronouncing the individual letters) to longer treatises on the sounds conveyed by individual letters and letter-combinations. The aim of this article is to survey these guides in chronological order with a view to providing an account of them and their purpose. As will be demonstrated below, the short manuals examined here are often useful sources for the pronunciation of contemporary Irish and I have attempted to highlight points that may be of interest for historical dialectology. By their nature, these brief rules also have a place in any history of the grammaticography of Irish.

For the purposes of the present study, I consider only instructions for reading Irish associated with Irish-language texts. By 'reading' I mean the ability to associate particular letters and letter-combinations with sounds whether for the purpose of reading aloud or silently. I am not concerned here with full-scale grammars and textbooks the sole aim of which was to enable the learner to acquire Irish, nor with dictionaries,[1] though reference is made to these works below when they have a bearing on shorter printed guides.

This article has grown out of and been written as a companion to *Clóliosta: Printing in the Irish Language, 1571–1871 — An Attempt at Narrative Bibliography* (Richard Sharpe and Mícheál Hoyne) (forthcoming), a draft of which is

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[1] I do, however, make reference to Míchéal Ó Cléirigh's foreword to his *Sanasán* (1643) below.

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now available for download (dias.ie/cloliosta, accessed 28 November 2018). In the future it is hoped that reference will be made by number to particular publications treated of in the *Clóliosta* (e.g. 'Cló 17', referring to the seventeenth item in the *Clóliosta*), but as the final numbering has not yet been completed, such references are not at present possible. In the present article, I give the year of publication and title as these appear in the *Clóliosta* and the reader is referred for further discussion, the availability and location of copies and bibliographical details on all the items discussed below to the electronic version of the larger work.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

1571 Aibidil/Aibghitir[2]

The first book printed in Irish in Ireland, Ó Kearnaigh's catechism of 1571, edited with facsimile and notes by Ó Cuív (1990), advertises an introduction to reading Irish in its title: *Aibidil Gaoidheilge, & Caiticiosma*, 'An Irish Alphabet and Catechism'. Seaán Ó Kearnaigh — this is the spelling of his surname on the title-page — was apparently a native of Leyney (Luighne) in Co. Sligo, born *c*. 1545. It appears that he had prepared a rough draft of his Catechism by 1563, while in Cambridge. He graduated with a BA in 1565, but it is difficult to reconstruct his career in the six years that elapsed between this and the publication of his book (Ó Cuív 1990: 4–6, 11–12). Ó Kearnaigh would hardly have learnt to read and write Irish in Cambridge; he was presumably taught these skills as a child. The Í Chearnaigh of Leyney were a clerical family — and clerical careers would obviously require a high degree of literacy — and other branches of the Ó Cearnaigh family were certainly involved in scribal activity (Ó Muraíle 1989: 346–7). It is clear from his *Aibidil* that Seaán Ó Kearnaigh had a good grasp of the literary register of Early Modern Irish prose (though curiously the title-page shows a number of lapses) and, as we will see below, that he was acquainted with bardic orthographical and grammatical terminology.

The Alphabet itself (headed *aibghitir* rather than *aibidil* as on the title-page)[3] follows on from the author's address to the reader (pp. 3–5) and takes up five whole pages (pp. 6–10). It begins with a list of twenty-two capital letters arranged in two columns, each letter of which is followed by the traditional Irish letter-names and the appropriate lower-case graph.[4] The letter

[2]*Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma .i. Forcheadal nó teagasg Criosdaighe, maille lé hairtiogluibh dhairidhe don riaghal Criosduighe, is íngabhtha, dá gach aon da mbé fómánta do reachd Día 7 na bannríoghan sa ríghe so, do tairngeamh as Laidean, agus as Gaillbhérla go Gaoidheilg, lá Seaan O Kearnaigh. [. . .] Do buaileadh so á gcló ghaoidheilge, a mBaile Atha Clíath, ar chosdas Mhaighisdir Sheón Uiser aldarman, ós chionn an dhroichid, an 20 lá do Juín 1571. Maille lé prímhgiléid na mór-ríoghna, 1571.*

[3]Here *aibghitir* and *aibidil* have the primary sense 'alphabet', though the extended sense 'primer' is also appropriate. Bedell's 1631 small catechism uses the word in the latter sense: *The A. B. C. or the Institution of a Christian. Aibgitir .i. Theaguisg cheudtosugheadh an Chriostaide. Dublin: Printed by the Company of Stationers, 1631.*

[4]For the letter-names in Irish, see McManus (1988).

<i> is indicated by *J. iogha i.* The alphabet follows the standard Latin ordering of letters, commencing with *A. ailm a.*, *B beth b*, *C. coll c* etc., rather than the traditional Irish *beithe-luis-nuin* sequence — an overhaul also seen in the unpublished primer prepared by Ó Kearnaigh's Cambridge contemporary Christopher Nugent for Queen Elizabeth, perhaps on her visit to Cambridge in 1564 (Benjamin Iveagh Library, Irish Primer, fol. 8r), and adopted also in the unpublished but much more wide-ranging Franciscan primer of Irish, *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* (Mac Aogáin 1968: 3 and Ó Cuív 1994: 14 n. 44).[5]

Ó Kearnaigh's list of letters is followed by the comment:

> X. Y. Ↄ. ⁊. agus gach titul no gách nod ele, ní litre nadura don ghaoidhelg iád. oir ní bhfuilid anmanna oghuimh [*sic*] aca innte: & an tan sgriobthar iad, is brígh á dech bhiós ag x. & brígh u ⁊ í, bhiós ag u_i. & brígh e, ⁊ t, bhiós ag gach & ⁊ díobh so. agus is ionann & laidne. águs ⁊ na gaoidhelge. (pp. 6–7)
>
> 'X. Y. Ↄ. ⁊ and every other abbreviation or contraction are not letters natural to Irish since they have not Oghamic names in it, and when they are written x has the form of *a deich* [i.e. <x> represents the numeral 'ten'], and u_i (y) has the force of (digraph) *ui*, and every & [and] ⁊ among them has the force of *e* and *t* [i.e. *et*], and & of Latin [writing] is the same as ⁊ of Irish (writing).' (Ó Cuív 1990: 161)

Though unexplained by Ó Kearnaigh, the Tironian note <ↄ> is a common symbol in Irish manuscripts, most often used to represent the word or syllable *con*.

On p. 7, the alphabet is subdivided into vowels and consonants; the former are further subdivided into broad and slender, the latter into the six consonant-classes of bardic didactic texts.[6] For the consonant-classes, it is necessary to introduce lenited forms also in addition to the bare letters of the alphabet, so that the lists presented are not strictly-speaking simply a subdivision of the alphabet: the first consonant-class given (*na seáchd gcónsoin édtroma* 'the seven light consonants'), for example, consists of *dh. gh. mh. bh. r. l. n.*; unlenited <d>, <g>, <m> and <b> appear again in their respective consonant-classes. Several letters from Ó Kearnaigh's alphabet are missing from this subdivision: <q> finds no place nor does <z> or <k>, though <k> is the subject of some comment (p. 8). Ó Kearnaigh declares that, while it is not used to designate vowels or consonants (*ní goirthear guthaighí na consoin de*), it is employed for the syllable *ca* (*cuirthear anionad .c,a, hé go meních*). As Ó Cuív notes (1990: 161), this does not account for the use of <k> in the author's surname on the title-page. In defence of Ó Kearnaigh it could be said that his guide was

[5]Unlike Ó Kearnaigh the author of the *Rudimenta* does not include *K. chollailm*, *Q. ceart* and *Z. straiph.*

[6]For these consonant-classes and their phonetic basis, see Ó Cuív (1966).

intended as a more general introduction to the contemporary spelling of Irish, in which <k> is hardly ever used simply as a substitute for <c>.[7]

<h> is treated at some length: the use of the punctum (*pongc*) to indicate lenition is noted and the fact that the addition of a <h> to certain consonants changes their sound value. Ó Kearnaigh's treatment of this topic will be discussed in more detail below. It is also noted that only consonants take a punctum and that not all consonants do: <l>, <n> and <r> do not.[8] Ó Kearnaigh is dealing here with orthographical lenition and the use of the punctum in particular; his remarks cannot be taken to mean that he did not recognise a phonetic distinction between lenited and unlenited *l*, *n* and *r*.

On p. 8 Ó Kearnaigh turns to the vocalic digraphs. These he terms *diptongoin* ('diphthongs') or *coimhcheanguil* ('combinations'). The former is obviously a loanword, but it is not known from any earlier source, while *coimhcheangal* is similarly unparalleled in any other source, the normal native term for digraph (and diphthong) being *deafhoghar* (Ó Cuív 1990: 161). Ó Kearnaigh's treatment of these digraphs — which are divided into five groups with traditional designations — has been discussed in detail by Ó Cuív in his notes on this passage. Particularly interesting is his treatment of <aé>, which is illustrated by the example *faé ó chanamhuin*. This must be the 3 sg. masc. prepositional pronoun from *fá* 'under', which is normally *fa*(*o*)*í* in Early Modern Irish (see *BST* 193.23 for the conjugated forms of the preposition). The term *canamhain* is used in bardic didactic literature as a label for forms which are regarded as correct but are in some way anomalous. Ó Kearnaigh would appear to have been aware of some bardic text no longer known in which *faé* was given as a variant form of *faoí*.[9] Ó Kearnaigh does not explain the term *canamhain*.

[7]In subliterary lapidary inscriptions, we sometimes find <k> used for <c>, most likely under the influence of English: approximately seventy years before the publication of Ó Kearnaigh's book, for example, the lapidary 'Matha O Cogli' rendered the surname *Ó Ceallaigh* as 'O Keallaid' in a black-letter Irish-language inscription on a tomb in Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway (Macalister 1949: 8). <k> is also found in Irish names in Latin contexts, as in the spelling 'Iohs OKarbri' on a shrine in Clones (Macalister 1949: 127). It is, of course, common also in English renderings of Irish names (such as 'Kearney'). It may be that 'Ó Kearnaigh' was the author's normal spelling of his name and that this use of <k> was a more widespread orthographical practice common among persons who were functionally literate in Irish (clerics and stonemasons, for instance) but not involved in formal, high-status scribal activity.

[8]<r> is in fact omitted on p. 7 but instructions for its insertion are given in a corrigendum on p. 55.

[9]Presumably *faé* represents [fe:] here, though it should be noted that the placement of length-marks in early printed literature in Irish is unreliable. Today the normal pronunciation of the simple preposition *faoi* (earlier *fá*) and the 3 sg. masc. prepositional pronoun *faoi* in Munster Irish is generally [f´e:] (and in Clare [fe:] is recorded) (*SnaG* 506). Cf. also the Munster pronunciation of *caoi* and *naoi* (with non-palatal initials). The variation in the modern pronunciation of *faoi*, *caoi* and *naoi* is to be connected with the variation between *aoí* and *áe* in some words in Early Modern Irish, e.g. gen. sg. *laoí* and *láe*. The <áe> of the latter form (today found in all dialects and normally spelt without a length-mark) is now pronounced [e:], though the evidence of Classical Modern Irish poetry and didactic literature points to <áe> (also sometimes <ái>) as having the pronunciation [a:^{i}], i.e. a long vowel followed by a palatal glide (hence my placement of the length-mark in CModIr *láe*), the long equivalent of <ai> [a^{i}] in words like *caith* (Hoyne 2017: 174–8). It is unclear when precisely [a:^{i}] was fronted to [e:] in these words.

Perhaps for the want of convenient terms to express stress distinctions Ó Kearnaigh runs into some trouble in his attempt to give an account of arbitrary variation in the use of vowel-graphs in unstressed syllables:

> Téd gnéthe dona diptongaidhibh so go menic ar son a chéle a bhfoclaibh aírighthe mar tá ai, oi, ui. ⁊ mar an gcedna ted cuid dona guthuighibh ar son a chéle mar tá a. o. u. ⁊ .e. í. (p. 10)
>
> 'Forms of these digraphs frequently serve for one another in certain words, namely *ai*, *oi*, *ui*, and likewise some of the vowels serve for one another, namely *a*, *o*, *u* and *i*, *e*.'

This is an attempt to describe the kind of variation seen, for example, in the spelling of the unstressed syllable of the adjective *ionraic* (which in this period could be written also *ionruic* and less commonly *ionroic*) or the noun *díoghaltas* (which could also have been written with *-u-* or *-o-* for *-a-* in the second and third syllables) or the prepositional pronoun *fúithe* (which could also be written *-i*). The lack of any explicit reference to stress or any examples leaves this formulation too vague to be of much use on its own, however.

The Alphabet concludes with what we might describe as a disclaimer:

> ... bíoth a fhios agud a léghtheóir go bhfuil iómarcruigh do riághlachuibh ⁊ d'aícheapduibh ar gach aon chuid fó leth don aibghíder so: ⁊ arna tituluibh bhíos innte ann sa liter láimhe. & gebé lé nab áil lórgaireachd do dhenamh orrtha so nó a bhfios d'fhághbhail, fághbhadh fóghluim óna fileaghuibh. oír is lé na n-ealádhain bheanas sin do thrachdadh go hínntleachdach eólusách: & ní leamsa.
>
> 'Know, O reader, that there are more rules and precepts concerning every single individual part of this alphabet and about the abbreviations that occur in it in hand-written form; and whoever wishes to investigate these or to find out about them, let him get instruction from the poets, for it is proper to their craft to explicate those things intelligently and knowledgeably and not to mine.'[10]

The endorsement of the bardic schools may seem rather surprising at first sight, but the sympathy of the Protestant regime with some aspects of the work of the bardic order is not without parallel. Perhaps in preparation for the publication of Ó Kearnaigh's book, a bardic religious poem attributed to the Observantine Franciscan Pilib Bocht Ó hUiginn (†1487), *Tuar feirge foighide Dé*, had been printed on a broadsheet (reproduced in Ó Cuív 1990). It was speculated earlier (fn. 7) that Ó Kearnaigh's use of <k> might suggest that his own literacy in Irish was acquired outside of the more formal, literary milieu of the contemporary Irish-language literati. It is regrettably unknowable on the basis of extant records how much the *Aibghitir* reflects Ó Kearnaigh's own

[10]The translation 'and not to mine' is to be preferred to the more literal 'and not to me'. For the brachylogy here, see Mac Cana (1966: 112 n. 2).

education and to what extent he sought out expert advice from bardic poets in preparing this work.

Ó Cuív's edition of the *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma* is an important work of scholarship furnished with ample philological notes. Some basic questions about the book itself are not addressed in the editor's introduction, however, including what readership Ó Kearnaigh had in mind when he produced this work, whether it was fit for this readership, and whether he succeeded in reaching them. On these questions an analysis of the introductory remarks on Irish orthography can shed some light. Describing the *Aibghitir*, Ó Cuív (1990: 13) writes:

> This short section, which to some extent reflects the teaching of the bardic schools of the sixteenth century as seen in the bardic linguistic tracts, was apparently intended to assist the reader unfamiliar with the letters and sounds of the Irish language.

If this was really Ó Kearnaigh's intention in this section, the *Aibghitir* must be judged an abject failure: how could 'the **reader** unfamiliar with the letters and sounds of the Irish language' hope to **read** Ó Kearnaigh's introduction and, if 'the letters and sounds of the Irish language' posed a challenge to him, what would he make of unexplained technical terminology like *ogham* or *canamhain*?

Ó Kearnaigh's book was certainly targeted at readers whose mother-tongue was Irish — in his epistle to the reader (p. 4) he refers to Irish as the reader's native language (*ann do theangaidh nádúra*) — but there is no reason to believe that Ó Kearnaigh harboured the unrealistic expectation that an illiterate person might make his way without further instruction through this written guide to reading Irish. One will note also that pronunciation is not treated in any meaningful way: how would such a reader be expected to sound out <ao> or <aoi>, for example, the values of which are hardly obvious to the uninitiated? It would be better therefore to regard the *Aibghitir* as a guide to **teaching** literacy in Irish rather than as an independent guide to **acquiring** literacy in Irish, a guide which perforce assumed some degree of literacy on the part of the user. But who were these users? Ó Kearnaigh's apologia at the conclusion of the *Aibghitir* indicates that he did not expect them to have undergone the rigorous education of a bardic poet, but it is clear from the very same apologia — even making allowance for the ostentatious humility normal in addresses to the reader in printed works of this period — that Ó Kearnaigh too made no claim to such specialist training. The catechism itself is described as

> ... anní is cóir dá gach leánb d'fógluim ní is taósga na dhaíngneochar nó mar a derthear go coidcheann chuirfighthear [f]ó laimh easbuig hé, ann a gcuireann in maighister an chesd, 7 ann a fhreagrann in fóghluinntighe hé. (p. 11)[11]

[11] Note that the *f* of *fhreagrann* is dotted in the printed book; the dotted *f* can represent both *fh* and *bhf*. This is discussed below (fn. 19).

> '... that which every child should learn before he is confirmed or, as is commonly said, before he is put under a bishop's hand, in which the master asks the question and in which the learner answers him.'

As the catechism is to be used by a master to teach the infant learner, the *Aibghitir* was presumably designed with the same procedure and the same pedagogical context in mind.

That Ó Kearnaigh's Catechism with its introduction to reading Irish should have been chosen as the first output of Protestant printing in Irish on Irish soil requires some explanation. Elizabeth I had financed the production of an irish font with a view to publishing the New Testament and, as nothing had appeared in the interim, she was threatening to demand re-payment in 1567 (Hamilton 1860: 356). It could not be claimed that Ó Kearnaigh's Catechism was a substitute for an Irish Bible, but it might have sufficed to satisfy the queen that the Protestant cause was being furthered in print in the Irish language. A more specific historical context for the publication of Ó Kearnaigh's Catechism has not, to my knowledge, been suggested before: given the nature of the Catechism and the accompanying guide to reading Irish, it may not be coincidental that Ó Kearnaigh's work should be published one year after the Dublin parliament passed a law to establish free diocesan schools in Ireland. If there is indeed a connection between this legislation and the appearance of Ó Kearnaigh's book, the users he had in mind were most likely schoolmasters. The act itself (12 Eliz. c. 1 'An Acte for the ereccion of free Schooles') states that the schoolmaster was to be an Englishman or 'of the Englyshe birth of this realme'.[12] One can doubt how feasible this provision really was, but in any event it is well known that many of English extraction were Irish-speakers in this time even in the heart of the Pale. We might note here also that while Ó Kearnaigh is known to have made a rough translation of the Catechism by 1563 while a student in Cambridge, the Alphabet may have been written at a later stage (Ó Cuív 1990: 11–12), something which might suggest he was responding to more recent developments by appending an Irish primer.

The *Aibghitir* was a pioneering work. It has no known antecedent in Irish: though Ó Kearnaigh drew on bardic teaching, there is no extant introductory work of similar scope and detail which could have served as a template. Conversant in and largely content with the inherited native framework for describing Irish orthography, Ó Kearnaigh seems to have been confident enough to accept innovations in the ordering of the alphabet and in terminology. The importation of the traditional Latin ordering of the letters and of some foreign terms like 'diphthong' chimes with the international outlook expressed several times in the *Aibghitir*: *Roinntear aíbghitir na gaoidhelge mar gach aibidil ele,*

[12] I am citing from fol. 176 of the 1572 edition of 'the statues from the tenthe yeare of king Henrie the sixt, to the xiiii. yere of our moste gratious and soueraygne lady Queene Elyzabeth' (available at EEBO). Cf. *The Statutes at Large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland* [...] (Dublin, 1786), p. 361 (available on Google Books). For the torturous progress of the bill, see Treadwell (1966–7: 59, 63, 74, 76, 85). This act was repealed by the Oireachtas in the Statute Law Revision (Pre-Union Irish Statutes) Act 1962.

aghón ánn dá ghné (p. 7), 'The Irish alphabet is divided like every other alphabet, namely, into two types [vowels and consonants]'; *Mar atá dioptóngón ag an ngreagach 7 ág in laidnoír, atád coimhcheanguil ag an ngaeidhelg* (p. 8), 'As the Greek scholar and the Latinist have a "diphthong", so the Irish language has "combinations" '; *[...] dá gach aón lé nab férde in teanguidh ghóidhelge do chur ann a cló dhíleas fén mar tá gach teanguidh ele sa chríosduigheachd* (p. 10), 'for everyone who would benefit from the Irish language being cast in its own proper type like every other language in Christendom'.

His apologia makes clear that Ó Kearnaigh was aware that the *Aibghitir* could not suffice as a complete manual for reading Irish and it alerts users of the book to this fact. If his introduction to reading Irish was insufficient by itself as a key to real competency in reading Irish, it is because it was never intended to be used without the aid of a teacher. Ó Cuív (1991: 161) appears to assume that Ó Kearnaigh intended his *Aibghitir* to be an introduction only to the spelling of his own book and is surprised that he should mention the *con*-symbol given that it does not occur anywhere else in the book, but the inclusion of the *con*-symbol, as well as the letter <z> (which also does not occur elsewhere in the book, so far as I have noticed) or <k> (which only occurs on the title-page in the author's surname), may suggest not so much a lack of organisation on Ó Kearnaigh's part as an ambition to provide as ample an introduction to reading Irish as practicable on this occasion.

We have no evidence for contemporary reception of Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir* or whether it ever proved of use. It was clearly an influence on Stapleton (see next item), who, as will be demonstrated below, could not match Ó Kearnaigh's understanding of native grammatical terminology. The lack of a single manuscript copy made from the edition itself suggests that the book did not find a wide readership. This is to be viewed within the context of the general failure of the Reformation in Ireland, however, and is not necessarily a reflection on Ó Kearnaigh's effort either as a translator-catechist or as an explicator of Irish orthography. As for the guide, it must be remembered that it was designed for the classroom and not for a scribal milieu.

1639 Stapleton[13]

Theobald Stapleton's bilingual catechism, printed in Brussels in 1639, — the Irish and Latin are presented in parallel columns — represented a major departure in Irish printing. Its importance is reflected in the decision of the Irish Manuscripts Commission to produce a facsimile in 1945. Stapleton was a Catholic priest of Cashel archdiocese who after twelve years of ministry in Ireland returned to the Continent and wrote his catechism, so he informs us

[13] *Catechismus, seu Doctrina Christiana Latino-Hibernica, per modum dialogi, inter magistrum et discipulum. Explicata per R. D. Theobaldum Stapletonium, Sacerdotem Hibernum. Post indicem apposita est methodus facilis legendi linguam Hibernicam, cum charactere Romano. Catechismus. Adhon, an Teagasc Criostuí, iar na fhoillsuí* [sic] *à Ladin & à Ngaoilaig, ar modh chomhrá idir Magistir & Disciubúl. Maile re Teaboid Gállduf, sagart Erennach. Agus déis an chláir modh vras leighte na teangan Ghaoilaige à leitreacha Romhanacha. Bruxellis: Typis Huberti Anthonii Velpii, sub Aquila aurea iuxta Palatium, 1639. Permissu superiorum.*

in its preface, to supply a want he had observed during his stay. He designed it for use in teaching the young (Ryan 2013: 172–8). Presumably this would take place primarily in the Catholic schools that operated in Ireland despite the Established Church, or in the family home.

Neither the Protestant backers of printing in Irish nor the Franciscans in Louvain had presumed to tamper much with the orthographical system of Irish and they had all adhered to a relatively high-register literary idiom of Early Modern Irish.[14] In typography and orthography and in the use of ligatures and common abbreviations Irish-language printed books produced by the Established Church in Ireland and the Franciscans in Louvain would not have appeared particularly exotic to those acquainted with the living scribal tradition. Stapleton's catechism is not merely the first Irish book to be produced in roman type, it also represents a conscious — albeit tentative and inconsistent — effort to simplify Irish orthography, which anticipates in some respects the spelling 'reform' movements of the twentieth century. On the title-page one finds, for example, *criostuí* for the more traditional *críostaidhe*, *arna fhoillsuí* [= *fhoillsiú*] for *arna bhfoil*(*l*)*siughadh*, *chomhrá* for gen. *chomhrádha*. Manuscript abbreviations are done away with and an effort is made to represent Irish more phonetically, as the author explains in the preface (p. [xvi]):

> ... gan fireacha, & fo[s][15] gan achamareacht ar bith son sgribhinn, gidheagh, ní do reir churtha sios & ortographi na Gaoilaga gu ró chinnte ach amhain mar chantar & labharthar na briartha go coitchiann, & as do aontoisc do rinnas so, ionnas go mo follas do gach aoin modh leite na teangan Ghaoilaige fá már do gheabhair foillsethe tar eis an chláir.
>
> '... without symbols, and further without any abbreviation in the writing; moreover most certainly not according to the manner of writing and the orthography of Irish except as the words are generally uttered and spoken; and it is deliberately that I did this, so that the manner of reading the Irish language might be clear to all, as you will find explained after the list of contents.'[16]

This refers to a two-page guide to reading headed *Modus perutilis legendi linguam Hibernicam* and *Modh ró uras na teanghan Ghaoilaige do leagh* at the end of the book, which will be discussed in more detail here.

It is easy to over-estimate the extent to which Stapleton was an innovator in orthography. It will be noted that in the passage cited above he is speaking mainly of abbreviations. Like Ó Kearnaigh, he was not the scion of a family associated with traditional learning in Irish. We do not know how he came to learn to read and write the language, but it is highly unlikely that it was in the same milieu as the traditional native learned families. Just as Ó Kearnaigh's use of <k> in his surname finds parallels in subliterary inscriptions

[14] For the language of the Louvain press, see Ó hUiginn (2013).

[15] In support of reading *fo*[*s*] cf. the Latin *sine vllis abbreuiationibus aut figuris.*

[16] Stapleton does allow himself some minor abbreviations using numerals, such as *an 2.* for *an dara*. An occasional *n*-stroke is also met with. The ampersand is frequently used, as is *.i.*

in Irish, so too does Stapleton's more phonetic spelling. See, for example, 'ri' for dat. *rígh*, and 'ichonchuir' for *Í Chonchobhair* on the Abbeyknockmoy inscription mentioned above (fn. 7), and 'se bliana dec' (for *bliadhna*) on an early sixteenth-century inscription from Fenagh (Macalister 1949: 9). While Stapleton is the first to bring such spelling practices into print — and he did indeed do so deliberately and not apparently for want of knowledge — he is not the great innovator he might appear to be at first glance.

The guide (pp. [171–2]) is made up of nineteen short numbered paragraphs and begins with the statement that the letters of Irishmen and Latinists are the same (*Ionann litreacha dona Herenachuibh, & dona Lainneoribh*), with the except of <k> and <q>, for which <c> does service, and <x>, <y> and <z>, which are not found in Irish (at least by Stapleton's time). In the second paragraph we are informed that every letter must be given its value in Irish — i.e. letters are not silent — though he announces that exceptions will be introduced later. We are also told that the letters are then divided into vowels and consonants. The third paragraph concerns vowels: *As ionann gothí na lainne & iád .i. a.e.i.o.u. ata cuid aco tróm .i. a.o.u. & cuid ele eadrom adhon e.i.*, 'These are identical with the vowels of Latin, i.e. *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; some of them are heavy [Lat. *crassæ*], i.e. *a*, *o*, *u*; and some of them are light [Lat. *tenues*], i.e. *e*, *i*'. From these 'diphthongs' (*dafhouruigh*) and 'triphthongs' (*trifhouruigh*) are formed. I have no other example of the terms *trom* and *éadtrom* being used to describe a 'broad' (or back) vowel and a 'slender' (or front) vowel respectively. The terms *leathan* and *caol* are used in the next paragraph to refer to vowel-length; there twelve 'diphthongs' are divided into six — <ae>, <ao>, <eo>, <eu>, <ia> and <iu> — that are always long (*do shiór leathan*) and six — <ai>, <oi>, <ua> (!),<ui>, <ea> and <ei> — that can be both long and short (*bid ar varibh leatha, & ar varibh cáol*). The examples given after <ua> in the Irish column are *crúa*, *cual*, but I do not know how *cual* could be said to have a short diphthong: perhaps Stapleton meant that <ua> is sometimes explicitly marked long (with a length-mark) and sometimes not, but, if this is the case, he needlessly muddies the waters.[17] In the Latin, the point is conveyed differently: there the first series (the 'diphthongs' that are always long) is subject of the 3 pl. passive present indicative of *produco* (here 'lengthen, draw out'). Paragraph 5 deals with 'triphthongs' (<aói>, <eói>, <úai>, <iái> and <iúi>) and paragraph 6 advises that these 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' do not have hiatus (*Caól, & ní ca-ol*, i.e. monosyllablic *caol* is not to be pronounced *caöl*).[18] If Ó Kearnaigh is responsible for coining the term *coimhcheangal* in the sense 'diphthong', one wonders if he did so precisely to avoid such a misunderstanding.

The pronunciation of mutated letters in initial position is treated in paragraph 8: *An trath theanguid dha chonnsain, nó ní somho à ttús fhocail gan guthigh do theacht atartha, as ag an cced chonnsain bhiós brigh: leis an Bpaidir, ar an mbaidi, &c*, 'When two consonants or more come together in

[17]The Latin of this paragraph (as elsewhere) has Latin rather than Irish examples.

[18]In the Latin, the examples of *coelum* and *aurum* are given.

the beginning of a word without a vowel coming between them, it is the first consonant that has force: *leis an bpaidir*, *ar an mbaidi*'. This is a good attempt to obviate one of the peculiar difficulties of Irish orthography, but it does not take account of consonant clusters like *sc*, *st*, *sp* etc., which presumably were not felt to 'come together' in the same way as a mutation and a radical consonant.

Paragraph eight concerns 'this symbol *h*' (*an fhighir so h.*):

> An fhighir so h. bioth nach litir í, amh, as mór à brigh & à comhachta ar na connsanuibh ele, ór nil son aibidil uile aon chonnsain nach semhghean, no nach malartúigheann, no nach bainean à brigh ar modh eigin Dí; ór semhigheann na [*sic*] chonnsain gharabh, eadromain an tróm, & cruaidhean an bog: leith à muith dhona tri chonsain so l, n, r, nach foil cur aici ortha, amh chuigi so as à niáigh na connsoin churthar í do shiór, mar as léir an so, 'modh', 'bocht', & c.
>
> 'This symbol *h*, though it is not a letter, nonetheless its force and its power over the other consonants is great, for there is not one consonant in the alphabet that it does not smooth or alter or from which it does not take its force in some way; for it smoothes the rough consonant, lightens the heavy and hardens the soft, except for these three consonants (*l*, *n*, *r*) that it cannot be put on; moreover, further to this it is after the consonants that it is always put, as is clear from this, *modh*, *bocht*, etc.' (pp. 171–2)

It is difficult to make much sense of Stapleton's treatment of lenition. His wording is remarkably similar to Ó Kearnaigh's discussion of the same topic in his *Aibghitir* (see the discussion above and the following citation), which Stapleton has garbled, deforming a nuanced discussion of phonetic changes brought about by lenition into a vague paean to the powers of lenition.

> H. is mór a bhrígh a ngaoidhelg, ⁊ do ní púngc mar so ∴ á ionadh, an tan chuirthear ós cíonn na litre hé. & os chíonn choda dona cónsonuibh amháin chuirthear hé 'na phongc: ⁊ is iad so na litre nach gabhann hé. l. n. [r.] ⁊ beanuidh sé a mbrígh dhileas dona lítribh ar a dtéd, án mhéd go ngárbhuigheand sé consoin bhog, ⁊ go n-edtromaoigheand sé consoin chruáidh, ⁊ go sémhigheann consoin teand. (1571 *Aibidil/Aibghitir*, p. 8)
>
> '*H*, its force is great in Irish and a punctum like this · takes its place when it is put over a letter. And it is only over some of the consonants that it is put, and these are the letters that do not take it: *l*, *n* and *r*. And it deprives the letter over which it is put of its proper force, in that it makes a soft consonant [*p*, *t* and *c*] rough [*ph*, *th* and *ch*], a hard consonant [*b*, *d* and *g*] light [*bh*, *dh* and *gh*] and it lenites a firm consonant [*m*].'

Ó Kearnaigh had earlier introduced the consonant classes to which he refers in his treatment; Stapleton has not and clearly does not grasp that terms such as 'light' and 'hard' are employed in a technical sense by Ó Kearnaigh, though the consonants are clearly arranged in their respective classes in a table in the *Aibghitir*. Nonetheless the verbal similarity is such that there can be no doubt about Stapleton's starting point.

Paragraphs 9–14 deal with the pronunciation of lenited letters and the lack of (orthographical) lenition on <l>, <n> and <r>. Interestingly (and rather confusingly), Stapleton allows two values to <fh>, namely zero and /v/ (when it represents nasalised <f>): *Tuig gur truime an guith bhiós ag mh, na ag bh, & fh, & ar voribh ni bhionn brigh ar bhith ag fh*, 'Understand that the sound that *mh* has is broader [or 'heavier'] than *bh* and *fh*, and sometimes *fh* has no value at all'.[19] (The statement that <mh> is 'broader' may be intended to indicate that it is more nasal in realisation than <bh>.) Paragraphs 15–16 give the pronunciation of initial <tt> as /d/ and <cc> as /g/, while Paragraph 17 discusses the loss of medial and final *gh* and *dh* in words like *tighearna*, which is given the phonetic spelling *tiarna*. Paragraph 18 deals with initial vocalic <v> which is said to always be pronounced separately (*co haonracanach*) from a following vowel, so that *vaidh* is to be pronounced, according to Stapleton, as *v-aidh* and *vile* as *v-ile*. Earlier the hyphen was used in this manner to indicate hiatus. The first example (*v-aidh*) might suggest an attempt to explain that <ua> is to be pronounced as a diphthong /uə/ (though one wonders then why this is not said of other true diphthongs), but it is difficult to see how <ui> could ever be pronounced in a similar fashion. Dr Brian Ó Curnáin has suggested to me that perhaps Stapleton is attempting to describe a pronunciation like /wəi/ in the case of *uaidh* and /ɪ/ in the case of *uile*; if this is indeed Stapleton's point, it is not clearly made. The final paragraph concerns the ampersand and the symbol *.i.*

In his preface, Stapleton is dismissive of the native learned classes, whom he castigates for obscuring the Irish language and contributing to its decline (p. [xv]; translated in Ó hUiginn (2013: 103)). As his garbled discussion of lenition makes clear, he had not undergone much higher training in the explication of Irish grammar. This impression is confirmed by his apparently novel use of terms such as *leathan*, *caol*, *trom* and *éadrom*. His obvious lack of serious formal training in the language makes him an unreliable guide.

[19]The use of a punctum as a mark of nasalisation as well as lenition is well attested in Irish manuscripts (see Hoyne (2018: 121)) and, indeed, has already been met with in a citation from Ó Kearnaigh (see fn. 11 above). The lenition of initial *f* is exceptional vis-à-vis other instances of initial lenition in Irish in that the consonant is lenited out of existence. The orthographical device of using a lenition-marker to express eclipsis may have been suggested by the likes of *b* > *bh*, in which the resultant lenited consonant is more voiced than the radical. Note also that nasalisation of *f* was not reliably indicated in Irish manuscripts until the fifteenth century, but in certain common phrases a dotted *f* might have been interpreted as a nasalised *f*. In *ní ḟuil* etc., later spelling confirm that besides the regular *ní fhuil* there was also a common variant *ní bhfuil* in Early Modern Irish, the nasalisation being most likely due to a petrified masculine infixed pronoun (see M'Caughey (1968) and cp. O'Rahilly (1932: 44–5)). Cf. also *ní bhfuair* and *ní bhfuighe.* Such words might have encouraged a re-analysis of the punctum over initial *f* as a marker of nasalisation.

The Irish version of this short manual could not have been of much use as a guide to reading Irish on its own, but Stapleton was writing for an audience who had a good command of Latin. It was argued above that Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir* might have been used as a template to teach children Irish. It seems unlikely that Stapleton's *Modus perutilis* was conceived with the same object in mind. Its placement — at the very end of the book, after the list of contents — suggests that it was not designed as part of a catechumen's initiation but rather that it is was for the exclusive benefit of the user of the book. But unlike Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir*, which could not have been used for self-instruction in literacy in Irish, the Latin portion of Stapleton's *Modus perutilis* might well have helped Irish-speakers illiterate in Irish but literate in Latin to acquire reading competency in their native language by self-instruction. Presumably the intended users are the parish priests (*ar na sagairtaibh poreiste*), the godparents (*ar na Cairdeachas Criost*), fathers (*ar na Haitreachaibh nadurtha*), confessors (*ar na Haithrieachaibh faoisidine*) and preachers (*ar na seanamontaithe*) to whom appeal is made in the preface (p. [xiii]), but unsurprisingly Stapleton places considerable emphasis on the role of clerics and schoolmasters in catechising (pp. [viii–ix, xi]). It is unlikely that such readers could have made much headway in the Irish on their own without considerable effort or further instruction, for Stapleton's guide is not detailed or reliable enough nor is his orthographical system consistent or phonetic enough to allow for the straight-forward sounding-out of the words by a hitherto illiterate native speaker. Its more phonetic orthographical system also meant that the catechism was dialect-specific, which might have narrowed its potential readership.

1643 Ó Cléirigh[20]

Though it is not a free-standing guide to orthography and reading Irish within a larger work like Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir* or Stapleton's *Modus perutilis*, brief mention will nonetheless be made here of the advice given to 'the young and ignorant' (*ag an áos óg agas ag an áos ainbfis*) who wish to read old books (*na seinleabhair*) in the epistle to the reader printed at the beginning of Brother Míchéal Ó Cléirigh's *Foclóir no Sanasán Nua* published in Louvain in 1643. Ó Cléirigh's comments treat of some of the same issues raised by the short guides under discussion in this paper and have some importance for the grammaticographical techniques being developed in such works.

Ó Cléirigh's *Foclóir* has the distinction of being the first dictionary printed in the Irish language and, indeed, marks one of the earliest attestations of the word *foclóir* (Knott 1962). It is concerned only with 'difficult words' (*dfoclaib cruaidhe*) found in many old books (*as morán do sheinleabhraibh*) and itself draws on earlier glossaries; as observed by Mac Amhlaigh (2008: 1–7), the scope of Ó Cléirigh's *Foclóir* is comparable to that of Robert Cawdrey's English dictionary of 1604. The section of the preface which concerns us reads:

[20] *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nua in a mínighthear cáil eigin dfhoclaibh cruaide na Gaeidheilge, ar na sgriobhadh ar urd aibghitre le brathair bochd tuata dOrd S. Froinsias Michéul O Cleirigh, a gColáisde na mBrathar nÉireannach a Lobháin. Ar na chur a gcló maille re hughdardhas. 1643.*

> An ceathramh ni biodh a fhios ag an áos óg agas ag an áos ainbfis lerab mian na seinleabhair do léughadh (ní nach bfuil na aincheas ar eolchaibh ar ttíre) gurab annamh bhios coimhéd aca ar chaol re leathan, no ar leathan re ccaol do sgriobhadh, agas ar [sic] firthearc cuirid uathadh ar na connsainibh mar atá, bh, ch, dh, fh, etc. agas fós as annamh chuirid síneadh fada ar fhoclaibh. Sgriobhthar go minic cuid dona consainibh ar son a cheile, mar ata c, ar son g, agas t, ar son d. Ag so samhail na bfocal tre sa dtuigfidhear sin. Ar son an fhocailsi clog, ionann agas cloc, agad, acat, beag, beac, codladh, cotladh, ard, art, etc. Cuirthear fós go minic ae, ar son ao, agas ái ar son aoi. agus fós oi ar son aoi. Sompla airsin mar sgriobhthar go minic aedh ionann agas aodh, agas cael as ionann agas caol. Agus bói agus fós bái as ionann agas báoi. Sgriobhthar go minic E ar son A sna seinleabhraibh, mar ata die, as ionann agas dia, cie as ionann agas cia, etc. Sgriobhthar go minic I ar son A, mar ata so dochuaidh, as ionann agas dichuaidh. Sgriobhthar go coitcheann a, o, u ar son a cheile a ndeireadh focail mar ata sompla, somplo, somplu, ceardcha, ceardcho, ceardchu, etc.
>
> 'Fourthly, the young and ignorant who wish to read the old books, (a thing which is not difficult for the educated of our country), must know that they rarely guard against writing slender with broad, or broad with slender, and that they very rarely put the aspirate upon the consonants, as *bh*, *ch*, *dh*, *fh*, *etc.*, and also that they seldom put the long accent on vowels. Some of the consonants are often written one for another, as *c* for *g*, and *t* for *d*. Here are examples of words by which this will be understood: *clog* the same as *cloc*; *agad*, *acat*: *beag*, *beac*: *codladh*, *cotladh*: *ard*, *art*, *etc*. Also *ae* is often put for *ao*, and *ái* for *áoi* and also *oi* for *aoi*. For example *aed*, is often written for *aodh*, and *cael* is the same as *caol*. And *bói* and also *bái* is the same as *báoi*. *E* is often written instead of *A* in the old books, as *die*, which is the same [as] *dia*, *cie* which is the same as *cia*, *etc. I* is often written instead of *A*, as *dochuaidh* [which is the same as *dichuaidh*].[21] *a*, *o*, *u* are commonly written for one another at the end of the word, as *tompla* [sic], *tomplo* [sic], *tomplu* [sic], *ceardcha*, *ceardcho*, *ceardchu*, *etc*.' (Miller 1879–80: 355–6)

The other guides to reading Irish discussed thus far aimed to provide an overview of the basics of Irish spelling, the first as a template for transmitting literacy to Protestant catechumens, the second to equip Catholic catechists with the wherewithal to catechise in Irish. Ó Cléirigh's advice on the vagaries of manuscript spelling is a more specialist affair. The 'young and ignorant'

[21] It would appear that Ó Cléirigh had *da-chuaidh* in mind as the 'normal' spelling. The preverb and verbal particle *do* is often spelt *da* in Early Modern Irish. The preverb of *do-ní*, for example, is referred to as *duir ailm coimlenamna* 'fixed *da*', for example, in *IGT* III §1. See McManus (2012) for the term *coimhlean*(*a*)*mhain.*

whom Ó Cléirigh addresses are trainee-scholars in the native schools of hereditary learning with an advanced level of literacy in Irish; his dictionary is intended as an aid in deciphering such obscure works as *Amrae Coluimb Chille* or *Félire Óengusa* (which he calls *Feilire na Náomh*) (Miller 1879–80: 354).[22] Ó Cléirigh's epistle provides them with a concise treatment of some of the main differences between the orthography most commonly practised in the mid-seventeenth century and the archaic or pseudo-archaic orthography met with in manuscripts written in what Ó Cléirigh terms 'old Irish' (gen. *na seanghaoidheilge*, Miller 1879–80: 351).[23] Within a single paragraph he conveys a great deal of information concerning the cosmetic differences likely to throw an inexperienced reader of the glossary. One notes that his discussion of vowel-graph variation in unstressed syllables is an improvement on that offered by Ó Kearnaigh, since Ó Cléirigh hints at the role played by stress in this variation. Nevertheless, while a better attempt to describe the problem, it remains incomplete, ignoring variation between <i> and <e> in unstressed absolute final position and variation in unstressed initial syllables (in words like *a-tá* etc., *BST* 210.8); in Ó Cléirigh's defence, however, it may be suggested that the young readers he had in mind would be familiar with such variation already from the more general orthography they themselves already practised.

1652 Daniel[24]

The only effort made by the Cromwellian establishment in Ireland to provide printed matter in Irish appears to have been a translation by Godfrey Daniel (alias Gothfraigh Mac Domhnuill) of William Perkins's popular *The Foundation of Christian Religion* (1591), published in Dublin in 1652, the year which saw the triumph of the Cromwellian conquest. A modern edition remains a desideratum. The bulk of the text is in two columns with the English text on the left and the Irish translation alongside, but the epistle 'To the Right Honourable, the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, for the Affairs of Ireland' is in English only, as are the 'Brief and Plain Rules for the reading of the Irish Tongue', which make up the final seven unnumbered pages of the book (sig. M2r–M3v). Perkins's book set out to explain the fundamentals of the Christian faith in six principles 'necessarie for

[22]The preface to An Dubháltach Mac Fir Bhisigh's Great Book of Genealogies (begun in April 1649) concludes with an address to 'the young reader' (*don óigléughthóir*) alerting him to dialectal variation in the genealogies (Ó Muraíle 2003–4: i, §18.2). One wonders whether Mac Fir Bhisigh might have been influenced by Ó Cléirigh's preface.

[23]Ó Cléirigh, of course, did not have the modern periodisation of the language in mind when he used this term.

[24][Left title] *The Christian Doctrine, or the Foundation of Christian Religion, gathered into six principles. Necessarie for every Man to learn. Translated into Irish by Godfrey Daniel, Master in the Arts. And also Brief and plain Rules for the reading of the Irish tongue. Printed at Dublin, by Will. Bladen, Anno Dom. 1652*; [right title] *An Teagasg Críosttuidhe, nó Fundameint an Chreidim Críosduidhe, ar na chruinniughadh a sé Bpuncuibh Prinnsiopalta. Atá ríachdanach dá nuile dhuine ainbhfiosach dfóghluim. Ar na tharruing a nGaoidhilge ré Gothfraigh Mac Domhnuill, Maghistir ionn sna Healadhnachuibh. Agus Mar an gcéudna Ríaglach aithghearr, 7 soiléir do chum na teangadh gaoidhilge do léghadh. Ar na chur a gló a Mbaile Átha Cliath, ré Huill. Bladen, Anno Dom. 1652.*

every ignorant man to learn' (*atá ríachdanach dá nuile dhuine ainbhfiosach dfóghluim*); it is a work clearly designed to be used by preachers to instruct their congregations.

Little is known of the life of Godfrey Daniel (Williams 1986: 59–60). He was probably born *c*. 1618, given that he was elected a Scholar of Trinity College in 1634 (Burchaell and Sadleir 1935: 209), and it was there he most likely obtained his BA and MA. In 1652, he received an annual salary of £40 from the Commonwealth government for preaching the gospel in Irish to 'the Irish' (Seymour 1921: 106–7), and by 1657 at the latest he was serving a congregation in Tully, south County Dublin (Seymour 1921: 210). As noted by Williams, the tithes of this parish belonged to Trinity College, and Daniel's placement there may suggest a continued formal connection to the College (Simington 1945: 271). Daniel refers to the translation of 1652 as his first effort, but contemplated a fuller treatment of the Irish language, as he makes clear on the final page of the epistle ('which Rules, I shall be readier (if I be called therunto, or see it necessarie) to inlarge'). Nicholas Williams praises the high quality of his translation, and — despite occasional minor slips from correct Early Modern Irish grammatical usage — Daniel was indeed a master of the literary idiom. As a translator, he was prepared to introduce material of Irish interest to Perkins's text, including a reference to the burlesque Early Modern Irish tale *Feis Tighe Chonáin* (Williams 1986: 62). It has been suggested that he was a relative of William Daniel (alias Uilliam Ó Domhnaill), who oversaw the translation of the New Testament into Irish, but a comparison of their surnames in Irish precludes this (Williams 1986: 191 n. 12). There is no reason to doubt that he was a native speaker of Irish, most likely from Leinster, perhaps — on the basis of his surname — from Wicklow or Queen's County. The information that can be gleaned of his pronunciation should be of particular interest to historical dialectologists.

The fact that Daniel's rules are in English suggests that they were targeted at students and trained preachers who could already read and write English but had not yet mastered (reading) Irish, and some of the information on pronunciation is presented as if the reader had no previous knowledge of Irish phonology. The placement of the rules at the end of the translation rather than at the beginning of the book may indicate that Daniel assumed some of his readers — literate native Irish-speaking preachers like himself, for instance — would not require such introductory matter. Comparisons with English (the word 'English' occurs five times in the rules), 'Latine' (once), Greek ('the Greek dialect' and 'manner' are referred to once each) and especially Hebrew (the language itself or 'the Hebrews' are referred to three times) confirm that Daniel reckoned with a reader who had enjoyed considerable education.[25] The

[25]Latin, Greek and Hebrew all formed part of the undergraduate curriculum in Trinity College at this time, though more emphasis was placed on Greek after 1637 and the level of Hebrew attained by students may not have been particularly advanced. Masters students like Daniel were expected to undertake further study in Greek and Hebrew (McDowell and Webb 1947: 10–11). It is unlikely that in Ireland *c*. 1652 Greek and Hebrew could have been acquired to any great level prior to arrival in a university.

subject matter — material to be taught to the ignorant that they may better understand sermons and the liturgy — suggests more specifically a readership involved in preaching the reformed faith or in training for this task.

It is probably not coincidental that Daniel's translation should appear at a time when the Commonwealth government was making greater efforts to encourage preaching in Irish. In August 1652, the government set aside £52 for one year to provide for preaching in Irish in the city of Dublin, with the stipulation that no preacher should receive more than 20*s*. per sermon (Seymour 1921: 106). In the same month, Daniel was granted his £40 for preaching (though no location was named in the official record), and the following month John Baskerville was sent to Queen's County as schoolmaster and permitted to preach in Irish (Seymour 1921: 106–7). Other examples of such encouragement include efforts to establish preaching in Irish in Athy in 1653 (Seymour 1921: 106). Given that Daniel likely retained a connection with Trinity College, it seems reasonable to suppose that his translation was commissioned for the use of trainee-preachers and ministering graduates of the College.

The 'Brief and Plain Rules' begin with a table of eighteen letter-names, followed by their upper- and lower-case forms in irish type and the corresponding lower-case form in standard english type. The discursive matter begins with the sentence, 'The Irish hath also five vowels'; these are subdivided into '*guthaighe caola*: or vowels of a smaller accent' and '*guthaighe leathna*, or vowels of a broader accent'. Variation in the use of <a>, <o>, <u> is noted, but as in Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir* — and unlike Ó Cléirigh's advice to the young and ignorant — there are no examples to illustrate the role that stress plays in this vacillation. It is stated that Irish lacks <v> and <j> 'but *bh* must supply the place of an *v*, consonant', and <k>, <q>, <x>, <y> and <z> are also wanting, but these latter are 'supplied by other letters of a Essential denomination', by which Daniel means that <q>, for example, is supplied by *collúir* [= <c> + <u>]. His treatment of <x> and <z> is somewhat confused: '*Straph*, viz. *x*, with a double *cc*; *z* with an *s*'. *Straiph* is normally taken to designate <z>, which represented *st* in the later Middle Ages, while <x> could be used in manuscripts of the period for *c*(*h*)*s* and *g*(*h*)*s* but not as a substitute for <cc>.

In his brief remarks on the pronunciation of the vowels, Daniel could make reference to English: 'you pronounce your *i*, like *ee*, in English, and *u*, like *oo* in English, and your *A*, far broader than in English: the English pronounce the letter *a*, as small as the Irish do *ea*.' An 'ancient rythm' giving the five sorts of 'diphthong' is then printed:

> Ceithre hamharchuill ráitear ann.
> Cúig héba fós go coitcheann.
> Cúig ifíni muin ar mhuin.
> Trí huillenda; óir na haonar.

> 'It is said that that there are four vowel-graph combinations beginning with *a* [namely <ae>, <ai>, <ao>, <aoi>]. Further there

> are generally [agreed] five vowel-graph combinations beginning with *e* [<ea>, <ei>, <eo>, <eoi>, <eu>], five vowel-graph combinations one after the other beginning with *i* [<ia>, <iai>, <io>, <iu>, <iui>], three vowel-graph combinations beginning with *u* [<ua>, <uai>, <ui>], and *oi* is on its own.'

This would not be the last appearance of these lines in print (see pp. 245, 265 and 287 below), but I do not know the source. The five sorts are then presented in tabular form (trigraphs are included and ligatured forms are given separately), and the note is added, 'Beyond Seas, they divide them into Dipthongs, and Tripthongs; though the same in substance, but this old division is more methodical, and ought most to be followed'. This would appear to be a swipe at the teaching of Irish in Louvain. The only Irish-language Catholic book with a discussion of 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' to have appeared in print by 1652 was Stapleton's Catechism, where the diphthongs and triphthongs are indeed treated separately and — unsurprisingly given Stapleton's lack of expertise — no mention is made of the traditional groupings of vowel graphs, but it seems more likely, given the rather sweeping phrase 'Beyond seas', that Daniel had in mind the teaching of the Irish Franciscans on the Continent. If the unpublished *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* is representative of this teaching,[26] the digraphs and trigraphs were indeed treated separately, though the traditional classifications (*amharcholl*, *uilleann* etc.) were retained (Mac Aogáin 1968: 4). Except for <ea> Daniel gives no indication how one is to pronounce these vowel-graph combinations: the pronunciation of <áo> or <áoi> could hardly have been obvious to one unversed in Irish.

Turning to consonants, Daniel begins, 'The Irish divided their Consonants into five Classes, in imitation of the Hebrews, who divided theirs into, 1. Gutturals, 2. Labials, 3. Palats, 4. Linguals, 5. Dentals.'[27] He then gives the five traditional Irish divisions ('Seven light Consonants', *Seachd chonsuine édruma*, etc.) with the 'barren letter' <s> and the observation that <h> 'is onely an Asperation'. Both the Irish and Hebrew consonant-classes are (for the most part) phonetic — but not in the same way. The Irish system is phonetic in the sense that the individual consonant-classes have certain acoustic properties in common (Ó Cuív 1966, Ó Curnáin 2012: 329). The five Hebrew categories, however, are made on the basis of articulation, that is, where the sounds are produced in the mouth. As a result, the Hebrew consonant-classes are not of any help to the student in understanding the Irish system. Assuming that Daniel's mention of the Hebrew classifications is designed to do more than simply show off his knowledge, the reference to the Hebrew might be intended

[26]Doubt has been expressed as to whether Giolla Brighde (alias Bonaventura) Ó hEódhasa was the author of the *Rudimenta* (Breatnach 2017). For the *Rudimenta* as a source for information on the Irish language and for its indebtedness to the mainland European grammatical tradition as well as to traditional Irish grammatical thought, see Ó Corráin (2017).

[27]This division may be as old as the *Sefer Yetzirah*, commonly dated AD 300–600 (Klijnsmit 1990: 78–9).

to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the Irish categories too had a phonetic basis and, in the process, to enhance the standing of the Irish grammatical tradition by associating it with that of one of the sacred languages.

Thus far Daniel was following more or less the path of Ó Kearnaigh's *Aibghitir*, but his 'Plain and Simple Rules' deal with topics not addressed in the earlier work. Daniel begins a discussion of initial mutations thus: 'There is most usually in the Irish, *Ecclipsis Consonantium*: i. *Báthadh Consuine* or the extinguishing of a Consonant, as when *f* goeth before *p* as *afphobail*,[28] *d* goeth before *t* as *adtáeibh*, *d* goeth before *f* as *dfóghluim* [...].' These are arranged neatly in columns with a note that only the first letter is to be pronounced

> and the other must be silent, and is written onely to shew the Primitive, or the Radix of the word, and therefore they are called Posessive Letters, or *Liter Shelbhuighthe*, because they properly belong to the word; the former Letter notes onely the alteration of the word in Case, Tense, Number or Person: as *Fuil* bloud, *a bhfuil* in bloud ...

The use of a Latin technical term here might suggest the influence of the *Rudimenta* or a similar text, but the *Rudimenta* uses somewhat different terminology. Cf. the chapters headed *De ecclipsi quam vocant uirrdiughadh*, which treats of initial nasalisation, and *De extinctione consonantis*, which treats of *báthadh consaine* 'consonantal elision' (Mac Aogáin 1967: 7–9). Indeed, the *Rudimenta* reflects bardic teaching on this issue, for the initial mutations discussed by Daniel here do not fall into the bardic category of *báthadh consaine*, which concerns the delenition and/or assimilation of consonants at the juncture of a compound word (e.g. *lámh* + *mín* > Classical Modern Irish *láimín*); Daniel's examples belong to the categories of lenition and nasalisation, while the *d-* of *dfóghluim* is simply the preposition *do*/*de* (or perhaps the verbal particle *do*?) with the vowel elided. On the other hand, Daniel's use of the concept of consonantal elision — whatever its deficiencies measured against bardic categories or modern descriptive frameworks — has the advantage of clarifying how to read the likes of <fph> and <df>, which — for the sounding out of the letters — pose the same problem as *gc-*, *nd-* and the like. The term *liter shelbhuigthe* is also found in the grammar of Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn, son of the famous Tadhg Dall (Mac Aogáin 1968: l. 3112), and there it means 'radical initial consonant'; cf. the likes of *sealbhadh beithe* 'radical *b*' etc. in an earlier bardic didactic poem (Ó Riain 2008). The sweeping references to 'the alteration of the word in Case, Tense, Number or Person' is hardly a serious effort to describe the functions of initial mutations; on the other hand, as these are rules for reading only (that is, reading aloud), further remarks in this area were not strictly necessary.

[28] <fph> for *ph* is not unusual in contemporary manuscripts. For examples from a manuscript of 1631, see *ABM* 57.1d, 5c, 17c. In a printed context, <fp> is met with in Flaithrí Ó Maoil Chonaire's *Desiderius* (1616) (O'Rahilly 1941: xvii).

The pronunciation of <cc>, <tt> and <pp> as /g/, /d/ and /b/ is then dealt with.[29] A distinction is made between final and initial <nd>: 'When the Letter *d*, cometh immediately after *n*, in the latter end of a word, it bears the foorce of another *n*, as *peand*, *ceand*; but coming in the beginning of a word after *n*, it is quite extinguished, as a *nduine*.' Here Daniel describes a distinction between /N/ (in *peann*) and /n/ (in *nd*-). He continues on this theme with a discussion of the difference between the pronunciation of <ll>, <rr>, <nn> (and <nd>) on the one hand and <l>, <r> and <n> on the other and sets up the pairs *geall* / *gel*, *tonn* / *tón* and *corr* / *cor*, explaining 'The former words must be pronounced broader than the latter'. Such nuanced statements on Irish phonetics contrast sharply with Stapleton's amateurish treatment of Irish sounds and are closer to the detailed remarks on Irish phonology found in the *Rudimenta*. Initial <ng> (the letter-name is given as *ngiatal*) where 'both letters together must be pronounced' is briefly discussed (with Greek and Hebrew parallels) and the treatment of consonants concludes with the statement that in all other respects the consonants of Irish are to be pronounced as those of English or Latin. Among the examples of words given to prove this point, along with *spódla* and *sliasad*, are *crádh* and *bláth*, presumably chosen because of the initial *cr*- and *bl*-, though clearer examples might have been chosen to avoid confusing the issue of the pronunciation of <dh> and <th>, which have not yet been introduced.

The next section concerns 'aspirations', which are defined as follows: 'An Aspiration is when the Letter *h*, cometh imediately after a Consonant'. Its general effects on various letters and the use of the 'title [·] which signifieth *h*' are discussed before Daniel describes the sounds of specific lenited consonants. 'The Letter *b* Aspirated in the beginning or midst of a word is to be pronounced like *v*, Consonant, as *do bhaile*, *gabháil*: but in the latter end of a word, it is to be pronounced like *u* as a Vowel, or partly like *f*, as *ghabh*, *da raibh*.'[30] In the case of <ch>, he must rely on Greek to capture its broad and slender values: 'The Letter *c* being Aspirated, its strength thereby is partly quallified, and it is to be pronounced like *X Greca*, or *ch* in the Greek manner, as in *chimera*, likewise in Irish, as *do chím*, *do chúalas*, *do chuid*'. Initial <dh> and <gh> 'are to be pronounced like *y* Consonant', while 'in the midst and in the latter end of a word, being Aspirated, they lose, most commonly, their full force, for onely the *h*, is to be founded, as *faghail*, *teagh*, *feadh*, as if it were *faail*, *teah*, *feah*'.[31] It will be noted that Daniel does not distinguish between the pronunciation of broad and slender initial <dh> and <gh>. There follows a discussion of aspirated <f>, <s> and <t>, which are said to be pronounced /h/: '*do shúil, do thine, fhear*, as if it were *do húil, do thine, hear*'. Daniel here has confused the form of the 2 sg. possessive pronoun *do* before a vowel (*th'*

[29]For an example of <pp> for <bp> from a late seventeenth-century manuscript, see *ABM* 401.28d.

[30]For initial *bh* and *mh* as /v/ in the Irish of east Leinster, see *SnaG* 474–5. For final *mh* and *bh*, see O'Rahilly (1932: 76 n. 1).

[31]For the emergence of stressed monosyllables ending in a short vowel in Early Modern Irish and their pronunciation, see Hoyne (2016: 196–7) and Ó Murchú (1997: 184–5).

or *h'* pronounced /h/) with an initial mutation proper to *f*-. Aspiration cannot affect <l>, <n> or <r> or vowels, which is accurate enough given Daniel's orthographical definition of 'aspiration', 'but it is set still before the Vowels, as *uile*, *na huile*'. <sb>, <sd>, <sg> and <sm> are immune from aspiration. The nasalisation of vowels is briefly noted, before an informative discussion of <mh>: 'When the Letter *m* is Aspirated in the beginning of a word, it must be pronounced like *v*, Consonant, but in the latter end like *u*, Vowel, as *do mhir*, *do lámh*, as it were *do vir*, *do lau*, sound the last somewhat through the nose.' This section concludes with the statement that <ph> is to be pronounced as <f> and with notice of the use of 'one Accent over the Vowels [...] called *síne fada*, that is, *a long reach*, like *Metheg*, or *Mazze* in the Hebrew, thus noted [´]'.

The final page of the brief rules is headed *Nod. Abreviations.* and provides explanations not only for symbols such as the Tironian *et* and the ampersand but also for *n*- and *m*-strokes, ligatured letters and letters with puncta. The use of a suprascript consonant over another consonant to represent *r* + vowel is explained, as is the use of a suprascript *a* similar in form to an <n> for *ra*, and the standard abbreviation of *mac*. Daniel concludes, 'There are many other Abreviations in Irish Manuscripts, wherein our Print is deficient, therefore I am inforced to omit them'.[32] Indeed, apparently for want of a Tironian *us*-symbol, the word *agus* is frequently printed *ag9* in the book. In his typographical preferences as well as his more refined linguistic sensibility, Daniel contrasts sharply with Stapleton, for whereas the latter was eager to do away with abbreviations, Daniel made liberal use of those available to him in his book. It is unclear from this remark, however, whether Daniel would have preferred more abbreviations for the purpose of printing his own Irish text or merely for illustrative purposes in the context of an introduction to Irish spelling.

Detailed and for the most part well-organised, Daniel's rules are — despite occasional omissions and inaccuracies — an admirable treatment of Irish spelling and pronunciation. His focus is clearly on those points of Irish orthography where the correct pronunciation would not be obvious to a person literate in English. The prominence afforded by Daniel to less common spelling conventions like <fph> and <pp> may seem to us excessive. The guide to the pronunciation was probably also dialect-specific in some points (such as the treatment of <mh>). One can only regret that he did not compose his projected fuller treatment of the Irish language. Such a work might well have resembled the *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* in scope and detail — though Daniel clearly did not have the grounding in bardic grammar enjoyed by Bonaventura Ó hEódhasa and other Continental Irish Franciscans — and could have yielded valuable information on the Irish of Leinster in the mid-seventeenth century.

Daniel's rules cannot have sufficed on their own as an introduction to reading Irish even for native speakers with a reading knowledge of English, but it is a valiant attempt, particularly given his lack of advanced formal training in

[32] Queen Elizabeth's irish font was the only one available at this time.

the Irish language. One wonders whether they might have formed the basis for instruction in the Irish language in Trinity College, but there is no evidence that this was the case. The 'Brief and plain rules' do not deal with grammar, syntax or vocabulary, and one might well ask what use it would be for a learner of Irish — if Daniel really had such a reader in mind — to have mastered the sounding-out of letters without any understanding of the language itself, but as Perkins's English and Daniel's translation are presented in parallel columns, the idea may have been that the learner could use the English as a key to the Irish.[33] On the other hand, it might be that Daniel's book was bilingual in order to facilitate preaching in both languages.[34] In contrast, the Welsh translation of Perkins's work published three years earlier is monolingual.[35] This version begins with 'the Welsh Alphabet, for the Instruction of the Unlearned in that Language'. If he ever saw it, it does not appear to have had any influence on Daniel.[36]

Like other Protestant works, Daniel's translation did not circulate in manuscript, but his guide to reading Irish found some users. Andrew Sall (1612–82), who cooperated with Robert Boyle in the project to print the Irish Bible, commented in a letter of 26 October 1680, 'I find besides another larger catechism with places of scripture printed in Irish at Dublin the year 52, by one Godfrey Daniel. with rules for reading the Irish tongue short and excelent taking up no more then half a sheet of paper' (Hunter et al. 2001: 220). Lambeth Palace Library MS Sion L40.2/E22 (6) contains a copy of the rules made by the English divine, Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), probably around 1690, when he catalogued James Ware's Irish manuscripts deposited by the Earl of Clarendon in Tenison's Library in London.

[33]This is the reverse of the procedure envisaged by Stapleton, who saw the Irish as a key to understanding the Latin of his catechism (pp. [xv–xvi]).

[34]An example of bilingual preaching is recorded from 1655. Jeremy O'Quin and a companion were dispatched to preach in Connacht and Co. Clare, the former to preach in Irish and the latter in English (Seymour 1921: 108).

[35]*The Foundation of Christian Religion. Gathered into Six Principles, by Mr. William Perkins. Translated into Welsh. Whereto also is added the Welsh Alphabet, for the Instruction of the Unlearned in that Language. By E. R. Sail Crefydd Gristnogawl Wedi ei rhannu yn Chewch* [sic] *o Rannau neu Wyddorion, O Waith W.P. Wedi ei Gyfiaethu. Ir Iaith Gymráec ai osod allan. Drwy ddymuniad. E.R., London: Printed by Richard Constable, for George Calvert, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Half-Moon in Waltings-street, 1649.*

[36]The Welsh Alphabet was printed 'chiefly for their sakes who would learne to read Welsh themselves, or would instruct and teach others to reade Welsh: For many in Wales, Welshmen born, have some knowledge in the English tongue, yet know nothing in there owne language' (p. 1). The Alphabet itself takes up four pages (pp. 3–6), but is much simpler than Daniel's 'Brief and plain rules'. The Welsh letters (*Y llythyrennau Cymraec*) are listed three times (roman lower-case, italic lower-case and roman upper-case). The absence of <k>, <q>, <x> and <z> is briefly discussed (p. 3). The rest of the Alphabet is devoted to 'The Sound of the Letters', which are discussed in alphabetical order. Following the Welsh alphabet, <ng> follows <g> and precedes <h>. After the long discussion of <y> and before <w>, there is a brief discussion of hiatus or non-hiatus when <i> precedes a vowel (p. 6).

1663 S. D.[37]

In 1663 in Louvain, an Irish-language catechism based largely on previous works by Bonaventura Ó hEódhasa and Antoin Gearnon was published by 'S. D.', identified as John Dowley (the Irish form of his name was probably Seán Ó Dubhlaoich, though the spelling Ó Dúlaidh is found in manuscripts), abbot of Killamanagh (?), Co. Galway, in 1645, vicar-general of Killala in 1676. Unsurprisingly, in the preface, Dowley reveals the primary focus of the work to be meeting the catechetical needs of children, whose education has been retarded by an oppressive Protestant regime (pp. iii–vi). He also expresses the hope that the book will reach parts of Ireland now inaccessible to the clergy (and in this context even makes reference to Gaelic Scotland and to Irish-speakers in the Americas). Presumably he was relying on literate lay people to carry out the instruction in places not served by ecclesiastics.

This short and simple didactic work concludes with nine pages headed *Mionghraimer le na ccuidighthear lais an aós óg teacht chum Gaoidheilge do leughadh, agas do sgriobhadh* 'A little grammar by which the young may be aided to learn to read and write Irish' (pp. 86–94). The first paragraph exhorts those who wish to learn Irish to pay attention to the rules set out in the grammar, which presumably were transmitted to them by oral instruction.[38] The second states that the most important thing for the learner to master is the proper sound of the vowels in combination (*an foghar dílios bhiós ag na guthaighibh ghreamaigheas dá cheíle*). There follows an alphabet in the standard Latin order with <h> after <g>, and <k>, <x>, <y> and <z> included. <u> and <v> are not distinguished, only the former being given.

Following this, common abbreviations, symbols and ligatures are explained in four columns. These include *æ. i. ae*, the Tironian *quia* symbol for Irish <ar>, the use of suprascript vowels and the punctum, tall <e>, ligatured <rr>, etc. Though the likes of *dro*, *dru*, etc. are explained, no suprascript vowels except <i> and suprascript <a> are actually printed here (pp. 86–7). The use of a stroke (*sdríoc*) over a vowel to indicate that the vowel is long is described, as is the use of suprascript vowels to indicate *r* + the given vowel, and the puncta (*na puingcsin*, p. 87).

This is followed by a short treatise (*trachda* [sic]) on vowels and consonants, divided into chapters. The first concerns the number of letters (seventeen). <h> is not a letter proper but *comhartha na hanála*, while <x>, <y> and <z> are mere 'pilgrims' (*oilithrigh*) from the Greeks. Similarly, there is no use for <k> and <q> as their sounds are the same as *.c. ar na cheangal dailm, nó dúr. eadhon .a. nó .u.*, '*c* attached to *ailm* or to *úr*, that

[37] *Suim bhunudhasach an Teaguisg Chriosdaidhe, a bpros agus a ndán. Maille re hoifig spioradálta an chreidmhigh gach laé; 7 lé húrnaighthibh caoíndúthrachtacha eile roimh fhaoísidin is roimh chumaoíneach, agus ina ndiáigh. Farré clár na bpeacadh fhoghnas roimh fhaoísidin. Ar na ttarrang, agus ar ná gcur a mach a nois ga nuádh lé S. D. Imperitos docete liberè. Esdrae 1 cap. 7 ver. 25. Audiens sapiens sapientior erit. Prov. 1 ver. 5. Agus ar na chur i gcló i gcoláisti na mbráthar mionúr nÉireannach i Lobháin maille le húghdarras. 1663.*

[38] *Béaloideas* is S. D.'s term for oral instruction (p. iv).

is *a* or *u* [*ca* and *cu*]' (pp. 87–8). Note that the letter-names used in the last quotation have not been previously introduced.

The second chapter concerns the vowels only. The vowel is defined as 'a letter that makes a sound without the support of a consonant' (*litir do ní guth gan congnamh connsoine*), of which there are five, three broad and two slender, but these appear in great number by combining with one another (*tiaghaid a niomad nairimh lé na ccoimhcheangal*), wording which recalls Ó Kearnaigh's *coimhcheangail*. When two vowels combine (*An tan ghreamaigheas dá ghuthaighe dá chéile*), these are termed *deafhoghraich*, of which there are twelve (<ae>, <ao>, <ai>, <oi>, <ua>, <ui>, <ea>, <eo>, <eu>, <ia>, <io> and <iu>); he then defines the 'triphthongs', of which there are five (<aoi>, <uai>, <eoi>, <iai>, and <iui>). It is then stated that the poets (*na filidhe*) divide these into five classes (*a ccúig aicmeadhuibh*), quoting the verse beginning *Ceithri hamharchuill riomhthar ann*, but gives only four *éabha* rather than Daniel's five. These five classes are then listed with examples in a table like that in Daniel's 'Brief and plain rules'; unlike in Daniel, the ordering follows that of the verse and <éi> is given as if it was part of the vowel-combinations beginning with *o-* (pp. 88–9). There follows a note stating that <ei> has not been counted above: *gidheadh atá urdail ris gach ndeafhoghrach oile do brígh, 7 dfhoghar aice*, 'however, it corresponds to all the other diphthongs as regards force and sound'. I do not understand this statement. The 'triphthongs' are said to be long by nature, as are <ao>, <ua>, <eu> and <ia>, while the eight remaining diphthongs (*an tochdar eile*) may be long or short according to the quantity of the syllable (*do réir chaindidheachta an tshiolla a mbíd*) (p. 89). This chapter concludes with the observation that these vowel-combinations produce a single sound, so that in a single syllable *fear* is not to be pronounced as *fe.ar.* nor *crúaidh* as *cru.aidh* (p. 90), a potentially problematic aspect of Irish orthography also brought out in Stapleton.

The third chapter treats of consonants. A consonant is defined as a letter that makes a sound when combined with a vowel and that cannot make a sound on its own (*litear do ní foghar ar na ceangal do ghuthaighe agus leis nach éidir foghar do dhéanamh na haónar*). These are twelve in number, of which <h> 'seizes' nine (*gabhaidh .h. greim do naói cconnsoinibh dhióbh*). <h> cannot seize <l>, <n> or <r>, while in speech (*san chanamhain*), <fh> is silent. When <t> precedes <s>, the latter has no value except that of <h> (as in *ón tslighe*). The statement that <sh> is pronounced like <h> elsewhere too is rather clumsily expressed (*brígh .h. a mhain bhíos ann gach áit oile aca*) (pp. 90–1). The discussion of the realisation of <th> reflects the tension between the conservative written standard and spoken word, but the point is not well explained:

> Th. foghar .h. a mháin bhíos aca ar uairibh, foghar díleas .t. ar uairibh oile, marbhthar, buailtear. Leighthear na focailsi ar an modhsa mar nach bíadh .f. na .s. na .t. na ttús fa íon. fa húil. marbh-har, 7cra (p. 91)

> 'Th sometimes only has the sound *h*, sometimes the proper sound of *t*, [as in] *marbhthar*, *buailtear*. These words are read in this way, as if there was no *f* or *s* or *t* at the beginning of them: *fa íon* [= *fhíon*], *fa húil* [= *shúil*], *marbh-har* [= *marbhthar*], etc.'

The point with regard to the pronunciation of <th> is that the passive verbal ending *-th(e)ar* (as in *marbhthar*), which is normally pronounced as if written *-h(e)ar*, is in certain circumstances (after *-d*, *-dh*, *-l*, *-n*, *-t*, *-th*, *-s*) pronounced (but, as here, generally also written!) *-t(e)ar* (as in *buailtear*), something also discussed in the *Rudimenta* (Mac Aogáin 1967: ll. 239–42).

<gh> and <dh> are said to rarely have any value in the middle or end of a word (so that *fághail*, *cneadh* and *breadha* are to be pronounced as if written *fáail*, *cnea* and *breaa*),[39] but here again a concern with sandhi phenomena surfaces as the condition is added *muna tteagmhaid a ccorp comhfhocail, nó greama comhfhocail* 'unless they happen to be within a nominal compound or the juncture of prefix and the noun with which it is compounded' (p. 91). The technical terms *comhfhocal* (a 'proper' compound, like *grian* 'river-bed' + *sruth* 'stream' → *grianruth* '(shallow) stream on a river-bed', where the discrete elements can function as words in their own right) and *greim comhfhocail* (a 'quasi-compound', where a prefix which cannot occur outside of composition combines with a word that can exist non-compounded to alter its meaning, as in the negative prefix *di-* + *buan* 'permanent' → *diombuan* 'impermanent') are not explained here. These terms are known from bardic didactic works and, indeed, occur in *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae*,where the examples above are used to illustrate them (Mac Aogáin 1967: ll. 471–7 and Mac Cárthaigh 2014: 183). By mentioning these here, Dowley has in mind sandhi environments in which *dh* and *gh* will be de-lenited (and de-voiced), e.g. in *deaghchlann*, which was realised in Classical Modern Irish poetry as if written *deaclann*, though such changes are relevant to other consonants too.

<ph> is dispatched with little comment — it is said to regularly (*do ghnath*) have the value of <f>, and no exceptions are given — before Dowley turns to <bh>.

> An bhrígh bhíos ag a.u. [*sic*?] a Laidin ré nguthaighe, nó na ndhiáigh: an brígh cheadhna bhíos ag .bh. san nGaoidhilg roimhe guthaighe, nó na dhiaigh, vale: san bhaile. An bhrígh a tá ag .u. san siolla Laidnesi, arva, an bhrigh cheadna bhíos ag .bh. a ndiaigh chonnsoine san nGaoidhilg, balbh, arbhar, 7cra. (p. 91)
>
> 'The value that *au* [*sic*?] has in Latin before or after a vowel, *bh* in Irish has the same value before or after a vowel, [as in] *vale*, *san bhaile*. The value that *u* has in the Latin syllable, *arva*, *bh* has the same value after a consonant in Irish, [as in] *balbh*, *arbhar*, etc.'

<mh> proves more problematic.

[39] Cf. *Vulgo iam corrupta pronuntiatione vix ullum sonum edunt, ita ut haec vox v.g.* faghail *legitur* faail (Mac Aogáin 1967: ll. 109–11.)

> An bhrigh cheadna, bhíos ag .mh. acht gurab truime dhorcha a fogharsa, a mháin, lamh, ní bhi brigh san chanamhuin ar úairibh ag .m[h]. cuimhne doimhne, domhnach cantar íad mar de [*sic*] bheidís sgriobhtha ar an modhsa: cúine, doíne, dónach.
>
> '*Mh* has the same value [as *bh*], except that its sound is heavier and darker, [as in] *a-mháin*, *lámh*; in speech *m*[*h*] sometimes does not have any value, [as in] *cuimhne*, *doimhne*, *domhnach*; these are said as if they were written in the following way: *cuíne*, *doíne*, *dónach*.'

If Dowley was indeed a Connachtman (probably from Galway or Mayo), as seems most likely, the pronunciation of medial palatal <mh> given here is somewhat surprising as it is normally pronounced /v/ in Connacht today (*SnaG* 554–5), but there are a handful of words in which palatal <mh> is lost with compensatory vowel-lengthening (including, in some parts of Galway, *cuimhne*) and it may be that Dowley meant to indicate that only a handful of words are pronounced in this way. Dr Brian Ó Curnáin informs me that the pronunciation denoted by <doíne> may point to south-east Galway (Wagner 1958: 109), where the surname Dowley is common.

<ch> is said to have the same value as in Latin, as illustrated by Latin *Chorus Enoch* and Irish *an chora Eanach* (p. [92]).[40]

Though he does not advertise the change of focus, Dowley now turns his attention to nasalised letters, treating first of <mb>.

> An tan teagmhaid, mb. ar gualainn a chéile [a] neíntshiolla tosaigh focail, ní bhí brígh ag .b. san chanamhain a nuairsin, ar mbrathair, ar mbél, ar mbúachaill.
>
> 'When *m* and *b* meet together in one syllable at the beginning of a word, *b* has no value in speech then, [as in] *ar mbráthair*, *ar mbél*, *ar mbuachaill*.'

<bp>, <cc> and <gc>, <nd>, <bf>, <dt> and <tt> and finally <ng> are dealt with in much the same manner, but in the case of <ng> we are told that it has a 'single sound without division' (*aon fhoghar a mháin gan roinn*).

<rr>, <ll> and <nn> are the subject of the next paragraph (pp. 92–3). These normally have a 'strong sound' (*foghar laidir*). Medial or final <nd> or <dn> (in *ceand*, *peand* and *cēadna*) have the value of <nn>, while <ln> and <dl> have the value of <ll> (*codladh*/*colladh* and *colna*/*colla*). <ld> is not discussed, probably because Dowley did not himself use it in his catechism. The next paragraph returns to <ng> but this time a non-initial example is also included (*ar ngealla*, *ar tteanga*). There follows a general comment on syllabification arising out of the repetition of the rule that <ng> is to be pronounced as a single unit:

[40]Numbered 29 through a typographical error.

> An connsoine bhíos a lár focail, ris an tfhiolla [*sic*] bhíos roimhe as coír a cheangal: ghidheadh más comhfocal é, as don tshiolla thig na dhíaigh as coir a cheangal. (p. 93)
>
> 'A consonant in the middle of a word, it should be connected with the syllable before it; however, if it is a compound, it should be connected to the syllable that follows after it.'

This is another manifestation of the author's concern with sandhi phenomena. Though no examples are provided at this point, Dowley seems to have in mind the likes of *maca* (acc. pl. 'sons', where <c> belongs to the first syllable) and *maiceal* (*mac* + *geal*, where <c> belongs to the second syllable). He continues on this theme in a new paragraph.

> An tan bhíos níos a lía ina aonchonnsoine ann, leanaid don tshiolla théid rompa an tan as féidir é go hoireamhnach, ⁊ an tan nach fheídir, roinntear idir dhá shiolla iád, marcach: sanntach, siubhlach, súaimhneach. Greamaighid na connsoine teanda .i. rr. ll. nn. ng. don tsiolla bhíos rompa; barrshlim, mallghlór, ceainnlíaith [*sic*].
>
> 'When there is more than one consonant, they adhere to the syllable that precedes them when that can be done conveniently, and when it cannot, they are divided between two syllables [as in] *marcach*, *sanntach*, *siubhlach*, *súaimhneach*. The firm consonants, i.e. *rr*, *ll*, *nn, ng*, attach to the syllable that precedes them [as in] *barrshlim*, *mallghlór*, *ceinnliath*.'

When Dowley writes of 'one consonant' (*aonchonnsoine*), he is thinking in terms of consonant-graphs, and so feels the need to specify that <rr>, <ll>, <nn> and <ng>, which signify single sounds, are not subject to the same 'breaking' that can take places in the clusters <rc>, <nt>, <bhl> and <mhn>; the 'firm consonants' can 'conveniently' (*go hoireamhnach*) be pronounced as part of the first syllable, though they are written with more than one letter. The mention of 'firm consonants' leads Dowley to remark on the consonant-classes, which have only now been introduced into the discussion:

> Roinntear na connsoine a sé haicmeadhaibh ar nach laibheoram ann so, oír as a nealadhain an dána atá riachdanas riú.
>
> 'The consonants are divided into six classes, which I will not discuss here, because they are [only] needed in the art of bardic poetry.'

The acknowledgement of this omission and the reference to the work of bardic poets triggers a rush of other technical terms:

> Da bhfhiafraighthea cread bheanas dona litribh gan a bhfhoghar díleas do bhéith aca do ghnáth? a deirim gurab iád. báthodh

> guthaighe, 7 connsoine cumhachta h. 7 connsoine, cadad, 7 uirrdhiughadh as cionntach riú. (pp. 93–4)
>
> 'If one were to ask what deprives letters of having their proper sound in general, I say that the elision of vowels and consonants, the power of <h> with consonants, delenition, and eclipsis are responsible for them.'

The guide then concludes in a similar spirit to Ó Kearnaigh's endorsement of the bardic schools:

> Gí bé lér ab mían a bhfhios so dfhaghail, go foírleathan leaghadh an gramadach gaoidhilge ina ttráchdar orra fa seach. (p. 94)
>
> 'Whoever wishes to know about these in depth, let him read the Irish grammar in which they are separately discussed.'[41]

This is presumably a reference to *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* or something similar, in which all of these topics are indeed treated. Indeed, Dowley's *cumhachta h* looks like a rough translation of *potestas aspirationis h in consonantes* (Mac Aogáin 1968: ll. 70–81).

Towards the end of his short grammar, Dowley seems to lose control of his material, introducing new technical terms only to refuse to explain them, and he struggles throughout to synthesise the larger grammatical work (most probably *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae*) with which he was familiar. His debt to the Latin grammatical tradition is obvious too in his definitions of 'vowel' and 'consonant' and terms such as *cainnigheacht* 'quantity' — unusual in these guides — and the emphasis placed on syllabification. A proficient teacher might have made good use of this guide in instructing the young, but the guide itself is too concerned with complications it does not explain to be regarded as a success in its own right.

1680 short catechism[42]

The project to finally print the entire Irish Bible was driven by Robert Boyle, who arranged for a new type (Moxon), based on that of Louvain, to replace Queen Elizabeth's irish type. The first fruits of this renewed interest in publishing in Irish on the part of the Restoration Protestant establishment in Ireland was a short catechism of only fourteen spaciously laid-out pages printed in London in 1680. The work was published anonymously, though it may have been overseen by Andrew Sall, assistant to Boyle in the Irish Bible enterprise.[43]

[41] Note here the use of *gramadach* rather than *graiméar* to refer to a work of grammar.

[42] *An Teagasg Criosduighe: as cóir do nuile dhuine dfoghluim, suil cuirfighther fa láimh easbuig é. Ar na chur a ccló, a Lunnduin a ttigh Robert Ebheringam, an bliadhain daois an Tighearna 1680.*

[43] In connection with the publishing of the complete Bible in Irish, a page explaining Irish typography is found pasted into some copies of the 1685 Old Testament. This is not so much a guide to reading Irish as a guide to traditional Irish characters, and is probably to be associated with copies sent to Scotland in 1688. The contrast with the alphabet accompanying the 1818 New Testament (p. 263 below) is informative.

As has already been mentioned (p. 234) above), Sall thought highly of Daniel's rules, and their influence is quite obvious in the 1680 guide to reading Irish, but in the terminology we may have some echoes too of Dowley's 1663 grammar: both the 1663 and 1680 guides call themselves a *graiméar*, and in both we find *comhartha na hanála* and the idiom *gabhaidh h greim* '*h* seizes' to describe lenition. Whoever composed this guide was not a product of the bardic schools, which were in any event all but dead by this period; not only does he make little use of native technical terminology, but his own spelling shows several features that would have been unacceptable to native scholars.

The 1680 catechism, like Ó Kearnaigh's 1571 book, is clearly designed for the classroom: the title-page indicates that it is for use in preparation for confirmation and the question-and-answer dialogue is presented as an exchange between *An Maighisdir* 'the master' and *An Scoláir* 'the scholar', whom the master addresses as *a leinibh* 'O child' (p. 10). The short grammar which begins the book (*Grammeir aithghearr na Goidhilge*, pp. 1–3)[44] is clearly pitched at a less advanced audience than Daniel's rules.

It begins with an alphabet (without letter-names) of eighteen letters (<x> is included) each of which is given twice (upper-case and lower-case), except for <a>, which is given three times (two forms of capital <a> and a lower-case form). There follows a list of the lenited consonants which are explained (lenited *b* is glossed *i. bh* etc.), as is the <e> caudata (*i. ea*), tall <e> with a length mark (*i. éa*), ligatured <e> + <c> (*i. eac*), the Tironian *quia*-symbol with suprascript <i> for *air* (but not the simple *ar*-symbol), the Tironian *et*, <u> + subscript *i*, ligatured <a> + <ó> (*i. áo*), <tt> (*i. d*) and <cc> (*i. g*). The *n*-stroke is not explained, though it is used in the grammar; it would presumably be familiar from contemporary English and Latin books.

The first sentence declares that there are eighteen letters and lists them again, and <h> is excluded from the list (*Ní litir, h, acht comhartha na hanála*, '*H* is not a letter but the mark of aspiration'). The vowels are listed and subdivided into broad and slender. We are told that 'diphthongs' (*deafhoghraigh*) and 'triphthongs' (*treafhoghraigh*) are formed from combinations of vowels (*do na guthaighibh arna ccoimhcheangal ré chéile*) — wording which recalls Ó Kearnaigh's *coimhcheangail* 'combinations' — and are to be pronounced as single sounds. The number of 'diphthongs' is given as thirteen, of which <áe>, <áo>, <eó>, <éu>, <ía> and <úa> are always long and <ai>, <ea>, <ia>, <io>, <oi> and <ui> are short or long. This gives us only twelve 'diphthongs': short <iu> and <eo> (in *fiuchadh* and *deoch*, for example) find no place in this list.[45] In addition, the classification of <ia> as a short diphthong must be a mistake. Five long triphthongs are given (<aói>, <eói>, <iái>, <iúi>, <uái>).

[44] <mm> here and the want of a palatal glide-vowel presumably reflect the influence of English <grammar>.

[45] Both Ó Kearnaigh and Daniel omit examples of short *eo* in their treament of vowels. Ó Kearnaigh does not have <ei> at all and it is added as if as an afterthought by Dowley in 1663.

There are said to be twelve consonants, nine — <b>, <c>, <d>, <f>, <g>, <m>, <p>, <s>, <t> — which <h> can 'seize' (*a naói dá ngabhann, h, greim*) and three to which <h> is never 'attached' (*dá nach cceangaltar, h, go bráth*), viz. <l>, <n> and <r>. <bh> and <mh> are said to have the sound-value of *u, connsoin* '*v*, consonant'. This recourse to a metalingual 'consonantal <v>' as a guide to pronunciation anticipates the reference to English in the discussion of the pronunciation of <dh> and <gh>: *ní mór nach brígh, y, sa mbéurla bhíos aca*, 'it is almost the power of *y* in English that they have'; this represents something of a departure from the 1652 rules, which gave <h> as an approximation for medial <gh> and <dh>. Following Daniel, Latin (*ch sa laidin*) and Greek (*x sa ngréigis*) are introduced to explain the sound of <ch>. <fh> is said to have no value, while <ph> is pronounced like <f>. <sh> and <th> are pronounced like <h>.

Daniel's influence is obvious again in the treatment of the initial mutations: *An tan do churthar connsoin roimhe chonnsoin shealbhuighe a nfocail, ní bhíonn brígh ag an cconnsoin shealbhuighe, mar atá, príosún, a bpríosún, nó a bríosún*, 'When a consonant is put in front of the radical consonant of a word, the radical consonant has no value, as in, *príosún*, *a bpríosún* or *a bríosún*.' (Note that the term *consoin sealbhuighe* here is not explained; presumably the school-master would have encountered this phrase or Daniel's similar *liter shealbhuighthe* in the course of his own education.) Further examples are given to illustrate the pronunciation of nasalisation of *c*, *d*, *f*, *g* and *p*; *t, roimhe s* '*t* before *s*'; and nasalisation of *t*. We are further told that <h>, <n> or <t> can be placed on vowels (*i. arán, a harán, a narán, an tarán* 'i.e. bread, her bread, their bread, the bread'). Here again we see some important improvements on Daniel's rules: there is nothing corresponding to his *dfóghluim*, which confused the issue of initial mutations by treating initial <d> as a mutation, or *fphobul* (more usually spelt <ph>-), and several points omitted in Daniel's treatment are supplied. Perhaps because of the inclusion of <fph> and <pp>, Daniel neglected to treat of <bp>, and he makes no mention of *h*- and *t*-prothesis. In defence of Daniel, of course, it could be said that his guide was concerned with differences between Irish and English pronunciation of letters: the pronunciation of *an t-arán* requires no special introduction in this regard, while the pronunciation of the <dt> of *dtáeibh* does. The treatment of <nd> in the 1680 catechism also departs from Daniel's rules: *Agus nd, a lár, nó a ndeireadh focail, brígh nn, bhíos aca*, 'And *nd* in the middle or at the end of a word, they have the value of *nn*'. <cc> and <tt> are again said to stand for <g> and <d> respectively. Daniel's <pp> is not mentioned.

There follow two columns of syllables (*ba, be, bi, bo, bu* parallel with *bha, bhe, bhi, bho bhu* etc.) concluding with three lines of monosyllablic pairs in the second column that differ from one another in their initial (*baóth, maóth*; *maóin, caóin* etc.). These look to be rudimentary reading or spelling exercises. If so, this is the first occasion on which spelling exercises for Irish appeared in print.[46]

[46]These may have been inspired by the syllable-based spelling and reading exercises familiar in contemporary English-language printing. See, for example, Thomas Lye's *A New Spelling Book:*

No doubt the effectiveness of these rules would depend much on the teacher, for they were clearly designed as a teaching aid. In some respects they appear rather badly conceived: references to English pronunciation seem out of place in a guide designed to be used by someone who could already read Irish. Though indebted to Daniel's rules of 1652 and much shorter than that manual, the *Grammeir* improves on some aspects of its antecedent, silently correcting a few instances of confusion and adhering to more widely accepted orthographical norms (as in the omission of Daniel's <fph> and <pp>). But the *Grammeir* does more than synthesise and refine Daniel's rules: it also expands on the earlier work in points (by addressing *t*-prothesis on *s*-, for instance). The focus of the *Grammeir* is still very much on spelling and pronunciation — this is not a 'grammar' of Irish in any modern sense — but there is an inchoate attempt to provide a fuller account of Irish grammatical phenomena in the treatment of *h*- and *t*-prothesis (and *n*- before a vowel) that is not motivated by any comparison with another language or any particular difficulty in relating spelling to pronunciation: by connecting these changes of spelling more clearly not only to changes in pronunciation but also to changes in meaning, the author of the 1680 grammar takes the first step in such a guide — admittedly quite a small step — towards a proper functional account of mutations in Irish, towards grammatical analysis rather than the mere relation of symbols to sounds.

Richardson's efforts

In 1711, John Richardson (1669–1747), rector of Annagh in the parish of Belturbet, Co. Cavan from 1709, had published a volume of Irish-language sermons.[47] All of these were translations from English, except perhaps the first, which may be Richardson's own composition. The other sermons were Irish renderings of sermons by John Tillotson (1630–94) and William Beveridge (1637–1708), translated by Richardson's assistants, Philip Mág Brádaigh and Seón Ó Maolchonaire. Richardson was born in Co. Tyrone and educated in Trinity College, but he was not a native speaker of the language; nonetheless he was at the forefront of efforts to encourage greater use of Irish by the Established Church in Ireland from around 1709. He learnt the language himself and used it in preaching, though his own efforts in the language reveal that he did not attain complete fluency.[48]

For our purposes the portion of the 1711 work that is of interest is the alphabet (18 letters including <h> but with no letter-names) and the list of contractions (the *sed*-symbol for *achd*; the *air*-symbol; tall <e> + <c>; <e> caudata; tall <e> + length-mark and *n*-stroke) beneath their expansions and a

or, Reading and Spelling English made easie. Wherein all the Words of our English Bible Are set down in an Alphabetical order, and divided into their distinct Syllabls (1677), a reworking of a book originally published in 1673 (Alston 1969).

[47] [Upper title] *Seanmora ar na Priom Phoncibh, na Chreideamh. Ar na Ttaruing go Gaidhlig, agus ar na Ccur a Ccló a Lunnduin Tre Ebhlin Everingham, 1711*; [lower title] *Sermons on the Principal Points of Religion, translated into Irish. London: Printed by Elinor Everingham, 1711.*

[48] For Richardson's life, see Williams (1986: 104–18) and Morley (2009).

list of dotted consonants beneath their respective consonants combined with <h>, and finally <u> + subscript <i>. These are printed at the end of the book without comment and recall the list of abbreviations in Daniel and the alphabet in the 1680 catechism.

A year later Richardson published an edition of John Lewis's *The Church Catechism Explain'd* (first published in 1700), to which he added an Irish translation,[49] another shorter catechism,[50] and his revised edition of the 1608 Irish Book of Common Prayer (for parts of which the English text is also provided),[51] all three of which include his 'Elements of the Irish Language'. The 'Elements' are placed towards the beginning in the catechisms and at the end of the Book of Common Prayer. On the title-page of the 1712 *Church Catechism Explain'd*, he refers to these 'Elements' as 'Brief and Plain rules for reading the Irish language', phrasing which recalls Daniel's 1652 manual, with which Richardson was evidently familiar.

The 'Elements' is divided into three numbered sections, the first 'Of the Letters', the second 'Of the Vowels, Dipthongs, and Tripthongs', and the third 'Of the Consonants'. The first section begins with a table of eighteen Irish letters. The Irish letter-names are given, followed by their 'figure' and their pronunciation, which is indicated by an English letter and sometimes by additional information: for example, Irish <a> is to be pronounced as <a> 'Lat. or Fr.', but 'g' is to be pronounced as in 'Gr[eek]'. Presumably the comparison with Greek in the last item is meant to avoid a realisation of <g> as a post-alveolar /dʒ/ (as in English 'huge' or in contemporary Latin *regina*). In the case of one letter (Irish <u>), the English character <u> is given as its pronunciation followed by 'oo Eng.'

[49][Upper title] *The Church Catechism explain'd by way of question and answer; and confirm'd by scripture proofs: collected by John Lewis, Minister of Margate in Kent. And Render'd into Irish, by John Richardson, Minister of Belturbet in Ireland, Chaplain to His Grace James Duke of Ormond, and St George Lord Bishop of Clogher, 1712*; [lower title] *Caitecism na heaglaise minighthe, ar mhodh Cheiste agus Fhreagra, 7 c. Do comhchruingheadh ré Séon Leomhuis, 7 c. Agus do cuireadh a Ngaoidheilg, Ré Séon Riochardson Ministeir Bhealturbet a nEirinn, 7 Seiplin dá ghrás Seumas Dhuice Ormhudhan, 7 do St Seoirse Easbuc Chlochair*; [small imprint] *London, Printed by E. Everingham, at the seven Stars in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Ludgate, 1712*; [main imprint] *A Lunndain, Ar na chur a gcló ré E. Ebheriongham, ag na seacht Realt a Sráid-Abhé-Mháiria, 1712*; [secondary title] *Prayers for the use of the Charity-Schools. London: Printed by Eleanor Everingham, at the Seven Stars in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Ludgate, 1712. Ornaigh lé haghaidh usaide na Scol Charthanais. A Lunnduin: Ar na chur a gcló ré Eleanor Ebheriongham, ag na seachd Realt a Sráid Abhe Máiria, 1712.*

[50][Upper title] *A Catechism, That is to say, An Instruction to be Learned of every Person, before he be brought to be Confirmed by the Bishop. To which are prefixed Brief and Plain Rules For reading the Irish language. London, Printed by E. Everingham, at the Seven Stars in Ave-Mary-Lane near Ludgate*; [lower title] *Teagasg-Criosdaighe, eadhon léighean is cóir do gach uile phearsoinn do fhogluim, sul béarfar é chum a chomhdhaingnidh ré heasboc. Maille re Riaghlachaibh athchoimire, agus sothuigse chum na Teanga Gaoidheilge do léaghadh. A Lunnduin, Ar na chur a gcló ré E. Ebheriongham, ag na seacht Realt a Sráid-Abhé-Máiria.*

[51]*Leabhar na Nornaightheadh Ccomhchoitchionn, agas mhiniostralachda na sacraimeinteadh, agas Reachtadh agas Dheasghnáth oile na Neaglaise, Do réir usáide Eaglaise na Sacsan; Maille ris an Tsaltair no Psalmuibh Dhaibhidh. Ar na Bpunnchadh mur Cantar no raidhtior iad a Tteampollaibh. A Lunnduin: Ar na chur a gcló ré E. Ebheriongham, ag na seacht Realt a Sráid-Abhé-Máiria, [1712].*

In the second numbered section, the vowels are subdivided into broad and slender, from which thirteen 'dipthongs' and five 'tripthongs' can be formed. The thirteen 'dipthongs' have been met with already in the 1680 catechism, but Richardson has the full complement. Richardson quotes the quatrain beginning *Ceithre hamharchuill ríomhthar ann*, first printed in Daniel's rules, and he then gives examples of the traditional classes of vowel digraphs with the addition of English names: *amharchuill* are 'Apthongs', *Eabha* 'Ephthongs', *Ifíne* 'Iphthongs', *Oir* is an 'Ophthong', and the three *Uilleanna* become 'Upthongs'. The English names for these vowel-graph classes are found later in Mac Curtin's Grammar (1728: 21–2), borrowed (without acknowledgement) from Francis Walsh's English-language Irish grammar of 1713 (see, for example, King's Inn MS 24, p. 18), on which much of Mac Curtin's *Elements* is based (Mac Aogáin 1968: xv–xvi). Under each category Richardson gives the number of digraphs and trigraphs. <ao> gives him pause: 'This Dipthong is always long, and hath a peculiar sound not used in any other Language that I know; which may be learned by the Ear'. In the Irish of north-west Co. Cavan as recorded in the early twentieth century, <ao> was normally pronounced [iː] (sometimes [eː]) (Ó Tuathail 1934: 1–2), which could hardly have given Richardson so much trouble; he may have been referring to the pronunciation [ɾːˠ], which was recorded in his native Co. Tyrone in the twentieth century (O'Rahilly 1932: 27; Stockman and Wagner 1965: 183).[52]

The section on vowels concludes with three notes. The first describes an orthographical feature that has become general in Modern Irish: '1. Note, That these Dipthongs *ae*, *ao*, *eo*, *eu*, *ia*, and all Tripthongs are long, and therefore need not be marked with an acute in Writing or print.' The second note makes clear that two or three vowel-graphs together are not to be pronounced with hiatus: '2. Note, That all Vowels coming together without a consonant interposing, make but one Syllable.' The third concerns the 'accent' (that is, the length-mark).

The section on consonants begins:

> The Consonants when they are single, have the same force in Irish, as in English: only *c* is always pronounced as k; and *s* before *e* or *i* is pronounced as sh; but before a, o, u it hath the same power with an English s.

<cc> is said to be pronounced like <g>; <tt> as <t>; and <nd> as <n>. 'Likewise, when *d* is placed before l, it hath the force of another l; and *ln* are read as two lls, e.g. *codlah*, to Sleep, is read as *collah*; and *colna*, of the Body, as *colla*.'

The description of <ng> *Niatul* is similar to that in Daniel's rules but whereas Daniel confined the pronunciation in question to <ng> in initial position, Richardson's example allows it internally also: '*ng*, called *Niatul* in Irish, is for the most part pronounced as ɣɣ in the Greek; so *Aingeal*, is pronounced as *a*ɣɣ*e*λ.'

[52]Of course, it may be that the twentieth-century pronunciation of <ao(i)> in Glangevlin does not represent the pronunciation current in Richardson's day.

Richardson now turns to lenition. Indulging in some linguistic ethnography, he opines, 'The Irish do not delight much in Consonants, and therefore *h* is frequently added to *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *m*, *p*, *s*, *t*, to soften the Language.' This reference to 'softening' is to be connected with the Irish term *séimhiughadh*. Initial and medial <bh> and <mh> 'have the force of v Consonant' but in final position 'they, (and especially *mh*) are pronounced a little flatter, when they come after *a* or *e*'. For <ch> he makes no reference to Latin, giving only Greek <χ>. In his treatment of <dh> and <gh>, Richardson attempts to reconcile the sound-value given by Daniel (/h/) with that of the 1680 *Graimmeir* (an English <y>):

> *dh* and *gh*, (which are often used indifferently for one another,) have sometimes in the beginning, and middle of a word, the force of y. and sometimes they have a pronounciation, which is better learned by the Ear, than any description that can be given of it. But always in the End, and commonly in the middle of a word, they are pronounced only as *h*.

<fh> is said to be silent, while <ph> is to be pronounced as in English. <sh> and <th> are to be pronounced as <h>, as in *shuil* and *thomas*.

The indebtedeness to Daniel is particularly obvious in the discussion of nasalisation:

> The variation of a word in Number, Case, or Tense, is very often indicated by adding a different Consonant to the Initial one; and then the Initial Consonant (called *litir shealbhuighthe*, i, e the possessive Letter, because it possesseth the first place in the Nominative Case, or present Tense indicative) is quiescent, and the additional only pronounced; thus *pobul* in the Nominative, is altered into *bpobul* in the Ablative, the *p* not being pronounced: but the Initial or Possessive Letter is always written, to shed the Primitive, or Radix of the word.

Richardson concludes with some practical advice on the difficulties of mastering Irish pronunciation:

> The greatest difficulty of Reading, or speaking Irish consists in pronouncing *dh*, *gh*, and the Dipthongs and Tripthongs aright; but this is readily attained by a little instruction by the Ear, and Practice; whereby the Pronunciation of the Language is rendered easy and agreeable, there being much use made of Vowels, and little of Consonants in it.

The 'Elements' then concludes with a list of 'abbreviations' used in the book (the Tironian *et*, the *air*-symbol, the dotted consonants, etc.).

While it is possible that Richardson hoped his 'Elements' might aid Irish preachers illiterate in their native language, it seems likely that he was in fact

focusing on the needs of English-speaking clergymen like himself who wished to learn Irish so as to make use of the preaching and liturgical aids he was making available to them. He was in an excellent position to know their needs, having himself learnt the language, and provides them with good practical advice on pronunciation (the treatment of <ng>, for instance) and reading more generally (the interchange of <dh> and <gh>, for example). Though he allows himself comparisons to English, Latin, French and Greek, he still struggles to accurately describe some details of Irish pronunciation (probably the dialect of Tyrone, possibly of Cavan).

Perhaps like Daniel, Richardson may have expected an English-speaking person unschooled in Irish to work his way through the rules first and then use the published translations to make further headway in mastering the language. In his edition of the Book of Common Prayer, Richardson gives part of the liturgy in both English and Irish; for the rest (the epistles, gospels and psalms), his readers would have had easy access to the English text. Though the 1711 collection of sermons does not contain a guide to reading Irish beyond the few symbols and contractions explained at the back of the book, one wonders whether the decision to translate sermons was meant to facilitate the learning of Irish by English-speakers in the same way, though on that occasion — for reasons unclear to me — the English was not printed.

Hutchinson's catechism[53]

Like Richardson, Francis Hutchinson, Anglican bishop of Down and Connor, was not a native speaker of Irish, but unlike Richardson he never approached fluency in the language. He was born in England, in Derbyshire, in 1660. His 1722 bilingual catechism (in which the Irish and English are presented in parallel columns) is connected with his attempt to convert the population of Rathlin Island and the charity school there. In that work he introduced a simplified spelling system for Irish based on his own revision of English orthography, which he justifies in the preface (sig. A2, B2).[54] For Hutchinson, Irish letters were an encumbrance,

> for they are realy the same that ours were about a 11 hundred Years agoe, before length of Time and PRINTING had given them a smoother and plainer Turn; but passing over that, I will only say, that Time and want of Use, hath made them unknown; that to us now, they are almost as hard to be learn'd, as Greek or Hebrew or any other new Alphabet wou'd be. (p. [iv])

He identifies a shortage of letters ('*h* in its proper sound', <k>, 'i Consonant', <v>, <w>, <x>, <y> and <z>) as a difficulty of the Irish spelling system, adding 'for want of these eight Letters they are forced to mingle and

[53] *The Church Catechism in Irish, with the English placed over against it in the same Karakter. Together with prayers for sick persons, and some texts of scripture, and a vocabulary explaining the Irish words that are used in them. Belfast: Printed by James Blow, 1722.*

[54] For the Rathlin Catechism, its language and orthography, see Ó Dochartaigh (1976).

blend the others, and confound all Readers'. His examples of this 'blending' almost approaches a guide to reading the historical orthography of Irish, but it displays a strange conception of the relationship between speech and spelling: Hutchinson apparently believed, for example, that Irish *fíon* had an *f*- rather than a *w*- in pronunciation for want of the character <w> in writing. He rails against 'Quiescents':

> To convince me of the inconvenient Length, and great number of Quiescents that this occasions, two Clergymen who have it for their Native Tongue, and are chief in making this Traduction of Character that is here presented, chose out the 6th Word in the Table of the Church-Catechism, as it stands already in the common Character; the word is, *ionfhoghlomtha* to *be learned*, which is spoken only *inoloma*; fourteen Letters, and seven of them Quiescents. (pp. [v–vi])

He continues with other examples of his own.

Later in the preface, he refers to the church's official policy towards Irish as defence for his own language-activism and which is worth quoting for the insight it gives us into how he expected his book might be used:

> The 8th Canon requires, that where the greatest part of the People are Irish, the Confession, Absolution, and the Communion-Service, as far as the Sermon, shoud be read in English first, and then in Irish. And the 86th Canon requires, that where the Minister cannot read Irish, he shall endeavour to get a Clerk that can [...] And tho' these Canons and Acts of Parliament are not design'd to perpetuate the Irish Language, but only to bring in the English, by mingling a little Irish, where needful, with it; yet as they show that for the Salvation of the Mens Souls, some little Irish ought to be used, where the greatest part of the People are Irish: And as this common Character, in which we have written the Irish, serves for all the Langwages in Europe, we have placed the two Columns, as you see them, and hope that the Irish, which the Children do know, will help them a little to the Understanding of the English, which we wou'd teach them. (p. [ix])

Hutchinson further defends his enterprise against the charge that 'the Natives are fond of their old Character': he counters that it is far from clear whether 'the Natives, have realy any Fondness for it', as '[t]here is not One in twenty thousand of 'em that can read it, or knows any thing of it' and that '[t]here is not one Popish School in all Ireland that teaches it' (p. [x]).

Hutchinson sets out the changes he has made to Irish orthography further on in the preface. He does away with the old letter-names 'calling a Ailim, b Beith, c Koll [...]', preferring 'plainly, a, bee, c, dee, e ef, &c' (p. [xi]);

rejects the irish type, which he claims 'is nothing but the Anglo-Saxonic'; supplies the eight letters he identifies as missing from Irish spelling; and abolishes 'Quiescents' (p. [xii]).

On p. [xiv] he finally introduces 'The Raghlin Alphabet' ('a *a* A', 'b *b* bee', etc.) with some guides to pronunciation ('c che as in *Charity, Chalice, Charles*'). There are two letters <g> (one for '*g* ghee' and the other '*j* jee') and two letters <y> (one for 'i long' and another 'kalled *yi*, yi, o, u, you, yi, o, k, e, yoke'). On p. [xv], he defends some points of the alphabet, including the inclusion there of letters ultimately not used in the catechism. He is aware that he may face complaints from 'the Highlands' and elsewhere about the values assigned to particular letters. There are no further instructions in reading Irish, the phonetic spelling system being designed to make further instruction unnecessary.

After the religious material itself, there is a vocabulary, the preface of which is made up of 'some few Grammatical Observations' (pp. 30–5) based on the foregoing Irish text. Though not strictly concerned with reading Irish and not germane to the Rathlin project, these observations are an illustration of the limits of parallel-text translations as a means of acquiring a good grounding in the grammar and syntax of the language and, as this procedure has been mentioned above in connection with Daniel and Richardson, it may be worthwhile briefly summarising Hutchinson's observations. While one can admire some of his insights under the circumstances, the 'Grammatical Observations' are clearly the work of an external observer who is far from fluency in the language.

On nouns, Hutchinson writes, 'I beleev almost all, hav an Accusativ and other Oblique Cases in both Numbers, and make the necessary Changes of them various Ways.' He gives some examples drawn 'from the preceding Essay' owing to '[t]he Defect of their Grammars' (pp. 30–1). He attempts from this to synthesise some observations on the formation of plurals and the morphology of cases (p. 31). There may be an echo of Richardson here, for Hutchinson writes of initial mutations that they 'not only serve to distinguish Cases, but soften the Langwage'. Hutchinson makes a few superficial remarks about gender before turning to adjectival suffixes ('*a*, *ha*, or *he*', i.e. *-dha/tha/the*, etc.) (pp. 31–2). He approves of the syntax of the attributive adjective in Irish: 'And it is to be Noted that in Construction, they are usually placed after the Substantives; and it seems most proper that they should be so: For the Thing it self shou'd first be Named, and then its Quality or Karakter.' On 'Substantives' he does no more than observe that they 'often end in *Heahd* or *ghd* or *chd*', that words for professions often end 'in *oir*'. On degrees of comparison, he equates the comparative with 'nas' and the superlative with 'ro' (p. 33). The pronouns defeat his powers of analysis ('The Pronouns are not easy to be reduced to Rule') and words which he identifies as pronouns on the basis of their rendering pronouns in the English text are presented in a chaotic list. The paucity of Hutchinson's Irish is apparent when he writes, 'As Articles are borrowed of the Pronouns I may take Notice here that as yet I find nothing about Articles, saving that *an* stands for *the*: As *an fear* the Man'. On

p. 34 he gives 'Auxiliary verbs [sic]', beginning '*Taim ataim* I am / *Ata* which art', which is followed by the 'Imperative Mood' (which includes '*Biodh an* let there be'), 'Infinitiv Mood' and 'Participle' (which besides '*veith* Being' has '*Bea* livelyhood' and other unrelated words). In concluding his observations, Hutchinson writes, 'it appears plain to me, that the Irish Language is not a Contemptible Language, but such as the Inhabitants shou'd desire to see improved, and written, and printed as other Langwages are.'

1738 Doway Catechism[55]

A bilingual Catholic catechism printed in Dublin in roman characters in 1738 contains a two-page guide headed 'A few Instructions for reading the Irish Language' at the end of the book (pp. 98–9). It gives seventeen letters, stating that <q> and <k> are used only for abbreviations, then subdivides them into vowels and consonants, and the former are further subdivided into 'Dipthongs' and 'Tripthongs'. (Strictly speaking, of course, this is not a subdivision of the alphabet. Note that the vowels are not subdivided into broad and slender.) The digraphs and trigraphs are given according to their first letter ('there are four beginning with the Letter A'); their length is stated and some examples are given. Once again <eo> is given as long only. Besides indications of their length, no advice is given on how to pronounce them.

Beneath the heading 'Of the Consonants', the twelve consonants are given. The Protestant Richardson is clearly being copied here: whole sentences are taken over from his 'Elements'. There are some minor changes: besides 'two c's' (i.e. <cc>) and 'two tt's' mention is also made of <gc> and <dt>. The discussion of <dh> and <gh> is slightly modified: 'Dh and gh, (which are often used indifferently for one another) have sometimes in the beginning and middle of a Word, the Force of y, but always in the End of a Word or Syllable, they have no Force: as gradh, gra; brigh, bri.' The discussion of 'the possessive Letter' is clearly from Richardson but simplified and abbreviated. Similarly, the final sentence is a mere re-wording of the conclusion of Richardson's 'Elements': 'The greatest Difficulty in reading the Irish, consists in pronouncing. Dh, gh, and the Dipthongs and Tripthongs aright; but this is readily attained by a little Instruction by the Ear and Practice'.

It is notable that less practical advice is given in the 1738 Doway Catechism than in Richardson's 'Elements'. One may wonder whether both books really had similar users in mind (English-speakers learning Irish) or whether the editor-translator of the 1738 Doway Catechism unthinkingly adopted Richardson's guide without making appropriate adaptations. The 1738 Doway Catechism was designed for use by the clergy and people of Killaloe ('In Usum Cleri et Populi Laonen: S. L.', p. 97), hence it is often known as the 'Killaloe Catechism'. In such a context it seems more likely that the manual on reading was designed for the use of those who could read English but not their native Irish, as the diocese of Killaloe would have

[55] *The Doway Catechism, in English and Irish. For the use of children and ignorant people. [Mc 10:14]. Dublin: Printed by Henry Babe, at the Yellow Lyon in St Thomas's-street, 1738.*

been overwhelmingly Irish-speaking in this period.[56] Note that the title-page declares that the Catechism is for the use of 'children and ignorant people' (the usual stated audience in works of this kind).

The guide was reprinted in the 1824 edition of the Doway Catechism, where it is associated with Gallagher's sermons and explicitly presented as a guide to teaching oneself to read Irish (see p. 273).

1742 Donlevy's Catechism[57]

Andrew Donlevy, a Catholic priest of Achonry diocese (much of Co. Sligo with parishes in Mayo and Roscommon), resident in Paris since 1710, published a substantial Irish catechism in 'the plainest and most obvious Irish' (to which he appended 'upon a second Thought' an English translation) in 1742 (pp. xxii, xxxix). In seeking to overcome dialect differences Donlevy explains in footnotes to the Irish text 'certain words, which are not used in some cantons of the Kingdom'.[58] At the conclusion of the book, there are Donlevy's own 'Elements of the Irish Language', in English only (pp. 499–516). As was the case with the Doway Catechism, Richardson's 'Elements' were — perhaps surprisingly given the confessional difference — an obvious influence on Donlevy, who also made use of Mac Curtin's grammar (also titled *The Elements of the Irish Language*),[59] which had been published in Louvain in 1728. Donlevy explicitly acknowledges the latter, but is silent about his indebtedness to the former, an indebtedness which sometimes includes the lifting of passages more or less word for word.

The headings in Donlevy's guide are the same as Richardson's 'Elements' and he presents his alphabet in a similar way, but adds some additional forms of the letter-names from the table in Mac Curtin's Grammar ('Coll, or Ceith', etc.) with some further pronunciation aids of his own: for 'Ailim' he gives 'a Lat. or Fr.' as does Richardson, but he adds 'au Eng.', and for Richardson's 'g Gr.' as a value of 'Gort', Donlevy has 'g Greek, as in Finger'. The discussion of vowels is almost identical to that in Richardson, including the cited verse, but

[56] Reliable statistical information is not available for the period pre-1771 (see FitzGerald 1984), but there is no reason to doubt that a high proportion of the population of the diocese would have been Irish-speaking and many of them monoglots.

[57] [Half-title] *An Teagasg Críosduidhe do réir ceasda agus freagartha. The Catechism, or Christian doctrine by way of Question and Answer*; [first title] *An Teagasg Críosduidhe do réir ceasda agus freagartha, air na tharruing go bunudhasach as bréithir hsoilléir Dé, agus as toibreachaibh fíorgh-lana oile.* [. . .] *A bPairís: Air na chur a gClódh re Seumus Guerin, ag San-Tomás ó Acuin, a Sráid Sain-Seum, 1742. Ré Cead an Rígh, agus re Déightheisd na nOllamhun re Diaghacht*; [second title] *The Catechism, or Christian Doctrine by way of Question and Answer, Drawn chiefly from the express Word of God, and other pure sources. [. . .] Paris: Printed by James Guerin, at S. Thomas of Aquin's in S. James-street, 1742. With Approbation, and the King's Licence.*

[58] Elsewhere he makes further general remarks on dialect differences (p. 505).

[59] *The Elements of the Irish Language, grammatically explained in English in 14 chapters. By H. Mac Curtin. Printed at Lovain, by Martin van Overbeke, near the Halls. Anno 1728.*

[p. 97] *Suim bhunudhasach an Teaguisg Chriosdaidhe, a bpros agus a ndán. Maille re hoifig spioradálta an chreidmhigh gach laé; 7 lé húirnaighthibh caoíndúthrachtacha eile roimh faoísidin <is> roimh chumaoíneadh, agus nandiáigh. Farré clár na bpeacadh fhoghnas roimh fhaoísidin. Ar na ttarrang agus ar na gcur a mach a nois ga nuadh lé S. D. Ar na chur a ccló a Labhán le Mairtín Uan Obhárbeic láimh ris na Halluidhe, 1728.*

some of the examples given for the vocalic digraphs and trigraphs differ and there is much more information on pronunciation by comparison with English which is not found in Richardson: for example, <ae> is said to be always long 'and sounds as (ai) or (ay) in English', while <aoi> 'sounds like (we) in Weed, Week, Weesel, &c'. On <ao> he paraphrases Richardson slightly: 'This Diphthong is always long, and hath a peculiar Sound, which may be learned by the Ear, and not otherwise' (p. 500). Donlevy recognises that <eo> is 'generally long, but not always, as some have advanced' (p. 501).[60] Noticeable too is his attempt to guide the reader as to the core of the vowel in the case of trigraphs: of <eoi> he writes 'The Stress is upon the (o)' (p. 501) and of <ivi> he remarks that it is 'upon the (v)'.

The first three notes following his discussion of digraphs and trigraphs are re-worked from Richardson, but he adds five more. The first deals with compensatory vowel-lengthening before a lost <bh>, <dh>, <gh> and <mh> 'either in the Beginning of Words of two Syllables, or in the Middle of Words of three or more Syllables', giving the examples *ughdar*, *úmhal*, *bunúdhas*, *slíghe* and *croídhe*, which he says need not be marked by an accent as they are regularly long (pp. 402–3). (It is interesting to see *slíghe* and *croídhe* counted as disyllables here. Were they truly pronounced as such or is the label 'disyllabic' a fiction of orthography?) Similarly, he argues that '*e*, *i*, *o* by themselves, as it often happens, are always long, and therefore need no Accent', given examples of 'Particles' such as *ca* (= *cá*), *fa* (= *fá*), *fo* (= *fó*), etc.,[61] and 'all Words of one Syllable, ending with *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*', giving examples such as *me* (= *mé*), *tre* (= *tré*). He acknowledges, however, that this rule does not apply to *ba* or *ga* (which he prefers to spell *gath*), *a*, *na* 'when it signifies neither (nor) nor (than)' and the prepositional pronouns ('the Relatives') *d*(*h*)*e* and *d*(*h*)*i*. (One wonders whether the article *na* is meant here rather than the conjunction *ná*.) This rudimentary attempt at phonotactics was an influence on Scurry eighty years later (see pp. 268–9 below).

Donlevy's sixth note concerns vowel variation, which he says occurs 'when they are not long, nor have a full, clear and distinct Sound, especially in the Beginning and End of Words' (p. 503).[62] This is an improvement on previous efforts to describe variation in the use of vowel-graphs in unstressed position. By unclear vowels at the beginning of words, Donlevy no doubt had the likes of *a-mach*, *is-teach* etc. in mind.

The seventh note is a long discussion of vowel-elision (pp. 503–7), which Donlevy calls '*Cadad*, or *báthadh guthuigheadh* (Drowning of Vowels, or Apostrophe)'.[63] He defends representing orthographically the elision of the

[60] We have noted that <eo> is sometimes given as long only in these guides (see p. 241 above), but Donlevy probably had Mac Curtin (p. 21) in mind here.

[61] Elsewhere Donlevy says that the prepositions *fa* and *fo* are always long (p. 504).

[62] This page is, in fact, numbered 403 in error in the printed book.

[63] Vowel-elision is discussed in Mac Curtin (1728: 25), but not in the same detail. The term *cadad* (properly 'de-lenition') is used incorrectly by Donlevy. He may have been led astray by Mac Curtin's definition of *cadad* as 'Suppression' (1728: 16), but Mac Curtin mentions *cadad* under the heading 'Of the Influence of the Consonants upon each other'.

verbal particle *do* in *d'imigh*, for instance. He is aware that this is a departure from the usage of bardic poets, whom he speaks of as an extinct class of versifiers:

> Poets, not the Ancient and skilful, who took Pains to render their Poems sententious and pithy without much Clipping, but the Modern Makers of Doggerel Rhymes and Ballads; to save Time and Labour, introduced the Custom of clipping and joining Words together, in order to fit them to the Measure of their Verse. (p. 504)

He points out that 'Clipping' is found in English and remarks (p. 506) that it is no surprise that the types of barbarisms one finds in English should also appear in Irish especially as Irish is 'a Language of neither Court, nor City, nor Bar, nor Business, ever since the Beginning of King James the First's Reign'. After lamenting the decline of the Irish language and the neglect of its manuscripts (pp. 506–7), he explains the rule '*Caol re Caol, agus Leathan re Leathan*, that is, small to small, and broad to broad' at some length (pp. 507–8).

On p. 508 Donlevy turns to consonants. The first sentence echoes Richardson's rule on the pronunciation of single consonants as in English, but his discussion of the *litir shealbhuighe* or 'the Initial Root-Letter' is more detailed (indeed, it is rather rambling). He also introduces for the first time into such a guide the term *leitir fhóghantach* or 'The Servile Letter', i.e. the letter prefixed to the *litir shealbhuighe*. He compares the use of 'Servile or Auxiliary-Letters and Particles' in Irish to Hebrew and acknowledges that they can 'puzzle the unexperienced Reader'. The term 'servile letter' is used in Hebrew grammar (see *OED* s.v. 'servile') and I have no other example of the Irish *leitir fhóghantach*; it may be Donlevy's own translation. As Donlevy understands 'the sole End of Languages' to be communication, he advocates for clarity's sake the use of a hyphen to distinguish the elements of compound words and that 'Servile Letters' be printed small (as in *ar nDia* and *ar nArán*), but owing to the inconsistency of his Paris printer he feels the need to set down a 'general Rule' that 'wheresoever, throughout this Volume, two Consonants are found in the Beginning of a Word, the first is Servile, and the only in Force' with some exceptions (<ng>, 'which have a peculiar mixed Sound'; and <sc>, <sd>, <sg>, <sp> and <st>; consonant + <l>, <n> or <r>) (p. 509). This is the clearest formulation to date of a (potentially) convenient rule for pronunciation of initial consonant clusters first propounded in Daniel, here transmitted through Richardson and improved by Donlevy.

The rest of the 'Elements' is made up of observations on the consonants. There are echoes of Richardson here again, as in the observation 'That the Irish do not delight much in hard Consonants' and so add <h> 'to soften the Language, and sometimes denote Gender too' (p. 510) or his examples of the pronunciation of <dl> and <ln> (p. 514). Both <gc> and <cc> are mentioned, and the discussion of <ch> marks an improvement on previous attempts in such guides: it is 'read as the Spanish (J) Consonant, as the Greek χ; Save only, that when it comes after any of the broad Vowels a, o, u, it is somewhat more

guttural, more in the Throat than (sought)' (p. 511).[64] Similarly, the guide to pronouncing <d> is more detailed: it 'has a thick soft Sound, as (th) in thither' (p. 511). Similar remarks are made about <t> (p. 515). In neither case is a distinction made between broad and slender. Particularly interesting is the observation that 'even in Composition' the <d> of <nd> (e.g. in *ceann-dána*) is pronounced 'like an (n) throughout the far greater Part of the Kingdom' (pp. 511–12); this suggests that in some dialects assimilation of *nd* no longer took place at the juncture of two elements of a compound by this period.[65] Variation in the second possessive pronoun before a vowel (*t'* or *th'*) is noted, though Donlevy is unsure of the correctness of these short aspirated forms of *do* (pp. 512–13).[66] The discussion of *Niatal* is rather confusingly worded: they 'have almost the same Force, in the Beginning, Middle and End of Words, with (ng) in *wrangling*, *mingling*, *bungling*; and the very same Force with ɣɣ in the Greek.'

Donlevy's remarks on the distinction between <l> and <ll> are worth quoting in full:

> That an *l* [...] is pronounced, when doubled, soft and thick as the two (ll's) in *Collier*, (l) in *valiant*, and (ld) in *Soldier*: And even a single *l*, has often the Force of two *ll*'s, in the Beginning of Words; but not always, as some have advanced; for Instance, *a lámh* (her Hand) *a lámh*, (his Hand), the *l* is pronounced in the first, as if it were double; but not so, in the latter Example.

The claim that initial <l> was always pronounced as if double is found in Mac Curtin's *Elements* (p. 15). Similar observations are made on <n> and <nn> (pp. 514–15) and the distinction between non-lenited and lenited initial <n> after the possessive pronouns *a* 'her' and *a* 'his' respectively. Of <r> he writes:

> A single *r* also has the same Force [i.e. it is double] often in the Beginning of Words: For Instance, *an Rígh*, (the King); *mo Rígh*, (my King): In the first, the *r* has the Force of two; but not in the latter. (p. 515)

(Despite the non-historical spelling, *rígh* is presumably nominative singular in the first example.) Of <mh> he writes that it 'commonly' sounds like

[64]Donlevy's is one of three guides to make reference to Spanish pronunciation, so far as I have noticed (see pp. 266 and 282 below). Mac Curtin (1728: 15) mentions English 'Fought' in his discussion of <ch>. It is perhaps surprising to meet this guttural pronunciation of English <gh> so late.

[65]In Classical Modern Irish poetry, *-n(n) + d-* normally assimilate to *-nn-*, though the adjectival ending *-d(h)a* can resist assimilation (McManus 2014: 219–22). In Modern Irish, the *-nd-* of *seanduine* is assimilated to /N/ in some dialects and remains *-nd-* in others. Contrast, for example, [ʃæNənˈə] in the Irish of Teelin, Co. Donegal (Wagner 1959: 57) and [ʃæNinˈə] in the Irish of Cois Fharraige, Co. Galway (De Bhaldraithe 1953: 243) on the one hand and [ʃandɪnˈɪ] in Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry (Ó Sé 2000: 468).

[66]Only *th'* is given in Mac Curtin (1728: 25).

'(v) Consonant' but somewhat 'more nasal, or in the Nose' and 'softer than (v) Consonant' (p. 514).

Donlevy concludes by recommending Mac Curtin's Grammar for '[s]uch as desire to get more Insight into the Grammar-Rules of this Language', and quotes (without acknowledgement) Richardson's concluding statement in his 'Elements' on the greatest difficulties of Irish pronunciation. A list of 'Irish Abbreviations used in this Book' finishes off these 'Elements'.

Donlevy expanded on Richardson's manual, particularly in relation to Irish phonology. The concern with the correct pronunciation of initial <l>, <n> and <r> represents a move away from a preoccupation with one-to-one correspondences of symbols and sounds towards a fuller account of correct Irish pronunciation structured around orthography, a development anticipated somewhat by Daniel. The usefulness of Richardson's 'Elements' as a model is all the clearer bearing in mind that Donlevy had access to Mac Curtin's Grammar: in Richardson's 'Elements' Donlevy found a framework for a guide to reading Irish, which the more unwieldly, full-scale grammar of 1728 could not provide, but a tendency to prolixity may have been encouraged by the example of the larger grammatical work. Some of Donlevy's sociolinguistic observations (see the discussion of vowel-elision) undoubtedly delay and distract from practical guidelines to reading Irish, but he was writing for an audience who had Irish but might not be able to read it, and his asides on the history and status of the Irish language were perhaps calculated to motivate users illiterate in Irish to make the effort required to further the cause of the language by mastering its written form. It is perhaps telling that, when John McEncroe prepared a new edition of Donlevy (seen through the press by Edward O'Reilly in 1822), he added his own, briefer 'compendium of Irish grammar' (see below). Indeed, the brief manual is the form followed in all future Catholic catechisms; this may reflect the unwieldiness of Donlevy's treatment, but also the increasingly local and dialectal turn taken in the production of catechisms.

1748 catechism[67]

James Pulleine's catechism, published in 1748, did not aspire to be a work of national relevance like Donlevy's large catechism with its footnotes on dialectal forms and its wide-ranging guide to reading Irish; the work of the titular Dean of Dromore, Co. Down, it is a brief and dialectal work. The preface addresses — among other topics — the duty to teach and learn the catechism (pp. iii–v). The 'Brief Rules for reading this little Book, which will also serve for any other in the Irish Tongue' at the end of the book (pp. 34–6) are concise and simple. There are no digressions or complex terminology, but the concision and simplicity inevitably leads also to vagueness. Under the heading 'Of Vowels', it begins 'Note that, *a*, *o*, *u*, are broad and flat, *e* and *i* are sharp and small. The letter *h* along with any other consonant softens, or totally silences its sound'. Obviously the user is expected to read English, but what is he or

[67] *An Teagasg Criosdaidhe Angoidhleig. Air na chur a gcló ré cead na nuachdran, 1748.* Reprinted in 1782 with the author's name and office.

she to make of such vague terms as 'broad and flat' or 'sharp and small'? A certain lack of organisation is clear too in the inclusion of the vague discussion of lenition under the heading 'Of Vowels'.

After these initial statements, but without any further heading, individual letters or letter-combinations are introduced and some guidance is given to their pronunciation:

> *a* Sounds flat, like *a*.
> *b* Sounds as *beh*.
> *bh* like *v* consonant. Exam. Mo-bhrigh, *my Strength*.
> *bp* as *b* alone. Ex. air bpeacadh, as if written air beacadh, *our sin*.

The attempt to describe the pronunciation of <ch> is not particularly clear: '*Ch* as *ch* in this word, *Chirurgery*, or the greek letter chi.' <g> 'sounds *geh*'. There is none of the phonological information to be found in some earlier guides, such as distinctions between double and single <l> or indications of nasality or a difference in the pronunciation of English and Irish <t>. These omissions are no doubt intentional, as it appears from the concluding paragraph that the rules were for use by (or in instructing) students in reading the catechism:

> These short rules are easy and useful for the young reader; what other difficulties occur in this language will sooner be attained by the ear and practice than any method. And when thus far improved, consult Macurtin's, or Mulloy's late Irish grammar. (p. 36)[68]

In this paragraph we may have a slight echo of Richardson and his emulators, as perhaps also in some of the values given for individual letters.

1791 St Patrick's Hymn[69]

In 1791, Richard Plunket (fl. 1772–91)[70] of Co. Meath published in Dublin an edition of the Old Irish poems *Génair Pátraic i nNemthur* and *Ní car Brigit*

[68] 'Mulloy's late Irish grammar' refers to *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica, nunc compendiata, authore Rev. P. Fr. Francisco O Molloy, Ord. Min. Strict. Observantiae in Collegio S. Isidori S. Theol. Professore primario, Lectore iubilato, et provinciae Hiberniae in Curia Romana agente generali. Romae: Ex typographia S. Cong. de Propag. Fide, 1677.*

[69] [First titles, verso] *An Hymn, on the Life of St Patrick: extracted from the ancient Scytho-Celtic dialect into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the manuscript in his possession* (Dublin, 1791); [recto] *Himhin Phadruig absdal. Do cumadh re Feiche easbug Shleibhte a gCondae na Banrioghna, disciobal agus fear comhaimsire do Phadraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san Nuaghaoidhilig, Re Riostard Pluncead. A mBeulathecliath: ar na chur a gclo san mbliadhain 1791*; [second titles, verso] *An Hymn on the Life of St Bridget, extracted from the ancient Scytho-Celtic dialect into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the manuscript in his possession* (Dublin, 1791); [recto] *Himhin ar bheartaibh agas ar mhiorbhuilibh Naoimh Brighide, noch do cumadh re Brogain Naomhtha, a naimsir Lughaidhe mhic Laoghaire airdrigh Eirean, agas Alild mhic Dunlaing righ Laigheann, ar na mhineadh a Nuadhghaoidhilig na haimsirese. Re Riostard Pluncead. A mBeulathcliath: ar na chur a gclo san mbliadhain 1791.*

[70] For Plunket, his life and works, see Sharpe (2017).

búadach bith with his own rendering into Modern Irish. After his translations he presents 'Short directions for reading Irish intended for those who can speak and understand the language' (pp. 27–30). This is the first instance of a guide to reading Irish outside of a work of catechesis or sermonising. While there is still some religious connection, it is better to regard this guide as the first published in a literary context. It is printed with a separate title-page and imprint (p. 27), but the pagination of the directions themselves (pp. 29–30) is continuous with the rest of the work. In the context, it was probably designed simply to aid in reading the author's own translation, but may have been conceived with more general utility in mind also.

Plunket gives the seventeen letters of the alphabet, subdivides them into vowels and consonants and notes that nine are 'aspirated or mutable'. He observes that <h> is more than a mere mark of aspiration, however, and can be prefixed to vowels, giving the example *na hinnis sin damhsa* — a departure from the accepted orthodoxy that anticipates Scurry (see p. 270 below). Plunket then proceeds to give the sounds of the 'mutable Consonants' with examples in Irish, often followed by a more phonetic rendering (pp. 29–30). For <ch> he gives 'the Greek chi' and for <dh> and <gh> 'the sound of y' (no distinction is made between broad and slender). He states that <ph> 'sounds as f, or phi in Greek' (p. 30) — the first instance I have noted of a Greek comparison for this digraph. Of <l>, <n> and <r>, he says that they are 'hard or immutable' and 'never lose their Sounds', which may suggest that he did not distinguish between initial lenited and unlenited *l*, *n* and *r*. He comes then to discuss the *litir shealbhuighthe*, but makes no use of Irish terminology:

> A Consonant prefixed to another in the beginning of words for the most part retains it's own Sound, but the subsequent or radical Consonant is quite extinct, Ex. ar mbaràmhail, pro ar maravail, our opinion, ar ndùil, pro. ar nuil, our hope, air a tsliàh, pro. ar a tliav, on the mountain.

But he does give the Irish term *Niatal* for <ng>. Echoing the wording of Richardson (though applied by Richardson to <dh> and <gh>), Plunket says that it 'has particular Sound, which is better learned by the ear, than by any definition that can be given of it'.[71] (This statement applies only to nasalised *g*- and is not an indication of Plunket's pronunciation of medial or final <ng>.) He notes that <cc> and <tt> are sometimes used for <gc> and <dt>.

Plunket then turns to the vowels, which he subdivides into 'broad' and 'small'. He notes vowel-variation, but does not distinguish between purely orthographical variation in the representation of schwa on the one hand and phonological variation on the other: he gives as examples of vowel-variation 'bolsaire, bolsoire or bolsuire, a cryer', which illustrates mere orthographic

[71] This observation is taken up by Edward O'Reilly in his grammar of Irish (*Sanas Gaoidhilge–Sagsbhearla. An Irish–English Dictionary, containing upwards of twenty thousand words that have never appeared in any former Irish lexicon: with copious quotations from the most esteemed ancient and modern writers, to elucidate the meaning of obscure words;* [. . .] *By Edward O'Reilly. Dublin: Printed by John Barlow 26, Bolton-Street, 1817*) at p. 3.

variation, and 'an cean, no cion, the head', where *cionn* (originally dative) is a variant form of *ceann*.[72] He neither lists the 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' nor attempts to give any guidance on their pronunciation, beyond the statement that their 'different Accents are easily learned by Practice'. This leads him to observe:

> Any of my Countrymen, though advanced in Year, who has a tolerable notion of Letters, and can speak and understand his native Language, may easily read it, by the help of these few Directions, and a little Application.

He concludes with two lines from Horace (*Viva Vale, si quid novisti rectius istis, / Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum*), which he renders into Irish.

On his own authority it is clear that Plunket designed his 'Short directions' for native speakers and so he could trust that with 'a little Application' they would come to be able to read the language, but he could not — or was unwilling — to provide them with detailed descriptions of the pronunciation of those graphs most likely to give even native speakers difficulty (such as <ao>). His statement that <ng> is 'better learned by the ear' seems oddly worded given that he was directing this guide at native speakers and may reflect his indebtedness to guides directed at non-native speakers, but one could argue that Plunket meant no more than he could not describe it accurately in writing.

1795 True Wisdom[73]

In 1795, an Irish translation of an English version of Segnary's *La Vera Sapienza* was published in Cork. Both the Irish and the English text on which it is based are given. The translator, Seaghan O'Connuill (Seán Máistir Ó Conaill of Cill na Martra, Co. Cork),[74] begins his address to the reader as follows:

> As being confidently assured that the following Translation could not but inevitably fall into the hands of many, who may be utter

[72]Presumably nom. *cionn* was a variant of *ceann* in the Irish of Co. Meath. Nom. *cionn* is met with in Ulster Irish (*SnaG* 633).

[73][Verso] *True Wisdom; or, Considerations for every day of the week. Written in Italian, by the pious and learned Father F. Paul Segnary, of the Society of Jesus, and late Preacher to Pope Innocent XII. With an appendix of what is necessary for a good Confession and Communion. With approbation and permission. Cork: Printed by John Connor, Circulating Library, Castle-street, 1795*; [recto] *Eagna fhirinneach: no, Smaointighthe do gach la do'n tseachdmhuin. Air na Sgriobhadh ann Iodallais, leis an oide bhfoghlamtha, ccrabhadh, iodhon, an tAthair Proinsias Paul Segnary, aon do Chomhluadar Uird Iosa, agus Seanmoirighe deighionach do'n Phapa, iodhon, an Dara Innocent Deag. Mar aon le miniughadh air na neithibh a ta riachdanach chum Deagh-Fhaoisidine, agus Deagh-Chumaoine. Le molla, agus le ceadughadh. Air n'athrughadh o Bheurla go Gaoidhlge, le Seaghan O'Connuill, ag seipeal Thuath na Dromun, an dara la do mhiosa na Bealltuine, an san Mbliaghain d'aois Chriosd, 1795.*

[74]For Seán Ó Conaill, see Murphy (2009). For the translation, see Ó hÉigearta (2013), where bizarrely a manuscript copy of the 1813 reprint of Ó Conaill's translation is cited in lieu of the printed text.

> strangers to Irish; I therefore, thought it requisite to insert the following Remarks, that such as should be so far deficient, may read it with the greater facility. (p. vii)

The concluding remarks of his guide (see p. 260 below) appear to confirm that he had in mind learners of the language rather than native speakers illiterate in Irish.

O'Connuill's guide is rather discursive, lacking the bullet point-like succinctness of some other accounts. He states that there are seventeen letters 'exclusive of the aspirate *h*, called by some of our Irish Grammarians, *uath*, and by others *uathamh*, from the white-thorn tree', and these seventeen are said to be divided into consonants and vowels, the latter subdivided further into 'broad or *leathan*' and 'small or *caol*'. He quotes from 'a certain author' the 'distich' *Leathan le leathan, is caol le caol, / Is leo do sgriobhthar focuil an tsaoghuil*, before noting that 'a modern author declares this to be an abusive rule'. I do not know the source of this couplet, but the rule is declared to be 'abusive' several times in Bishop O'Brien's *Focalóir* of 1763 (see, for example, p. 14), whence O'Connuill also sources the etymologies of the letter-names.[75] One may note that he has slightly improved on O'Brien's *Focalóir* (p. 293) by adding *uathamh* (more historical *uathadh* 'lenition') to *uath* as a letter-name for <h>.

O'Connuill proceeds to give an account of the individual vowels in alphabetical order, noting whether they are broad or slender, giving a traditional letter-name and sometimes a key to pronunciation: 'The letter *a*, being the first of the Irish alphabet, sounds broad, like *aw* in English, and is distinguished by the appellative of *ailim*, which seems to signify strictly and properly the palm tree' (p. viii). This is an adaptation from the *Focalóir* (p. j), but with the addition of the English equivalent. <e> is *eabha* or *eadha* ('the aspin tree, commonly called *crann criothach*'). <o> is 'ranked amongst the flat vowels', but the Irish for these vowels is given as *consoineadha leathana*! It 'derives its origin from the spindle tree, *feorus*, and is the leading vowel of the diphthong called *oir na aonar*, the ophthong alone'. <u> 'is originally called from heath, in Irish, *fraoch*; others will have it borrow it's name from *ubhar*, the yew tree' (an inaccurate paraphrase of the *Focalóir*, p. 499). All of the vowels are said to be either short or long, except <a> on the length of which no statement is made.

O'Connuill turns then to the consonants, which are twelve in number, divided into mutables and immutables. He notes that <l>, <n> and <r> are immutable, 'so entitled from their never admitting of the least influence of the aspirate *h*', but he qualifies this by noting that they are sometimes written doubled and doubled in speech if not in writing in certain positions: of lenited

[75] *Focalóir Gaoidhilge–Sax-bhéarla, or An Irish–English Dictionary: Whereof the Irish part hath been compiled not only from various Irish vocabularies, particularly that of Mr Edward Lhuyd; but also from a great variety of the best Irish manuscripts now extant; especially those that have been composed from the 9th & 10th centuries, down to the 16th; besides those of the lives of St Patrick & St Brigit, written in the 6th & 7th centuries. Paris: Printed by Nicolas-Francis Valleyre, for the Author, 1768. By Royal Approbation & Privilege.*

<l> he writes, 'the letter *l*, or *luis*, is so called from luis, the quicken tree, *carthan*, this letter being the initial of a word, which has reference to the female sex, is pronounced double, though written single as *a lamh*, her hand, is pronounced *al lamh*, her hand' (p. ix), all of which is lifted from O'Brien's *Focalóir* (p. 312). *Niatal*, which produces 'one joint sound', is only mentioned as a phenomenon in word-initial position.

The nine mutable consonants are then discussed in alphabetical order and again letter-names are given (e.g. '*B*, or *beith*, so called from *both*, a house').[76] He notes that lenition and nasalisation affect the meaning of *c*-initial words ('in saying his head you must not say *a ceann*, his head, but *a cheann*') (p. x), but all he says of pronunciation is that '[i]n the middle and end of a word in the Irish *ch* sound like *agh* or *ogh* in English, as *laogh*, a champion in Irish *laoch*; Loghrae in English; in Irish *Loch rae*'. <dh> is like English <y> in initial position, but

> in the middle of words, [they] retain a dull and heavy sound, and partly correspond with the letter *g*, though the letter *g* is not introduced, but rather changed for a double *r* in the word majesty; *maordhacht*, sound *morracht*; *dh* also sound hard in *Diadha*, Divine, &c, and in concluding a word, are entirely lost.

He notes that 'by the course of speech' <t>, <d>, <m> or <bh> can be prefixed to lenited <f>, so that *tfhear* is pronounced *tear* etc. (p. xi); this recalls Daniel's treatment of proclitic elements like 2 sg. possessive *t'* and the reduced preposition *d'*, but is surely independent of it. <gh> is pronounced like English <y> in initial position, but 'suppressed' internally and finally. Under the consonants he generally treats of their lenited and nasalised forms but also their own function in nasalisation (so under <g> he mentions its use as a nasalising element on <c>).

After completing the alphabetical survey of the consonants, he mentions that '*n* and *d* sometimes join' but only illustrates initial nasalised <d> (and not word-final <nd>, for example). He notes also the assimilation of <ln> in *colna*. He then makes a 'general remark' that 'when applied to the feminine gender' the mutable consonants are 'seldom or never aspirated', as in *a brog* 'her shoe' (p. xii).

In his concluding remarks, he justifies the obvious omissions from his account:

> Thus, dear Reader, have I given you an abridged idea of the nature of the Irish Alphabet, and would dwell longer on the subject, in distinctly expounding the nature of the accent, the diphthongs, triphthongs, aphthongs, ephthongs, &c. but, in my opinion, that such explanations should be reserved, or chiefly designed, for those only, who already conceive some notion of the elements of the Irish language, or that would wish in future to attain some knowledge thereof.

[76] O'Brien compares first Hebrew *beth* (*Focalóir*, 35).

> Another motive which induced me to be silent on that head, was, my being apprehensive that it may rather confound than help the memories of those who may be ignorant of the rudiments of the language, in the perusal of this Translation [. . .] (p. xiii)

O'Connuill can hardly have thought his guide would have been of much help to learners of the language. If he had any conception of its utility, it was to satisfy their curiosity. This is reflected in the space given over to etymologising and the silence on more thorny, practical issues of pronunciation. Nonetheless Ó Conaill's rules managed — to my mind surprisingly — to impress John O'Donovan, who described them as 'very correct'.[77]

1800 Spiritual Rose[78]

The *Spiritual Rose*, a collection of Catholic prayers and devotions prepared by Louthman Matthew Kennedy, was printed in Monaghan in 1800. It concludes with two pages that have the heading 'Instructions for the Reader, shewing how to pronounce Words in the Irish Language'. Parts are difficult to read in the sole extant copy of the first edition (preserved in the RIA), but it appears that the 'Instructions' were carried over verbatim into the revised edition of 1825 (edited in McKenna 2001 with extensive linguistic notes). The nature of the guide itself and the fact that the *Spiritual Rose* is a monolingual Irish text suggest that these 'Instructions' were meant for Irish-speakers literate in English but not Irish.

Kennedy begins with the seventeen radical letters arranged in a table. The sound-values given are those of Pulleine's Catechism, though the earlier work did not present them in a table and included also the mutated letters arranged in alphabetical sequence. Beside this alphabet Kennedy subdivides the letters into vowels and consonants, stating that <h> is 'neither a vowel nor consonant, but an aspiration or breathing' which 'has power to either soften or aspirate any of the following consonants viz. b c d f g h p s t'. The sounds of these aspirated letters are then given with the exception of <gh>, which is apparently forgotten. The pronunciation <bh> and <dh> combined with each vowel is given ('bha as va, bhe as ve, bhi as vee, bho as vo, bhu as vu'), but in the case of <mh> only the first in the sequence is given ('mha as wa, &c.'). The statement that <ch> is 'sounded as ch in English' is ambiguous and refers presumably to the pronunciation of English 'loch', etc. in Hiberno-English (and Ulster Scots).

For consonants that are nasalised (or have a prefixed *t*-), Kennedy writes only, 'When two consonants come together in the Beginning of a word, it is

[77] *A Grammar of the Irish Language, published for the use of the senior classes in the College of St Columba. By John O'Donovan. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, Grafton Street, Booksellers to the University, 1845*, p. lii.

[78] *The Spiritual Rose, or, Method of saying the Rosaries of the Most Holy Name of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin with their Litanies; also the Meditations and Prayers adapted to The Holy Way of the Cross;* [. . .] *Rendered into Irish by Mathew Kennedy. By Permission. Monaghan: Printed by Robinson and Duffy, 1800.* On the spelling system employed, which is in some ways conservative and traditional but in others shows the influence of English orthography, see McKenna (2001: xxv).

the first is sounded, though the second be the possessive letter.' This is an inadequate treatment, unless the reader is familiar with the term 'possessive letter'; if he is not, the advice given would suggest *dlighe* is to be pronounced with initial *d-* or *scéal* with initial *s-*. In Kennedy's defence, perhaps 'come together' was meant to restrict this rule only to initial mutations. (Contrast Donlevy's clearer formulation of this rule in 1742.) The term 'possessive letter' indicates that Kennedy was drawing on another source besides Pulleine's Catechism in drawing up these instructions, perhaps the 1738 Doway Catechism. Finally, Kennedy explains that the Tironian ⁊ is 'pronounced' *agus*.

1810 Life of Saint Patrick[79]

The anonymous *Life of Saint Patrick*, published in Dublin in 1810, was the work of Patrick Lynch (1757–1818) of the Gaelic Society of Dublin.[80] His *Life* included Fiacc's Hymn, following Colgan's 1647 edition. He adds 'Short directions for reading Irish' (pp. 348–50) at the end of the book. He may perhaps have been influenced by Plunket's edition (which did, however, include a Modern Irish translation). Plunket presumably hoped to reach a native Irish-speaking audience with his modern rendering of the Old Irish poem; in this context, Lynch's guide probably aimed at no more than helping the curious sound out a text that they could hardly have understood without recourse to Colgan's Latin translation or the English rendering of that translation. The association of this guide to reading Irish with an Old Irish text is a new context for such a manual.

The directions begin with tables illustrating vowels (Irish characters with English beneath; both <v> and <u> given for English <v>), 'Abbreviations' (including ligatures), consonants (Irish characters with English beneath) and 'Mutable Consonants' (dotted Irish characters above the radical letter + <h> above English values). The values given for the lenited consonants will come as no surprise (<bh> corresponds to English <v>, <dh> to English <y>, etc.), but <ch> is again given the value <χ>. <ch> is explained further in the first full sentence of the 'Short directions', where it is said to be 'sounded like Greek χ, or *ch* in *loch*, among the Scots and Irish.' The pronunciation of nasalised letters or <s> with a prefixed *t-* is explained in a table with examples given in standard spelling, in a more phonetic Irish spelling and finally in a phonetic English spelling ('ar mbeul', 'ar meul', 'ar meul', p. 349). With the aid of numbers in the margin the Irish words are then explained.

Lynch continues:

[79] *The Life of Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland: to which is added, in the original Irish character, the celebrated Hymn, composed above 1200 years since, by his Disciple, Saint Fiech; comprehending a compendious history of his life. Annexed is a copious appendix, containing a summary account of the various ecclesiastical institutions* [. . .] *in Ireland,* [. . .]; *also a chronological table of the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashell and Tuam, from the death of Saint Patrick* [. . .]. *Together with an abstract of Irish grammar* [. . .]. *Dublin: Printed by H. Fitzpatrick, no. 4, Capel Street, printer and bookseller to the R. C. of Saint Patrick, Maynooth, 1810.*

[80] For Patrick Lynch, see Ó Casaide (1912).

> The sounds of *l*, *n*, *r*, *ċ* or *ch*, and *ao* or *ae*, in Irish, can only be learnt by making a native pronounce the Irish words *lamh*, *neart*, *rígh*, *cean*, *caora*, with and without the article, corresponding with my, thy, his, her; as my, thy, his, her hand, strength, king, head, sheep &c.

The words for selection suggest a concern with the distinction between lenited and unlenited <l>, <n> and <r>, and further appear to indicate that the author did not (care to?) distinguish between palatal and non-palatal varieties of these consonants, while he is alive to the need to distinguish between palatal and non-palatal <ch>.

The rest of the guide (pp. 349–50) is made up of declensions, giving firstly certain pronouns (the article is included here) in the nominative, genitive, dative and accusative ('an', 'an', 'd-on', 'gan' in the case of the singular article, 'na', 'na', 'd'ona', 'gan' in the case of the plural; 'me', 'ma', 'd-amh', 'diom' in the case of the 1 sg., 'sin', 'ar', 'duin' and 'uain' in the case of the 1 pl.), the declension of *fear*, *bean*, *cós* (recte *cos*), *crann* and *slighe*, and — to illustrate the attributive adjective — *cean maith* and *cailín suairc*. (It was surely a missed opportunity not to include a feminine noun qualified by an adjective.)

Lynch concludes: 'Those who wish for a complete knowledge of the Irish Language, will find every information on that subject in the Rev. Doctor O'Brien's Irish Grammar, lately published by the Printer hereof.' Notwithstanding this advertisement for O'Brien's Grammar, which was belatedly published in 1809,[81] there is no obvious sign of its influence on Lynch; it was most likely included to satisfy the printer. Lynch's paradigm of the article, for instance, or of the noun *cailín*, differ in important details from O'Brien's treatment (see pp. 17, 24–5 of O'Brien's *Practical Grammar*), and are more similar to those published in Vallancey's 'Iberno-Celtic' grammar of 1773 (see pp. 37 and 69 of that work).[82]

1818 New Testament[83]

As well as a glossary, this reprint of the 1810 McQuige printing of the Irish New Testament included, on a single page, *An Taibghitir* 'The Alphabet', which gave the Irish 'figures' (upper- and lower-case), their traditional letter-names and then the corresponding English letters, and a further table of 'Contractions, Sounds, and Mute Letters'. This illustrated, for example, the *sed*-compendium, which 'represents and sounds' <chd> and in English

[81] *A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language by the Rev. Paul O'Brien. Dublin: Printed by H. Fitzpatrick, 4 Capel Street, bookseller to the R.C. Coll. Maynooth, 1809.*

[82] First published as *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish language. By Major Charles Vallancey, Author of the Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language. Dublin: Printed by R. Marchbank, for G. Faulkner, T. Ewing, and R. Moncrieffe, 1773.* I am citing the second edition of 1782.

[83] *An Tiomna Nuadh ar Dtighearna agus ar Slanuightheóra Iosa Criosd: air na tharruing go fírinneach as a Ngreigis ughdarach. Ris an tathair is onóruighthe a Ndía Uilliam O'Domhnuill, Aird Easpug Thuaim. London: Printed by Richard Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar, for the British and Foreign Bible Society: and sold, to subscribers only, at the Society's House, 10, Earl Street, Blackfriars, 1818.*

characters also <chd>. <aé> is equated with <é>, English <e>. A dotted <b> represents <bh> and 'v or w'. The table was also used to explain consonantal elision, as in the pronunciation given for <df>, <dt>, etc. While dotted <g> or <gh> is given in English characters as <gh>, <ídh>, <ígh> are given as <í>, etc. <pp>, encountered in Daniel's guide of 1658, is found here also. Covering a great deal in condensed form, the Alphabet page circulated also as an independent sheet.[84] This is presumably a guide to assist Irish-speakers literate in English unfamiliar with written Irish.

1819 Thady Connellan's short guide

In a work of *c*. 1818 produced by the Sligo-born Thady Connellan for the Hibernian Bible Society, there is an Irish alphabet and tables of mutable consonants, digraphs and trigraphs (pp. 140–43).[85] A short guide to pronunciation from his pen begins his 1819 edition of *The First Books of the Pentateuch, or Books of Moses*, which the title-page informs us was designed 'as a preparation for learners to read the Holy Scriptures'.[86] In an 'Advertisement' at the beginning of the book, he sets out his belief that through Irish-language instruction, 'tens of thousand of Irish people now so ignorant of letters' could be brought ultimately to English. He requests that 'whosever can or may read this work, will teach or cause to be taught, *gratis*, twenty four individuals to read this book' for the purpose of 'spreading Scriptural and moral knowledge'.

A guide to reading Irish (without any heading, so far as I can see) concludes the book (pp. 195–200). It is almost entirely plagiarised from Vallancey's *Grammar* (pp. 31–7).[87] It begins, 'Of the Modern Alphabet' (the title of the fifth chapter of Vallancey's *Grammar*), giving 'the order, names, pronunciation, and derivation of the *Aibchitir*, or alphabet now in use'. The pronunciation given for <e> ('e French'), <f> ('ef'), <g> ('ɣ gamma, Gr.') and <i> ('i French') are notable, as is the fact that Connellan is prepared to follow Vallancey into error, giving the pronunciation of <s> as 'sh' without qualification. <h> is given last. The only evidence of re-organisation by Connellan is the inclusion here of the 'derivation' of the letter-names; these are treated elsewhere by Vallancey. Eight figures included by 'the ancients' in their alphabet are also given (<q>, <z>, <ng>, <ea>, <io>, <y>, <ae>), which do not form part of Vallancey's fifth chapter. <ae> is said to be called *amhancholl* 'from *amhan* a river, and *coll*, the hazel tree, of which were made hurdles

[84]For example, see TCD OLS POL 7051, where the recto of the corresponding page in the 1818 New Testament is not printed.

[85]*Seanraite Sholaimh a Ghaoidheilge agus a mBearla. The Proverbs of Solomon, in Irish and English.* [Dublin: Christie, ?1818].

[86]*The Two First Books of the Pentateuch, or Books of Moses: as a Preparation for Learners to read the Holy Scriptures. The types cut by Dr Edmund Fry, Letter Founder to his Majesty, from original Irish Manuscripts, under the care and direction of Mr T. Connellan, Author of the English Irish Dictionary and Irish English Elementary, printed by Messrs Graisberry & Campbell, Dublin, in the years 1814 and 1815. Printed at the Apollo Press, London, by J. Johnson, Brook Street, Holborn, 1819.*

[87]I have compared the 1782 edition.

for crossing brooks and rivers'. This explanation partially corresponds to that proposed by Vallancey in his *Grammar* (p. 6).

On p. 196, Connellan-Vallancey turns to vowels, which are 'broad' and 'narrow', though in the next paragraph 'broad' and 'small'. The rule *caol le caol agus leathan le leathan* is discussed, giving the example *du-ne* as 'false orthography' for *dui-ne*. It is stated that no vowel is ever doubled ('as *ee*, *oo*, &c.') and, in a footnote, that <l>, <n> and <r> are the only letters written double.

In 'Of the Dipthongs and Triptpoings [sic]', Connellan introduces eighteen such 'union[s] of two or three vowels', ten of which are always long. Here he corrects Vallancey (p. 32), who gave the number of diphthongs and triphthongs as seventeen, having omitted <iu> (coincidentally also omitted in the 1680 *Graimmeir*). Connellan then spools back to simple vowels to state that they — like eight of the 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' (including <eo>) — are sometimes long and sometimes short. In point of fact, this is more correct than Vallancey's treatment (*Grammar*, p. 33) but not better organised. On p. 197, he gives the quatrain beginning *Ceithre amhanchoill ríomhthar leam*, and then presents a table of these vowel-graph combinations. I do not find either the verse or a similar table in Vallancey.

Connellan returns quickly to plagiarising Vallancey in his treatment of consonants, giving their number as twelve, divided into mutable and immutable. The nine mutables are given, and of the three remaining consonants we read, 'The immutables are <l>, <n>, <r>, which always retain their sound.' The discussion returns to the mutable consonants:

> Some of these mutable consonants, when an aspirate or *h* is added, become other consonants, which may, therefore, be called secondary or auxiliary mutes; and others are annihilated, the use of writing them being only to point out the radix, and to prevent the disguising of the word.
>
> The force of pronunciation of each secondary mute is so different from that of the prime, that, had custom prevailed, they might have been expressed by different figures or letters, as is commonly done in other languages, from whence arises the difficulty of finding the etymology, and the reason why the language has been so well preserved. (pp. 197–8)

The remainder of Connellan's guide, like the above passage, is lifted word for word from Vallancey. <bh> 'is pronounced as *v* consonant' (p. 198). <ch> 'is pronounced like the Greek χ [...] but when a small vowel precedes *ch* in the termination, the *h* only is pronounced'. Broad initial <dh> and <gh> 'has the pronunciation of *gh* soft or guttural [...] but *dh* in the beginning before a small vowel, or in the middle before any vowel, sounds like *y*'. Connellan even includes Vallancey's reference to Welsh *byddar*: 'The pronunciation of *dh*, in *bodhar* deaf, is *bour*, which the Welsh have commuted with *th*, and which is pronounced by them as *bothar* would be in English'. Of final <dh>,

Vallancey-Connellan writes, 'after a broad vowel [it] sounds like *u*; as *madadh*, a dog; but after a small vowel is pronounced only as *h*, and that faintly, as *mhadaidh*, of the dog', which is not an adequate treatment of the issue. Palatal and medial <gh> are not discussed at all. Connellan is content to give further comparative speculations under <fh>, which, following Vallancey, 'was probably pronounced heretofore as *h*, seeing we find the Spaniards use that pronunciation in words borrowed from the Latin, as *hierro, harrino, hermoso*, for *ferrum, farina, formosus*; but at present *fh* is not pronounced at all [...]'. Strangely Connellan gives the Spanish and Latin words in irish font. <mh> 'is pronounced as *v* consonant, or rather as *w*'. Connellan's mindless parroting of Vallancey's account of <ph> is truly extraordinary. Vallancey states that 'before a vowel' <ph> is pronounced as <f> (giving the examples *a Pheadair, a Phoil, a Phadruicc*), but 'if a small vowel (*e* or *i*) immediately follows in the beginning of a word, it is not pronounced at all; as *a Philib*, read *a Ilib*' (p. 199). This is a confusion of two variant forms of the name, one with initial *p*-, the other with initial *f*-. <sh> is correctly equated to the sound of <h>, 'although *s* be commonly equivalent to the English *sh*'. (Connellan slips again here and gives English <sh> in Irish characters.)

In 'Of Double Letters', we read, 'When *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, follow *s* in the same syllable, they are pronounced as if doubled; thus *slíabh*, *srían* and *sníamh*, are to be read *slliav*, *srrian*, *snniav*.' <cc>, <tt> and <pp> for <g>, <d> and <b> are noted (contradicting an earlier statement that only <l>, <n> and <r> are ever doubled). 'But when two consonants meet in a compound word, they retain their primitive sound; as *brait-tirim* is read, and usually wrote also, *braitirim*'. Assimilation of <ld> and <ln> is noted (though an example is only given for the latter, viz. *colna*).

Eclipsis is treated with the aid of a table of the 'seven consonants that suffer eclipsis' (pp. 199–200, omitting <g>, which is treated separately). <ng> in eclipsis 'is so far peculiar, that the *g* is not quite taken off, but is partially pronounced, as in the English, jointly with the *n*; as *ar ngort* our corn' (p. 200). 'Suppression' (i.e. homorganic delenition) is briefly adverted to. Connellan manages to disimprove on Vallancey's presentation by interposing a 'Table of contractions and secondary mutes' into the middle of this discussion.

Connellan must have had a practical, pedagogical aim in mind in appending an introduction to reading Irish to a religious work designed to further the spread of scriptural awareness among Irish speakers. It speaks volumes about Connellan's lack of planning on this occasion (evident also in his other productions) that he selected Vallancey's historical grammar — which had no such object in mind — of all possible guides to plagiarise.[88]

[88]For some information on Connellan and the difficulties of providing an adequate account of works in which 'material is used over and over again' and 'the pagination is often irregular', see O'Sullivan (1941–3).

1820 The Spiritual Rose again[89]

It has already been noted that the 'Instructions' of the first edition of the *Spiritual Rose* were reprinted in the 1825 edition. In an intervening edition of 1820, however, now represented by a unique copy in the library of the National Folklore Collection at UCD, they were replaced by a few lines on lenited letters at the bottom of the last page of the book:

> Take notice, dear Reader, that if you find any difficulty in reading this Book, on account of the mortified letters you meet mostly in every word, you can easily understand them by viewing them in the underneath line, where every mortified letter is known by having H annexed to it; and the letter that such a mortified letter signifies, is placed under the same, as thus. —

The list that follows is alphabetical with <bh> and <mh> equated with <v>, <dh> and <gh> with <y>, and <ph> with <f>. Bizarrely the value of <fh> is given as <o> (read <0>?). This is the simplest guide we have met with thus far, but it would find imitators.

1820 Scurry[90]

James Scurry's guide is a very different beast from that found with the 1820 edition of the *Spiritual Rose*. Scurry was a Kilkenny-born scribe and linguist, deeply influenced by contemporary linguistic thought and concerned with the philosophy of language.[91] Prefixed to his translation of Giovanni Battista Manni's *Four Maxims of Christian Philosophy* is 'An Introduction to the Irish Language' (pp. v–xxx), which is subtitled 'A Comprehensive Exemplification of the Alphabetic sounds, and their corresponding English sounds, as a further illustration of them, so far as could be affected by the substitution of English Characters'. The subheading suggests familiarity with Patrick Lynch's grammar of 1815, but beyond this verbal resemblance I can see nothing to indicate that Scurry made use of Lynch's work.[92] The heading 'The Modern Irish Alphabet' on the first page of this guide suggests familiarity with Vallancey's

[89] *The Spiritual Rose, or Method of saying the Rosaries of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, and the Blessed Virgin, with their Litanies: also the Meditations and Prayers, adapted to The Holy Way of the Cross; &c. This edition has been arranged, corrected and revised, by an eminent Irish Scholar and Divine and several Devotions and Prayers have been added, which was not in any former Edition. Rendered into Irish by Matthew Kennedy. Greacen, Printer, Monaghan, 1820.*

[90] [First title page] *Cheithre Soleirseadha de'n Eagnuidheacht Chriostuidhe, tarraingthe o cheithre leur-smuaintighthibh na siorruidheachta. Air na sgriobhadh go bunnudhasach ann Iottailis le Eoin Baptista Manni, dhe Chomhluadar Iosa, agus curtha a mBeurla Sacsanach le W. V. agus ionntoighthe o Shacs-bheulra go Gaoidheilg le Seumas O'Scoireadh. Portlairge: ar na chur a gClodh le Eoin Bull. 1820*; [second title page] *Four Maxims of Christian Philosophy, drawn from four considerations of eternity. Written originally in Italian, by John Baptista Manni, of the Society of Jesus; and translated into Irish by James Scurry. To which is prefixed, An Introduction to the Irish Language, for the use of Persons desirous of learning their vernacular tongue without the aid of a Teacher. Waterford: Printed by John Bull. 1820.*

[91] Scurry and his linguistic thought are the subject of a detailed (if somewhat unwieldy) study by Ua Cearnaigh (2011). The text to be discussed here is reproduced in an appendix to that volume.

[92] *For-oideas ghnaith-Ghaoighilge na h-Eireand. An Introduction to the Knowledge of the Irish Language, as now spoken*: *containing a comprehensive exemplification of the alphabetic sounds*

grammar. But Scurry's greatest debt is to Donlevy, from whom he has clearly absorbed a great deal (as already mentioned above).

The letters are numbered, given their Irish letter-names and a 'derivation'. The usual subdivisions are carried out. Scurry introduces the compound terms *leathan-ghuthaidhe agus caol-ghuthaidhe*, which reflect the influence of English terminology on his thinking (p. vi). He notes the terms *Deagh-fhoghracha agus Treagh-fhoghracha*, and the subdivision of consonants into mutables and immutables, but also into 'simple and aspirated, broad and slender' and 'labials, dentals, gutturals, nasals and palatals', reflecting his own grounding in phonetics. The same categories are proposed in the grammar prefixed to O'Reilly's 1817 *Sanas* (p. 2), but the distribution of consonants is somewhat different. Scurry gives further information on some of these categories. Simple consonants are defined as 'those which have the sound of one letter unmixed with others'. He equates aspirated with mutable consonants. His subdivision of the consonants into phonetic categories is as follows: the labials are made up of lenited *b, p, f* and *m*; the dentals are *t*, *d* and *s*; the gutturals are lenited *c*, *g* and *d*; the nasals are *m*, *n* and *ng*; the palatals are *l* and *r*. He then refers to 'servile or adventitious consonants', which 'eclipse the radical or primary consonant of the word' (p. vii). The 'adventitious' use of <n>, <t> and <s> before vowels is also noticed. He explains his usage of capitalising the radical letter throughout his work (see also p. xxx), a usage already encountered (and described) in Donlevy.

The first table exhibits 'the Quantities of Simple Vowels' (p. viii). The numbered lines recall the layout in Neilson's grammar of colloquial Ulster Irish (pp. 3–4),[93] though there is a greater variety of tables in Scurry. As noted by O'Donovan (*Grammar*, lxiii), this contains valuable information on the Irish of Ossory, but Scurry was also a prescriptivist, concerned with standardisation and guided by his sense of 'analogy'. He notes, for example, a 'diphthongal' *a* in *ball* (pronounced 'a short and oo close') and *tabhairt* ('ou in sound') (p. viii), but later condemns the diphthongisation of *a* and *o* brought about by middle quantity or the vocalisation of lenited consonants as being 'diametrically opposed to analogy, and contrary to the nature of these pure-sounding vowels' (p. x).[94] Beneath this table he gives 'General Rules for pointing out

and a complete analysis of the accidents of the declinable parts [. . .]: *systematically arranged and methodically disposed in fourteen short synoptic tables.* [. . .] *By Patrick Lynch, Sec. to the Gaelic Society of Dublin, &c. Dublin: Printed by Graisberry and Campbell, 10, Back-Lane; And sold by Messrs Gilbert & Hodges, H. Fitzpatrick, Cummins, Watson, &c., Booksellers, Dublin, 1815.*

[93]*An Introduction to the Irish language in three parts. I. An original and comprehensive grammar. II. Familiar phrases and dialogues. III. Extracts from Irish books, and manuscripts, in the original character. With copious tables of the contractions By Rev. Wm. Neilson. Dublin: Printed for P. Wogan, 15, Lower Ormonde-quay, 1808.*

[94]He includes *aghall* 'flesh hook' in his list, though the <gh> in that word is originally no more than a hiatus-marker, the Old Irish form being disyllabic *aél*; see *DIL* s.v. 2 *áel* and Watkins (2005). The Classical Modern Irish form is given in *IGT* II as *áeil* (perhaps *aéil*), but I have no examples in verse to confirm whether this remains disyllabic. In the Irish Old Testament, the word is spelt *adhal*. It is difficult to account for the form *adhal*; like the <gh> of *aghall*, the medial 'consonant' of *adhal* is probably no more than a hiatus-marker and the short final syllable may reflect contamination with *gabhal* 'fork'.

where different sounds of the Vowels prevail', which is a rudimentary attempt at formulating the phonotactics of vowel-length in Irish (pp. ix–x), building on an earlier attempt by Donlevy.

Another table follows, dealing with diphthongs. We may note here that he gives the pronunciation of <ea> in *rinneadh* as 'obscure', like 'e in her' (p. x). The pronunciation of <oi> in *coill* is given as 'i in while' (p. xi). The triphthongs are dealt with somewhat more speedily. For those diphthongs that vary in length, reference is made to the general rules concerning the distribution of vowel-length proposed under the simple vowels.

Under 'Of the Consonants', the traditional bardic division into consonant-classes is noted and then each consonant is treated 'in its simple, aspirated and eclipsing or eclipsed states' (pp. xii–xiii). The presentation of information here draws inspiration from Donlevy but the exposition is much more detailed. It is only partially alphabetical (radical *b*, lenited *b*, nasalised *b* are followed by <bp> and <bhf>, then *c*). Earlier spelling conventions are sometimes noted. Where necessary palatal and non-palatal radical consonants are distinguished. Initial broad <bh> 'sounds exactly like *w* in the English words, wall, wo, woo', but 'in the middle of a word, preceded or succeded by any vowel, or when followed or preceded by *e* or *i*, it sounds as *v* in the English words, lover, virtue, live'. The last statement is (partially at least) a prescriptive rather than descriptive observation: as an example, he gives *labhairt*, but earlier he complains of the 'diphthongal' pronunciation of the word (p. x). Still under <bh> there follow general rules on lenition (pp. xiv–xv), in what is referred to as 'a guide for the scholar'. General rules on eclipsis are given under <bhf> (p. xvi).

On initial slender <ch> he only states that it is 'a slender sound' (p. xvii). Two pronunciations of radical *d* are given: palatalised <d> is a 'slender or liquid sound like *d* in the English words dew, duty' (p. xviii). The treatment of <dh> is thorough; it distinguishes between a 'broad, flat sound, for which we have no corresponding English sound, as heard in *mo dhorus* [...]', 'a sharp, squeezed sound, corresponding with *y* in the English words ye, yet, and is caused by being in the beginning of a word, and followed by *e* or *i*', and 'an aspirate sound at the end of verbs of the infinitive mood, present participle and participial nouns, and all other nouns ending in *dh*', for which examples like *ag deanadh* 'doing' are given. Scurry then adds that it can have 'the sound of *g* simple' in the passive past tense (*rinneadh e*) and 2 pl. imperative ('*buailidh* strike ye') (pp. xviii–xix) and as gen. sg. and nom. pl. of masc. nouns ending in *-ch* (p. xix). He objects that *manaich* is 'more correct and analogical [i.e. regular]' than *manaigh* and is the spelling which he has adopted for all such nouns in his work. He further notes words like *mordha* and *diadha*, where <dh> is realised like <g>. Finally, he states that some verbal ending *-eadh* are pronounced as if in *-ch* (p. xix).[95] Under 'dT', he notes that 'D also eclipses F', as when 'the pronoun *do*, thy, becomes elided or apostrophized before it' (p. xx; cf. p. xxi), an old idea — met with as early as Daniel (1658) and found

[95]Though Scurry alludes to other forms, he gives examples only of the conditional *-f(e)adh*. The *-dh* of the conditional ending is pronounced /x/ in some modern dialects (*SnaG* 485, 556), as it was in the Irish of Kilkenny (Breatnach 1992: 27, 36, 37, 41).

again in O'Connuill (1795) — that the prevocalic form with elided vowel of words like *do* is to be analysed as the initial of a word beginning with a lenited *f*-.[96] As far as the phonological word is concerned, this is accurate enough, but it is also a convenient rule for reading, as the orthographical word too appears to begin with <d>.

Scurry incorrectly states that *fh* is 'styled by the poets a rough consonant'; he is confusing this with *f* and *ph*. His interest in phonotactics emerges again when he remarks that '[t]his combination can begin, but never end a syllable' (p. xxi). He notes elsewhere that '[t]he ancients wrote *ff* for this combination [*bhf*]'. <gh> is said to be 'more guttural' than <dh> (p. xxii).[97] Broad <ng> is said to come 'very near the sound *ng* has in the English words, longer, stronger, thus divided *lo-nger*, *stro-nger*', while the palatal allophone resembles 'singer' divided as 'si-nger' (p. xxii). He further emphasises that the sounds must 'flow together' in Irish *ng*. Broad <l> is said to have no corresponding sound in English (p. xxiii). Of double <l>, he notes that *colna* is pronounced *colla*, and that 'sometimes in the beginning of a word though single it sounds as if double, when the personal pronoun (*a*) her is placed before a word beginning with L or when it is combined with S', and that 'the same may be remarked of *n* and *r* in the same situation'. <mh> is said to be somewhat more nasal than <bh> (p. xxiv). Broad <n>, Scurry informs us, is like no sound in English, but 'sounds broader and flatter than *Gn* in the English word *Gnaw*'. Under 'bP', he notes that 'the Antients wrote PP for bP' (p. xxv). Scurry has a charming description of the palatal *r* of Kilkenny Irish: 'A slender sound when closing a syllable, and *i* the next vowel to it, which nearly resembles the sound *z* has in the English words, glazier, grazier' (p. xxvi).[98] Finally, he protests at the exclusion of <h> from the Irish alphabet (pp. xxviii–xxix), a point made earlier by Plunket in his edition of *Génair Pátraic*.

In concluding, Scurry recommends O'Brien's and O'Reilly's Grammars and laments that 'for the want of Irish type in Waterford' he could not have the book printed 'in the native Irish Characters'.

Scurry's 'Introduction' is a work of scholarship and insight, but it is difficult to assess its utility. Its placement, at the beginning of a religious translation, suggest that it is a manual for reading Irish, but it reads rather like a short linguistic treatise on Irish phonology and orthography, and, indeed, it is presented as such. The comparisons to English sounds seem more designed to clarify the phonology than to render the task of reading Irish easier. From a practical view-point, shorter, less technical (and of necessity less accurate) manuals would undoubtedly be of more use. On the other hand, Scurry's reference to the 'scholar' may suggest that he thought of his 'Introduction' as a work for study in the classroom rather than as a simple key to rapidly

[96] *T*' is mentioned as a variant of *d*' 'your' (p. xxi). One suspects that Scurry's sense of analogy may have led him to prefer the more 'regular' *d*', though *t*' remains current in some dialects.

[97] Cf. Ó hÚrdail (2013: 657), where it is claimed that some Munster dialects maintain a phonemic distinction between /ɣʲ/ (normally corresponding to *gh*- before a front vowel) and /j/ (normally *dh*- before a front vowel).

[98] This sound is denoted by /ʒ/ in Breatnach (1992: 23).

acquiring enough knowledge to read the translation, in which case the detailed description of Irish sounds would not be out of place as part of broader studies in the Irish language.

1822 Denn[99]

The much-reprinted *Pious Miscellany* of Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin[100] was furnished by Patrick Denn of Ceapach Choinn in Waterford with a short guide to reading Irish in an 1822 edition. The preface 'To the Public' from 'The Editor' expresses the hope that the book will come into 'the hands of the rising Generation' and also 'the Adult', and that it will be sung '[d]uring the Long nights of winter' by Catholic families (p. 2). Beneath the heading 'Instructions for Reading this Miscellany', which occurs at the end of his edition of the Pious Miscellany (pp. 129–30), Denn begins:

> Dear Reader,
>
> Perhaps you may find some difficulty in reading this Book on account of the mortified Letters, when the letter *h* is annexed to them. In order to facilitate such difficulty to you, I have in the following remarks, explained by a few Examples, how you are to pronounce such words or syllables as have been mortified by the addition of said letter (*h*)...

He then gives eight numbered rules (which correspond to eight 'mortified' consonants). <bh> (point 1) and <mh> (point 5) are pronounced 'like *v*' (but his examples only show lenition in initial position). <dh> (point 2) and <gh> (point 4) sound 'like *y*': again only initial position is given. <ch> is not discussed. <th> is said to sound 'like *h*' (point 8). For broad medial and final *th*, one might have expected the pronunciation /x/ (*SnaG* 487), but Denn may not have wished to give such a local pronunciation in a guide of this type and, in any event, as with <bh> and <mh> he appears to have had only initial <ch> in mind.

The second page begins, 'When the following Consonants meet together in the beginning of a word or syllable, the second is influenced by the first'. He gives examples of the nasalisation of initial <b>, <c>, <d>, <f>, <p> and <t> and also 'A Cseaghain, O John, &c.' 'Cseaghain' is presumably for *ChSeagháin*: <cs> is obviously intended here to reflect a realisation of lenited *s-* with slender onset as [xʲ], a feature of the Irish of Waterford (Breatnach 1947: 140) and other dialects. This spelling is not uncommon in late manuscripts.

The final section is headed 'Of the Vowels'. 'When *ao* meet together, they sound like *e* in English', while *aoi* 'sound like *ee* in English'. 'When *ai* meet, they sound like *oi*; as, faisg, squeex; sail, heel, &c.' Denn then writes:

[99] *A New Edition of Timothy O'Sullivan's Commonly Called Taidhag Gaodhlach's Pious Miscellany. Much improved and well corrected, with an appendix, of other religious compositions, And now recommended to all devout Catholics as a Work of great merit. Sixth Edition. Cork: Printed by Charles Dillon, No. 1, Castle Street, 1822.*

[100] See Sharpe (2014) for editions of the text.

> As to the sound of the other vowels when they meet, they mostly sound as they do in English; but sometimes short and sometimes long, as occasion requires. — When they have a long sound, there is generally a little stroke called Aspiration placed over them in some Irish books: as for example — do ghearas mo mheur, I cut my finger; do bhuail me Tomas, I beat Thomas, &c.

There is clearly typographical and terminological confusion in the above-cited passage.

Denn concludes:

> I think there is no occasion to say more here concerning these little remarks. If the Learner desires to acquire a better knowledge of the Irish, let him get a good Irish Grammar which may give him copious information of the Rudiments and Spelling Rules of the Language. It is there he can satisfy his desire, and gratify his curiosity.

This brief introduction is dated 'Cappoquin, April 9, 1822.'

Denn had the added advantage of his own more phonetic spelling system, which he employed in all his writings and which simplified the task of reading Irish for Irish-speakers literate in English but not in literary Irish. His guide was thought good enough to be plagiarised by the Cork printer William Fergusson and used to fatten up unsold copies of the latter's 1821 edition of the *Pious Miscellany*.[101]

1822 Donlevy again[102]

The editor, Fr. John M'Encroe (1794–1868), a native of Ardsallagh, Co. Tipperary and graduate of Maynooth, concludes his preface to this edition of Donlevy's Catechism: '[f]or the convenience of those, who are desirous to study the Irish, a clear and comprehensive compendium of Irish Grammar is attached to the work' (p. v). 'A Compendium of Irish Grammar' makes up pp. 413–24. It begins with an Irish alphabet with letter-names, the corresponding English characters, (for vowels) examples of both long and short quantity, and finally English explanations of the letter-names. The consonants are said to be like those in English (p. 414). The vowels are subdivided. The use of the mark of length is mentioned. Five 'diphthongs'

[101] *A New Edition of Timothy O'Sullivan's Commonly Called Taidhag Gaodhlach's Pious Miscellany; much improved by many religious additions, and now recommended to all Devout Catholics, as a work of great merit. The sixth edition. Cork: Printed and sold by William Fergusson, 22, Patrick-Street, Within One House of Marlborough-Street, 1821.* (Sole traced copy now in the NLI.)

[102] *An Teagasg Críosduidhe. The Christian Doctrine, by way of question and answer, in Irish and English* [. . .] *by Rev. A. Donlevy, DD. Revised by the Rev. John M'Encroe. Corrected from the Press by E. O'Reilly, Esq., Author of the Irish Dictionary, Grammar, Irish Writers, &c.* [. . .] *With a Pathetic Poem of the life and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and A Compendium of Irish Grammar. Dublin: Printed by Thomas Courtney, 18, Whitefriar-street; Sold by R. Coyne, 4, Capel-street, and D. Wogan, Merchant's-quay, and the principal Booksellers in Ireland, 1822.*

that are always long are given (not including <eo>) and the five triphthongs. <l>, <n> and <r> are declared to be immutable, though when doubled 'have a strong sound'. Under the heading 'Of mutable or aspirated consonants', advice is given on pronunciation: slender <bh> or <bh> at the end of a word is pronounced 'like *v*', broad <bh> 'like *u* or *w*' (p. 414). The same distribution is later given for <mh>. Broad and slender <ch> are distinguished. Broad <dh> 'sounds like *gh*' (but the example given is *mo Dhia*!), while slender <dh> 'sounds like *y*'. Following a consonant or at the end of the word, it 'has a weak aspirate sound'. Broad initial <gh> 'has a deep guttural sound', but slender <gh> 'sounds like *y* in *youth*'. <gh> is mute medially or at the end of a word. The pronunciation of <dn> in *ceadna* and <ln> in *colna* is briefly treated (p. 415). Eclipsis is indicated by a table, which shows the relevant mutations on eight consonants (including <t> on <s>) and gives a more phonetic spelling of their pronunciation (*ar mbrón, ar mrón*).

The rest of the compendium is concerned with grammar proper: 'Parts of Speech', which gives four nominal declensions and discusses adjectival declension also; 'Degrees of Comparison'; 'Pronouns'; 'Auxiliary Verbs' and 'Regular Verbs' in both active and passive voice. For 'compound pronouns', the reader is referred to 'O'Brien's grammar' (p. 419). Reference is also made to the grammar in O'Reilly's *Sanas.* This is the second time in such a guide that a précis of Irish grammar was appended to the more usual phonological information (see Lynch's 1810 effort above).

1824 (?) Doway Catechism again[103]

The manual to reading Irish in the 1824 (?) edition of the Doway Catechism is the same as that printed in 1738 ('A few Instructions for reading the Irish Language'), but it is repackaged on the title-page:

> The Doway Catechism, in English and Irish for the use of Schools. To which is prefixed a method of learning to read Irish without a Master, for the instruction of such persons as have neglected this useful study in their youth; and is a most excellent introduction to the reading and understanding of Dr Gallagher's seventeen Irish sermons, so universally read throughout the Kingdom of Ireland.

By this period instructional books that could be used 'without a master' were a feature of publishing; this is the context in which John O'Daly and others were to produce books of self-instruction for use 'without a master' in

[103] *The Doway Catechism* [...] *Galway: Printed and sold by George Connolly, Book-Seller and Stationer, No. 5, High-street,* [?1824].

Irish.[104] The *Sermons* of James Gallagher (†1751), bishop of Raphoe (originally sixteen when first published in 1735 but by 1740 a seventeenth was often added) were, indeed, printed many times (the last edition noted is in 1820), and it is a measure of their success that this guide to reading is here associated with them.[105]

1825 Denn again[106]

At the back-cover of his *Catholic Children's Religious Primer*, Denn prints a 'N.B.' concerning 'the mortified letters'. He must have taken inspiration from the 1820 *Spiritual Rose* or something similar to it. As in the 1820 *Rose*, Denn here gives the eight letters in question with an English equivalent beneath, and here too the value of <fh> is given as <o> (i.e. <0>?).

1830 Owen Connellan[107]

In 1830, Owen Connellan, a native of Co. Sligo and relative of Thady (whose slavish recycling of Vallancey as a guide to reading Irish was described above, p. 264), printed the Gospel of St John in Irish with an interlinear English translation, followed by a 'grammatical praxis' (line-by-line grammatical notes). He explicitly acknowledges (p. v) that he is following the method of James Hamilton (1769–1829), who printed part of St John's Gospel in French with an interlineal translation in 1816 and followed this with other texts annotated in the same way. This was preceded by eleven pages of 'A Short Introduction to Irish Pronunciation' (pp. 1–11) and 'familiar phrases' (pp. 12–17) (which include such 'familiar phrases' as the Irish for 'God save the king' and 'Bishop Bedell was the first person who translated the Old Testament'). There are also 'familiar conversations' and 'numerals' at the end of the book (pp. 258–76).

In the grammatical notes on the gospel text, Connellan references Neilson's grammar of colloquial east Ulster Irish (1808), 'the least exceptionable [grammar] hitherto published' (p. 140), and Connellan's 'Short Introduction' owes a certain amount to that grammar. It begins with 'The Irish Alphabet',

[104] John O'Daly, for example, was clearly influenced by such books. He wrote to John Windele on 13 February 1847: 'A new edition of *Self-Instruction* goes to press in a few days and I propose bringing it out on the plan of those books entitled language "without a Master". At all events it will differ materially from the *Self-Instruction*' (Ó Drisceoil 2007: 159–60). The reference is apparently to the first edition of his *Féin-Theagasg Gaoidheilge. Self-Instruction in Irish; or, The rudiments of that language brought within the comprehension of the English reader, without the aid of a teacher. By John O'Daly. Dublin: John Daly, 25, Anglesea Street, 1846* [*sic*].

[105] For Gallagher's sermons, see Walsh (1911) and O'Rahilly (1913).

[106] *The Catholic Children's Religious Primer; containing the prayers, &c., necessary for the instruction of youth, and even for the adult; also, the Lord's Prayer, and the principal parts of the Mass expounded, with, the Rosaries and Litanies of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, the Rosary for the dead, and the Recommendation of a soul departing, &c. Translated by P. Denn. Irish. Cork: Printed for the author by Charles Dillon, 1825.*

[107] *The Gospel according to St John in Irish, with an interlined English translation; and a Grammatical Praxis on the Gospel according to St Matthew, in Irish: accompanied with a short introduction to Irish pronunciation; and an appendix, consisting of familiar conversations. For the use of students, by Owen Connellan, Transcriber of Ancient Irish Manuscripts to His Majesty* [*Dublin:*] *Printed for Richard Moore Tims, 85, Grafton-Street, Dublin; Hamilton & Adams, Paternoster-Row, London; Waugh & Innes, Edinburgh 1830.*

giving the Irish letters (upper- and lower-case), then the corresponding English letters, the Irish letter-names and translations of these last. There follows a 'Table of Contractions', which, incidentally, gives *go* and *gan* as the values of <g> + suspension stroke. The alphabet and the vowels are subdivided in the normal way and the concept of broad and slender is introduced. The 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' are listed, and those that are always long are given (<iu> is wrongly included here, but given as both long and short two pages later).

The second page is headed 'Sounds of the Vowels' and in layout clearly follows Scurry (see above). It begins, 'The organs of speech admit only a limited number of essentially different positions formative of articulate sound', and in a wordy paragraph explains that despite this 'hardly two languages exist, in which all the sounds are strictly identical'; nonethless the sounds of Irish are approximated as best as possible to English, or failing this to other languages, in the tables that follow. The various pronunciations of each vowel are set out in lines of four columns which allow for cross-referencing: for example, '1. *á* long', which in English is said to sound like '*a* in *a*ll', has the examples *bán* and *bár*, which are then spelt phonetically (p. 2). The phonetic transcriptions are the most elaborate hitherto published in such a guide; the influence of John Walker's *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*, first published in 1791, to which explicit reference is made once in the guide, is clear.[108] Two '*a* shorts' are given (though one of these would today be described as being of middle length). '*a* obscure' is used to describe the schwa in the second syllable of *adharc*, while '*a* diphthongal' describes the first vowel in that word. '*e* obscure' is compared to the vowel in English 'the', with reference to 'Walker's Dictionary'. Irish *én* and *lén* are said to contain '*e* diphthongal' and are to be pronounced '*ay*-en' and 'l*ay*-en' (that is, with a clearly audible semivowel or vowel glide). On p. 6, Connellan turns to 'Sounds of the Diphthongs', which are presented in a similar way. The phonetic transcriptions allow him to capture the semivowels after the initial consonant in *ceól* ('ky*o*-*u*l') (p. 6) and *fuil* ('f*wi*l') (p. 7). Note the phonetic rendering of *coir* as 'k*ŭ*-*i*r'. The long <ui> in *buidhe* (not to be confused with <úi>) is said to sound like '*ui* in l*ui*.French.' (p. 4). After 'Sounds of the Triphthongs', Connellan writes:

> It is here to be observed, that most of these diphthongs and triphthongs are improperly so called; being either single vowel sounds, as shown by the references to the table of vowels; or dissylables, as shown by the hyphens in the English spelling. They appear, however, to be considered as such; because all of them ought to be pronounced as much in one syllable as possible. (p. 4)

As an example of a hyphenated spelling, one can cite *fuar* '*foo*-*u*r', which is indeed a true diphthong, but Connellan is the first to recognise in print (in

[108]Lynch's 1815 grammar of Irish also makes use of similar conventions to those found in Walker's *Pronouncing Dictionary* to better indicate pronunciation.

such a guide at any event) that the traditional terminology of 'diphthong' and 'triphthong' is inaccurate.

The 'Sounds of the Consonants' are presented in similar tables. These deal only with the radical forms. 'ddh' is used to indicate the pronunciation of broad <d> as in *dán* ('*ddh*awn') (p. 4) and this is explained in a note: 'This is a combination of the sound of *d*, as in *d*o, and of *dh*, as *th* in *th*en.' Three *l*'s are distinguished: '1. l.' sounds like '*l* in *l*ow' and is found in Irish *bealach* ('ba*l´*-ogh'), while '2. l.' apparently sounds like '*ll* in fi*ll*e, French' and is found in *leac* ('*ll*a-uc').[109] He explains (pp. 5–6) that this pronunciation is brought about by the presence of a 'diphthongal *y*' in pronunciation. '3. l.' is nasal and occurs in Irish *lán*. Similarly, two *n*'s are distinguished, the second of which (found in *ní* '*nn*ee') is compared to '2. l.' (p. 6). Two *r*'s are distinguished: '1. *r*, thrilled' (like in English '*r*ow') found in Irish *rann*, and '2. *r*, slurred' (like in English 'fa*r*' but 'accompanied with something of a guttural hissing through the teeth') found in *géire*. Only one <t> is given (the Irish example is *tor*), transcribed as *tth*, which is then explained.

The 'Mutable Consonants' are not treated in tabular form, instead being dealt with under headings ('*bh* and *mh*', '*ch*', etc.). Broad <mh> and <bh> are said to sound 'like *w* in wall'. (The examples show these letters in initial and medial position.) Slender <mh> and <bh> 'sound like *v* in vine'. (The examples are in initial position.) Broad <ch> 'has a strong guttural sound, like *gh* in lou*gh*, like the Hebrew ק, the Greek χ, or German *ch*' (p. 6). Palatal <ch> is 'less guttural'. 'Before the triphthong *uai*, it approximates the sound of *f*: as *chuaidh* (*f*oo-ee) *he went*.' (This pronunciation is found in most parts of Connacht today (*SnaG* 593) and was presumably a feature of Connellan's own dialect.) The pronunciation of broad and slender <dh> is distinguished (the latter 'takes the squeezed sound of *y* in *y*et') and the loss of palatal <dh> at the ends of words or syllables (when it 'has the sound of *ee*') is discussed (e.g. *bidhim*, which is in fact historically *bím*). He then discusses instances where <dh> has 'the sound of *oo*' (pp. 6–7), as in *leigheadh sé* 'let him read', which is transcribed as 'llay*´-oo* shay', and instances where it is silent (p. 7).[110] He repeats the erroneous claim — ultimately derived from Vallancey and adopted from this authority by his kinsman Thady into his guide (see p. 266 above) — that palatal <ph> 'in the genitive or vocative cases' is silent (p. 8).

At the end of this discussion of mutable consonants, Connellan has a long and detailed discussion of when aspiration occurs (pp. 8–10), expanded from a similar list in Scurry. He notes lenition of the 'pres. participle' of the substantive (*ag bheith* 'being', where *a bheith* must be meant) and counts the nasalisation of *f*- in *ní bhfuilim* etc. (see fn. 19) as 'aspiration'. Environments in which 'eclipsis' occurs are then given (p. 10), with a brief definition of that change, followed by a 'Table of Eclipsed and Eclipsing Letters' (p. 11). <g>

[109] From context it is clear that a pronunciation of *fille* like /fiʎe/ rather than modern /fij/ is meant.

[110] Note that the *-dh* of the verbal ending is not rendered as an alveolar /d/ before the following *s*-initial pronoun here (cp. *SnaG* 556).

is not given here, but *t*-prothesis on <s> is. The example *do'n g-cailín* is interesting.[111] The double-letters which 'supply the place of Eclipsis' (<cc>, <ff> for <bhf>, <pp> and <tt>) are briefly given, as are 'Immutable Consonants Doubled' (medial and final <ll>, <nn> and <rr>). The guide concludes with 'Immutables and Mutables Joined Together' (<ln> in *colna*, <dl> in *codladh*, <dn> in *céadna* and <ng> in *ngar*). Of the latter, Connellan writes that it 'has a nasal sound, like *ng* in E*ng*lish; as *ngar* (*ng*ar) *near*, which is to be pronounced as much in one syllable as possible'.

One notices that the guide grows less detailed as it goes on, but Connellan was evidently content with his treatment of Irish spelling and pronunciation on this occasion, for it is adopted wholesale with only minor modifications into his 1844 *Practical Grammar of the Irish Language*.[112] One imagines from the context and the level of detail that, like Scurry's *Cheithre Soleirseadha*, this was a work for the classroom.

1835 Laoithe Chruit Ársa na hÉireann[113]

It is doubtful whether this evangelical production of thirty-four new pious songs composed to traditional Irish melodies ever found many readers. After a glossary (pp. 49–52), we are treated to an alphabet (p. 52; eighteen letters, the Irish characters capital and lower case presented parallel to the English characters, with <h> given last) and 'Contractions' (p. 53). The 'Mutable Consonants' are discussed in less than half a page (p. 53). Noteworthy is the distinction between the pronunciation of slender <bh> ('sounds like *v*') and broad <bh> (English <w>), while <mh> always 'sounds like *v*'. <ch> is said to sound 'like *ch*', but no further details are given. The 'Eclipses' (including as now familiar *t*- before *s*-) take up less than half of p. 54, but no indication is given of how to pronounce them. In concluding it is noted that <cc> is pronounced like <g>, <pp> like <b> and <tt> like <d>. It is surprising to see the return of <pp> at such a late date: it is first met with in this context in Daniel's 1658 guide, then in the New Testament Alphabet of 1818, in Thady Connellan's guide of 1819 and in Owen Connellan's Gospel of John in 1830. On this occasion again we are dealing with a Protestant text.

[111] *Don* is followed by nasalisation in the Irish of East Galway (*SnaG* 604) and this was likely the case in Connellan's Sligo dialect also.

[112] *A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language, by Owen Connellan. Dublin: Published by B. Geraghty, 11, Anglesea-street, 1844.*

[113] *Laoithe Chruit ársa na hÉireann, do mhic agus d'inghiona thire na ran, re D. O. M. 'Eirin mo mhuirnín'. London: Printed by Robson, Levey, and Franklin, 46, St Martin's Lane, 1835.*

1836 Townley's efforts[114]

The synoptic life of Christ in Munster Irish produced by the Limerick-based Rev. Charles Gostling Townley (1781–1856) in 1836 begins with a preface that sets out the contents of the work, followed by remarks on dialect differences (p. 2). On the spelling of the 'preter tenses and passive particles' (the past tense passive) we are told that they are spelt to reflect the Munster pronunciation (*múineag* or *múineach* for *múineadh*). The Connacht forms of some words are given to illustrate dialect differences further (*neithibh* for Munster *neithe*, *ndeárnadh* for *ndeárnathas*). The following remark is interesting for the information it provides us on how it was hoped such a work would be used: 'Other variations, as occurring in different provinces, the careful reader will attend to, and accommodate himself to the ordinary pronunciation of his hearers.' After a prayer before reading the Bible (in Irish and English) on p. 3, half a page is made up of 'Directions for reading Irish', which consists of an alphabet in Irish characters over their equivalent in English, and then an alphabetical list of lenited and nasalised letters (<bh> broad, <bh> slender, <bf>, <bp>, <cc>, etc.). Slender <bh> (and <mh) 'sounds like *v*', broad <bh> (and <mh>) 'like *w*'. <ch> is 'gutteral, as in *loch*'; slender <dh> 'sounds like *y*', while broad <dh> is 'gutteral'. Noteworthy is the inclusion of <df> (pronounced like <d>) and <mf> (pronounced like <m>) in this list. Contractions are given in a single line at the end.[115]

Townley is probably the author of the more detailed two-page 'Directions for reading Irish' printed at the end of an undated Religious Tract Society publication, *Gaduighe a' fághail bháis, agus Slanathoir a' fághail bháis*, a translation of Richard Knill's *A Dying Thief and a Dying Saviour*. The 'Directions' are subdivided into six sections, each of which has its own rhyming mnemonic. The first section gives the 'Capital and Small Letters' in irish type and their English equivalent with the lines, 'The letters are not hard to tell / If *r* and *s* are master'd well.' Under 'Contractions', we have some of the more usual abbreviations with the couplet, 'This mark [the *sed*-symbol] for *cht*, pray mind / And all the rest you'll easy find.' On vowels: 'Let *a*, *o*, *u*, a broad sound take, / But *e* and *i*, you'll slender make.' The 'Long Accent' is explained: 'The *Sheena fada*, where 'tis found, / Will greatly lengthen out the sound.' Short/long pairs are then contrasted: *bas*/*bás*, *beith*/*béith* (historically *bé*), *min*/*mín*, *mo*/*mó* and *dubh*/*dúbhach* (where the long vowel of the latter is historically the result of compensatory lengthening). The guide is interrupted by the Lord's Prayer but continues with 'Aspirated Letters': 'All Consonants, but three alone / Take Aspirates, and change the tone' (a footnote names <l>,

[114] *Beatha ar dTiarna Iosa Criosd, do réir chómh-aontúghadh na Gceithre Soisgeul, a gCanmhúin Chóige Múmhain: le craobhsgaoileadh, nó míniúghadh na Scriptúiridhe Naomhtha, A slighe Gairid So-thuigsiona, Déanta go fírinneach; agus le mian chum maitheasa mhuíntire na hÉirionn. Second Edition, stereotyped, 1836. Dublin: Printed by P. Dixon Hardy, Cecilia-Street. Sold at Robertson's, Grafton-Street; Ledger's George's-street and No. 2, Thomas-street, Limerick; G. Ridings, Cork; Ward & Co., 27 Paternoster-row, London.*

[115] Townley's productions, like those of Thady Connellan, are often complex and it is difficult to separate one item from another or to determine with certainty the exact shape of individual items. There may be other items of relevance among his productions.

<n> and <r> as the three consonants that resist aspiration). The aspirated consonants are listed with some guide on pronunciation (see above). All of these are in initial position; no comment is made on medial or final lenited consonants. Townley then turns to 'Eclipsing Letters': 'The term Eclipse will plainly shew, / What work these letters have to do.' The 'eclipsing letters' are listed like the 'aspirates' (<mf> and <tf> in *m'fear* and *t'fear* respectively are listed). In a footnote, the explanation is expanded: 'In all these instances, the first letter eclipses the following one, and so deprives it of its sound as if it were altogether omitted.' This rule does not hold, however, for <cc> or <tt>, which Townley gives, and indeed perhaps for this reason he includes 'cc like g' in the footnote.

Who was Townley writing these directions for? He may have hoped that those distributing the tracts would provide a brief course in Irish literacy based on his guide, so that native speakers literate in English would have enough help in the directions to be in a position to read aloud to their neighbours. Superficial as his mnemonics were, they represent an effort to make the material as attractive and memorable as possible.

1837 Dánta Diaga[116]

This book of Protestant hymns translated into Irish by Mícheál Ó Conaill of Millstreet, Co. Cork, like *Laoithe Chruit Ársa na hÉireann*, probably attracted few readers. The address to the reader begins:

> These Hymns are adapted to the Munster Vernacular Dialect for the sake of those who have a slight knowledge of reading, I have digressed a little from the orthography of the Language, with the desire of making it by that means more easily read and understood. But as the reader goes on he will find it approaching nearer the regular form until towards the end, it altogether takes it up. (p. [5])

The guide itself is presented on the back-cover (the first time I have noticed such a placement). There we read that there are nine consonants which can combine with <h> ('aspiration') and so change sound. <bh> and <mh> 'represent v or w', <ch> 'has a guttural sound, <dh> and <gh> sound like English <y>, etc. A footnote states that these last two are silent in the middle and end of words. Eight 'Eclypses' are mentioned, in which a letter is prefixed to another, the second losing its sound. In a footnote we are told that <ng> is pronounced as in English 'king'. Finally the use of the accent to mark length is noted with the minimal pair *bas*/*bás*, which might have been suggested by O'Reilly's *Sanas*, where we find the same pair (p. 2) or Townley's 'Directions' published with the *Gaduighe* (discussed above) or it might have been arrived at entirely independently. (It is found again in 1842; see p. 281 below.) Beyond that remark there is no comment whatsoever on the vowels.

[116] *Dánta diaga, aistrithe o Hags-bhéurla go Gaodhailge, agus tuille cumtha gcanmhúin Mhúimhin, le Micháel Ó Cunnuill, Sráid-a-mhuillin a gconthao Chorcuidhe. [Ps 149:1]. Cork: Printed by W. Morton, 36, Prince's-street, 1837.*

1839 Tuam Catechism[117]

This monolingual catechism prepared for the Catholic archdiocese of Tuam includes two pages of English-language 'Directions for reading the Irish Language' at the end (pp. 77–8). They are probably the work of Martin Loftus, who became professor of Irish in Maynooth in 1820 (Tynan 1985: 85–6). The alphabet is given — first all in upper-case, then all in lower-case. The vowels are listed. As a 'General Rule', we are told that 'The vowels are short, except when marked with an accent, or followed by an aspirated consonant and other letter or letters in the end of word'. The minimal pair *sal* 'filth' and *sál* 'heel' is given, and 2 sg. imperative *figh* (short) is compared with *dlighe* and *slighe* (long). 'This rule has exceptions.' The diphthongs are given and those that are always long are listed. 'The rest short, unless marked with the accent.'

Aspiration is then explained under that heading. The sounds of the various aspirated letters are given. <bh> 'sounds as *v* or *w*, as *mo bhord*', a vague formulation that does not make clear whether the pronunciation /v/ or /w/ is a case of free variation or depends on position or consonant quality. <ch> 'sounds as *gh* in *lough*, as formerly pronounced in Ireland, as *mo chos*'. <dh> and <gh> 'sound generally as Y consonant in the beginning and middle of a word' but '[i]n the end of a word it is scarcely ever sounded' (p. 78). <mh>, like <bh>, 'sounds as *v* or *w*'.

Beneath the heading 'Eclipsis', we encounter the definition: 'that is, a letter may be placed before them which renders them entirely quiescent, except in the instance of the letter *g*', and a table illustrates the changes (including *t*-prothesis). A footnote on *ng-* gives the familiar instruction, 'This sound must be learned; there is none like it in the English Language.'

These rules, concise but clearly written, would be disimproved in the later edition (see p. 289 below).

1842 Carad an Chríosdaigh[118]

This is a basic devotional booklet prepared by Jonathan Furlong, a Catholic priest born in Limerick but based in Kilrush, Co. Clare.[119] Though printed in roman type, lenition is indicated by means of a dot over the relevant consonants. It concludes with 'Rules for Reading' (pp. 205–8), written in a simple and repetitious style. It begins:

> The vowels are a, e, i, o, and u.
>
> The vowels a, o, and u, are said to be broad vowels.
>
> The vowels, e, and i, are said to be slender.

[117] *An Teagasg Críosdaighe, de réir chomhairle Ard Easboig Thuama, agus Easbog na Cúige sin. [Mc 10:14]. A m-Baile Atha-Cliath: Clóbhuailte le T. Coldamhell, 1839.*

[118] [First titlepage] *The Christian's Friend; containing certain prayers necessary for the discharge of the service of God. By Jonathan Furlong, Catholic Priest.* [*Mt 7:7*]. *Dublin: Sold by the booksellers, 1842*; [main title facing frontispiece] *Carad an Chríosdaigh; no leabharán ionna bhfuil urnuighthe áirighthe riachtanach chum seirbhís dhiadha do chomhlíonadh. Le Ionatan Furlong, Sagart Catoilice.* [*Mt 7:7*]. *Dublin: Sold by all booksellers, 1842.*

[119] For Furlong, see Ní Dheá (2003).

> All the vowels are pronounced short, unless they are accented, in which case they are pronounced long; as bas, the palm of the hand; bás, death. (p. 205)

There follow 'Rules for the Asperated Letters'. Furlong does not use <h> as a mark of lenition, so his definition of 'Asperation' — which does not affect <l>, <n> or <r> — explains it as the change of sound that occurs when a consonant is dotted (pp. 205–6). The rules for individual 'asperated' consonants are vague. Similar to the instructions in the 1839 Tuam Catechism, dotted <b> and <m> are said to 'have the sound of v or w' and examples are given (*a bhean, leabhar, a mhian, domhan*). Dotted <c>, <g> and <d> are treated together: 'in the beginning of a word, when followed by a broad vowel, [they] have the rough guttural sound of gh in the English word *lough*; (as generally pronounced in Ireland;)' (p. 206), a common comparison in the case of <ch> (also met with in the Tuam Catechism). Initial slender dotted <c> is said to assume 'a sound resembling that of h in the English word *hear*' (p. 207), while initial slender dotted <g> and <d> are given the usual English equivalent (<y>). Medial and final broad dotted <c> retains 'its rough guttural sound', but medial and final <gh> and <dh> are silent (as in *modh* and *righ*). We note that palatal medial and final dotted <c> is not discussed.

On eclipsis, Furlong's own orthographical convention allowed him to simplify matters somewhat:

> When a letter is set before the first letter of a word, and the little mark (-) called a hyphen set between them, the first letter of such words is said to be Eclipsed, because it is not sounded at all, but instead of it, the letter that goes before the hyphen is that which is sounded; thus, a g-cosa, their feet, is sounded as if it were written, a gosa; and so on for all such forms of words.

This concludes the guide. We can compare Donlevy and Scurry's use of capitalisation to clarify this issue with Furlong's hyphen. There is some slight ambiguity here, as Furlong also uses the hyphen to separate a vowel from h-prothesis (e.g. *na h-imdhearg mé*, p. 129). He also does not explain the *n*-stroke, of which he makes liberal use.

1843 M'Sweeny[120]

Conor M'Sweeny was a native of Passage West, Co. Cork. His *Songs of the Irish* appeared in six numbers in 1843, beginning in April (p. 48) and ending in September (p. 49). He informs us (in a note written at the top of the sole extant copy) that the first number was written at Inverness, December 1842. M'Sweeny was a passionate nationalist-minded defender of the Irish language and, like John O'Daly (see next item), sought to make Irish literature (in M'Sweeny's case, specifically folk-songs) available at the price of one

[120] *Songs of the Irish.* [*By Conor M'Sweeny. Dublin: S. J. Machen, 28, Westmoreland Street, 1843.*]

penny per number. Though the book was primarily intended, it seems, for native Irish-speakers and learners, much of it was clearly written with an eye to other readerships, in particular scholars of language and 'the English critic' (p. 11). The notes to the songs are mainly etymological and comparative: in the first number, for example, M'Sweeny connects the 'termination' *-dóir* in Irish *spealadóir* to Spanish *-dor*, and analyses *tascana* as the English loanword *tasc* with a native plural suffix, proceeding then to a discussion of plural suffixes with references to Persian, Greek, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Punic,[121] English and French (pp. 5–6). Dialect forms and pronunciation are sometimes adverted to (such as Munster *machnamh* for *machnadh*, p. 7), but besides explanations of literary and historical allusions, M'Sweeny's primary concern in the commentary was demonstrating the significance of the Irish language for linguistic scholars. He himself noted towards the end of the first number:

> The department of "comparative philology" might be greatly extended, if time and other circumstances permitted; the examples here given are supplied from memory alone; it does not properly belong to the work, but I am anxious to shew that scholars have, in the Irish language, a rich subject of research, if they will but avail themselves of it. (p. 8)

At the end of the second number, M'Sweeny published an 'Irish Alphabet with the several powers of the letters' for 'those who may wish to teach themselves Irish' (pp. 13–16). The Irish letter is given in irish type with advice on pronunciation: '*a* pronounced like *a* in *far*', '*b* pronounced like *b*'. M'Sweeney — a stickler for detail and a severe self-critic[122] — strove to be accurate and comprehensive while still providing practical guidance to the reader reliant on these rules, though the result is often confusing, as when he writes:

> *bh* pronounced *v*; often silent between vowels, and when occurring in combination with another consonant, but it is to be observed that silent letters influence the sound of the preceding vowel. Its true sound is, I apprehend, that of the Spanish b, viz. initial w in English.

Similarly, he notes that <ch> is pronounced gutturally but also 'like *h* between vowels' and that it is sometimes silent (in the indicative and secondary future endings of the second conjugation, for example). Such formulations must have been difficult to digest. In the latter case at least he provides clearer guidance: 'it will be safe to follow the general rule of pronouncing it like *gh*

[121] M'Sweeny rejects Betham's theory — expressed in his *Etruria Celtica* (London), published in the same year, though M'Sweeny does not name the publication — that Irish was to be connected with the Punic language. The idea was not new. Vallancey had proposed this identification in his 1772 *Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language* (Dublin).

[122] The sole extant copy of M'Sweeny's *Songs* is the heavily annotated authorial copy owned by Whitley Stokes. Apparently, M'Sweeny himself arranged for copies to be gathered up and destroyed. He was clearly dissatisfied with errors and textual uncertainties in his editions. For M'Sweeny, see Ó Drisceoil (2006).

or *h*'. His observation that <d> (non-mutated), <l>, <n> and <t> are pronounced 'with the tongue full against the teeth' is a good first effort at bringing out a detail of Irish pronunciation which does not normally find a place in guides of this type. M'Sweeny distinguishes between slender and broad *s* by means of the following vowel but without introducing a distinction between these categories — an entirely defensible pedagogical decision.

Etymological speculation intrudes again when M'Sweeny observes that all vowels were originally short as long vowels are specifically marked long (p. 14). He explains the pronunciation of 'combinations of vowels' in the same way as the basic alphabet and lenited consonants. M'Sweeny highlights older spellings on occasion, observing that <aoi> ('pronounced like *ee*') is <ai> 'in old works'. Some of the orthographical distinctions M'Sweeny draws are probably illusory. He distinguished between <aoi> and <aói>, the latter 'pronounced like *ay-i*', as in *faóiseamh*; while M'Sweeny would certainly have been in a position to know how the word *faoiseamh* was realised by speakers of Munster Irish, the use of <aói> to indicate [e:] with broad onset and palatal offset is otherwise unknown to me. <ea> ('pronounced like *a* in *far* nearly, and in old works *e*, as *ealt*, a flock, herd') is accidentally given as <ae> in the sequence. M'Sweeny rejects the spelling <eu> for <éa>, hinting that the former represented a different pronunciation. Some misunderstanding is evident in his discussion of *leán* 'sorrow' and *ceás* 'to torment' (p. 15): M'Sweeny advocates pronouncing them as *léan* and *céas* respectively, but this is their proper spelling in any event. <eo> and <eó> are clearly distinguished, but no distinction of length is made with <iu>. M'Sweeny also distinguishes between <ua> ('pronounced *oo-a*, as *duadh*') and <uá> ('pronounced *o* long, as *nuádh*, new; *uá*, son') — this is simply an attempt to accommodate the pronunciation of <ua> as [o:] in certain words with the conventions of the spelling system. M'Sweeny has two pronunciations for <úi>, but here he confuses a long *u* with palatal offset (*súil*) and what would now normally be spelt <aoi> (*muīne*, i.e. *maoine*); he decides to mark the former with a grave accent and the latter with an acute (p. 16).

Perhaps to ameliorate the difficulty of reading <dh> and <gh>, the discussion of 'vowel combinations' also includes information on the pronunciation of <aidhe>, <oidhe>, <aighe> and <oighe> (all 'like *ee*'). Here M'Sweeny carefully notes that the presence or absence of an accent may alter the pronunciation, by which he presumably means that *óighe*, for example, is not to be pronounced the same as the <oighe> of *snoighe* etc. M'Sweeny concludes this section with the observation that Irish has no silent vowels at the ends of words and lacks the combinations <au>, <ie>, <oa>, <oe> and <ou> and double vowels.

His 'Instructions' come to an end with 'Combinations of consonants', by which he means initial mutations other than lenition indicated by two graphs: <bp>, <bf>, <cc>/<gc>, <ff>, <dt>/<tt>, <ts>, <ng>, <nd>, <nn>, and <pp>. He then remarks, 'When one word begins with any of these combinations, take away the first letter, and you have the true one', where 'true one'

means 'radical consonant'. On <nn> he remarks that it 'has a peculiar influence on the vowel before it, lengthening its sound', the only allusion to what we would term 'middle quantity' in the first iteration of his 'Instructions'. He concludes: 'I do not think it necessary to trouble the reader with many other particulars. *Usus te plura docebit*.'

M'Sweeny returned to these brief rules in the fifth number of his *Songs* with 'Instructions in Irish continued' (pp. 33–40). This supplement begins with a long discussion of the rule *leathan le leathan, caol le caol* (pp. 33–6). Though he allows exceptions in compounds — his justification being that assimilation does not occur when an adjective is attributive (e.g. *crobh mhín*) and so need not occur when a noun and adjective are compounded (e.g. *crobhmhín*) — M'Sweeny argues at length for the validity of the rule against Bishop O'Brien ('author of a very interesting, though scanty, dictionary of the Irish language') (see p. 259 above).

Following this discussion, he re-visits 'Vocal Sounds' (p. 36), his intention being 'to give the reader a more precise idea or knowledge of the vocal sounds of our language than perhaps he has been able to collected from No. II'. Though this discussion marks an improvement in some points of detail, it is less streamlined in presentation. In many cases M'Sweeny provides more common-place items of vocabularly as examples than on his first outing as an explicator of Irish orthography and phonology. The most significant difference in his treatment of vowels on this occasion relates to middle quantity. Under 'Single vowels, short' <a> now has two pronunciations: 'like *a* in *far*' but also like *aoo* 'in one sound' when followed by *-ll*, *-mm*, *-nn* (e.g. *ball* 'pronounced *baool*'). The examples suggest that this change is restricted to monosyllables, though this is not made explicit. He does not neglect to note that a following vowel cancels this lengthening, so that the pronunciation of the vowel in *clann* and *clanna* is distinct. M'Sweeny also notes that <o> 'is pronounced like *o* in *word*, as *borb* proud, *gorm* blue'. Middle quantity is not mentioned in connection with any other 'short' vowels, but under 'Single vowels, long' we find *ard* and *bard* spelt *árd* and *bárd* ('pronounced like *a* in *war*'), and *binn* is given under <í>. Though not a comprehensive treatment of diphthongisation and vowel-lengthening in certain environments, the revised discussion is certainly an improvement in detail on the simple short/long opposition of his initial foray into the genre of 'Brief rules'.

The discussion headed 'Combinations of vowels' (pp. 37–40) is an inchoate attempt to identify the core of the vowel in the case of 'diphthongs', a term which here still covers both true diphthongs and simple long vowels indicated in writing by means of a sequence of vowel-graphs. Treating of the palatal glide in *óir*, M'Sweeny writes 'The sound of *i* is insinuated rapidly between *o* and *r*, it seems not to be there yet it is'. He notes that in *áir*, 'the broad vowel is chiefly sounded', but in *suím* 'the slender vowel is the prevailing sound'. He corrects his earlier error regarding <úi>, now distinguishing between <úi> and <uí>. He introduces <ae> ('always long' and described as 'a rare combination'), and at a later point <ea>, which had been mis-spelt as

<ae> in No. II, is printed correctly ('pronounced short, like *ea* in *heart*'). Middle quantity rears its head again (though not by that name) in the discussion of <ai>, where we are told that *baill* is 'pronounced *bweel*'; M'Sweeny defends this pronunciation as historical and wonders about how best to represent it in spelling, proposing <aì>. M'Sweeny flirts with reforming the spelling system by eliminating 'silent' letters, asking rhetorically why the awkward spelling *ballaidhe* for *ballaí* is preferred. He returns again to the two realisations of <aoi> and proposes now to distinguish between <aoi> (as in *claoin*) and <ae> (as in *faoiseamh*). <eu> is admitted again, but he urges that a final decision be made as to whether <éa> or <eu> should be used 'either being unnecessary while we have the other'. Short <iu> (as in '*tiumh*, fast, thick') is now distinguished from long <iú> ('as *liú*, a cry'). The pronunciation of <ua> as [o:], which M'Sweeny indicates with <uá>, is now 'a manifest anomaly', and he proposes spelling it <ó> or <uó>, 'possessive [i.e. genitive] and plural *uoí* and *uì*', that is, when palatalised, this <ua> (in *ua* 'descendant', for example) becomes <uoí> or <uí>.

M'Sweeny brings this revised discussion of vowels to an end with an admirable attempt to describe the schwa:

> N.B. When *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, stand by themselves in a monosyllable, they have the sounds respectively assigned to them; but in a dissyllable or trisyllable, when not accented, they have an obscure sound resembling *i* short. The same is to be said of *ea*, in words ending in *eamh*.

M'Sweeny concludes with 'one or two general observations on the consonants' (p. 40), which are worth quoting in full:

> That *d*, *t*, *l*, *n*, are pronounced with the tongue full against the teeth. This is always true of *d* and *t*, but not always of *l* and *n*; and the cases in which they are uttered with the tongue against the roof of the mouth as in English, are generally these — when they occur in the end of the same syllable with *d* or *t* initial, in which case the repercussion of the tongue against the teeth would have a disagreeable effect. For example, in the word *dána*, *bold*, the *n* is pronounced with the tongue against the roof of the mouth, to avoid the repetition of the same movement after *d*, as also in the word *tanaidhe*, *thin*, and *l* in *talla*, *a hall*, for the same reason. Also when they come in combination with *m*, as in *calma, anm* [*sic*], *brave*, *the soul*.

M'Sweeny only draws attention to a distinction between palatalised and non-palatalised consonants in the case of <s>; nonetheless it seems safe to assume that the above lines means that both palatalised and non-palatalised /d/ and /t/ were produced by pressing the tongue against the upper teeth. If his account of the articulation of the tongue is accurate in the case of /l/ and

/n/, it seems more likely that the tongue was slightly raised following /a/ than because of proximity to initial /t/ or /d/ or a subsequent /əm/.

These 'Instructions' and the following supplement have a rather haphazard feel.[123] M'Sweeny was learning on the job and improving rapidly: though the early numbers are undated, their author informs us that the first instalment appeared in April 1843 and No. V was published before August of that year. With a good ear and an eye for detail, M'Sweeny might have produced a guide at once more comprehensive and more digestible, had he taken heed of pre-existing guides like that by Scurry; as they are, however, the 'Instructions' show no obvious indebtedness to any of his predecessors. By the time he came to publish his *Self-Instruction in Irish* the following year, covering much the same ground, the presentation was far more satisfactory and the treatment was more clearly focused on the needs of one particular group of readers.[124]

1844 O'Daly[125]

Seán Ó Dálaigh's 'Introduction to the Irish Language' in his *Reliques of Jacobite Poetry* (pp. iii–viii) is extracted from Mac Curtin's Grammar with only minor changes, and as a result seems old-fashioned judged against the shorter manuals and the more linguistically-oriented introductions that had appeared in the meantime.[126] The letters and letter-names are given in *An Chéad Chaibidiol* (as in Mac Curtin) along with some observations on the Irish alphabet, the letters <k>, <q>, <w>, <y> and <z>, and the concept of 'mutables' and 'immutables' is introduced. In discussing the individual mutable consonants, however, O'Daly is prepared to make slight changes to Mac Curtin's text. Where Mac Curtin compares lenited *b* or *m* to Latin *v*, noting that the latter 'sounds much smoother, and lower' than the former, O'Daly treats them separately, uses English *v* as the pronunciation of <bh> and supplies his own (often livelier) examples, while of <mh> he writes that 'it pronounces like *V*, or somewhat broader, like *W*, in the English language' (p. iv). Significantly, O'Daly omits all of Mac Curtin's discussion of lenited and unlenited *l*, *n* and *r*, the reduction of <ll> and <nn> to <l> and <n> in syncope, as well as the consonant-classes of bardic poetry (see above).

His second chapter departs further from Mac Curtin. O'Daly equates 'Influences' with 'Eclipses', whereas Mac Curtin gives other types of 'Influences' (the term, his chapter heading makes clear, refers to the influence of consonants

[123] M'Sweeny's discussion of 'silent letters' in the sixth number of his *Songs* (pp. 45–8), in which he takes issue again with one of Bishop O'Brien's pronouncements, is not relevant for our purposes: it is a comparative and etymological treatise rather than a practical guide to reading Irish and is not presented as a continuation of his 'Instructions'.

[124] *Self-Instruction in Irish, (Part I.) consisting of exercises in spelling and pronunciation, chiefly designed for the youth of Ireland. By Conor M'Sweeny. Clanna Mílidh! Dublin: Printed for the Compiler, by Goodwin, Son and Nethercott, and sold by Geraghty, 12, Anglesea-street; Warren, 8, Tighe-street; and may be had, by order, of all booksellers, 1844.* Only one part ever appeared.

[125] *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry: with Metrical Translations by Edward Walsh. Biographical sketches of the authors and interlinear literal translations by John O'Daly.* | [*epigram from Denis Mahony the Blind*] | *Kilkenny: John O'Daly, Rose-Inn-Street, 1844.*

[126] For Ó Dálaigh, see Ó Drisceoil (2007).

on one another), of which 'Eclipsis' is but one sort. Whereas Mac Curtin has eight consonants that suffer eclipsis and gives them in tabular form, O'Daly gives the number as seven — though he treats of all eight, repetitiously pointing out that it is the first letter that 'carries the force' in each instance — and abandons the tabular format (pp. v–vi). He winds back to treat of the assimilation of <ln> (dealt with in Mac Curtin's first chapter) and writes, 'Thus ends a true and full description of all the consonants, both single and double, plain, and aspirated'. Despite this 'Finit' O'Daly continues on the topic, giving the letters that are never aspirated and classifying the double-consonants as *teann* (a category which also included <ng> and <m> in Mac Curtin, as in bardic grammar).

No heading separates the vowels from the consonants, though Mac Curtin treats of them in a separate chapter. Nonethless the dependence on Mac Curtin remains heavy here despite some abridgement and re-arrangement. Where Mac Curtin has 'Here the learner is to understand the power of the long accent over any single vowel, or Dipthong short of Nature, and the same accent is to be observed in all such syllables as it governs' (p. 22), Daly has 'The learner must observe, that the vowels are always of a short quantity when without an *accent* or *long stroke*, thus (´) set over them, but when this stroke is placed over a vowel in any syllable, it gives it a long sound' (p. vi). His definitions of 'diphthongs' and 'triphthongs' are borrowed from Mac Curtin, and he gives their traditional groupings and their English renderings, and the two quatrains beginning *Cheithre hamharchoill riomhthar ann* and *E, a dtúis gach Eabhadha áin*, as in Mac Curtin, but O'Daly provides additional information on pronunciation lacking in Mac Curtin. Interestingly, having stated that <ao> 'sounds like *e* in the English language', he declares of <ae> that it is 'pronounced as it comes' (p. vii). Of <eo> and <ua> he writes that one 'pronounces both together in the word', an observation which is not particularly helpful. He neglects to give an example of short <iu> and, indeed, appears not to recognise it (p. viii). After paraphrasing a note from Mac Curtin on the use of the length-mark, he gives 'Examples of long and short sounds', the point of which it is difficult to detect, before writing that 'Dipthongs and Tripthongs shall never be divided', condemning *pi-an* for *pian*. The introduction concludes with the claim, 'By a careful perusal of this short Introduction, the learner will be able to use any Irish book with ease.'

In a scathing review in *Dolman's Magazine* II (1846), 201–2, which took exception to the anti-English sentiment so obvious in O'Daly's work, doubt is cast on the utility of this guide: 'Perhaps we are not apt scholars; for certainly we never learned any language with the facility here promised.' It could be objected that by 'learner' O'Daly may have meant not so much an *ab initio* learner of Irish but an Irish-speaker coming to the reading of Irish for the first time. But O'Daly clearly had a very wide readership in mind: his *Reliques* appeared in numbers sold for a penny (he specifically mentions the 'Irish peasantry' in his preface, p. ii), with word-for-word interlinear translations and more literary renderings, and it is clear that he hoped to expand the readership of Irish and to make Irish literature more widely available. Though the review

in *Dolman's Magazine* comes from a hostile quarter, the criticism has some validity: O'Daly might have selected a more easily digestible guide in such a context and there were more suitable models for him to choose from. His next effort was more successful.

1858 O'Daly again[127]

In 1858, O'Daly published his own revised edition of the poems of Tadhg Gaelach with some bardic poems and more modern verse. Once again O'Daly's readership is the Irish 'peasantry', but it seems the book was targeted primarily at Irish-speakers:

> In consequence of the numerous errors with which all former editions abounded, a new edition of a book so popular as the present was quite indispensable; and in order to place a correct version in the hands of the peasantry, to whom, in Munster particularly, its contents are as familiar as household words, we have undertaken the task. (p. v)

Defending his use of roman type, he declares 'every peasant who speaks Irish and reads English can master the work in its present form'.

At the bottom of p. viii of his introduction, O'Daly prints 'Directions for reading this book'. In a few lines, he goes through 14 letter-combinations and one simple letter that might give pause to an Irish-speaker literate in English but not Irish: <ae> ('sounds like *e* in the word *they*'), <ao> ('sounds like *ay* in the words *say*, *bay*, *hay*'), <aoi> ('sounds like *ee* in the words *see*, *thee*'), <iui>, <eo> (which is treated as if only long), <bh> ('sounds like *v*'), <ch> (no distinction is made between broad and slender), <dh> ('sounds like *y* in the words *young*, *yet*'), <fh> ('no sound'), <gh> ('sounds like *y* in the words *youth*, *yew*'), <mh> ('sounds like *w* before broad vowels' and 'like *v* after slender vowels'), <ph> ('like *f*'), <sh>, <s> ('sounds before *e* and *i* like *sh* in *ship*, *sheep*'), and <th>. The spelling of the edition is semi-phonetic, following Denn, which was an advantage for O'Daly, and while this short guide has some strange omissions (broad <dh> and <gh>, for example) and inconsistencies (O'Daly gives different examples for the pronunciation of <dh> and <gh>) it was eminently more suitable than his first effort fourteen years earlier.

1858 Munster New Testament[128]

The brief preface by Robert Keane, of Rahona Lodge, Carrigaholt, Co. Clare, dated 10 October 1858, sets out the goal of this publication. The existing Irish

[127] *Timothy O'Sullivan's (Commonly Called Tadhg Gaelach) Pious Miscellany; containing also a collection of Poems on Religious Subjects, by Ængus O'Daly the Divine, Tadhg Mac Daire Mac Brody, John Hore; together with Patrick Denn's Appendix. Edited by John O'Daly. Dublin: John O'Daly, 9, Anglesea-Street, 1858.*

[128] *Tiomna Nuadh ár dTighearna agus ár Slánuightheóra Íosa Críosd: do tarraingíoch roimeseo go firinneach as an nGréigis go Gaodhailge Conachdach; agus anois atá aisdrighthe do réir na Gréigise céadna go Gaodhailge Chúige-Múmhan: le Riobeárd Ó Catháin ó Chóntae Chlár. Baile-Átha Cliath: Hodges, Smith, 7c.; Lúnduin: air na dhíol le Samuel Bagster agus a mhic, an bhliadhain d'aois ár dTighearna 1858.*

translation of the Old and New Testaments 'is admitted by competent judges to be a reasonably faithful and good one'. The translations of William Daniel and William Bedell are those meant. The preface continues:

> This has been in use for many years, and few doubt its adequacy to meet the wants of the Irish-speaking population. [. . .] The existing translation of the Irish Testament has not only a number of original words, but endless inflections of words, not understood by the peasantry in the South and part of the West of Ireland,—such words being in the dialect spoken in the Province of Connaught two hundred years ago,—and the altering continually of such words, whenever I read the Irish Scriptures, and substituting others of the Munster dialect, gradually led me to the thought, which I had not at first conceived, of going systematically through the whole of the New Testament, with the help of a competent Irish writer, who was thoroughly acquainted with the language as spoken in the South of Ireland; and this resulted in the production of the present version.

His competent 'writer' is nowhere named. The idea that the Irish Bible reflected Connacht Irish may derive from the statement in the Irish version of the epistle to the reader in the 1602 New Testament that parts of the text were printed *ar chosdus Chóigidh Chonnachd, re linn Shior Risdeard Bingem do bheith na uachdarán innte*, 'at the expense of the Province of Connacht, while Sir Richard Bingham was president there'. Comparison with the 1602 New Testament version reveals that the revision is mostly cosmetic (e.g. *ribh* > *libh*, 2 pl. imperative -(*a*)*idh* > -(*a*)*igídhe* etc.[129]) with occasional slight re-wording (e.g. *air fásach* > *a bhfásach*, *ríoghachd Dé* > *ríoghachd na bhflathas*).

A small slip is pasted at the front: 'Any person who speaks the Irish language and has ever learned to read English, can read this book with ease, if he will for a few minutes study and observe the corresponding letters in the following alphabet'; only three lenited letters are included: <bh> is equated with <v>, <dh> with <y>, and <mh> with <w>. The claim is hardly to be taken seriously.

1862 Tuam Catechism again[130]

The 1862 edition of the Tuam Catechism was edited by Ulick Bourke, Professor of Irish (and other subjects) at St. Jarlath's College, as revealed by a note in David Comyn's copy (NLI AA14756). The text is furnished with a number of footnotes, some of which give information on pronunciation. The

[129]The 2 pl. imperative ending -(*a*)*idh* is the more usual termination in West Munster, but -(*a*)*igí* is recorded in Clare, Waterford and East Cork (O'Rahilly 1932: 61; Ó Murchú 1984: 164).

[130]*An Teagasg Críostaighe, do réir Chomhairle Ard-Easboig Tuama agus Easbog na Cúige sin. Buailte go nuadh ó bhuan-chló. A m-Baile Atha-Cliath: Clobhuailte le C. M. Mharrean, 21 Oirmhumhan Calaidh Uachdar, 1862. The Christian Doctrine, compiled according to the resolution of the Archbishop of Tuam, and the bishops of that province. Dublin: Published by C. M. Warren, 21, Upper Ormond Quay, 1862.*

first footnote (p. 1), for instance, on the word *maidne*, notes the assimilation of *dn* to *n*, comparing *céadna* and *cind*. The second notes the assimilation of *dl* to *ll* in *codladh* ('pronounced *colloo*'). Other notes, however, are purely etymological, such as the derivation of *míniughadh* from *mín* (p. 20 n. 1).

The two-page guide to reading Irish at the back (pp. 77–8) is a slight re-working of that in the earlier edition (see p. 280 above) but introduces inaccuracies. The statement that vowels are short unless otherwise marked long is replaced with the statement that they are long when so marked or 'generally when followed by the aspirated consonants', as in *dlighe*, *fighe* and *righ* (historical *rí*). Final <dh> and <gh>, which in the earlier version are 'scarcely ever sounded' at the end of a word here lengthen the preceding vowel (this is untrue in words like *modh*). While the statement that <fh> is 'not entirely quiescent' is accurate enough, at least in the accompanying example (*dam féin*, where *féin* is pronounced with initial /h/ or /p/), it seems excessive on the part of the reviser to clutter up such a brief guide with marginal cases. The 'revisions' occasionally introduce contradictions. The sound of <ng> has no parallel in English (a statement retained from the earlier edition) but is also, we are told, heard at the end of words like 'song' and 'ring'!

1863 O'Reilly Catechism[131]

This edition printed one of the Munster versions of the 'O'Reilly Catechism' for the Keating Society. In the preface, reference is made to 'flourishing Irish classes' in Maynooth and 'some of the public schools in these dioceses' (p. iv). The hope is expressed 'that, apart from its primary use as a manual of Christian doctrine, it will be found a useful class-book in the hands of the many thousands, who, throughout the province, are now learning to read and write the olden tongue' (p. v). The catechism was printed twice in 1863 — once in Irish characters and once in the standard Roman characters.

Seven pages of 'Short Instructions for the Use of Beginners', mature and well-written, precede the catechism (pp. i–vii). They are signed 'WW', that is, William Williams of Dungarvan, who compiled this edition. They begin:

> It will not be necessary for the young learner to commit these explanations to memory; but he should read them over a few times *carefully*, so as to understand them thoroughly, with a view to refer to them afterwards whenever any difficulty should occur to him in reading the catechism. By a little application, he will have the satisfaction to find himself, *in a few weeks*, able to go without any assistance, and to read not only the catechism, but every other Irish book he may happen to take up. (p. i)

The eighteen 'characters' of the Irish alphabet are given. 'These are formed very like the English letters, except ɲ, ɾ, c, r, s, t: the learner should first make

[131] *An Teagasg Críostuidhe, agus na gnáth-úrnaighthe; nuadh-scríobhtha agus léircheartuighthe, le Fuirionn Dhochtuir Céitín, re hAonta Aird-Easpuig Caisil agus Imligh, agus na nEaspog uile Chúigidh Mumhan. Cuireadh an leabhar so i m-buan chló le Seon F. Fobhlaeir, Ninteoir, Reaceadóir, agus Leabhar-Cheanaidhe i mBaile Atha Cliath, A. T. 1863.*

himself acquainted with these letters, so as to be able to know all the characters at a glance.' (In the version of the catechism printed without Irish characters, this last comment is omitted. The pagination remains the same by having the first page of the instructions begin somewhat lower down the page in that version.)

The vowels are given and subdivided into broad and slender and the remaining characters are said to be consonants, except <h>. Under the heading 'Sounds of the Vowels', Williams notes that the five vowels can be both long and short, and a table gives a guide to their pronunciation ('*á* long' is said to sound like '*a* in *call*', etc.). Under 'Sounds of the Diphthongs', he defines a 'diphthong', gives the thirteen vocalic digraphs, divided into their traditional groupings by a semicolon but without further comment: <ae>, <ai>, <ao>; <ea>, <ei>, <eo>, <eu>; <ia>, <io>, <iu>; <oi>, <ua>, <iu>; <oi>; <ua>, <ui>. Of these, <ae>, <ao>, <eu>, <ia> , <ua>, and 'generally' <eo>, are 'always long' (p. ii). A table illustrates their sounds. Interestingly, long <aí> as in *aímsir*, which in some dialects has a diphthong resulting from middle quantity, is given as long with the sound '*oi* in *toil*'. Similarly, <eí> is said to be long, as in *greím* (p. iii). Short <eo> is mentioned here. <oí> occurs in *croídhe* (the first vowel to be pronounced like '*uee* in queen'), which is also the pronunciation of <uí> in *buídhe.* No recommended pronunciation is given under 'Sounds of the Triphthongs' (p. iii).

Beneath 'Sounds of the Consonants', we are informed that the consonants are pronounced like English but 'have a *thicker* sound', and they are both broad and slender (p. iv). 'It may be well to observe, once for all, that the slender sound of *s* is *always* the same as that of *sh* in English.' (This blanket statement may have been motivated by the non-palatal *s-* of *scéal* etc. in some Munster dialects; *SnaG* 490.) The immutable consonants are given, so called 'as they never change from their radical sounds'. The remaining consonants are treated under 'Table of the Aspirated Consonants' (pp. iv–vi). Here the mutable consonants are entered separately according to their position and whether they are broad or slender: so <bh> and <mh> 'broad, com. and end, sounds like *v*' but '*bh*, *mh*, broad, mid., sounds like *u* or *w*', while <bh> and <mh> 'slender, com. and end, sounds like *v*' but medially 'generally silent'. It is added that there are 'some slight shades of difference between the sounds of *bh* and *mh*, which it is unnecessary to here point out'. Broad and slender <ch> are distinguished and 'slender' <ch> is pronounced like <h> medially and finally (as in *fiche* or *deich*). Initial broad <dh> and <gh> sounds 'like a thick *y*', but these are silent medially; the slender varieties sound like English <y> initially, but are silent internally and finally (as in *buídhe*). In noting compensatory lengthening, the issue of 'silent' <dh> and <gh> is simplified.

'Eclipsis of Consonants' takes up the rest of the guide proper. 'Eclipsis' is defined and examples of pronunciation given, followed by a table illustrating the pronunciation on the various relevant letters (including as usual *t*-prothesis on initial *s*-) (p. vii).

The guide concludes:

> It would swell the size of the Catechism beyond the proper limits to extend these instructions any further; even the little here offered, if well understood, and followed out, will enable every boy and girl in the province, in a very short time, to read their native language, the language in which Patrick, Columkille, Brigid, and countless thousands of other saints prayed, and instructed our forefathers, and which, perhaps, before all other living tongues, would be appropriately called the language of prayer.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In the above survey, I have attempted to highlight some points of intrinsic interest in these guides for historical dialectology and the history of the Irish grammatical tradition. The importance of Daniel's 1652 account as a source for seventeenth-century Leinster Irish or the insights to be gleaned from Scurry (1820) and Connellan (1830) into the now-extinct dialects of Kilkenny and Sligo respectively should be obvious. It has already been remarked several times that it is unclear how effective these guides were or, indeed, could be. Each must be judged according to its intended readership. The detailed, linguistically oriented survey provided by Scurry for the 'scholar' in 1820 cannot be judged by the same yardstick as the brief one-page guide found on the back of the paper wrapper of a slim volume of Protestant hymns in 1837. The authors or adaptors of shorter guides may have had different ideas of what was truly essential than we do.

The success or lack of success of a given guide depended too on the skill of the author or adaptor of the manual. Though a native speaker, Stapleton clearly lacked the necessary training and pedagogical insight to provide a reliable or useful guide for his illiterate fellow Irish-speakers; he found no imitators. Richardson on the other hand was influential. When pre-existing guides were re-published or revised, whether associated with the same text or not, the new context and the manner of revision had a role to play in whether the manual would prove effective or not. Thady Connellan (1819) and John O'Daly (1844) reproduced, with slight modifications, long passages of earlier grammars as guides to reading Irish, though their exemplars were unfit for purpose in their new context, while Ulick Bourke (1862) managed to disimprove the lucid, accurate and concise guide first appended to the Tuam Catechism with extraneous and inaccurate additions of his own. It is noteworthy that in borrowing from (or plagiarising) pre-existing guides, our authors did not respect confessional boundaries: the short Protestant Catechism of 1680 shows the influence of Dowley's 1663 Catechism, while the 1738 Doway Catechism borrowed silently from Richardson's 'Elements' (1712).

After 1680, manuals in Irish disappear. Already the monolingual 1680 *Graimmeir* — only the second monolingual Irish guide and destined to be the last — shows the influence of Daniel's 'Brief and Plain Rules' of 1652 and offers explanations that rely on a knowledge of English. The usefulness of a metalanguage in such guides is obvious. Daniel also influenced Richardson's

manual of 1712, the guide which probably did the most to shape the 'brief rules' paratextual genre. In fact, after the very first manual (1571), the focus shifts to the needs of English-speakers and Irish-speakers literate in another language, the 1680 *Graimmeir* being an outlier; after Stapleton (1637), who wrote for an audience literate in Latin, the other language is always English.

A certain number of key difficulties had already been recognised as early as 1652 and picked up by Richardson. The enduring influence of Richardson (and through him Daniel) is a testament to the effectiveness of his guide. Whether expounded at great length or treated concisely on a single page, issues such as the pronunciation of <gh> and <dh> inevitably come to the fore in these guides. In detail the treatment of particular issues changes — sometimes in response to dialect, sometimes to considerations of space or simplicity or comprehensiveness — but the challenges of conveying Irish phonology in English remain the same throughout this period, and barring certain refinemenets and local modifications little could be done to improve on Richardson. Written guides could only convey so much. It is no doubt because of the limitations of the written word that the treatment of vowel-graphs is often so patchy, when their pronunciation is treated at all. While 'phonetic' spelling systems such as that offered by Denn could ameliorate some difficulties, a written guide to Irish could never capture all the sounds of the language, particularly as the more phonetic spelling systems were either simplified versions of the existing Irish spelling system or adaptations of the English spelling system.

The debt owed to the native bardic grammatical tradition is obvious in these guides, but they also represent a departure from the inherited framework of grammatical scholarship. The very first guides that provide a broad account of Irish pronunciation as it relates to spelling — those of Ó Kearnaigh, Stapleton and Daniel — were produced by individuals who did not belong to bardic families. Ó Kearnaigh had obviously received some instruction in the bardic grammatical tradition — and advocated others to do likewise — but Daniel's grasp on the native terminology was less secure and Stapleton was ignorant of even the most basic terms. Nonetheless, particularly through Daniel — who was also trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew — and Mac Curtin — who plundered an earlier grammar broadly in the bardic mould — certain native grammatical terms trickled through. Scurry was well-versed in contemporary linguistics, but he found a place also for bardic categories. The perennial letter-names, though not found in every guide, are a feature of many of them and of larger grammars. Even with the aid of bardic terminology and concepts borrowed from English, Latin or Hebrew grammar, the want of terminology is noticeable. For example, the difficulty of expressing orthographic vowel-variation in unstressed syllables was mentioned several times in the chronological survey above — a difficulty, incidentally, which disappears from such guides as more standardised spelling is adopted.[132] A fuller history of Irish grammatical writing would require a detailed treatment of large-scale

[132]Plunket in 1791 is the last to mention it, so far as I have noticed.

grammars (in print and manuscript), but these short printed manuals must have a place in such a history.

It has already been stressed that to assess each individual guide properly one must have regard for the context of its publication. In turn, these guides can shed light on the motivations behind and the intended readership of discrete publications. An important case in point is Ó Kearnaigh's 1571 Catechism, for which a classroom-context has here been proposed for the first time, based on a closer reading of the associated manual to reading Irish than previously undertaken. Closer attention to such paratextual aids can become a key to providing a fuller account of the books in which such manuals are published. Just as the first authors of these guides were 'non-traditional' grammarians, so instructions on how to read Irish bear witness to attempts to expand the readership of Irish beyond the traditional literate circles of scribes and school-masters in Irish-speaking areas. While the Protestant books containing such guides likely received little attention because the books themselves struggled to find readers, some of these short guides may well have helped individuals who were native-speakers of Irish and readers of English to read their catechism in their native language, or indeed the poems of Tadhg Gaelach. On the other hand, the presence of a guide to reading Irish for the curious monoglot English-speaker in 1795 and in Patrick Lynch's 1810 Life of Patrick suggests that these guides were often included pro forma. The guide to reading Irish was an established feature of Irish publishing by this time and the lack of thought and conception in some guides implies that they were often included simply for the sake of including them, because other books had them, because it was expected. The existence of so many examples of brief rules to reading Irish associated with Irish-language texts is a reflection of the sociolinguistic conditions in the period surveyed (a greater level of literacy in English in Ireland, even among Irish-speakers, for example), but it is also a product of a particular printing tradition, which — on Irish soil at least — began with a guide to reading Irish.

The story of guides to reading Irish is a complicated one and a reminder of the usefulness of a discursive bibliography of Irish printing. These brief rules are rarely noted in catalogues if they are not announced on the title-page, and it is possible that some have been overlooked here, particularly in cases where I have not been able to examine a particular book myself. While the survey attempted here may not be complete, it is hoped that it will contribute to a fuller history of grammar-writing in Irish and that it may provide a basis of comparison with the printed traditions of other languages.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Córus Bésgnai: An Old Irish Law Tract on the Church and Society. Edited by Liam Breatnach. Early Irish Law Series 7. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 2017. xii + 346 pp. ISBN 978-1-85500-232-6. €40.[1]

Liam Breatnach's edition of the Old Irish law text *Córus Bésgnai*, a title that can be translated roughly as 'customary system', is the first new edition of this tract since it was printed in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* in 1873. It forms the seventh volume of the School of Celtic Studies's 'Early Irish Law' series. *Córus Bésgnai* is a constituent part of the *Senchus Már*, the largest compilation of medieval Irish law. The core text is Old Irish, dating to *c*. 660–80 (Breatnach 2011: 19–42), accompanied by Old Irish glosses and Middle Irish commentary. *Córus Bésgnai* is about societal relations in general, with a special focus on the Church in medieval Irish society. The author of the tract derives the Church's special position from a more general consideration of the necessity of contractual relationships with reciprocal obligations in order for society to function.

This book has seen a long gestation period, and the scholarship of many years, in fact of many decades, is evident on every page. Professor Breatnach first read the text in a seminar in Trinity College, Dublin in the 1980s. Later, it formed the basis for a seminar in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 2003–5. In addition to Prof. Breatnach's own scholarship, this book also bears witness to the high quality of the evaluation process that books that are published by the School of Celtic Studies undergo. On many occasions, the author refers to substantial feedback received through the review process (e.g., 'A reader, however, pointed out that . . . ' (p. 79); 'A reader notes that . . . The same reader suggests that . . . ' (p. 83), etc.).[2]

To say that this is a meticulous edition of the text would be a gross understatement. The traditional way of doing editions of ancient or medieval texts was codified in the late nineteenth century. As paper was a valuable commodity at the time, the methods of editing were optimised to save as much space as

[1]This review article was written as part of the project *Chronologicon Hibernicum* that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 647351). I thank Elliott Lash for discussing various issues relating to the review, and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for prompting me to think about *áirithe*. All errors are of my own making.

[2]Since the input of the three referees (p. ix) is undeniably of considerable academic weight, I wonder if it would not be a service to the readers if a way could be found to acknowledge their contributions more directly. I find it unsatisfactory that scholars who may have made significant contributions to the work being reviewed cannot be acknowledged by name rather than as 'anonymous' reviewers, as current peer-review systems require. I do not have an easy solution to this conundrum, but I believe it is an issue that needs to be addressed.

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possible in printing. For instance, the way that critical apparatuses are laid out and in which information about variant readings is presented in a most concise manner (not infrequently, however, leading to the omission of information that was deemed irrelevant at the time, but turned out to be crucial only much later) is a direct consequence of the need to economise on printing space. Since such economic factors are no longer (and not yet again) a concern in the process of editing, the condition of the text can now dictate the form of the edition, and not the other way around.

The present edition permits itself the luxury to be as circumstantial as possible. The text of *Córus Bésgnai* is given in a normalised Old Irish form first (ch. 2; pp. 25–119), which is then followed by a separate edition of all four manuscript witnesses (chs. 3–6; pp. 121–305).[3] Shorter extracts are printed in Appendix 2 (pp. 314–18). Each witness is afforded a diplomatic edition plus a translation and extensive notes specific to that witness. The normalised edition contains only the Old Irish text of *Córus Bésgnai* with a translation, while the editions of the individual witnesses are accompanied by a much more literal rendering of their text (pp. 3–4). The extensive commentary and glossing that accompanies the core text in the manuscripts is treated separately, and as evidence in its own right for the period in which they were composed, in the edition of the individual witnesses.

In the Introduction (pp. 1–23), Breatnach describes the sources (manuscript copies and quotations in other texts), and sets out the principles of his edition and the structure of the text. The text preserves, as may be expected for a text going back to the late seventh century, a number of early linguistic features, but there is no MS support for such eye-catching archaisms as the Cambrai Homily's *tu-thegot* (pp. 21–2). Probably half of the original text has been lost or is only extant in fragmentary quotes (p. 16). The only manuscript which preserves a continuous text, MS A in the present edition (TCD MS H 2. 15A), has not been digitised until now, but the other three witnesses, which contain excerpts of the text, are available online.[4]

Although *Córus Bésgnai* is written in prose, 'flashes of poetic language' (p. 22) appear in the text. Beside the syntactic features that Breatnach enumerates (preposed genitives, hendiadys, chiastic ordering of elements), it is noteworthy that several other devices of rhetorical ornamentation are observable that operate on the sound level, such as rhyme (*sochor* : *dochor* §2; *báeth* : *gáeth* §4; *fri rubae* : *fri fubae* §23) and half-rhyme (*fri dúnad* : *fri slógad* §23). One could almost say that the boundaries between prose and

[3]This arrangement compares very favourably to another recently published edition of an Old Irish legal tract, *Anfuigell* (Eska 2019). In the latter, no normalisation has been attempted for the Old Irish portion, even though the surviving fragments are very short and pose no major difficulties in understanding. Not even macrons, which do not tamper with the orthography as found in the manuscripts, have been introduced, neither into the Old Irish tract nor the Middle Irish commentary.

[4]MSS B (TCD MS H 3. 17) and C (MS TCD H 3. 18) can be viewed at https://www.isos.dias.ie/. MS D (Oxford Bodleian MS B 506) is available at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/1021f6d4-8327-4021-909b-3e13b7b57315.

poetry are fluid. In enumerations, rhythm is a factor. Elements are ordered according to Behagel's Law of Increasing Members, e.g. they exhibit an increase of the number of words in the third phrase in *réchúaird duinebad, túaradliae coctho, fúaslucud cor mbel* (§11; cf. also §23); or increase in syllables in the third phrase in *fled déodae, fled dóendae, fled demundae* (§19). The most striking ornamentation, however, is the omnipresence of alliteration. In the first 15 paragraphs, 82 alliterating pairs are found among 413 stressed words, i.e. almost 20% of the words participate in alliteration. This compares, for instance, with 17.9% in §§25–8 of *Críth Gablach* (Binchy 1979: 14–17). I have argued at a talk at the DIAS School of Celtic Studies's Tionól in 2018 that in plain, natural prose, random alliteration between stressed words is expected to occur with a frequency of *c*. 10.2%, a prediction that is neatly borne out by a sample from the Milan Glosses (fol. 50–5), which has 10.1%, and by the tale *Scél asa·mberar combad hé Finn mac Cumaill Mongán* (White 2006: 73–4) with 10.4%. On the other hand, the two poems of Blathmac (Barrett 2017: 198–228) have a frequency of 16.7%, which means that alliteration seems to be less common in this composition in a syllabic metre than it is in slightly older legal prose. In view of such numbers, the question arises whether there is a sharp distinction at all with regard to how alliteration is employed in prose and poetry, or if differences in its use and in its frequency rather run right across the genres. *Córus Bésgnai* contains also more complex types of alliteration than just alliterating pairs ('narrow alliteration'), for instance tripled alliteration X Y X Y X Y, e.g. *córus flatho, córus fine, córus féne* (§15), or the already quoted *fled déodae, fled dóendae, fled demundae* (§19), where the phrases are also held together by anaphora and homoioteleuton. The opening paragraph is framed by the pair C B: *córus bésgnai* in the onset, *cuir bél* in the coda, and *coraib bél* in the centre.[5]

Appendix 1 (pp. 306–13) discusses the orthography and the editorial principles (emendations, normalisation). This is followed by several short appendixes. The Indexes (pp. 329–35) contain not only, among other material, a list of words, proper names and passages from *CIH* discussed, but also a list of 'Ghostwords in DIL' (332), words whose only *raison d'être* had been the authority of the *Ancient Laws of Irish*. The Bibliography occupies pages 337–46.

This book is a major achievement, both in its philological expertise and practice, and in advancing the understanding of Early Irish law. In the following, besides making comments on specific points of the edition, I will also take the opportunity to entertain a few speculations and develop ideas that arise from the edition.

[5]One should not overstretch the analysis, but there may be a more complex and more ordered principle underlying the alliterative arrangement of the initial paragraph, involving mirroring on an even higher level: **C B** A **C B** *B B* A **C B**. Only the first three letters of the alphabet come into play here. The fourth letter D is only introduced in the second paragraph. Note here also the legal text *Anfuigell* whose beginning *Anfuigell breath brangaire catha* (Eska 2019: 66) has the structure A **B B** C.

§1: Throughout the entire book, the author revisits critically the meanings of Old Irish words. He strives to define their semantics as closely as possible, not only on the basis of their attestations in the present text, but also with quotes from a large pool of other texts. This starts in the commentary to the very first paragraph where Breatnach provides numerous additions to the definition of the term *bésgnae* as currently found in *DIL* (*eDIL*). Another case in point is the verb *do-essuirg* in §65. The meaning of this verb according to *eDIL* is 'to save, rescue', but in the present text, and in Meyer (1912: 315.21; verbal noun *tesurguin*), it occurs in contexts where it must mean 'to take away' — a major semantic difference at first glance. Given the meaning of the simplex *orgaid*, namely 'to kill, slay, despoil', it would be advisable to retain a connection with the underlying semantics, which denote violence of some kind, by setting up the primary meaning of the compound *do-essuirg* in the dictionary as 'to wrest away' (German *entreissen*). From this, the most common meaning 'to save' can be easily derived via the idea of 'wresting somebody away from harm, from a disease' (especially if the latter is personified as a malevolent spirit or the like), while 'taking away', required by the context in *Córus Bésgnai*, is no more than a semantic shade of 'wresting away'.

§4: In the relative clause *ara-ḟinnathar a ṡaíthiud* 'who is aware of his obviously unequal bargain', the 3 sg. deponent verbal form is an emendation for MS *arafindtar*/*arafinntar*, which looks like a passive verb. Breatnach's rationale for the emendation is that a passive verb would result in a 'convoluted' expression, 'that one is aware of its obviously unequal bargain' (p. 50). Contrary to Breatnach's objection I do think that the MS reading, i.e. *ara-ḟinntar*, can be retained and yield a satisfying meaning that can be rendered in a non-convoluted way. Several examples of *saíthiud* show that it construes with a personal object. A variation on the maxim *ro-fitir cach sochonn a ṡaíthiud* 'every intellectually capable person knows his overreaching (= knows when he is being cheated)' occurs in a variety of sources (see *eDIL* dil.ie/36069). The possessive *a* in this maxim clearly refers to the personal subject of this sentence, *sochonn*. In the clause in §4, it is therefore unlikely to refer to the contract, as in Breatnach's hypothetical translation of the clause, but it can be read more smoothly as a genitival relative clause with reference to *gáeth*, 'whose overreaching is known beforehand'. The function of the impersonal verbal form *ara-ḟinntar*, instead of the more common active expression *ara-ḟinnathar*, could be to indicate that this refers to a case where the overreaching is obvious to everybody, not only the *gáeth*. A possible parallel is found in *nach sochond ar ḟindtar a saithuid* (*CIH* ii, 351.21), from a commentary on §8 of the Introduction to *Senchas Már*. This looks like a paraphrase of the present passage from §4 of *Córus Bésgnai* (note that §§6–8 of the Introduction to *Senchas Már* are slightly adapted citations from §§1, 11–12 of *Córus Bésgnai*; cf. Breatnach 2005: 13), and furnishes a third witness to the passive verbal form.

§14: *rechtge*: In the commentary, Breatnach rejects Wagner's (1970: 38–9) etymology of *rechtgae* as a compound of *recht* + **gusis* 'choice, option' (p. 59), but he makes no reference to an alternative. Since the opposition between *-che* and *-ge* is frequently neutralised after *t* (cf. *itche*, *itge* 'request,

petition', or *fortche*, *fortge* 'rug, cushion', 'the framing of law; administration of law and justice'), a *i̯ā*-stem abstract from the adjective *rechtach* 'just, equitable, law-giving' is the most obvious candidate (cf. Meroney 1958: 196; Breatnach 2005: 174). NB: the adjective *rechtach*, which is a necessary intermediate step for this derivation, is only very weakly attested.

§15: Regarding the etymology of *con-tethaig* 'to participate in', see Schumacher (2004: 631–4).

§22: *cobodlaib*: Breatnach points out that the word *cobodail* 'sub-division', a compound of *com-* + *fodail* 'division', is always trisyllabic in the nominative singular, but shows variable syncope patterns with overt endings, e.g. *cobfodlaib* in MS A and *cobdaile* in MS C for the present passage (pp. 66–7). Unpredictable behaviour with regard to syncope appears to be more common with words of the basic structure CVCVC, and may have to do with the unusual status in the Old Irish system of morphophonotactics that may have led to insecurity on the part of the speakers as to the appropriate synchronic syncope rules. The structure CVCVC arises either through analogical avoidance of syncope, like in the case of *cobodail* < *com-* + *fodail*, where the 'simplex' *fodail* exerts influence; or through the fact that regular syncope had reduced a hiatus sequence into a single vowel, e.g. *fulumain* 'fluttering' < **fu-lu†main* < *fo-* + *luämain* 'movement, flight'; or because the synchronic third syllable had arisen through anaptyxis after the operation of syncope, e.g. *arathar* 'plough' < **araθr̥* < **aratrom*. *Fulumain*, for instance, has the unexpected plural *fulmaini* (*Thes*. i, 3.33), which is parallel to the behaviour of *cobdaile* in MS C of the present text.

§28: *dírithi*: The lack of syncope in this word, which comes from **dī-rītii̯o-*, the participle of *do-ren* 'to pay a fine', is noteworthy. It seems that participles and verbals of necessity of compounds of *renaid* regularly escape syncope. This is probably first of all due to analogical influence from the simplex, whose participle is *ríthe*, but avoidance of the reduced allomorph *-rth-*, whose connection with the present stem *ren-* would lack transparency, may also be a factor. *eDIL* records the following relevant forms: *eirrithi* (*Cáin Adomnáin*, 41), *erraithi* (O'C. 2160 (Eg. 88, 4(5)b)), *erithe* (O'Don. 939 (H. 3.17, 659a)), and the etymological gloss *dī-errethe* (Corm. Y 417) from *ar-ren* 'to pay on behalf of another'. No relevant forms are attested for *as-ren* 'to pay, expend' and *in-éren* 'to compensate', although *eDIL* has the already mentioned *eirrithi* from *Cáin Adomnáin* as a headword for the verbal of necessity of *as-ren*, in addition to citing it under *ar-ren*, where it properly belongs. As Schumacher (2004: 552) argues, the Celtic root **rī-* 'to count' is best derived from the PIE root **h₂reḭH-*. This root is not included in *LIV*, but it has been adopted with the meaning 'to count' in Kümmel 2011 for future editions of *LIV*. *Rím* 'number' is a nominal abstract of this root, viz. **rīmā* < **h₂riH-meh₂*, which in turn furnishes the base for a new denominal verb, *rímid* 'to count'.

This warrants a brief excursus, with no immediate connection to the book under review here, on the etymology of *áirithe* 'certain'. It has been suspected in the past (*LEIA* A-46) that it is a participle of a verb such as *ad-rími* 'to

count', but where the *m* of the stem had been lost in some unspecified way. Such an explanation is unsatisfactory. Instead, *áirithe*, which is first attested in Middle Irish, is formally reminiscent of the participles just cited. This means that it must be the participle of yet another compound of *-ren*. The only one that yields an initial *á-* is *ad-ren*. The *r* should have regularly stayed unpalatalised, i.e. **áraithe* (cf. OIr. *áram* 'counting' < **ad-rīmā*), but it probably acquired palatalisation under influence from paradigmatically related forms, perhaps even from the regularly syncopated, but ultimately abandoned form **áirthe* (cf. later Irish *áirem* with palatalisation from the genitive *áirme*). The meaning of *áirithe* must originally have been 'paid for, i.e. agreed upon, fixed, determined'. From commercial contexts, where it would have referred to goods or services that had already been paid for and thus secured for oneself, its meaning must then have been extended to 'that which I know belongs to myself' and further to 'secure, certain'.

At the moment, the verb *ad-ren* is only set up with a question mark in *eDIL* (dil.ie/545). It is suggested there that it is only a sporadic variant of *as-ren*, just like *ad-roilli* and *as-roilli* or other verbs with the preverbs *as-* and *ad-* often alternate with each other without discernable difference in meaning. Together with the handful of forms mentioned under the headword *ad-ren*, the lexicalised verbal adjective *áirithe* creates a strong case for accepting *ad-ren* as a real verb.

§29: 'doda-fét' with a *fada* marking a long vowel must be an error. The verb is *do-feith*, its root is **u̯et-* (Schumacher 2004: 675–9), the form should therefore be *doda-feith* or, if it behaves like S1d verbs, *doda-fet*.

§30: From the manuscript readings *coneirgedtha*, and from *comairiged* in §37, Breatnach emends the verbal form *con-airged(a)*, for which the contexts suggest a meaning 'to combine'. He notes other attestations, unconnected with the present text, in *Bretha Nemed Toísech* and *In Tenga Bithnua* (p. 75). Breatnach is uncertain what the 3 sg. present of this verb would be. It is clearly a weak verb and it is formally reminiscent of *do-áirci* 'to cause, produce'. Perhaps we should operate with a related compound **con-áirci*? The relationship between *do-áirci* and *con-áirci* could be comparable to that between Latin *efficere* 'to make out, bring to pass, cause, effect' and *conficere* 'to make ready, bring about, complete'.

§30: *recht aicnid*: 'Natural law' means different things to different people. While in a medieval Christian context it means innate knowledge of divine law, in modern legal theory 'natural law' refers to the innate human understanding of what is right or wrong behaviour in society, without any religious overtone. While medievally educated readers will have no difficulty in assigning the correct meaning in the case of *Córus Bésgnai*, it would be beneficial to discuss in the introduction what is meant in the text. Without such an exposition, readers from outside Celtic studies, for instance with a purely legal background, could be put on the wrong route.

§33: See Schumacher (2004: 469) for a discussion of the verb *moigid*.

§35: *toch-airrchechnatar*. The manuscripts spell the middle cluster as *-rrc-* without lenition. While it cannot be excluded that the graphic expression of

lenition has simply been omitted, as Breatnach suspects, this spelling is reminiscent of a variation found in the Milan glosses. Forms in *-airch-* and *-airc-* occur side by side in Milan, e.g. 3 sg. preterite passive *donairchet* (35b9) vs. *duaircet* (24d5).[6] Since the Milan glosses represent lenited voiceless stops in general consistently with an *h*,[7] it is conceivable that the distinction indicates that we are actually looking at two different verbs with very similar form and meaning, namely *do-aircain* < **to-are-en-can-* and *do-airchain* < **to-are-can-*, both meaning 'to prophesy'. The first of these could perhaps have undergone formal influence from the semantically related *do-airngir* 'to promise, prophesy' < **to-are-in-gar-*. *Tairc(h)etal* and *tairngire* were both activities of the *fáithi* 'prophets'. Blathmac's Poems, l. 231 (after Barrett 2017) illustrates the equivalence of the two terms: *do·rairrngertat prímḟáithi* 'that the chief prophets have prophesied' (l. 926), and, with reference to the same prophecies, *inunn rún a taircetail* 'the mystic meaning of their prophecy is the same' (l. 928).

§49: Breatnach emends *nach mar* in the MS to *na már* 'any great amount'. While *na* is expected as the neuter form of the indefinite adjectival pronoun (cf. *nammór* 'nothing great', *Ml.* 63d5), and occurs regularly in the Würzburg glosses, *nach* is found as a sporadic alternative neuter form already in the Milan glosses (*Ml.* 32a1, 101a5).[8]

§54: *gaire*: Since all manuscripts exclusively write *gaire* for the abstract 'filial duty' of the adjective *gor* 'dutiful', Breatnach adopts this spelling for the edited text and does not emend it to the older *goire*. I want to use the opportunity for an excursus about how the change *goire* > *gaire* may have come about as such. It is well-known that Old Irish *o* and *a* merge in many positions by the Middle Irish period, but the motivation and mechanics of this development are less obvious. The present word may offer a clue towards a better understanding. The process may have been part of a trend towards getting rid of 'awkward', i.e. rare phonotactics. The earliest sources of Old Irish have forms with *o* for *goire*, as well as for the structurally similar *coire* 'cauldron', namely *goiri Wb.* 28d19, 24, *góire* 29a10, *find choriu Ml.* 126c16, *findchoire* 17. From the point of view of the Old Irish phonotactic system, words of this shape are very uncommon. Through raising, all inherited sequences of the structure **oC$_{[+voice]}$i-*, i.e. stressed short *o* followed by a single

[6]Forms with *-rch-*: present stem *do-airchain* etc. (*Ml.* 15d10, 21a7, 19b11, 54c24, 111d4), preterite stem *do-airchechain*, etc. (64c22, 66c12), preterite passive *do-airchet*, etc. (35b9, 38c9), verbal noun *tairchital*, etc. (64c22, 89b10, 94a10). Forms with *-rc-*: preterite stem *do-aircechain* (64c22), preterite passive *do-aircet* (24d5), verbal noun *taircital*, etc. (19b10, 54c30, 122d7). Note that the short gloss 64c22 contains the two variants side by side. Given that the difference is only found in past tenses, one could speculate that a secondary distinction between unaugmented *do-aircechain/do-aircet* and augmented *do-airrchechain/do-airrchet* had been created in the language. But such a hypothesis falls short of explaining the variation in the verbal noun.

[7]No such variation is found in case of the superficially similar-looking verbs *do-áirci* 'to cause' (incl. verbal of necessity *táircidi* and verbal noun *táirciud*) and *do-airchomraici* 'to amass, assemble'.

[8]In the manuscript of the Poems of Blathmac, the neuter of the indefinite pronoun is *nach* in both of its occurrences (ll. 547, 760). Since this could be due to modernisation during the textual transmission, no conclusion can be drawn about the poet's own practice.

voiced consonant and *i* in Celtic, had become *uC'$_{[+voice]}$e* in Old Irish. In stressed position, *o* could only remain when the voiced consonant was followed by a vowel that did not cause palatalisation. The only exceptions to this rule are words where the *o* arose secondarily after raising had taken place. The only process that is capable of creating such a secondary *o* is the rounding of short *a* after the Primitive Irish labiovelars *$\overset{\frown}{u}$, *$g^{\overset{\frown}{u}}$ and *$k^{\overset{\frown}{u}}$. While in all other contexts inherited *$aC_{[+voice]}\overset{\frown}{ii}$- yielded *aC'$_{[+voice]}$e* in Old Irish, after the labiovelars this sequence was exceptionally represented by *oC'$_{[+voice]}$e*. There are not many etymons falling under this rule; apart from *goire* and *coire*, the only other example I can think of is *foirenn* 'group' < *$\overset{\frown}{u}$*arinā*. These three words therefore stood isolated among countless examples of *-aire* and *-uire*, and this may have exerted pressure to merge the rare specimens with the more frequent type. Maybe *a* was phonetically closer to the *o* of the three words so that it won out over *u*. Note that these considerations do not apply to the sequences *oC'$_{[+voice]}$#* and *oC'$_{[+voice]}$†C'$_{[+voice]}$e* (where † stands for syncope). There were more opportunities for *o* to occur before a voiced consonant in these contexts in Old Irish. But over the course of time and through analogy, the merger of *o* and *a* extended even to these contexts. It is worth noting that, according to *eDIL*, *coire* 'cauldron' is frequently represented by *caire* in law texts. Either the neutralisation of *o* and *a* in this position occurred particularly early in the variety of Irish in which the *Senchas Már* was written, or, what is more likely, the text went through a later redaction where this change had taken place.

§61: A minor point: if *im-fuich* 'contests' is a compound of *fo-fich*, as is likely, then hiatus is expected. Since hiatus is elsewhere orthographically indicated by a diaeresis in this edition, it should be written in *im-fuïch* as well. The hiatus is supported by the spelling of the passive of *fo-fich*, *frisa fuachar* 'against whom trespass is committed' (*CIH* ii, 408.14).

§92: The curious infixed pronoun in the twice-occurring phrase *co haimsir rod mbé* and *rod bé* (with suppression of the nasal between consonants, cf. p. 112) 'until the time that there be', which cannot have dative force since the passage is not about possession, could be due to syntactic influence from *fil* 'there is' whose subject is expressed by the accusative (*GOI* 479). Although *fil* functions most commonly as a suppletive stem of *attá* in specific syntactic contexts, it also occurs as a defective verb in its own right in the meaning 'there you see, there is'. Since this verb has no forms outside the present indicative, the author of the present text may have felt that its subjunctive should be supplied by the root *bi-* 'to be', but he retained the original construction with accusative subject. Accusative (or rather oblique) subjects are even found with the stem *tā-* when it serves as the copula, namely *nímptha fírión* 'I am not righteous' (*Wb*. 8d24) and *nímtha laám* 'I am not a hand' (*Wb*. 12a21). The word *aimser* 'time' is followed by a leniting relative construction here, formally expressed by the lenited *d* of *rod*, unless nasalization has been lost from **rond-* in the course of transmission. More common is relative nasalisation, e.g., *bieid aimser nad creitfider* 'there will be a time when it will be disbelieved' (*Wb*. 28c14) or *indaimser dundicfitis assair* 'at the time when the

Assyrians were to come' (*Ml*. 68a1); or a prepositional relative clause headed by *i* 'in', e.g. *isindaimsir sin hiforcomnucuir* 'in that time at which it came to pass' (*Wb*. 28b6). Given the growth of syntactic differentiation over time, the leniting relative construction may be the oldest, which was then supplanted by the more specialised nasalising construction and the lexically more explicit prepositional construction.

§92: The nominative *feb* 'excellence' in the maxim *siniu feb áes* 'excellence is senior to age' is an emendation of MS *feib* (p. 317). This attestation, as well as that in Blathmac's Poems, l. 421 (MS *febh*; cf. Stifter 2019: 211), disproves Pedersen's claim in *VKG* 1, 75 that the nominative of this word is absent from Old Irish. As a side note I would like to remark that the spirit of this maxim would fit nicely in the series of three-word maxims in *Bríathra Flainn Ḟína* (Ireland 1999: 80–90), the first word of each of which is the comparative *ferr* 'better'. In the present phrase, *siniu* 'senior' is a stylistically more elevated equivalent of *ferr*.

ABBREVIATION

LIV Martin Kümmel and Helmut Rix, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, second ed. (Wiesbaden, 2001).

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ANDERS AHLQVIST (1945–2018)

The world of Celtic Studies suffered a profound loss when Anders Ahlqvist died unexpectedly on 23 August 2018. Anders had served as Chairman of the Governing Board of the School of Celtic Studies since 2005. At the time of his death, he was also Professor Emeritus at the National University of Ireland, Galway; Docent of Celtic Studies at the University of Helsinki; Honorary Professor at the University of Sydney; Secretary of the Permanent Bureau for the International Congress of Celtic Studies; and a member of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.

Anders first came to Ireland in 1963 to spend a holiday on the Aran Islands, and it must have been there that the seeds of his life-long devotion to the Irish language were sown. Having graduated from the University of Helsinki in 1969 with a degree in Classical and Nordic Philology and General Linguistics, he attended the Summer School of the School of Celtic Studies, and enrolled for the academic year 1969–70 as a visiting postgraduate student in University College Dublin. During that year, he was a regular participant in the seminars of the School of Celtic Studies. He went on to study General Linguistics and Celtic Studies in Edinburgh, and under the direction of Kenneth Jackson, completed his doctoral dissertation on *The History of the Adverb in Irish* in 1974. He then returned to Dublin as a Scholar in the School of Celtic Studies, and in 1976 was appointed Statutory Lecturer in Old and Middle Irish at University College Galway. In 2005, he took early retirement from what had become the National University of Ireland, Galway, his rank at that time being Personal Professor. During his years in Galway, Anders was a frequent traveller on the train to Dublin, not least in order to attend the annual Statutory Lecture and *Tionól* of the School of Celtic Studies. He would frequently venture further afield as well, to conduct research and to attend and speak at conferences. He served as Acting Professor and Head of Department of General Linguistics at the University of Helsinki (1988–9), and Visiting Professor of Celtic, University of Utrecht (2004–5).

Throughout his career he also spent as much time as he could in his home country, Finland. In 1979 he was appointed Docent of Celtic Studies at the University of Helsinki. The title of docent testifies to the esteemed position of its holders in the academic community, and enables them to teach and supervise research at the University. Anders accordingly gave Celtic (and especially Old Irish) courses there from time to time under the aegis of the Department of General Linguistics. He inspired a group of enthusiastic young scholars to join him in founding the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies in 1991. The society thrived: it has organized a number of successful international conferences in Celtic Studies, and since 2004 has regularly published its yearbook, *Studia Celtica Fennica*. The second volume of the yearbook is a festschrift

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for Anders, in which he is aptly described as the 'founding father' of Finnish Celtic Studies.

Three years after he retired from his Galway professorship, Anders became, in 2008, the inaugural Sir Warwick Fairfax Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Sydney. The considerable impact of his five-year tenure of that chair is described and commemorated in *The Land Beneath the Sea: Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist's Contribution to Celtic Studies in Australia*, edited by his friend and colleague Pamela O'Neill. She coined for him the title *Ollam na nÉces* in recognition of his status as a Scholars' Scholar.

He has indeed left us a formidable body of scholarship, written variously in English, Irish, French, Swedish and Finnish, and ranging from short notes on a wide variety of linguistic topics to his edition of the canonical part of *Auraicept na nÉces*, which was published in 1983 by the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. He began to publish in 1972, while he was still a graduate student; one of his pieces from that year is a study of the copula in Irish, which vindicates the analysis set forth in the Irish grammatical tradition from the *Auraicept na nÉces* onwards. That tradition was one of the major strands in his subsequent scholarship. He wrote on linguistic typology and language contact; in recent years he became increasingly preoccupied with the question of Celtic influence on English. He was especially interested in grammatical terminology, and he produced a pamphlet on the grammatical terms of Old Irish, *Téarmaí Gramadaí na Sean-Ghaeilge*. Pedagogical considerations were doubtless to the fore when he worked on that pamphlet, as they certainly were when he authored his *Grammatical Tables for Old Irish*.

No brief account could do justice to the scope of his published work, but mention must be made of one other strand in his scholarship. Over the years he published textual notes on words, phrases or passages in Irish tales and poems. *Audacht Morainn* fascinated him: he went so far as to produce an edition of it, with a translation into French, and returned to it from time to time over the years. He wrote about many of the early poems preserved in more or less contemporaneous manuscripts, and it seems fitting that one of his finest achievements in scholarship is his posthumously published edition of 'The Milan Poem', which is the title given by him to the riddling poem preserved on the first leaf of the ninth-century manuscript that contains the Milan glosses.

Many of his publications were based on conference presentations, and indeed he was himself a prodigious and exceptionally able organizer of conferences and editor of conference proceedings. In this respect, as in many others, he was a great enabler of other people's work.

Anders was the most convivial and hospitable of men. He was a loyal and generous friend, and among his many friends he counted individuals from all phases of his life from schooldays onwards, and from the various places in which he resided over the years. He was renowned as a superb teacher and mentor, and he was always eager to help younger scholars to do their very best work and thereby advance their careers.

A Companion in Linguistics, the title of the festschrift presented to him by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, was singularly well-chosen. It is as a witty, erudite and humane friend and companion that many of us will remember Anders. Our heartfelt sympathies go to his wife Judith, his son Jacob, and his wider family. He will be greatly missed by his friends and colleagues as well, but we must be thankful for, and celebrate what he has given us: his scholarship and academic leadership have left tangible fruit in the publications written or edited by him, and the intangible effects of his mentorship and encouragement of countless young scholars will enhance the field of Celtic Studies for many years to come.

TOMÁS Ó CATHASAIGH

The Cradle of European Culture: Early Medieval Irish Book Art. Edited by Cornel Dora and Franziska Schnoor. Verlag am Klosterhof, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 2018. 116 pp. €25. ISBN 978-3-906819-30-3.

While the Book of Kells never strays too far from the public imagination, other early Irish gospel books and insular illumination in general are less well known. Early medieval Irish/insular manuscript production is however enjoying something of a revival in recent scholarship and curatorial practice, with efforts both to reassess the work of early Irish scribes and book artists and also to bring their manuscripts to the attention of a wider audience.

Over the past several years, rather than focusing on the concept of 'insularity' and isolation, scholarly meetings and publications have attempted to situate Insular artistic production in a more inclusive, and broader European, context. This is perhaps best encapsulated by the title of the seventh international conference on insular art held in Galway in 2014, *Islands in a Global Context* (Newman et al. 2017). Richard Gameson also recently edited a volume revisiting the Lindisfarne Gospels and situating its production and ornamentation in the context of Christian Anglo-Saxon interactions with Ireland, Italy, and beyond (Gameson 2017). Equally projects such as the Bank of America Merrill Lynch Trinity College Dublin Gospel Books Project have attempted to introduce early medieval Irish manuscripts to a general contemporary audience. The project was led by Rachel Moss and Susie Bioletti and examined four early gospel books, Codex Usserianus Primus, the Garland of Howth, the Book of Dimma, and the Book of Mulling. In addition to organizing a conference on the theme and publishing their findings (Bioletti and Moss 2017), the investigators curated an exhibition which could be viewed online and thus was made widely accessible (Moss et al. 2017). In a similar vein, Moss also recently published a beautifully illustrated guide to the Book of Durrow in association with the British Library and their exhibition, *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (Moss 2018).

It is within this context that the abbey library at St. Gallen published *The Cradle of European Culture: Early Medieval Irish Book Art*, a catalogue accompanying an exhibition on Insular manuscripts held at the library from March to December 2018. The foreword by Cornel Dora, director of the abbey library, touches on both strands mentioned above, opening with the statement that 'St Gall and Ireland go back a long way together' and closing by highlighting the concern for 'reaching out to a broader audience', for which reason the book was published in both German and English (translation into English by Katherine Vanovitch). Indeed, Dora dedicates the book to 'Ireland and the Irish, to their cultural heritage and their refreshing sense of

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humour', the tone indicating from the outset that the exhibition and catalogue were aiming to draw the public eye (p. 6).

The text consists of eight brief chapters written largely by the editors, Cornel Dora and Franziska Schnoor, with contributions from Philipp Lenz, Karl Schmuki, and Andreas Nievergelt, and an introduction prepared by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín. The introduction, 'Ireland and St Gall', provides a concise overview of the Irish origins of St Gall from both a historical and legendary perspective, beginning with the expulsion of the Irish from Burgundy in 610. The author also explores the early accumulation of Irish books, or at least books written in the Irish fashion, in the abbey library. The earliest library catalogue, Codex Sangallensis 728, dates to the second half of the ninth century and lists twenty-eight texts from Virgil to Boethius, all written in an Irish hand, distinguished by the librarian as *libri scottice scripti*. Ó Cróinín concludes the introduction with a consideration of whether historical accounts of Irish pilgrims and visitors to St Gall can be associated with any of these listed texts and/or extant manuscripts in the collection.

The subsequent chapters are structured around catalogue entries for a select number of manuscripts, usually three in each chapter. Each entry is about a page in length and typically speaks to an individual page or note within the manuscript. For example, the remarks on Codex Sangallensis 225, a compendium volume of diverse materials from the healing arts to hagiography, are used specifically to illustrate the differing methods of calculating the date of Easter (p. 41). On the other hand, Schnoor's entry on the *Penitential of St Finnian*, a sixth-century text preserved in a ninth- and tenth-century manuscript, takes a wider approach. It offers the reader an overview of the text before elaborating on particular details such as the penance for a priest who has committed murder: banishment for ten years with enforced fasting for seven of those years and reparations and service required upon his return (p. 46). The entries are accompanied by an illustration on the facing page — in St Finnian's case, the opening of the penitential. The selections are prefaced by a one-page introduction on the theme of the chapter: 'The Fall of Rome and the Rise of Ireland'; 'Bible and Church'; 'Monastic Rules and Penance'; 'Saints of Ireland and St Gall'; 'The Irish Contribution to Cultivating the Seven Liberal Arts'; 'The Irish Gospels of St Gall and its Family'; 'Irish Influences on Initials Decorated in St Gall'; and finally 'Guests and Teachers from Ireland at the Abbey of St Gall.'

Such brief descriptions and explanatory notes are well suited to a general audience. The authors raise ideas and issues such as *peregrinatio*, the difficulties in accurately calculating the feast of Easter (as mentioned above), and the Irish style of tonsure versus the standard European one, and draw attention throughout to the role played by Ireland in both the early medieval church in Europe and the Carolingian Renaissance (pp. 26, 34, 38, 41, 50 and 67). Mindful of the challenges associated with displaying books (and perhaps the sense of humour described in the foreword), the entries also frequently highlight some of the more eye-catching statements, such as the earliest references to the Loch Ness monster, the saying that Rome was not built in a day (*cum nec*

Roma una die sit condita), the miracle of Magnus and the beer, a description of Ireland as an island 'rich in milk and honey', and the rather more vivid description of a monk returning home rather than maintaining his earthly wandering as akin to 'the dog who returns to his vomit' (pp. 32, 33 51, 55 and 63).

Importantly the exhibition and accompanying catalogue bring these early Irish books to light for the wider European public and, as to be expected, the volume is therefore handsomely illustrated. There are thirty-seven colour full or half page images of the manuscripts throughout, including a beautiful double page spread of the St Mark the Evangelist portrait and *Incipit* from the late eighth-century Irish Gospels of St Gall, and four colour details of initials with ribbon knot ornamentation. There is also one monochrome image of a badly faded portrait of St Columba of Iona which has been digitally enhanced. In fact, the illustrations are given almost equal weight to the text, with nearly one in every two pages consisting of an image. These illustrations are not however numbered or otherwise related to their role within the exhibition, and in some cases multiple images of the same book occur across different chapters, and so from the point of view of the volume as a catalogue it is rather difficult for the reader to form a sense of the nature and scale of the display.

This awkward relationship between the illustrations and the exhibition is paralleled in the relationship of the text to its reader. The exhibition was designed to draw new eyes, so short, sharp, snappy essays are an ideal introduction, but the very brevity of these essays is at times problematic. With few words to spare for explanations, a new reader is expected to be familiar already with the stipulations of the Rule of St Benedict or the writings of Bede, and with technical terms such as 'rustic capitals', 'uncial' and 'half-uncial' (pp. 11, 40, 44 and 55). Likewise, the title, *The Cradle of European Culture: Early Medieval Irish Book Art*, suggests an exhibition dedicated to the arts of the book, and yet the script — the defining factor in the ninth-century librarian's choice to classify the *libri scottice scripti* as distinctive (p. 12) — is largely ignored beyond occasionally identifying it, while the illumination is only considered in two of the eight chapters, and the volume does not consider the actual production of manuscripts or the pigments and materials used at the time.

In some ways this volume falls somewhere between its new reader and the academic reader familiar with early manuscript production and the early medieval world. In the chapter concerning the Irish Gospels of St Gall Dora provides a succinct review of the recent literature on the manuscript and situates the gospel book within a stylistic group originating in the midlands or potentially the north-east of Ireland, based on arguments proposed by Carol Farr (2017). The length of the introductory page does not allow for an engagement with these arguments or an exploration of new ideas but it ends on a hopeful note that research to come will allow for links between Ireland and St Gall to be further established (pp. 74–85). Similarly, the eighth and final essay, curiously (and presumably playfully?) numbered '&', considers the case of Codex Sangallensis 11, written *c*. 760–80, under the heading 'Was an insular script ever used at the Abbey of St Gall?'. The response briefly refers

to the difficulty in tracing evidence, the presence of an Anglo-Saxon minuscule, 'a few hints of Irish features' in glosses in the manuscript, and a marking thought to be in Ogham script in the lower margin of one of the folia. For the new reader this must seem a peculiar question to pose and a difficult answer to follow without a proper discussion of what an insular script looks like or what characteristics define it as opposed to any other form of script. The author then proceeds to state that 'this sole indication that Ogham was used at the Abbey of St Gall constitutes uncertain evidence, for the impression left in the parchment by this entry is very weak, and it has not yet been definitely deciphered nor its text meaningfully interpreted' (p. 101). The response thus reads as an invitation to further scholarly research.

The team at the abbey library at St Gall are to be commended for their efforts in bringing their rich collection of early Irish manuscripts to the fore through this exhibition and for encouraging continued investigation in the field. Perhaps the catalogue might however have spared a few additional words in order to provide its wider audience with a greater appreciation for the objects themselves, the knowledge they contain, and the cultural heritage they represent.

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Glossing the Psalms: The Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries. Alderik H. Blom. De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, 2017. xvi + 332 pp. €99.95. ISBN 978-3-11-050037-0.

In his *Glossing the Psalms*, Alderik Blom sets out to compare glosses on the psalms in Old Irish, Old English, Old High German, Old Saxon and Old Frisian from the period between 700 and 1200. His comparative approach centres around the psalter since this text was of central importance in medieval monastic life and was thus intensively studied and glossed. While glosses in Breton and Welsh also exist from this period, none of these pertain to the psalter, and these languages are therefore not represented in the book. The book has a tripartite structure in which it discusses glossed psalters and glossed commentaries (the Southampton and St. Caimín Psalters as well as the Milan and Vatican commentaries), interlinear versions (the Old Alemannic Psalter Fragments, the Vespasian Psalter, the Lublin/Wittenberg Fragments, the Regius Psalter, the Paderborn Fragment, the Lambeth Psalter, and the Old Frisian Psalter Fragment), and glossaries in various vernaculars (the Rz glossaries and the Mondsee glossaries, with a particular focus on two manuscript copies of the Mondsee family), as well as providing the reader with a thorough introduction to the practice of glossing in the medieval west and to the psalms themselves.

Together, all glossed psalters and glossaries and commentaries on the psalter constitute, in the words of Blom, 'an early medieval "paratextual network" which should be studied as a whole' (p. 4). This 'whole' to which Blom refers does not only indicate the variety of vernaculars that are included in his approach but also his treatment of the manuscripts as objects and the multiple forms of glossing discussed. Thus, he stresses that the *mise-en-page* of the glossed manuscripts as well as forms of non-verbal glossing, such as construe marks and punctuation, need to be taken into account in order to fully understand the relation of the glosses with the main text. Another aspect essential to Blom's approach is that the book includes 15 images of manuscript pages, sometimes in colour, most of which are not available online. These images help to demonstrate the importance of lay-out when studying glosses. Additionally, in some of the transcriptions, the lay-out of the manuscript page is mirrored by the lay-out in the book, which gives the reader a good idea of the visual representation of the glosses.

The definition of glosses used by the author is that of Franck Cinato: 'the sum of paratextual accretion which specifies and diversifies the information contained within a principal text' (p. 11); this is sufficiently broad to include a wide range of material but not so broad as to become over-inclusive. This paratextual material is then further classified according to its function in a threefold typology, developed by the author but based on the existing glossing typologies of Ralph Hexter, Ernst Hellgardt, Rijcklof Hofman, and Franck Cinato (p. 26): 'a gloss has three possible relations with regard to its principal text: a gloss *substitutes*, *supplements*, or *comments* on its lemma' (p. 29). Each of these

categories has its own subcategories (pp. 29–35): substitution glosses, for example, consist of synonyms/translations (SUB1), explanatory replacement of words (SUB2), and paraphrases (SUB3). Supplement glosses may supply a constituent to further clarify an element in the principal text (SUP1) or may supplement a constituent (SUP2). Commentary glosses may provide lexical or etymological commentary (COM1), grammatical commentary (COM2), *ecdotique* (medieval textual criticism, COM3), or explicative commentary, like exegesis (COM4).

Occasionally, perhaps due to the breadth of this book, the author seems to gloss over issues that could be of importance to his argument or that at least deserve some further attention. For instance, the application of his typology raises questions about medieval glossing practice that are not always answered or addressed. Take the difference between substitution glosses and supplement glosses: a SUB1 replaces a lemma with 'more or less exact lexical equivalents or perceived equivalents' (p. 29) but, due to the structural differences between Irish and Latin, what constitutes a precise or perceived equivalent deserves further discussion. For example, while the dative case may appear in Latin without a preposition in a variety of functions, the use of a dative case without a preposition in medieval Irish was very restricted (*GOI* §251). Also, Latin does not use articles to denote definitiveness, while Irish does. Accordingly, when the Irish glossator of Milan glosses the Latin *gyro* 'to the circle' with Irish *dunchuairt* 'to the circle', can we say that the preposition (*do* 'to') and the article (*-n*) have been supplemented with a SUP2, as Blom states, or do we merely witness the glossator's 'perceived equivalent' (SUB1) of Latin *gyro* (p. 101)? Contrasting with this interpretation is Blom's categorisation of the Milan gloss *incáse* 'the cheese' of Latin *casseum* 'cheese' as a SUB1 (translation), even though it contains the article *in*. He later states that 'the Irish forms have received a SUP2 article to indicate the definiteness of the Latin lemmas' (p. 97), but the implications of this SUP2 addition are not discussed further and Blom simply states that 'all the Irish glosses are of type SUB1' (p. 97). Perhaps the difference lies in whether these elements are added in order to further clarify the meaning of the Latin phrase in its context or whether they were added because they were perceived to be equivalent translations of the Latin. Since Irish glossators seemed to have operated with a fairly consistent approach (see, for example, Moran 2015; Ó Muircheartaigh 2018), it should be possible to make this distinction more clearly. This matter is, in fact, touched upon by Blom with regard to the ablative absolute when he states that 'the Latin ablative absolute does not exist in Old Irish, and could therefore not be rendered form-for-form' (p. 107). Yet, he maintains that this is a sign that the glossators in these cases 'were mainly preoccupied with rendering the meaning, rather than the construction' (p. 107).

The bilingual nature of the material is another issue that often comes up but that is perhaps not as well embedded in the current scholarly debate as it could have been. While Blom usually defines his terminology in clear terms — like the term 'gloss' itself or the categories of glossing — the work offers no definition of terminology describing the bilingual aspects of the texts,

despite the fact that such terminology is frequently used in evaluating the material. This undefined use of terms like code-switching, triggering, and matrix language makes it difficult to place Blom's findings within the general framework of research into historical code-switching and bilingual texts. In the case of code-switching, it is clear that the definition may differ depending on the approach that is taken: from the perspective of language production, not all bilingual glosses may be examples of code-switching, since they may not have been composed by the same person (Bisagni 2013–14); from the perspective of reception, however, these glosses may be included as examples of code-switching, especially if the compiler has shown attempts at integrating the material into a coherent gloss (Stam 2017: 134–45). Blom does not give a definition of code-switching, but from his statements it appears that he leans towards the side of language production as a prerequisite for code-switching: 'Even so, it appears that genuinely bilingual glosses do not occur. In fact, most of the bilingual phrases can be shown to have been compiled from separate sources. This does not imply, however, that these glosses were not read as a single utterance, but the compilatory nature of the gloss resulted in a paratactic structure (*uel* [...] *uel*) in which the two languages are not integrated in terms of syntax' (with regard to the first stratum of the Southampton Psalter, p. 69). Statements such as these, however, are unhelpful since the use of a subjective and undefined word like 'genuine' causes the concepts to remain rather vague (Stam 2017: 50–65). They also do not help us to determine what happens in glosses where there is some form of integration in terms of syntax. The gloss discussed on p. 75, for example, *fructus sicomiris uel merenn* 'the fruit of the mulberry or mulberry', is analysed by Blom as two SUB1 glosses probably derived from separate sources. However, Blom seems to overlook the possibility that the form of Irish *merenn* may be a genitive singular of OI *mér* 'berry' (dil.ie/31984; Hamp 1973), making the Irish dependent on Latin *fructus* and demonstrating, therefore, that the two elements were not simply 'derived from separate sources' but that an attempt at integration was made by the glossator. Similarly, Blom states that the Irish *luib* 'plant, herb' 'does not interact with the Latin syntax of the main clause' in the gloss *.i. luib cuius fumus rectus est ad caelum* (p. 124), where *luib* glosses Latin *incensum* 'incense' in the same case and number (nom. sg.); here, it is unclear whether 'main clause' refers to the gloss as a whole or to the sentence in the commentary that it glosses, but it could be argued that in both cases Irish *luib* does in fact participate in the syntax, since it is an antecedent to a Latin relative clause and therefore shows more linguistic involvement than other types of interclausal switches (Bisagni 2013–14: 20–1 n. 53; Stam 2017: 257–62). Furthermore, it remains unclear whether the 'recognisably Irish versions of biblical names inserted in Latin' are considered by the author to be examples of code-switching (p. 69).

In the case of *triggering*, it seems that usage in this book is not in line with usage in studies on (historical) bilingualism. On p. 72, Blom discusses the gloss *corrici cith besti beoa indaarben uainn dixit dauid* 'to the extent of even living beasts, banish them from us, says David', which occurs in the Southampton Psalter. He states that 'the code-switch into Irish appears to be triggered by

the Latin verb *dicere* denoting reported speech' (similarly pp. 126–7). Leaving aside the matter of whether this gloss demonstrates a code-switch into Irish rather than a switch into Latin, the use of 'triggering' here is confusing, as this is a linguistic term that, in code-switching research, is only used in very specific linguistic circumstances, i.e. to denote accidental code-switches that are caused by words that are part of both languages (Clyne 2003: 162; Stam 2017: 406–8). While it is common knowledge that forms of the Latin *dicere* are often used to introduce direct speech in Irish (see for example Müller 1999), this is a functional aspect of code-switching — often termed 'flagging' — that should not be confused with its linguistic mechanics.

An instance in the glosses that might, in fact, be considered an example of triggering is the Irish *canóin* occuring in a Latin gloss, which is explained away by Blom as an error for the intended Latin word *canon* since 'the context hardly demands a specifically Irish term'. Whether or not the context requires a specifically Irish or Latin term should not influence the determination of the language here, since research has shown that it is almost impossible to predict when context 'requires' a code-switch (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 143). This example could just as well be interpreted as an accidental code-switch triggered by the similarities between the Irish and the Latin word, as bilingual homophones or visual diamorphs are notorious for triggering (Clyne 2003: 162).

The concept of *matrix language*, too, is highly problematic: it is certainly not a term that can be used without discussion as it is far from clear how a matrix language should be determined and how it influences syntax (Bisagni 2013–14: 32–8; Muysken 2000: 64–9; Myers-Scotton 2002; Stam 26–7; 31–7; 68–77). Blom's statement that the matrix language is Latin in the phrase *de ind randgabál* 'from the participle' is therefore not straightforward. The phrase is part of the gloss *ocus is oendlum de ind randgabál depostfetans a uerbo depostfeto* 'and it is an aggregation (*óen-dlum*) from the participle *depostfetans* from the verb *depostfeto*', and Blom determines the matrix language based on the preposition *de* (p. 67). However, the matrix language is generally determined for clauses (or Complementizer Phrases, if you are a follower of Myers-Scotton) and not phrases, and the basis for such a determination might range from first word of a clause to the main verb or constituent structure, or even a combination of all these elements. Aside from that, the simple determination passes over the fact that this could be a fascinating and rare example of code-switching in which the prepositional phrase is neither correct Latin (*de randgabál*) nor correct Irish (*dind randgabáil*), which allows the possibility that this is an example of zero morphology (a neutral form of the word that is not adapted to either grammatical system (Bisagni 2013–14: 46, 46 nn. 126–8)). In this instance, however, the use of concepts such as matrix language or zero morphology might be inappropriate altogether, as previous translations of this gloss have taken the element *de* to be the adverbial use of the Old Irish preposition *de* with a suffixed pronoun meaning 'consequently' (see *eDIL* s.v. 1 *de*, *di* or dil.ie/14787 (XLVa)). The translation of the clause in both *Thes* i, 5.29 and in Ó Néill (2012) is thus: 'that is, when they afterwards produce;

and the participle is consequently a compound'. Unfortunately, Blom does not refer to these existing translations nor does he explain why he deviates from them.

While some of these examples may only point to small differences in interpretation, with which one may or may not agree, it is important that they are made explicit, as this book is aimed at an interdisciplinary audience, not all of whom may have the necessary expertise in the various areas involved. Taking into account these alternative interpretations of the dependency of the two languages and of the terminology used may problematise the author's statement that 'it appears that genuinely bilingual glosses do not occur' in the case of the Milan glosses (p. 69). It also contrasts with the author's analysis of the Vatican glosses, which contain 'genuine code-switches' (p. 126) but which, he insists, must not be seen as a 'bilingual text' (p. 115).

A minor, more general point concerning the book would be that a schematic presentation of the numbers involved would make it much easier to follow the argument. For example, on p. 114, the author states that 'vernacular glosses are dwarfed by Latin', but the proportion of this dwarfing is unclear from the context. Similarly, on p. 124, Blom sets out to analyse 16 substitution glosses that are sometimes further divided along categories like 'nominal' or 'verbal', but not always, and it appears that he does not always discuss the number of glosses that he claims to ('I discuss four examples' but it appears that there are only two; p. 123).

Blom's approach to the material does produce many valuable insights. Firstly, the benefits of including *mise-en-page* and non-verbal glossing in the analysis become particularly evident in Chapter 5 on the Milan Commentary and Chapter 12 on the Lambeth Psalter. The Milan Commentary contains glosses in Irish and Latin as well as two forms of non-verbal glossing: the linking system (L-system), which links headwords with modifiers, and the sequential system (S-system), which clarifies the order in which clauses are to be read. Blom shows that there is a division of labour among these various forms of glossing: the S-system is used to identify the basic reading sequence, the L-system is used to connect the main constituents, the Latin glosses supply additional information regarding the principal text while the Irish glosses supply lexical information (p. 103). Together, these different systems provide the reader with all the information necessary to interpret the Latin text.

The eleventh-century Lambeth Psalter, which is the subject of Chapter 12, uses a complex system of glossing, punctuation and diacritical marks, and a unique version of the S-system of construe marks. These unique construe marks, consisting of sublinear dots with ancillary commas and virgules, have been the subject of some controversy, as they seem to rearrange the word-order of the text into one that is highly marked or even uncommon in Old English (p. 212). Blom argues, however, that previous debate did not take into account the diacritical marks added to the Old English text; when these, too, are incorporated into the analysis, it leads to an interlinear version that approximates to regular, idiomatic usage of Old English. This finding is illustrated by a number

of examples, not all of which, however, are equally well explained by the author, who sometimes assumes the reader is as adept at following the medieval diacritic systems as he himself undoubtedly is. For example, on p. 218, it is not further explained why the 'wavy quilisma' used in the interlinear version generates the reading that the author provides; the lengthy explanation on the following page, on the other hand, is very helpful, but this turns out to be a long citation from Pádraig Ó Néill. This is not entirely clear from the context due to a missing quotation mark, but it explains the confusing reference to a marginal gloss that is part of Ó Néill's argument but not of Blom's. Be that as it may, the significant conclusion of the analysis in this Chapter is that the Lambeth interlinear version is a readable, idiomatic Old English text and stands in sharp contrast to many other interlinear versions.

This leads us neatly to a second highlight of this book, namely that Blom's comparative approach brings to light subtle differences between texts that are considered to be of the same genre. One example of this is the contrast that the Lambeth interlinear version presents when compared to other interlinear versions, like the Old Alemannic Psalter Fragments and the Vespasian Psalter, in which the interlinear version is much more dependent on the Latin in terms of syntax. Furthermore, this approach really brings out what the author calls 'paratextual networks', since it demonstrates that there is a great degree of overlap between the different paratextual genres and that each of these genres was able to draw on a well-established tradition of exegetical material. This is illustrated by — among other things — vernacular Irish glosses that reflect commentaries now only extant in Latin as well as vernacular Irish glosses that appear in a relatively stable form across several manuscripts. This, in turn, underlines the observation that glosses 'did not merely result from "spontaneous" interaction with a given text (...), but constituted a carefully planned activity' (p. 14), a fact also borne out by the lay-out of many of the manuscripts under discussion, which explicitly leaves room for ample paratext.

As a whole, this book is a valuable achievement and a welcome contribution to the field of glossing by one of the founders of the Network for the Study of Glossing (http://www.glossing.org/). Its inclusion of the *mise-en-page* and of non-verbal glossing adds a worthwhile new dimension, and the book succeeds very well in highlighting the complex and multi-layered nature of the glosses, as well as the consistency of the material across genres and time. Its comparative approach, encompassing several languages, brings out well the similarities and differences between several European glossing traditions, and it is only to be expected that, after the recent conference 'Glossing from a Comparative Perspective' (June 2019), more exciting research is soon to come out of Marburg.

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Ulidia 4: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Queen's University, Belfast, 27–9 June 2013. Edited by Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín and Gregory Toner. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2017. iv + 262 pp. €50. ISBN: 978-1-84682-631-3 (hardback).

The Ulster Cycle represents an important branch of Ireland's medieval literary heritage, and its scope and breadth have attracted sustained scholarly interest for well over a hundred years now. The previously published proceedings of the International Conferences on the Ulster Cycle of Tales have included important contributions that have helped advance our understanding of this rich and diverse material. The volume under review is the fourth such set of proceedings, and consists of eleven revised versions of papers read by early career and established scholars at the fourth Ulidia conference, held at Queen's

University, Belfast, 27–9 June 2013. The authors have taken both traditional and innovative approaches, including manuscript studies, etymological studies, onomastics, linguistic analysis, and stylometrics, amongst others, and proffer new literary interpretations of the Ulster Cycle of tales while also taking into account law tracts, sagas, poetry and *dindshenchas*. The book includes a list of abbreviations, a combined bibliography and an index.

In the first contribution, we find a shift from the usual focus on the numerous well-defined Ulster Cycle narrative texts to those narratives found within the medieval Irish law tracts. Fangzhe Qiu, 'The Ulster Cycle in the law tracts', discusses how texts concerning the Ulster Cycle could serve different functions according to their narrative settings. Referring to previously ignored sources, he reminds us that the medieval Irish jurists continually adapted and reworked Ulster Cycle narratives and figures in drawing on the broader literature. Moreover, the prominence of the legendary *filid* in the law tracts may represent the interests of the readers, themselves perhaps *ollomain filed*, and the medieval jurists took these 'erudite poet-judges' not only as their intellectual forefathers, but also as 'models for all subsequent secular learned men to emulate' (p. 18).

David Stifter, 'Ulster connections of *Cín Dromma Snechtai*', examines the Ulidian connection in some of the *Cín Dromma Snechtai* (*CDS*) texts, the variously manifested seaward outlook in others, and the manner in which the 'super-poet' Mongán mac Fíachnai is represented throughout the *CDS* texts. He strengthens the argument for Bangor being the place where the exemplar containing these texts originated, rather than Druimm Snechtai. Stifter provides us an eye-crossing diagram (p. 31) to illustrate the 'wide intertextual cobweb' created by Mongán's presence in the *CDS* texts. Furthermore, he argues that the obscure poem *Fil and griän Glinne Aí* ('There is there the gravel of Glenn nAí') was also included in *CDS*. The poem bears striking similarities in style and diction to the works of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus and the *Hisperica Famina*, all of which display 'a spirit for learned, scholarly playfulness' (p. 35). One looks forward to more studies which will elucidate further the literary position of Bangor.

Several essays in the volume focus on the origin, portrayal, and function of certain female figures within the Ulster Cycle tales. Britta Irslinger, 'Medb "the intoxicating one"? (Re-)constructing the past though etymology', reexamines the traditional etymology of Medb (**méd^{h}u* 'the intoxicating one') and the more recently proposed etymology **medwā* 'the ruler'. She makes the valid point that scholars in the past based their literary interpretation of Medb on the false etymology of Medb as 'the intoxicating one'. Moreover, she argues that the association between goddesses of sovereignty and the offering of drinks was 'established, or at least reinforced, by medieval scholars' due to the wordplay of *flaith-laith* (pp. 56–63). Irslinger notes that Medb is a divine figure who has 'a pre-Christian background' (p. 45) and 'likely to be the heritage of pre-Christian mythology, rather than literary inventions by medieval Irish writers or poets' (p. 51). In evaluating the evidence preserved in medieval Irish manuscripts, due consideration must be afforded to the intellectual and cultural contexts and environments within which such literature was

composed, contexts which were far removed in time from pre-Christian Ireland. This cannot be ignored nor should the scholastic and creative abilities, or motivations, of the medieval Irish literati be dismissed.

Tatyana Mikhailova, 'Portraying a person: description devices in Ulster saga narrative', distinguishes between 'functional' introductory descriptions and 'ornamental' non-functional descriptions of women in early Irish sagas, suggesting that 'all descriptions' of women in the Ulster Cycle of tales signalled to the audience firstly that the character is otherworldly and secondly that she is ill-intentioned and malevolent. The author suggests that such female descriptions were included because the tales 'were compiled "by men for a male audience"' (p. 113) and then vaguely states that perhaps the inclusion of male descriptions may allude to an apparent 'homoerotism on the part of individual compilers' (p. 114). This point has been made elsewhere and Mikhailova states that she does not agree with it, but cites no reference to such work, nor does she elaborate on why she disagrees. A close reading, which the author does not seem to have done, of the fine study and discussion by Damian McManus, 'Good-looking and irresistible: the hero from early Irish saga to classical poetry', *Ériu* 59 (2009), 57–109, would furnish numerous descriptions of males depicted as irresistible to both married and unmarried women. The descriptions of kings and heroes in early Irish sagas and classical bardic praise poetry served as a trope that should be viewed in the context of concepts of kingship and society at the time when the texts were composed. Lastly, in discussing classical influences on the Irish descriptive style, the author does not cite the stimulating and important contribution by Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011; esp. pp. 186–8).

Joanne Findon, 'A good (mortal) man is hard to find: Fand, Macha, Becfhola and bad romance', applies Mieke Bal's concept of 'focalization' to erotic relationships in *Serglige Con Culainn*, *Noínden Ulad* and *Tochmarc Becfhola*, taking into consideration how texts were changed and adapted depending on the manuscript context and audience. She concludes that the use of female otherworldly characters in these tales could open up 'an imaginative space in which audiences could empathize' with these persons in their search for love (p. 128).

Continuing with otherworldly women, Gregory Toner, 'A tale of two wives: sense and senselessness in *Serglige Con Culainn*', provides a welcome discussion of the tale as preserved in *Lebor na hUidre* and skilfully explores the narrative techniques of inversion and parallelism. By illustrating the relationships between all the otherworld characters and those of this world in the two separate and partial recensions of the tale, he argues convincingly that the narrative world portrayed in the surviving story 'consists of several coordinated and contrastive pairs based on gender and nature' (p. 138), which have the tendency to disturb the normal social order in this world.

Martina Maher, '*De Gabáil int Ṡída*: *remscél* or *remremscél*?', argues that this tale should be considered 'as a conscious and meaningful *remscél* to *Táin Bó Cúailgne*', rather than it being a *remscél* to *Aislinge Óenguso*, by examining

the tale's manuscript context and the use of verbal deceit in various accounts of the taking of the *síd*. Maher writes: 'In both manuscripts [the Book of Leinster (LL) and RIA MS D iv 2], the title *De Gabáil int Ṡída* is the first in the list of *remscéla Tána Bó Cúailgne* and the tale itself is transmitted thereafter' (p. 151). However, RIA MS D iv 2, fol. 47, lists *De Ḟoillsigud Tána Bó Cúailgne* in the first instance, rather than *De Gabáil int Ṡíde*, and it is this text that then follows the list (a point which is clearly evident in p. 151, n. 1). This is an unfortunate misrepresentation of the evidence. A lack of proper referencing to the manuscript witnesses is also frustrating for the reader. For instance, no reference to the diplomatic edition of the list of *remscéla* in the Book of Leinster is given. Maher discusses a passage from *De Gabáil int Ṡíde* preserved at the end of the LL copy only, but not in RIA MS D iv 2. Although Maher gives the text from her unpublished MA dissertation, she does not cite the diplomatic edition in LL, i.e. LL 32926–9. Maher argues that, if this passage was not in LL's exemplar, 'the evidence' suggests that it was added by LL's scribe F in order to create a connection between the text and *Táin Bó Cúailgne* (p. 154). This connection, following Kay Retzlaff's reading and interpretation in 'Pretext and context: the *remscéla* and the *Táin*', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn and Brian Ó Catháin (eds), *Ulidia* 2 (Maynooth, 2005), 285–95, is based on the use of *mucc ḟonaithe* 'a roast pig' in both texts. In the *remscél*, it is stated that there were three trees in constant fruit, an otherworldly ever-living pig (*mucc bithbeo*) and a roast pig (*mucc ḟonaithe*) but in the *macgnímrada* of *TBC* Rec. 1 (O'Rahilly 1976, 16, ll. 513) Conchobar eats only a roast pig (*mucc ḟonaithe*) and there is no otherworldly implication connected with the animal. Basing the connection between the two texts on the use of *mucc ḟonaithe* is therefore somewhat tenuous. On the other hand, it could be argued that scribe F copied this passage from the exemplar and that it was omitted in the later recension in RIA MS D iv 2. The late form *ni erchranand*, LL 32928, 'none decays' (from MIr *airchranaid* for OIr *ara-chrin*) would suggest that the scribe updated the language of this passage at the least, while the language of the rest seems to be in keeping with the suggested ninth-century date of the text (note for instance the neuter nom. sg. article *a* preceding neuter *tír*, LL 32926).

Patricia Ronan and Gerold Schneider, 'The interpolator(s) H in LU: using frequency measures to determine authorship', assess the stylistic differences of H in *Lebor na hUidre*. Elizabeth Duncan, 'The palaeography of H in *Lebor na hUidre*', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii 1 (Dublin, 2015), 29–52, esp. 36–45, has recently argued that H consists of six scribes, allowing also for the variability in the hand of a single scribe. The authors compare the use of function words in texts copied by H, as well as by hands M and A. By examining the frequency of the abbreviations ⁊ and *.i.*, as well as the augment particle *ro*, the starkest contrast is found between H1's *Fled Bricrenn* and H5's *Fled Bricrenn*. However, the authors are rightly cautious about taking the results as being a diagnostic criterion for establishing that H consisted of six hands, given that the stylistic differences may be inherited features from source copies. Nevertheless, Ronan and Schneider remain

hopeful that further studies of morphological and morpho-syntactic treatments may highlight scribal differences.

Sharon Arbuthnot, 'Gesture and verbal pronouncement in some Ulster Cycle tales', continues her examination of the portrayal and function of physical acts of grabbing various body parts in medieval Irish literature. This time she elucidates cases of grabbing the cheeks and chest revealing that this act was committed by a person in a weakened position and used as an act of defence, thereby serving as an attack on the honour of the stronger person.

The final two contributions focus on place-names in Ulster Cycle tales. Kay Muhr, 'Tracing the influence of Uí Néill (and the later sept of Ó Néill) on names used in the Ulster Cycle tales', highlights that the Ulster Cycle tales were intentionally modified as propaganda by those contesting control of the province, and the appearance of characters in texts fluctuated depending on the political situation at the time of composition.

Having previously considered the names of Emain Macha, Mag Macha and Óenach Macha, Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, 'Óenach Macha revisited', delves further into the treatment of Óenach Macha in Irish literary sources, and in a careful evaluation of the sources and extant copies of *Noínden Ulad* and the *dindshenchas* of Emain Macha, he shows that Óenach Macha was a later introduction into the literary tradition, where it was used as a literary toponym and also as a topographical feature.

A great number of texts belonging to the Ulster Cycle await reliable editions and translations, so that scholars still depend on editions published over one hundred years ago, as is evident throughout the contributions in this volume. Moreover, catalogues need to be revisited, and in some instances updated, as not all texts have been included. A case in point is *Fil and griän Glinne Aí*, where David Stifter (p. 32) has brought to light a previously ignored copy in NLI MS G 2, ff. 34vb–35rb. In the case of Fangzhe Qiu's article (pp. 9–22), he refers to the versions of the tale *Comracc Con Chulainn re Senbecc* (p. 12), one version of which is preserved in RIA MS D iv 2, f. 48v. Another copy of this version can be added here, namely, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B 512, fol. 143va28, where it is followed by a set of *mirabilia* texts. Another version, similar to that found in *Bretha Nemed Dédenach* (*CIH* 1120.16–30) is preserved in TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), p. 60a22–33, where it is found amongst a series of short literary anecdotes. This manuscript is connected with a Mac Aodhagáin school and contains a mixture of law-tracts, glossaries and prose narrative. Neither of the aforementioned copies has appeared in print nor are there any translations available.

Although the quality of the contributions varies, and apart from the few criticisms offered above, this volume presents new approaches to, and interpretations of, the Ulster Cycle of tales and marks a welcome contribution to our understanding of this celebrated branch of Europe's literary heritage.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are accepted for general use in *Celtica*, along with such universally known ones as p., ibid., etc. Any other abbreviations should be defined on first use.

ABM	D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries*, Léann na Tríonóide/Trinity Irish Studies 2 (Dublin, 2010).
ACL	Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (eds), *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*, 3 vols (Halle a.S., 1898–1907).
AFM	John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annála Ríogachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1848–51).
AI	Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951).
AL	R. Atkinson, W. N. Hancock, W. M. Hennessy, T. O'Mahony and A. G. Richey (eds), *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1865–1901).
Anecdota	O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J. G. O'Keefe (eds), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, 5 vols (Halle a.S., 1907–13).
AU	Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eds), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin, 1983).
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*.
BL	British Library.
Br	Breton.
CIH	D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1978).
CMCS	*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*; from number 25 onwards *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.
CModIr	Classical Modern Irish.
Co.	Cornish.
CSANA	Celtic Studies Association of North America
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language* and *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913–76; compact edition 1983).
EC	*Études Celtiques*.
eDIL	*Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* (www.dil.ie).
EMod	Early Modern (in combinations EModIr etc).
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Cardiff, 1950–2002).
GPC^2	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, second ed. (Cardiff, 2003–).
GPC Online	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, online ed. (www.geiriadur.ac.uk).

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GMW	D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964).
GOI	Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946).
IEW	Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (Bern, 1959–69).
IGT	Osborn Bergin (ed.), 'Irish Grammatical Tracts', supplements to *Ériu* 8 (1916), 9 (1921–3), 10 (1926–8), 14 (1946) and 17 (1955).
Ir.	Irish.
ISOS	*Irish Script on Screen* (www.isos.dias.ie).
ITS	Irish Texts Society.
JCHAS	*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (1892–).
JCS	*Journal of Celtic Studies*.
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.
LEIA	*Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959–).
LL	R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and A. O'Sullivan (eds), *The Book of Leinster*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1954–83).
LModIr	Late Modern Irish.
LU	R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre/Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929). Where necessary, the hands of the three scribes may be distinguished as *LU*(*A*), *LU*(*M*) and *LU*(*H*).
M	Middle (in combinations MIr, MW, MBr, MCo etc.).
MD	Edward Gwynn (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, Todd Lecture Series 8–12 (Dublin, 1903–35).
Ml.	The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl. Ambr. C. 301, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 7–483.
Mod.	Modern (in combinations ModIr, ModW, ModBr, ModCo etc.).
MV	Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), 'Mittelirische Verlehren', *Irische Texte* III.1 (1891), 1–182.
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NLW	National Library of Wales.
O	Old (in combinations OIr, OW, OBr, OCo etc.).
OED Online	Oxford English Dictionary, online ed. (www.oed.com).
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*.
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.
QUB	Queen's University Belfast.
RIA	Royal Irish Academy.
RC	*Revue Celtique*.
SC	*Studia Celtica*.

Sg.	Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis no. 904, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), ii, 49–224.
SGc	Scottish Gaelic.
SGS	*Scottish Gaelic Studies*.
SnaG	Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó hÁinle, Nicholas Williams and Liam Breatnach (eds), *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta* (Maynooth, 1994).
TBC 1	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailgne: Recension I* (Dublin, 1976).
TBC LL	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailgne from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967).
TBC St.	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cúailgne* (Dublin, 1961).
TCD	Trinity College Dublin.
Thes	Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975).
THSC	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.
Tur.	The Turin Glosses on St Mark, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 484–94.
UCD	University College Dublin.
VKG	Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1909–13).
W.	Welsh.
Wb.	Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Codex Paulinus Wirzibirgensis, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 499–712.
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.