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CONTENTS

The name of the heroine in *Tochmarc Ferbe*
Marie-Luise Theuerkauf 1

A note on the use of a feminine adjective following accusative and dative singular *talmain*
Chantal Kobel 10

A poem on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha in the Book of Leinster
Pádraig Ó Macháin 14

Varia de amore
Cathal Ó Háinle 24

Togha na hÉigse 1700–1800. 7. *Tarla gné dhaoldatha d'fhoiligh gach rian* (Séamas Mac Coitir)
Pádraig A. Breatnach 38

Manx Gaelic: the end game
George Broderick 56

Carl Marstrander's Field Notes from the Isle of Man 1929, 1930, 1933
George Broderick 183

Obituaries
Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1942–2017)
Ruairí Ó hUiginn 206
Anders Ahlqvist (1945–2018)
Ruairí Ó hUiginn 208

Reviews
Patrick Wadden: *Kings and Warriors in Early North-West Europe* (Rekdal and Doherty) 209
Elizabeth Boyle: *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin* (Purcell *et al.*) 211
Lisa Collinson: *The Vikings in Ireland and Beyond: Before and After the Battle of Clontarf* (Clarke and Johnson) 214

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Helen Imhoff: *Altirische Erzählkunst* (Corthals) 217
Barry J. Lewis: Grammatica, Gramadach *and* Gramadeg*: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Hayden and Russell) 223
Dafydd Johnston: *The Poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Clancy) 229
Thomas O'Loughlin: *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland,* vol. 26 (Johnston and Ó Cróinín) 231

Abbreviations 234

THE NAME OF THE HEROINE IN *TOCHMARC FERBE*[1]

Abstract

The Middle Irish tale *Tochmarc Ferbe* is counted among the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster (TCD MS H 2. 18 (1339)). Drawing on the metrical evidence available from the Book of Leinster text, a new interpretation of the name of the titular heroine *Ferb* is offered, which, in turn, may offer further insight into the tale's thematic relationship with the *Táin*.

The tale commonly referred to as *Tochmarc Ferbe* 'Ferb's Courtship' has survived, incompletely, in prosimetric form in the Book of Leinster (TCD MS H 2. 18 (1339); hereafter L), pp. 253–59b, and in a shorter but complete prose version in British Library Egerton MS 1782 fol. 69v–70r (hereafter Eg.). The first challenge for anyone wishing to study this tale consists in addressing the discrepancy between the title commonly assigned to this text, *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which is found in one of the major medieval Irish tale lists, and the complete absence of a title in both of the manuscripts which contain the story: in L, the beginning of the story is missing; in Eg. the tale bears no title. Of the tale lists (edited Mac Cana 1980: 41–9, 51–63), list A gives '*Tochmarc Feirbe*' as the sixth *tochmarc* in that section, while the section on *tochmarca* in list B is much shorter and does not include Ferb's courtship. The list of the *remscéla Tána Bó Cúailngi* which, in L, concludes the short prose text *Do ḟaillsigud Tána Bó Cúailngi* (= *DFTBC*; ed. and trans. Murray 2001: 21–3) lists an item *de thochmurc* between the *comperta* of Conchobor and Cú Chulainn respectively. This list of *remscéla* contains the following items:[2]

1. *De Gabáil in tśíd.*
2. *De Aslingi in Meic Óic.*
3. *De chophur na da Muccida.*
4. *De Tháin Bó Regamain.*
5. *De Echtra Nerai.*
6. *De Chompirt Chonchobuir.*
7. *De Thochmurc* < >[3]
8. *De Chompirt Con Culaind.*

[1]My thanks to Christina Cleary, to the editors of *Celtica*, as well as to the anonymous reader, for their comments and criticism on an earlier draft of this article. Any errors that remain are entirely my own.

[2]I follow the spelling of Bergin and Best's edition of *LL* (ll. 32901–5) as I am primarily concerned with this manuscript. Cf. Murray 2001: 22 for variant spellings.

[3]Even though only the words '*de thochmurc*' are visible, it is generally accepted that *Tochmarc Ferbe* is meant here. For Thurneysen (1921: 351) this was 'ohne Zweifel'. See also *LL* l. 32904; Murray 2001: 22.

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9. *De Thain Bó Flidais.*
10. *De Thochmurc Emiri.*

DFTBC is then itself followed by a number of *remscéla* (some are different from the tales listed above), including *Tochmarc Ferbe*: [4]

1. *De Gabáil in tṠída*
2. *De Chophur in da Muccida*
3. *Táin Bó Flidaisi*
4. *Táin Bó Fraích*
5. *Fochond Loingse Fergusa meic Roig*
6. tale beg. [. . .] *airgit oengil friu.* [*Tochmarc Ferbae*]
7. [*Longes mac nUisnig*]
8. *Mesca Ulad*

As Windisch remarked in the first edition of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, the title had already been accepted as applying to the story by O'Curry (1873: 307), Atkinson (1887: 58–9), and de Jubainville (1883: 229), and I will be using *Tochmarc Ferbe* to designate the texts in L and Eg. in line with previous scholarship.[5] I will be returning to the relationship between title and text below, but I am primarily concerned here with the name of the story's heroine, Ferb.

With the help of the metrical sections of *Tochmarc Ferbe* as contained in L, I would like to suggest that Ferb is not just to be seen as a proper name, but also as a common noun, which may provide further insight into the story's relationship to *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. There are twelve poems contained in *Tochmarc Ferbe* which are tabulated on page 3.

The name *Ferb* occurs six times in the metrical sections of the text, as follows: once in the dialogue poem between Ferb and the Connacht warrior Fiannamail, *Fiannamail-seo chucun-ni* (q. 6):

(1) Eolas dam ram ḟorraig **ferg**,
ma ra ḟetar, a **glanḞerb**,
apair rim, cia bail i tá
Mani mór mac Ailella.

I know that anger has overcome me;
if you know it, o pure Ferb,
tell me, where is the place in which is
great Maine son of Ailill.

[4] In the list, I once more follow the *LL* spelling; see *LL* ll. 32910; 32930; 33043; 33101; 33424; 33452; 34306; 34590.

[5] I am using the spelling *Tochmarc Ferbe* throughout unless I am quoting from another source. I am using Windisch's edition for the text unless otherwise specified, but all English translations are my own. Note also the discussion on the relationship between *Tochmarc Ferbe* and the item in the tale lists known as *Fís Chonchobuir* 'Conchobor's Vision'. See Mac Cana (1980: 89). As Christina Cleary points out to me, there is also an item *De aislingthi* con*cho*bair in the version of the list of *remscéla* to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* which is found in RIA MS D iv 2, fol. 49b. This list has been edited from D iv 2 in Meyer (1883–5: 191).

Poem	**No. of stanzas**	**Metre**	**Speaker(s)**
Deilm in gáeth	5	*rannaigecht*?[6]	Ollgáeth
Finna lat, a Chathbaid chain	5	*deibide*	Conchobor/Cathbad
Dubnél nemi	(13 ll.)	*retoiric*	Imrinn mac Cathbad
All amae	(12 ll.)	[*retoiric*]	Ollgáeth
Is sé Gerg so ina ligi	10	*deibide*	Nuagel wife of Gerg
A Medb ca cotlud do-gní	7	*deibide*	Badb/Medb
A gillai, is derg do lepaid	19	*deibide*	Ferb
Fiannamail-seo chucun-ni	15	*deibide*	Ferb/Fiannamail
Truag sin a gillu Connacht	9	*rannaigecht*?	Ferb
A Domnaill meic Dubain dil	9	*deibide*	Ferb/Domnall Derg
Trúag ám sin, a maic Medba	9	*deibide*	Ferb
Aislinge Conchobair chóir	39	*deibide*	Ferchertne, Conchobor's *ollam*

The twelve poems contained in Tochmarc Ferbe

twice in the dialogue poem between Ferb and Domnall Derg, *A Domnaill maic Dubain dil* (qqs. 6, 7):

(2) Conchobar, cid mór a blad,
7 Niall is Feradach,
i ndígail Mani **rocherb**,[7]
nos línfea mo lám, a **Ḟerb**

Conchobor, though great his fame,
and Níall and Feradach;

[6]The third Middle Irish metrical tract describes this metre as *cro cumaisc etir rannaigecht móir ocus sruth di aill* with a syllabic structure of $7^{1}3^{1}7^{1}3^{1}$ (Thurneysen 1891: 81–2; Murphy 1961: 56, 153), but the structure of *Deilm in gáeth* does not correspond exactly to the metre described. In fact, it shares some traits with *dechnad cummaisc* (Thurneysen 1891: 8; Murphy 1961: 50) in that the last stressed word before the *caesura* (rather than the penultimate word as described in *cro cumaisc*) makes *aicill* rhyme with a word after the *caesura*. This trait is present in both long lines. For *Deilm in gáeth*, see *gríth*: *bíth*; *fer*: *sleg*; *ríg*: *gním*; *bailc*: *glaic*(*c*); *chairn*: *mairb*; *borb*: *tolg*: *slúag*: *trúag*, etc.

[7]Contrast *rocerb* in Windisch (1897: 510). Lenition after the intensifying prefix *ro-* is expected here.

in revenge for great cutting wounds inflicted on Maine,[8]
my hand will overcome[9] *them, o Ferb.*

(3) Da mbad tussu, a Domnaill **Deirg**
no marbtais Ulaid tri **Ḟeirb**,
ropad bladach a dígail
for scéol Mani mórgnímaig

If it were you, o Domnall Derg
whom the Ulaid should kill for Ferb's sake,
revenge for that deed would be famous
because of the account of Maine of great deeds.

twice in Ferb's lament for Maine, *Trúag ám sin, a maic Medba* (qqs. 3, 8):

(4) Is triut do-géntar mór d'olc[10]
at-gén arin gné fil ort;[11]
is mór d'ulc bias **de**
d'óes Mani ⁊ **Ḟeirbe**

Because of you great evil will be done
I recognize it from your appearance;
Great is the evil which will come from it
over the people of Maine and of Ferb.

(5) Olc in scél bérthair síar
co Finnabair na nglangíall
tasc a brathar di co **feirg**
is a esbaid ar **glanḞeirb**.

Bad the news which will be born west
to Finnabair of the pure hostages
news of her brother's death in anger
and his loss for pure Ferb.

[8]It seems to have been the interpretation of the editors of the Book of Leinster (*LL* l. 34049) to take the form as *ro cerb*, the 3rd sg. past tense of *cerb(b)aid* 'cuts, strikes', and take Conchobor as the only logical antecedent, i.e. 'Conchobor ... whom he cut down'. While possible, this interpretation seems to add unnecessary syntactical complexity to the quatrain. Note further that this poem mostly contains rhyme of the *rinn*: *ardrinn* type with the exception of q. 6ab, see under (6) below, which has *gulbnech* rhyme between *Feirb*: *Geirg*. But *gulbnech* only ever occurs in lines ab in this poem, not however in lines cd. Like Windisch (1897: 511, 'ein scharfes Zerhauen'), I take *rocherb* to be the substantivised adjective *cerb* 'keen, sharp' preceded by the intensifying prefix *ro-*. Metrically, this means that *rinn*: *ardrinn* are reversed in this example. It is not possible to take *rocherb* as co-referential with either dat. *dígail* or gen. *Maine*, since both would require the palatal form of the adjective *ceirb*, and would no longer rhyme with voc. sg. *Ferb*. We can therefore only interpret *rocherb* as nom. sg. in a *cheville* (as Windisch seems to have done), or, as Christina Cleary suggests to me, as gen. pl. 'of great cuttings, smitings' in reference to Maine's battle prowess. A better translation, as suggested by Barry Lewis, would then be to take *Maine* as the objective genitive (see above).

[9]The verb *línaid* is here used in the extended sense of 'fills, consumes', hence 'overcomes'.

[10]MS *ulc*

[11]MS *orut*.

and once in Ferchertne's summary of the events in *Aislinge Conchobair chóir* (q. 10):

(6) Do-dechaid do feis la **Feirb**
la ingin Geirg do Glind **Geirg**
tri cóicdaib láech, lathar fír
ed a llín, ní immarrím

He came to sleep with Ferb,
with the daughter of Gerg, to Glenn Geirg;
with thrice fifty warriors, a true arrangement
this is their number, not an exaggeration.

In each of these six instances, Ferb's name occurs in rhyming position, and with the exception of example (4) which has *rinn*: *ardrinn* rhyme, the heroine's name rhymes with a word which ends in consonant cluster containing an unlenited stop, e.g. *ferg*, *derg*, *cerb*, and the name of her father *Gerg*, which itself rhymes with a compound of *derg*, and with *ferg* (Windisch 1897: 482, ll. 261–2, 265–6). These examples suggest, then, that the name of the heroine ends in unlenited /b/, rather than lenited /v/. In addition to the metrical evidence, we may cite the following quatrain from a poem on the death of the seven Maines (sons of Ailill and Medb), contained in Eg., fol. 44a1, §2, which gives the spelling of the heroine's name with <*bb*>, i.e. unlenited /b/:

(7) Maine Mórgar mórdais rúin[12]
tuc **Fe[i]rbb** ingin Gerga gúir
marbais Conchobur gan chess
a nGlend Gerg don chaladhces[13]

Maine Mórgar, whom mysteries used to extol,
took [*as wife*] *Ferbb the daughter of keen Gerg;*
Conchobar killed [*him*][14] *without debility*[?]
in Glend Gerg with the sharp spear.[15]

eDIL s.v. *ferb* records three homonyms: 1 *ferb*(*b*), a poetic word for 'cow', as explained by various glossaries; 2 *ferb* 'blister [caused by satire]'; and 3 *ferb* 'word, utterance'. Of these three, 1 *ferb*(*b*) and 2 *ferb* are given as *ā*-stem feminine nouns, and 3 *ferb* as a neuter *o*-stem, with later attestations as a feminine *ā*-stem.[16] In a short article on the practice known as *Ferbb Chluiche* 'Word of the Contest', John Carey (1999: 67) has argued *contra* Calvert Watkins (1963: 233 n. 1) that 3 *ferb* represents the borrowing of Latin

[12] As noted in *eDIL* s.v. 1 *rún*, in Middle Irish *rūn* is sometimes treated as an o-stem masculine (here nom. pl. *rūin*); earlier ā-stem feminine *rūn*, gen. sg. *rūnae*. The palatal ending is fixed by rhyme with : *gūir* (gen. sg.), and the verb is Impf. 3rd pl. (*mórdais* = *mórtais*).

[13] *Sic* MS. Lenition is not indicated over the *c*, but we would expect *caladhchess*.

[14] I.e. Gerg.

[15] The poem was edited in Meyer (1913: 175). No translation has been published to date.

[16] See *eDIL* s.v. *ferb* at http://dil.ie/search?q=ferb\&search_in=headword [accessed 4 June 2018].

verbum (a neuter noun) as a feminine *ā*-stem into Irish, under the influence of the native homonyms 1 *ferb* and 2 *ferb*, both *ā*-stems, although he later adds that 3 *ferb* might have been inflected in both genders: 'neuter following the example of its Latin source, feminine by analogy with its Irish homonyms' (Carey 1999: 167 n. 14).

That the medieval Irish *literati* were themselves pre-occupied with the various meanings of *ferb* is evident from the commentary to the *Amra Coluimb Chille* and glossaries such as *Sanas Cormaic* or the glosses to *Cethairślicht Athgabálae*.[17] Whatever the original declension of 3 *ferb*,[18] its connection to 2 *ferb* deserves scrutiny beyond the question of paradigmatic levelling. It may be possible to postulate a relationship of cause-and-effect between 3 *ferb* 'word, utterance' and 2 *ferb* 'blister', since the *ferb* 'blister' is the result of *ferba filed* 'poets' utterances', that is, satire.[19] But this does not mean that 2 *ferb* and 3 *ferb* were originally one lexeme.[20] If 3 *ferb* is a borrowing from Latin *verbum* rather than a native word, it is unlikely that 2 *ferb* is simply an extended meaning of it, given that the latter seems to have a cognate in Middle Breton *guerp* (gl. *stigmate*), which survives into Modern Breton as *gwerpl* 'bubon' (Loth 1887: 497–8).[21] If both homonyms do not in fact share the same etymological origin, then the declension of 2 *ferb* 'blister' as an *ā*-stem may also be queried. For example, there are no orthographically conclusive examples of lenition after the nominative: the citation given from *The Irish Monthly* in *eDIL* s.v. 2 *ferb* gives *ghaoithe* as one of the *variae lectiones*; but no such variant is actually recorded in the edition (see McKenna 1923: 645). There are no examples of a palatal form *feirb* in the accusative or dative, and the plural *ferba* would be compatible with other declensions. If it is not a feminine *ā*-stem, then the attestations of the word given in *eDIL* would allow us to take it as a neuter *o*-stem of the type *scél*, *scéla* with a long plural ending in *-a*.[22]

[17]The complex textual connections which exist between these sources are discussed in Russell 2014.

[18]In his forthcoming edition of *Amra Coluimb Chille*, Jacopo Bisagni takes 3 *ferb* to be an *ā*-stem in the line *Fáig feirb fithir* 'The teacher wove the word' (Bisagni 2018: 328 l. 13; 397 n. 118). My thanks to Dr Bisagni for making his edition available to me in advance of publication.

[19]See the example from *Sanas Cormaic* s.v. *ferb*, most recently edited and translated in Russell (2014: 83): *Ferb .i. bolg doc*[*h*]*uirethar in duine for a grūadaibh īar n-áir nō īar ngúbreith*, '*Ferb*, i.e. a blister that the person produces on his cheeks after a satire or after a false judgment.'

[20]As the anonymous reader points out to me, Moroney (1958: 114) suggested that *ferb* 'boil, blister' was a word-play on *ferb* 'word'.

[21]I could not find any attestation of this word in Welsh.

[22]It is noteworthy, however, that the commentary to the line *fáig feirb fithir* (see footnote 18 above) in the *Amra Coluimb Chille* from Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS B 502 (text and translation from Russell 2014: 81–2) gives the line *teora ferbba foluchta turcbat fort gruaidib iar cilbrethaib* '[*add*. three] hidden blisters rise upon your cheeks after false judgement', that is, with the feminine form of the numeral *teora*. This would lend support to taking 2 *ferb* as an *ā*-stem. As Russell points out in his chapter, however, the commentaries to *ACC* are heavily indebted to the legal commentary on *Cetharślicht Athgabálae* in which it is 1 *ferb* 'cow' in the phrase *teora ferba fíra* 'three white cows' which is discussed. The line *teora ferba foluchta* in reference to 2 *ferb* 'blister' may simply have been modelled on the discussion of 1 *ferb* 'cow' which draws on the legal commentary. If 2 *ferb* was indeed a neuter *o*-stem in origin, then the gradual absorption of neuter nouns into either masculine or feminine paradigms from the late-Old-Irish period onwards could also explain the reading in the Bodl. commentary above. The Modern Irish form *fearb*,

Just like its homonyms, 1 *ferb*(*b*) 'cow' has an unlenited /*b*/,[23] as can be seen from the early spelling of gen. sg. *ferbba* in *LU* l. 562 (*Amra Choluim Chille*), and from the rhyming example *ferb*: *lerg* (both also make *úaitne* with *meirg* and *buirb* in that stanza) in a tenth-century poem on the creation of Adam, ascribed to Airbertach Mac Cosse (Meyer 1901: 23, l.18). While the declensions of 2 *ferb* and 3 *ferb* may be queried, the declension of 1 *ferb*(*b*) as an *ā*-stem is established through the gen. *ferbba* in the aforementioned example from *LU* and forms such as *teora ferba* 'three cows' with the feminine form of the numeral. All of this suggests that Irish did not have a word **ferb* ending in lenited /v/.[24]

Returning to the issue of our heroine *Ferb*, her name also follows the *ā*-declension, as can be seen from acc. sg. *tri Feirb* (3), *la Feirb* (6); dat. sg. *ar glanḞeirb* (5); and gen. sg. *Feirbe* (4). Rather than simply taking *Ferb* as a female first name, it is therefore also possible to translate these examples as common nouns, namely as either 1 *ferb* 'cow', or as 'word, utterance' (if 3 *ferb* is to be taken as an *ā*-stem). I do not think that 2 *ferb* 'blister' would fit the context here, unless we stipulate that she is blamed for Maine's death and is therefore to be seen as a 'blemish'.[25]

In the context of the *remscéla* to the *Táin*, it seems that a name meaning 'cow' would give better sense than a name meaning 'word, utterance', given that animal metaphors are well attested elsewhere in Irish literature, and in the Ulster Cycle in particular.[26] Indeed, the foray by a royal company of Connachta into Ulster territory to take a 'cow' is particularly symbolic in that it echoes the basic plot of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Although the Donn Cúailnge falls into Connacht hands for a brief time, both incursions into Ulster, that of the *Táin* and that of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, ultimately fail, and both end in the death of some of the principal characters, and more specifically in the death of the bulls and the 'cow'.[27] That the union between the Connacht prince Maine and the Ulsterwoman Ferb is thwarted by a supernatural herald of doom, who appears

gen. *feirbe* 'blister on face' could therefore have arisen through analogy with *fearb*, *feirbe* 'cow' (and both are confined to literary usage at any rate). Cf. German *die Bulle* 'papal bull' (< Latin *bulla*) and *der Bulle* 'the bull [a male cow]', a word of Germanic origin.

[23] Pokorny (1928: 305) addressed this difficulty by suggesting that Old Irish *ferb* 'cow' and Latin *vervex* 'wether' were cognates.

[24] In *eDIL* s.v. 1 ferb(b), note the citation from Stokes (1893: 12, gl. 26) which gives *ferbh* with a lenited *bh*; likewise the citation on p. 11, gl. 14. The latter has a variant *ferb*, however (Stokes 1893: 11 n. 19). It is not uncommon in Early Modern manuscripts that *bh* (either written as *ḃ* or with a spiritus asper) can also stand for an unlenited *b*. See the example from RIA MS D ii 1 (Book of Uí Mhaine), fol. 114ra48 (last word): *aḃaḋ*. Here the *b* with punctum stands for *bb* (or *p*) in the word *ap*, gen. pl. *abbad* 'abbot(s)'.

[25] My thanks to the anonymous reader for this suggestion. It would appear, however, that *ferb* 'blister' is not attested as referring to people.

[26] As the reader points out to me, it is also possible to take *Ferb* as meaning 'deer, hind', and that there may be some confusion or overlap with *erp* 'she-goat, doe' here as well (cf. *eDIL* s.v. *erp*).

[27] A similar idea was brought forward by Patricia Kelly (1992: 76) who has suggested that 'the driving off of cattle goes hand in hand with the acquisition of a woman. I suggest that these two narrative strands are figuratively linked, via a metaphor which equates cattle with humans, and particularly women with cows'.

to both Conchobor and later to Medb, also echoes the role of the Mórrígain in the *Táin* itself as well as in other *remscéla* such as *Echtrae Nerai* and *Táin Bó Regamain*. In these tales, it is the Mórrígain herself who engineers the conflict between the two bulls by having the Donn Cúailnge bull the cow of a Connachtman, the offspring of which union is killed by the Finnbennach, thereby lending motive to the *Táin*. While not too much importance can be ascribed to the title *tochmarc* in combination with *Ferb*, the tale represented by that title certainly deserves further literary scrutiny as a text which provides a unique insight into the events which led to *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

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A NOTE ON THE USE OF A FEMININE ADJECTIVE FOLLOWING ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE SINGULAR *TALMAIN*[1]

Abstract

This brief note provides examples showing that, similar to other masculine consonantal stems, the accusative or dative singular of masculine *n*-stem *talam* can also be qualified by a feminine attributive adjective in the Middle Irish period.

The noun *talam* 'ground, earth' was originally a consonantal stem, to be precise a masculine *n*-stem, although later it also adopted an *o*-stem inflection.[2] The accusative and dative singular form was *talmain*, ending in a palatal final, with a short dative *talam* also attested, e.g. *.i. as intalam fessin*, 'i.e. from the earth itself', *Ml*. 45d13.[3] Any attributive adjective following *talmain*/*talam* would be masculine in gender, in accordance with the grammatical rules of the Old Irish period.[4] In Middle Irish, adjectives could take feminine inflection when following masculine consonantal stems, such as guttural stems, *s*-stems, and extending into *i*-stems, in the accusative or dative case, e.g. *dom rīg rāin* (:*grāin*), *SR* 7861; *i Slēib bledaig Blod* (:*Breguin*), *LL* 25896; *gana comsid costadaig*, *LL* 12061.[5] However, no examples of masculine *n*-stems occurring with a following feminine adjective have been noted yet. The purpose of this note is to present examples that I have collected from verse of the accusative and dative singular of masculine *n*-stem *talam* + attributive feminine *ā*- or *u*-stem adjective.

My first three examples are found in the tenth-century *Saltair na Rann*. In the following couplet, the gen. sg. *nIffirn* rhymes with the feminine acc. sg. *tind* (of *tend* 'firm'):

[1]I am grateful to Liam Breatnach, Mícheál Hoyne and David Stifter for discussing various aspects of an earlier draft of this note. I am also thankful to the editors of this journal and the anonymous reader for their comments and suggestions. I am of course solely responsible for any remaining errors.

[2]See *DIL* s.v. *talam* for examples. For a general discussion of the morphology of *n*-stems, see Stüber (1998). For *talam* as an *o*-stem, see McManus (1994: 379).

[3]David Stifter has pointed out to me that the dative is exclusively *talam* throughout the Milan glosses (see for instance, 44c1, 68c4, etc.). For examples of dative singular *talam* in the Würzburg glosses, see *hitalam*, *Wb*. 7c8; *inim* et*tala*m, 21a13; *italam*, 21d4. See also: *ostala*m, *Karlsruhe Bede* 33b1 (*Thes* ii, 20); *i talam*, *Poems of Blathmac* (Carney 1964), l. 744. There are no examples of accusative singular *talam* in the Würzburg glosses (see Kavanagh 2001: 844). The earliest known example of an accusative singular *talam* cited in *DIL* s.v. *talam* is as follows: *ro lín flaith Dé Athar / nem, talam la trethan*, 'the kingdom of God the Father has filled heaven, earth and sea', *Fél. Prol.* (Stokes 1905), ll. 215–16.

[4]See *GOI* §361.

[5]This phenomenon has been discussed by O'Brien (1954; 1958) and Breatnach (1994: 252). For Classical Modern Irish, see McManus (1994: 380 and 384), e.g. *ós glinn guirm*, *IGT* ii, 1503.

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[...]
corp lobtha hi talmain tind
is anmain dochum nIffirn. (ll. 1351–2)

'[...] the rotting body going into the firm earth and the soul to Hell.'[6]

In the next example, the accusative of *talam* is followed by the feminine adjective of *tinach*, rhyming with *ninaig*:

Ticfa nēl derg teinntide
a tuaisciurd nime ninaig,
grānna gēr garb geintide,
lethfaid dar talmain tinaig. (ll. 8025–8)

'A red fiery cloud will come from the north of shining heaven, it will spread over the many-sided (?) earth, hateful, sharp, harsh, heathen.' [7]

In the third example, the feminine forms of the *o*/*ā* stem adjectives *trén* and *torbach* follow *talmain*:

[...]
dūs in fagbad, érimm ngrinn,
talmain trēin tarbaig tírimm. (ll. 2567–8)

'[...] to see whether it [the dove] would find, a perfect intelligence, firm profitable dry land.'

My fourth example is from the poem *Ádam óenathair na ndóene*, also known as the metrical *Banshenchas*, preserved in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster and composed by Gilla Mo Dutu úa Casaide in 1147:

Ingen Buirg buredaig Érni
on ainmnigth*er* in loch lir.
is Cruachu o Chruachain chrodeirg.
ruathair moir co mórḟeirg mir.
Cruachu inailt d'Étain adbail
narb écain ar talmain tig. (*LL* 16713–18)

[6]Text and trans. Greene and Kelly (1976: 47).

[7]For this and the following example I use David Greene's edition and translation of *Saltair na Rann* which is available on the website of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/celt-saltair-na-rann/). I have consulted Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B. 502 to confirm that the form *talmain* is written unambiguously, i.e. as *talmai*n, in all of the above instances (Rawl. B. 502, fol. 22rb40; 25va7; 39v22). An independent copy of *Saltair na Rann* is preserved in RIA MS 24 P 27 (see Mac Eoin 1982: 1). Unfortunately the text ends at l. 1105 of Stokes's edition (1883).

> 'The daughter of Burg Buredach was Erni from whom is named the oceanlike lake. Cruachu is named from bloodred Cruachan (a great onset with sudden fury). She was handmaiden of great Etain who was no senseless wanderer (?) on the solid earth.'[8]

The metre of the poem is *sétrad fada* and this particular verse contains six lines.[9] The palatal final of *tig* (*u*-stem adjective *tiug* 'solid') is confirmed in this instance by end-rhyme with *mir* and *lir*.

The next example is preserved in a Middle Irish poem in a text concerning an encounter between Cú Chulainn and the poet Senbecc úa Ébricc. Only one copy of this version survives in volume four of the composite manuscript TCD MS H 3.18 (1337):[10]

> [...]
> Nī*con* fil f*or* talmui*n* tig*h*
> nād*hcon* targa dīa soig*h*id (p. 60a30).

> 'There is no one upon the solid earth who would not come to visit it.'[11]

Here the feminine form of the adjective *tiug* 'solid', with palatal final -*g*, is confirmed by end rhyme with the verb *saigid*.

To conclude then, the five examples here consist of an accusative or dative singular masculine *n*-stem *talmain* followed by a feminine attributive adjective, i.e. in three instances by an *ā*-stem adjective and in two by a *u*-stem adjective. The similarity between masculine and feminine *n*-stem and *ā*-stem nouns, both having a palatalised accusative and dative singular, allowed for the natural development of a feminine adjective following the masculine *n*-stem *talam* in such cases. This development in turn may have been a contributing factor to the change of *talam* from masculine to feminine *n*-stem in Classical Modern Irish, with the fluctuation of declension continuing into the modern language.[12] As such, it is possible to extend the rule concerning feminine declension of attributive adjectives following masculine consonantal stems to include *n*-stems

[8]Trans. Dobbs (1930: 323).

[9]Some verses in this poem contain six lines, others contain eight, and one contains ten lines, i.e. *LL* 16965–74. For an overview of this metre, see Breatnach (2015: 76–7).

[10]This volume (i.e. pp. 59–87) is dated to *c.* 1520, for which see Ó Cuív (1954: 30; 1985: 113). For a description of the sections of the manuscript, see Breatnach (2005: 4–5). This text has hitherto not been printed, and I am currently preparing an edition and translation of it.

[11]My translation.

[12]See *DIL* s.v. *talam* for examples of *talam* as an *o*-stem; most *n*-stems were treated as feminine, for which see McManus (1994: 378–9). The editor points out to me that this variation in declension continues into Modern Irish, with both *talaimh* (masc.) and *talún* (fem.) recognised in the modern language. The gen. sg. *talaimh* and *talún* (and *talúna*) are found in Connemara; cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953: §§1, 132). *Talaimh* is the normal gen. sg. in Mayo (*talúna* confined to certain phrase(s); Mhac an Fhailligh (1968: §502). *Talaimh* is the gen. sg. form in Northern Irish. Mícheál Hoyne also brought it to my attention that the gen. sg. *talún* is found in Munster; cf. Ó Sé (2000: §§ 173, 264).

also, thereby reflecting the simplification of the agreement behaviour of adjectives in the Middle Irish period. Finally, the above collection is by no means exhaustive and a more detailed search in the future could possibly provide us with further examples of masculine *n*-stems with following feminine adjectives in prose.

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A POEM ON DIARMAID MAC MURCHADHA IN THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

Abstract

A transcription and edition is presented here of a previously unnoticed fragment of a bardic elegy on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, from the Book of Leinster.

In a footnote to his discussion of the term 'Diarmaid na nGall' as applied to Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster (1126–71), Brian Ó Cuív remarked:

> It may be assumed from the eulogy of Diarmaid in Gilla na Naem ua Duind's poem beginning *Cúiced Laigen na lecht ríg* (*LL* 4411–22) that he patronised learning and that he would be familiar with well-known Leinster traditions.[1]

The poem referred to is a versified list of the kings of Leinster that concludes (prior to úa Duind's additional signature quatrain) with three quatrains praising Diarmaid as the current king, who extends his supremacy beyond Laighin. This poem by Gilla na Naem (†1160) is part of the contemporary fabric of the Book of Leinster (TCD MS H 2. 18 (1339)), a fabric that, at its most overt, encompasses a number of allusions to Mac Murchadha. This is also the case with the poem immediately preceding that of Gilla na Naem in the Book of Leinster, that beginning *Fianna bátar i nEmain* attributed to the tenth-century poet, Cináed úa Artacáin.[2] Into the Book of Leinster copy of this poem eleven quatrains were interpolated by *Find episcopus Cilli Dara*[3] in order to continue the poem's enumeration of deceased warrior-heroes, and in particular to conclude the poem with a distinctly triumphal Laighin flavour, and a reference to the Battle of Móin Mhór in which *Diarmait*, whom we understand to be living at the time of the composition of this interpolation, is said to have been victorious (see below). These interpolated verses follow the metrical pattern of the original poem in their combination of *deibhidhe scaoilte* and *deibhidhe nguilbneach* metres.[4] The only other known poetic effort by the Bishop is contained in his famous address (confirming his interest in poetry with his request for Mac Lonáin's *duanaire*) to his fellow scribe, Aodh Mac

[1] Ó Cuív (1975: 144).

[2] Book of Leinster, pp. 31a43–32a35; *LL* ll. 3998–4174.

[3] Quatrains 30–41 of the 43 quatrains contained in the Book of Leinster version; exceptionally qq. 35 and 39 are six-line verses. The Book of Leinster version, with those of Laud 610 and Egerton 1782, is edited in Stokes (1902).

[4] 'though they are modelled on the original quatrains, hardly any forms suggestive of Early Middle Irish occur' (Murphy 1952: 154).

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Criomhthainn, in the lower margin of p. 288 of the Book of Leinster, a verse in *rannaigheacht bheag* without *aicill* rhyme.[5]

The emphasis on the current king of Leinster in these two contemporary texts (*Cúiced Laigen na lecht ríg* and the interpolated section of *Fianna bátar i nEmain*), taken with other references to him in Bishop Find's note on p. 288 and in the Book of Leinster in general, brings into focus the possibility of Mac Murchadha being patron of that book in the sense that we understand patronage to have generally operated in the production of Irish manuscripts.[6] He certainly must have been the recipient of Gilla na Naem's poem, and the fact that the poem presents, to a high degree, a *dán díreach* version of *rannaigheacht mhór* across its 63 quatrains[7] says something of the expectations of this *ughdar Erenn re senchus agus re dan*[8] regarding the poem's reception by Mac Murchadha.

A *seanchas* poem in this strict metre was a relatively new departure, one that was not destined to last, but in the twelfth century we find other *seanchas*-compositions in strict metre that suggest that some *seanchaidhe* were moving in this metrical direction in tandem with the praise-poets of the time.[9] Only in the closing verses referencing Mac Murchadha does Gilla na Naem veer towards praise-poetry — recalling the contemporary *seanchas* praise-poem beginning *Clann Ollaman uaisle Emna* (Byrne 1964) — and *dán díreach* praise-poems were to become the dominant literary art-form from the thirteenth century onwards. Among the candidates for the earliest surviving praise-poem composed in *dán díreach* is that addressed to Raghnall, king of Man (1187–1229),[10] who, like Mac Murchadha, appears to have been a patron of literature.[11] Its editor, Brian Ó Cuív, suggested that the poem to Raghnall may have been composed between 1187 and 1208.

It is in the context of the development of bardic praise-poetry and the emergence of Early Modern Irish, and also in the particular context of the history of the Book of Leinster, that the verses edited here are of interest. They consist of the first seven quatrains, in *séadna* metre,[12] *dán díreach*, of an elegy on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, which appears to have contained a *caithréim* or list of his martial victories. It is found as a fifteenth-century[13] addition to p. 178 of the Book of Leinster where existing text was cleared from the page, sparing only the top quarter of column *a* (ll. 1–21) — the end of *Cath Ruis na Ríg* — of what, judging from the recto of the leaf (p. 177), should have been

[5] *LL*, xv–xvi.

[6] Ó Macháin (2004: 158–65); Ó Macháin (2018: 233).

[7] Reckoned to be 'about 94%' in Ó Cuív (1968: 289–90).

[8] Bhreathnach (2002: 107–11).

[9] Ó Cuív (1968: 288–9). It is possible that this may have given rise to an element of rivalry between the two learned classes: Ó Macháin (2015: 99).

[10] Ó Cuív (1957); and Ó Cuív (1968: 290).

[11] Rejhon (1984: 29–31, 71–5).

[12] Other twelfth-century poems in this metre are analysed in Ó Cuiv (1968: 288–9).

[13] So dated in *LL*, 779 n. 3.

a 52-line column. In the space thus created three additions were made, occupying 14 lines: (a) a single quatrain in loose *deibhidhe*: '*Asi [. . .]ltair*[14] *s*in *atb*eir .*uii. n*air*d*r*igh e*ronn *in*ber .*u. righ nacoige fosgni. righ e*ronn *is urr*aide'; (b) a metrical text inscribed in hybrid Gaelic and Anglo-Norman script,[15] apparently referencing '*r*osg *Fergusa Fin*n' in the body of the text, and beginning *Moche*[. . .]*in*d*iu / i*m *iacaill con glaiss. / a fhiaccaill fot criss / a chulchi ci taiss*; and (c) the seven verses presented here, written (in Gaelic script) across the page, one quatrain per line. The remainder of the page beneath these additions is blank, save for traces of erased text.

As there was still plenty of space left on p. 178 for more of the Mac Murchadha poem to be added, we can only speculate that either the remainder was not to hand or that the scribe lost interest in completing the poem. While this status of space-filling later addition is of interest in itself — paralleling that of the Ó Maoileachlainn elegy in NLI MS G2–3[16] — the historic importance of the existence of this bardic elegy, albeit incomplete, on Mac Murchadha, in a manuscript associated with him, is of greater interest still. Allusions are made in the poem to incidents for which no other record survives today, and there is also the open question as to who among his surviving family was the intended recipient of the poem. Finally, there is the consideration that the poem was composed, one presumes, in or shortly after 1171, thus providing an early date for a bardic praise-poem in *dán díreach*.[17]

Editorial remarks

Because of the importance of the poem and its manuscript source, the transcription and the edition are presented here in parallel. This permits the regularisation of the orthography in the edition to that of Early Modern Irish, the development of the prosodic standards for which was well under way in the second half of the twelfth century, at a time probably contemporary with this poem.[18] This regularisation comprises: the supply of glide-vowels and orthographical lenition; reading *dh* for *gh* (1*b*, 2*d*, 6*a*); *bh* for *mh* (4*a*); *i* for *a* (preposition 'in(to)' 1*d*, 4*d*, 5*c*); *an* (article) for *in* (2*c*, 4*d*, 5*c*); *go* for *gu* (7*a*); final *-d* for *-t* (3*a*) and *-t* for *-d* (6*b*), final *-g* for *-c* (6*d*); pretonic *ro* for

[14] Ó Longáin reads *inpsaltair* (Ó Longáin and Atkinson 1880).

[15] Differing in some points from the hybrid script that contributed the Í Mhórdha poems on p. 53 (for which see O'Sullivan 1968).

[16] Ó Macháin (2015: 100).

[17] This and other matters relating to the Book of Leinster were presented in summary at a public lecture in Trinity College Dublin, April 2018, as part of the 'Beyond the Book of Kells' series. I thank Dr Gordon Ó Riain, Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin and the anonymous peer-reviewer for helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

[18] In his edition of a poem to Cathal Croibhdhearg, dated *c*. 1191, Brian Ó Cuív remarked on a linguistic and orthographic situation comparable to the present text: 'In general the language of the poem is in conformity with classical Early Modern Irish usage, but there are a few features which seem more representative of late Middle Irish . . . A normalized text might be presented in either an Early Modern or a Middle Irish form' (Ó Cuív 1983: 160).

ra (4*b*);[19] simple preposition *re* for *ra* (4*b*). Editorial conventions such as capitalisation of proper nouns, hyphenation after pretonic elements in adverbs and compound verbs, and insertion of length marks, have been adhered to, as has the arrangement of the verses (each written in a continuous line in the manuscript, as stated above) into quatrains with editorial punctuation. Less cosmetic interventions have taken place in supplying grammatical lenition (1*cd*, 2*b*, 4*ad*, 5*abc*, 6*b*, 7*d*) and eclipsis (1*d*, 3*c*, 4*bc*, 5*bc*, 7*a*); so also with emendations in 6*b* (supply of *í* omitted through haplography) and in 6*d* where the accusative singular form *ríoghain* is a grammatical and metrical requirement, and where the following form *u* represents *uí* (see note).

EDITION

1. Easbach dith di*ar*mata d*u*rgean
na dhiaigh fhasas anba dhulc
adiu do dainib ni dech*aid*
fiu an coi*m*fhir c*r*each*aig* acurp

1. Easbach díoth Diarmada Duirghean,
'na dhiaidh fhásas anba dh'ulc;
a-diú do dhaoinibh ní dheachaidh
fiú an chaoimhfhir chreachaigh i gcurp.

2. IS aml*aid air*righi*m* easbaidh
fhir chualan*n* do chosai*n* cliaigh
in bith uile m*air* bud fhola*m*
can dui*n*e *ar* do*m*an na dhiaigh

2. Is amhlaidh airighim easbaidh
fhir Chualann do chosain Chliaigh:
an bioth uile mar budh fholamh,
gan duine ar domhan 'na dhiaidh.

3. Tuireamat ga*ch* gort rogabso*m*
is ga*ch* giall tean*n* tuc amuigh
biaidh fos i fuiriudh *ar* fl*ath*a
t*ur*em ca*ch* catha do cuir

3. Tuiréamhad gach gort ro ghabhsomh,
is gach giall teann tug a-muigh;
biaidh fós i bhfuiriudh ar bhflatha
tuireamh gach catha do chuir.

4. Ac tig mun*n*da ar maitimh muman,
ramoid ra curaid cnuic roir.
ferrdi blad ar fl*ath*a a fo*m*ai*n*
c*ar* in catha a mo*n*aid móir

4. Ag Tigh Mhunna ar maithibh Mumhan
ro mhoidh re curaidh gCnuic Róir;
feirrdi bladh ar bhflatha a Fómhain
car an chatha i Mónaidh Mhóir.

5. Do bris ar thig*er*nan taltean
tuir tuirge*n ar* dol adiu
a t*r*es re huib briuin in bragha.
bes ni ciui*n* do rala riu

5. Do bhris ar Thighearnán Tailtean
tuir Thuirghean ar ndol a-diú,
i dtreas re hUíbh Briúin an Bhragha:
bheas ní ciúin do-rala riú.

6. Bagach do aith mil*id* mastean
mnai cherbaill ma do cuaid cu*air*d
t*u*c t*r*es no da t*r*es na digail
r*u*c fodes righan u ruairc

6. Bádhach do aith mílidh Maistean
mnaoi Í Chearbhaill má do-chuaidh cuairt;
tug treas nó dá threas 'na díoghail,
rug fo-dheas ríoghain Uí Ruairc.

[19] On the understanding that the manuscript form does not indicate the presence of an infixed pronoun.

7. Ri gu f*r*esabra f*e*r maist*e*n
m*a*c murchada maighe sead.
ma n*e*r*t*su*m* nocha nar labra
rot*echt*sum cl*ar* banba *acht* beag

7. Rí go bhfreasabhra fear Maistean
Mac Murchadha Maighe Sead;
'ma neartsumh nocha nár labhra:
ro theachtsumh clár Banbha acht beag.

Translation

1. A grievous loss is the death of Diarmaid of Duirghean, it is in his wake that great evil grows; no-one like the fair plundering man has been born here [since].

2. This is how I perceive the loss of the man of Cuala who gained Cliú: as if the whole world were desolate, no-one at all succeeding him.

3. I will enumerate every territory that he conquered, and every substantial hostage whom he brought in; in our prince's court will still occur the enumeration of every battle he gave.

4. At Teach Munna the hero of Cnoc Róir overcame the nobles of Mumha; the fame of our prince from Fómhain was enhanced by the prosecution of the battle in Móin Mhór.

5. The pillar of Duirghean, having gone hence, defeated Tighearnán of Tailte in a battle against the Uí Bhriúin of the Brugh: it is certain that he did not meet with them quietly.

6. Fondly did the warrior of Maiste compensate the wife of Ó Cearbhaill when he visited; southwards he brought Ó Ruairc's queen: he fought one or two battles in requital for her.

7. 'King with Opposition' of the men of Maiste was Mac Murchadha of Magh Sead; there is no shame in speaking of his power: he possessed the plain of Banbha except for a small part.

Notes

1*a* *Easb*[*h*]*ach* is cited as a *canamhuin* form (as opposed to *easb*[*h*]*adhach*) in *IGT* ii, l. 1978: see Carney (1945: l. 278 n.). The question of *-b-*/*-bh-* may be merely one of orthography in the present instance, but despite the prohibition of the form *easbaidh* in *IGT* ii, 149, forms with unlenited *-b-* are attested in the poetry (e.g. *DDána* 113.4; Carney (1945: l. 1291); Mac Airt (1944: l. 3968), and so the manuscript reading is retained here, and in 2*a*.

Diarmada Duirghean This echoes combinations of the name *Diarmaid* and *duirgean* from at least three other poems: that on the sword of Cearbhall (Meyer 1899: 10.8*b*: *Diarmait dúrgen* 'Diarmait the hardy-born'); on Carmun in the *dindsheanchas* (*MD* iii, 8.96: *Diarmait dron-mas durgen* 'Diarmait Durgen'); and on the kings of Cashel (Ó Donnchadha [1940]: 411.78: *dar éis*

Diarmata duirgen). These and other examples are tentatively construed in *DIL* (s.v. *dúr*, 453.41–6) as representing a compound of *dúr* and *gein*; the examples cited, however, show *deibhidhe* end-rhymes (*re*) *hed* : *dúrgen* (Cearbhall) and *cned* : *durgen* (*MD* and *Leabhar Muimhneach*); the peer-reviewer suggests a compound of *dúr* and *gen* 'sword'. It is in light of q. 5*b* below, where an apparent variant occurs in the expression 'tuir tuirge*n*', that I suggest that the word may represent an unidentified place-name — distinct from the Leinster placename, *Bealach Duirghein* — though I cannot explain the form.

1*cd ní dheachaidh . . . i gcurp* 'has not been incarnated'. The peer-reviewer suggests the opposite interpretation (taking MS *a* as the simple preposition 'out of'): 'no-one like the fair plundering man has died here'.

2*b fir Chualann* may have been a tribal/territorial name (Carney 1943: l. 1044) but is to be taken here as in *rí Cualann* (*DDána* 84.5) or indeed *a fhir Chualann* (*Magauran* l. 2493), save that in the present instance the context gives expression to Mac Murchadha's sphere of influence covering Leinster (*Cuala* in south Dublin and north Wicklow) and Munster (*Cliú* centered on east Limerick).

3*a Tuiréamhad* The only other example to hand of an *ē*-future of *tuirmhidh* (< *do-rími*) is in *Magauran* l. 2503: *buaidh do throd ní thuiréamhom*.

ro ghabhsomh (cf. *ro theachtsumh* 7*d*) See McKenna's remarks on the disappearance of this enclitic in poetry after the thirteenth century (McKenna 1944: 190), and the comments on this in Ó Riain (2016: 16 n. 83).

3*c bhfuiriudh* 'apparently a structure or enclosure of some kind' (*DIL s.v.* 1 *fuiriud*).

4*a* As the circumstances referred to are unclear, either of two places named Teach Munna (Taghmon in present-day counties Westmeath and Wexford) could be intended. The Wexford location seems more likely, and there is a record of an incursion into Í Cheinnsealaigh by Ó Briain and his allies being repulsed by Mac Murchadha in 1134 (Ó hInnse 1947: 22); hence the emendation *maitimh* > *maithibh* here. (Note that Ó Longáin (Ó Longáin and Atkinson 1880) reads *mundu* and *maithimh* in this line.)

4*b* Cnoc Róir is perhaps The Rower in south county Kilkenny, on the border with county Wexford, though linked to the form *rómhar* in *Onom*.

4*c Fómhain* Another unspecified Leinster location, the quantity of the first syllable being established here by the rhyme with *Mónaidh*, but elsewhere presenting as a short vowel, rhyming with *find-choraib* (*MD* iii, 74.101–2).

4*d* Móin Mhór refers to the uplands immediately to the north of Cork city, rising eventually to the Nagles Mountains between Mallow and Fermoy; Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin speaks of Templemichael, east of Carraig na bhFear, as being located *san Móin Móir* (Ó Conchúir 1982: 37). References to the battle of Móin Mhór (A.D. 1151) occur elsewhere in the Book of Leinster: in

Bishop Find's additions to the poem *Fianna bátar i nEmain* (*LL*, ll. 4163–6) — generally taken as establishing a *terminus a quo* for the manuscript — and in the annalistic notes in the tract on the Christian rulers of Ireland (*do fhlaithesaib agus amseraib Herend iar creitim*, *LL*, ll. 3192–5). The event has been treated comprehensively in Kelleher (1988).

5*a* Tighearnán Ó Ruairc, king of Bréifne (†1172), one of Diarmaid's chief antagonists. The victory in question may have been that of 1152, when Mac Murchadha combined with Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair to defeat Ó Ruairc, in the aftermath of which the latter's wife Dearbhfhorghaill was taken to Leinster by Diarmaid, an incident alluded to in q. 6.

5*b* *Tuirghean* The manuscript clearly reads initial *t*-, perhaps under the influence of *tuir*, and so is either a slip or a variant of *Duirghean* in q. 1*a*.

5*c* *hUíbh Briúin an Bhragha* Ua Ruairc was of the Uí Bhriúin Bhréifne; *an Bhragha* is an epithet referring to Brugh (gen. *Brogha/Bragha*) na Bóinne and complementing the reference to Tailte in line *a*.

5*d* *bheas* See *DIL* s.v. 2 bés; 'the word seems to be OIr. *bés* "perhaps" with shortened vowel' (Watson 1940: 179).

6 The dalliance — as I interpret the text — with Ó Cearbhaill's wife is otherwise unrecorded; nor is it clear whether it is Ó Cearbhaill Éile (Mac Murchadha's distant neighbour) or the more powerful and prominent Ó Cearbhaill, Rí Airghiall, who is intended. The latter, Donnchadh Ó Cearbhaill, was half-brother to Tighearnán Ó Ruairc (*ATig.* s.a. 1155), whose wife is referred to in the second half-quatrain. Seán Ó Coileáin makes the ingenious suggestion that these lines contain no innuendo, but rather that Mac Murchadha's purported service to Ó Cearbhaill's wife may have consisted of the restoration to her of her husband following his imprisonment by Ó Ruairc in 1155, though no source refers to Mac Murchadha's involvement in that episode.

The incident involving Ó Ruairc's wife was a celebrated one — and indeed became the subject of bardic apologue (Ó Cuív 1975: 136–7) — involving the abduction by Diarmaid in 1152 of Dearbhfhorghaill, daughter of Ó Maoileachlainn of Meath and wife of Tighearnán Ó Ruairc (of q. 5); she returned to Ó Ruairc the following year. For a summary of the story see Martin (1975: 17–18). The annals specify that it was in revenge for this (*do dighail mna hUí Ruairc fair*, *ATig.*) that Ó Ruairc and Ó Maoileachlainn, with the Dublin Norse, attacked and banished Mac Murchadha in 1166; and that Mac Murchadha was forced to pay compensation of 100 ounces of gold to Ó Ruairc *i llóg a mna* (*ATig.*), having been defeated on his return in 1167. These incidents may be the 'treas nó dá threas' referred to here.

6*a* MS *Bagach* might also be taken as 'warlike'; *do aith* (: *sgaith* in *Magauran* l. 4200) is the perfect 3 sg. form of *aithidh* (< *ad-fen*).

6*b* *má do-chuaidh cuairt* This appears to be practically a temporal use of the conjunction *má*; Professor Ó Coileáin suggests emending to *mar*. For the verb phrase, compare *Dá ndeachaidh cuairt go Cruachain* (Carney 1952: 157.6) and *an chuairt-se do-chuamar* (*DDána* 67.49), in contrast to more common expressions involving use of the preposition *ar*, or verbs such as *do-bheir*, *gaibhidh* and *cuiridh*.

6*b* and *d* Emendations in these lines have been mentioned in the editorial remarks above. The restored genitive singular forms *í* and *uí* reflect the variation common in bardic poetry (cf. McManus 2013: 121). In line *d* the manuscript form *ū* (for genitive singular *uí*) is of interest because (as pointed out by the readers) three examples of it are noted by Liam Breatnach in *SnaG* 246, all from the Book of Leinster. Further examples from the same manuscript are *fichi blíadna íar mbás hú Chuind* and *co bás hú Néill Noígíallaig* (Smith 2007: 202.38, 206.50, with note p. 242). That this form was not confined to the Book of Leinster is shown by examples from the Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12), e.g. *m*ei*c hu* c*h*u*ind*, fol. 76va16 (cf. *mei*c *hui chuind*, Book of Lecan (RIA 23 P 2), fol. 91r8) and *Carn hu neid*, fol. 200vb28.

The ornamentation known as *breacadh* is present in the second half-quatrain: *treas* : *treas* : *dheas*.

7*a* The expression *rí go bhfreasabhra* might seem less than complimentary here, but in the twelfth century it would have been a term of high praise; see some legal references in Simms (1998: 32–4). Diarmaid's great-grandfather, Diarmaid mac Maol na mBó, was considered to have been the first *Rí Éireann go bhfreasabhra*. The aspirational element in the compliment consists of the fact that, even given the shifting allegiances of the time, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha hardly met the traditional definition (alluded to in l. *d* here) of such an office. Being from the Southern Half, this would have entailed him being Rí Leithe Mogha, and also controlling Teamhair, and, in addition, controlling another *cóigeadh* from the Northern Half: see *LL* ll. 3158–63; in the seventeenth century this definition was refined as follows by Fear Feasa Ó Maoil Chonaire: *Follus go ngoirthí i mBanbha / mar so rí co bhfreasabhra: / leath Éirionn aige ó do bheith / 's cúigeadh don dara háirdleith* (Mhág Craith 1967: 39.102). In the wake of Móin Mhór, Mac Murchadha was referred to as 'ardríg Leithi Moga' by Bishop Find in his famous epistle on p. 288 of the Book of Leinster, perhaps reflecting opinion at that point in time; and as *rí Lethi Moga uile* ... *agus Midi* by a later scribe in the tract on *Ríg Lagen* in the same manuscript (*LL* ll. 5501–2).

7*b* *Maighe Sead* Unidentified.

7*d* *acht beag* Four examples of this expression are cited in *DIL* s.v. *bec* 47.38–42.

Abbreviations

ATig. Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Annals of Tigernach', *RC* 16 (1895), 374–419; 17 (1896), 6–33, 116–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), 9–59, 150–303.

DDána Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith (ed.), *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).

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VARIA DE AMORE

1. *A bhean lán de stuaim* and *quinque lineae amoris*

Abstract

Drawing on a sermon in the *Leabhar Breac* and other sources, I propose that the poem *A bhean lán de stuaim* attributed to Séathrún Céitinn reflects all five stages of a version of the *quinque lineae amoris* trope of the medieval literature of love.

In his book, *Dánta Grádha*,[1] Tomás Ó Rathile included several poems which are not love poems in any real sense, such as the three humorous poems, numbers 92, 93 and 94, in which the jealous husband is mocked, and the moralising poems, numbers 98, 101, 102, 103, 105 and 106, which emphasise the impermanence of beauty and the certainty of death. A further such poem is that attributed to Séathrún Céitinn (number 100) in which sexual intimacy is refused by an elderly man who is loved by a young woman. I give it here from a more recent and better edition:

A bhean lán de stuaim,
coingibh uaim do lámh;
ní fear gníomha sinn,
cé taoi tinn dar ngrádh.

Féach ar liath dem fholt,
féach mo chorp gan lúth,
féach ar thraoch dem fhuil —
créad re bhfuil do thnúth?

Ná saoil mé go saobh,
arís ná claon do cheann;
bíodh ar ngrádh gan ghníomh
go bráth, a shíodh sheang.

Druid do bhéal óm bhéal —
doiligh an scéal do chor —
ná bíom cneas re cneas:
tig ón teas an tol.

Do chúl craobhach cas,
do rosc glas mar dhrúcht,
do chíoch chruinngheal bhláith,
tharraingeas mian súl.

[1] Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha*, 2nd ed. (Dublin and Cork, 1926), henceforth *DG*.

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Gach gníomh acht gníomh cuirp
is luighe id chuilt shuain
do-ghéan féin tréd ghrádh,
a bhean lán de stuaim.

A fhinnebhean tséimh shéaghanta shárchaoin tsuairc
na muirearfholt réidh raonfholtach fá a ndíol gcuach,
is iongnadh an ghné thaomannach fhásaíos uait;
gé doiligh an scéal, tréig mé agus táig dhíom suas.

Do bheirimse fém bhréithir dá mbáití an slua
san tuile do léig Vénus 'na táclaí anuas,
a bhurraiceach-bhé mhéarlag na mbánchíoch gcruaidh,
gur tusa mar aon céidbhean do fágfaí im chuan.[2]

Whether Céitinn was indeed the author of this poem and whether the author intended the speaker in the poem to be taken to be a layman or a priest are matters that have already been discussed by Mícheál Mac Craith O.F.M.[3] I do not intend to consider them further here, and my references to Céitinn as the author of the poem are not intended to convey that I can be sure that he was its author. Neither do I propose to comment on the final eight lines as I am not convinced that they belong to the original poem and they are not relevant to the discussion which follows here.[4]

Seán Ó Tuama has discussed this poem in a number of essays. In two of them he suggested that the poem reflects the moralistic *memento mori* theme;[5] however, in the second of these the suggestion is extremely tentative ('[the poem] seems to reflect to a limited degree the concerns of *memento mori* poems of the Catholic Counter-Reformation') while in the 1988 study upon

[2]Pádraig de Brún, Breandán Ó Buachalla and Tomás Ó Concheanainn (eds), *Nua-dhuanaire*, i (Baile Átha Cliath, 1971), 15–16.

[3]Mícheál S. Mac Craith, O.F.M., 'A bhean lán de stuaim', *The Maynooth Review* 10 (May 1984), 27–51, at 27–31. This essay, with a very few emendations and one short additional section, forms chapter 3.3, 'Céitinn agus *A bhean lán de stuaim*', in Mícheál Mac Craith, O.F.M., *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1989), 83–100, 204–11 (henceforth *LIDG*).

[4]It would appear that scribes, acting on the adage *Ní maith sagart gan chléireach nō dán gan abhrán* quoted in BL MS Harley 1921, fol. 79 (see Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1926), ii, 13), felt free to add accentual verses to syllabic poems. In the manuscript in which the earliest copy of the poem is found, RIA MS 23 A 12 (231), which is dated 1730, these two verses are not attached to the six syllabic quatrains but are separated from them by the first two quatrains of the poem *Beannaigh an longsa, a Chríost cháidh* which is attributed to Muiris mac Dáibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt. T. F. O'Rahilly has expressed doubt about the genuinenness of similar verses attached to syllabic poems attributed to Muiris Mac Gearailt: see *Measgra Dánta*, 2 vols (Dublin and Cork, 1927), i, 72 ('may be a spurious later addition'), 73 ('probably spurious'), ii, 199 ('not unlikely that [the verses] are later additions'), as has Breandán Ó Buachalla about the single verse attached to *Beannaigh an longsa*: see de Brún et al., *Nua-dhuanaire*, i, 96. Therefore I do not engage here with Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha's fine essay 'An bhean lán de stuaim: Véineas a tháinig go hÉirinn', *Oghma* 7 (1995), 83–91.

[5]Seán Ó Tuama, 'The lineage of Gaelic love-poetry from the earliest times', in Robert O'Driscoll (ed.), *The Celtic Consciousness* (Mountrath, 1982), 289–306, at 297; Séan Ó Tuama, 'Love in the medieval Irish literary lyric', in Seán Ó Tuama, *Repossessions: Selected Essays on the Irish Literary Heritage* (Cork, 1995), 164–95, at 189.

which that essay was based his comment is quite dismissive ('níl aon trácht cruinn ar pheaca na collaíochta ná ar eagla an bháis sa téacs mar a bhíodh ag filí a chleacht an téama *memento mori*.').[6] Ó Tuama says that the speaker in the poem refuses to engage in sexual activity with the young woman 'ar chúis éigin nach ndeimhníonn an dán le húdarás'. He then proposes some reasons for supposing that the speaker rejects carnal love, '[...] toisc gur gníomh mímhorálta é'.[7]

While accepting that the poet may have intended his poem to be read as expressing a moral concern, I believe that he may also have intended that it reflect the embarrassment felt by the elderly speaker which caused him to be reluctant to engage in sexual activity which would entail revealing to the young woman the wasted condition of his body and perhaps even make her aware of his difficulty in achieving satisfactory intercourse. This seems to me to be the insistent drift of lines 5–7 of the poem: *Féach ar liath dem fholt*, / *féach mo chorp gan lúth*, / *féach ar thraoch dem fhuil* 'Observe how much of my hair has greyed; / observe my vigourless body; / observe how much of my blood has become exhausted.' There is no reason to think that any of that might have carried any weight with the young woman, but the man finds this hard to understand, saying in line 8: *créad re bhfuil do thnúth*? 'what is it that you hope for (expect, desire)?' Nevertheless they are in love with one another (line 11: *ar ngrádh* 'our love'). He is aware that she loves him (line 4: *cé taoi tinn dar ngrádh* 'though your love for me makes you ill' and he has sympathy for her (line 14: *doiligh an scéal do chor* 'your plight is distressing';[8] and he is attracted by her beauty, aspects of which he describes in lines 17–19 (her hair, her eye, her breast), and mentions what he will do for love of her (ll. 21 and 23: *gach gníomh* [...] / *do-ghéan féin tréd ghrádh* 'every act [...] I shall do for love of you.'[9]

In all of this the word *gníomh* is used repeatedly (ll. 3, 11, 21). In every case except one (l. 21), the word is used in a negative context of refusal or rejection: l. 3 (*ní fear gníomha sinn* 'I am not a man of action/not a man to act (perform))'; l. 11 (*bíodh ar ngrádh gan ghníomh* 'let our love be without action'); l. 21 (*acht gníomh cuirp* 'except a physical act (deed of the body)'). That the phrase *gníomh cuirp* is used in a sexual sense is clear from Old Irish glosses on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans 8.12–13, in which the O.Ir. plural of the first word, *gnīmu*, and a synonym of the second, *colno* (genitive of *colainn*,

[6]Seán Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1988), 49.

[7]Ibid., 49–50, 76, n. 70.

[8]This reference to love as a sickness places this poem firmly in the context of *amour courtois*. For further examples of the theme in the *dánta grádha* see references in Seán Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1960), 112–15. Though most frequently it is the male lover who is suffering, there are also early and later instances in which it is the female beloved who is afflicted: see Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-lyric*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., Oxford 1968, i, 31–2, ii, 500.

[9]Mícheál Mac Craith finds in the poem a note of regret for ability no longer present: 'A bhean lán de stuaim', 39, 'aiféala faoin acmhainn nach ann di feasta ainneoin an toil a bheith chomh láidir is a bhí riamh.' Having earlier stated that the poem was one of regret rather than repentance, he went on to refer to the speaker's embarrassment: ibid., 32, 'Níl uaidh ach a éagumas féin a cheilt, gan ceap náire a dhéanamh [de] féin os comhair na mná.'

flesh, body) are used.[10] Thus, *ut secundum carnem vivamus* 'so that we should live according to the flesh' of v. 12 is interpreted as *congnemmis gnímu colno* 'that we should do deeds of flesh', and *si* [...] *facta carnis mortificaveritis* 'if you shall have put to death the deeds of the flesh' of v. 13 is glossed *mamarbitir facta carnis* 'if the deeds of the flesh be put to death (mortified)', where the Latin *facta carnis* is left untranslated, presumably because a translation of the phrase had already been given in the gloss on v. 12.[11] It is of interest to note that the Modern Irish version of the same phrase, *gníomhartha na colla*, is used in Uilliam Ó Domhnaill's 1602/3 translation of the New Testament: *achd má mharbhtháoi gníomhartha na colla leis an spioruid*, *do gheubhtháoi beatha* 'but if with the spirit you kill the deeds of the flesh, you will obtain life.'[12]

The unqualified use of *gníomh* in lines 3 (genitive singular, *gníomha*) and 11 of Céitinn's poem may also have been intended to mean 'sexual intercourse'. In the trope of the *quinque lineae amoris* in which poets 'recite a five-step erotic progression'[13] and which 'became a favourite device in Medieval Latin and passed into vernacular literatures',[14] the final stage of love is *factum* or *actus* 'deed'; 'act, action', which in a fifteenth-century instance in a Parisian manuscript is interpreted as *cohitus* 'coition, sexual intercourse',[15] and in an instance in the *Leabhar Breac* is referred to as *in gnīm fēn fa-deōid* 'the deed itself at last'.[16]

The canonical version of the trope is exemplified in lines such as *Visus et alloquium*, / *tactus*, *post oscula factum* 'Looking, addressing, touching, kissing, then love' from two Munich manuscripts (from the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries).[17] Not infrequently the trope is used in cases in which the

[10] *Thes*, i, 517.

[11] Romans 8:12–13 is the conclusion of a passage beginning at 7:13 in which concupiscence as the root of sin is discussed. The full text of these two verses reads: *Ergo*, *fratres*, *debitores sumus non carni*, *ut secundum carnem vivamus*. *Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*; *si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis*, *vivetis* (Ioseph M. Bovier (ed.), *Novi Testamenti Biblia Graeca et Latina* (Madrid, 1969)). In the *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible this reads: 'So then, brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh — for if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will live.'

[12] *Tiomna Nuadh ar dTighearna* . . .(Baile Átha Cliath, 1602/3), Rom. 8.13.

[13] Miller Krause, 'The *quinque lineae amoris*', in George Hinge (ed.), *Classica et mediaevalia* 65 (2014), 55–85, at 55.

[14] Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 488.

[15] Ibid.; the same and much earlier in the commentary on Terence's *Eunuchus* by the fourth-century Roman grammarian, Donatus: see Krause, 'The *quinque lineae amoris*', 78–9.

[16] For the *Leabhar Breac* (RIA MS 23 P 16 (1230), A.D. 1408–11), see Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of the Leabhar Breac', *Ériu* 24 (1973), 64–79, at 64. For the text, see Robert Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, Todd Lecture Series, ii (Dublin, 1887), 259, ll. 7808–9.

[17] Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 488. While Dronke traces the origins of the trope to Ovid and the grammarians, Donatus and Porphyry, Krause ('The *quinque lineae amoris*', 56–7) points out that an earlier form occurs in Plato (who, however, 'only presents up to four steps at any given time'), noting, for example, that 'in [Plato's] *Phaedrus*, Socrates speaks of the beloved who wishes [...] "to see, to hold, to kiss, to lie together [...]" with his lover.' (ibid., 57). On the other hand there are six steps in some instances of the trope, e.g. *Visus et adloquium*, *contactus*, *basia*, *risus* [...] *cohitus*, 'seeing, conversing, contact, kisses, laughter [...] coition' (Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 488).

final stage is declined or refused, both of which occur in the *Carmina Burana* of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries:

> Volo tantum ludere – id est: contemplari,
> Presens loqui, tangere, tandem osculari;
> Quintum, quod est agere, noli suspicari.
>
> 'I just want to play – that is: to contemplate, speak face to face, touch, and finally kiss; don't suspect the fifth (namely, doing it).'[18]
>
> Visu, colloquio,
> contactu, basio
> frui virgo dederat;
> sed aberat
> linea posterior
> et melior
> amori.[19]
>
> 'The maiden has allowed (me) the enjoyment of beholding, conversing, touching, kissing; but the final and best stage was absent from (my) love.'

Seán Ó Tuama has very tentatively suggested in his 1982 essay that Céitinn's poem was influenced by 'the doctrine of *quinque lin*[*e*]*ae amoris*'. Having proposed that the anonymous poem *Meabhraigh mo laoidh chumainn-se* (*DG* poem 95) 'has some relationship' with this doctrine, he went on to say that 'a slight echo of the same feeling may be present in the poem [*A bhean lán de stuaim*]'.[20] On the contrary, I believe that the *quinque lineae* are deeply embedded in Céitinn's poem, though not in the sequence of the canonical version of the trope. The first stage, *visus* 'looking, seeing', is referred to in lines 17–20 where it is clear that the speaker is included among those for whose eyes the beauty of the young woman is the cynosure (l. 20: *mian súl*). *Alloquium*/*loqui* 'addressing, speaking' is involved in the fact that the poem itself is presented as words spoken by the old man to the woman. *Tactus*/*tangere* 'touching' of various kinds is mentioned in the poem: being touched by the woman's hand (l. 2, *coingibh uaim do lámh* 'keep your hand away from me'), being together naked (l. 15, *ná bíom cneas le cneas* 'let us not be skin to skin'), and indeed kissing (l. 13, *druid do bhéal óm bhéal* 'take away your mouth from mine') which is also the fourth stage, *oscula*/*osculari* 'kisses, kissing'. Touching is also involved in the final stage, *factum*/*actum*, which is referred to in line 21 (*gníomh cuirp*) and perhaps also in lines 3 and 11 (*gníomh*), as already discussed.[21]

[18] Krause, 'The *quinque lineae amoris*', 55.

[19] Latin text by Peter de Blois (*c.* 1130–*c.* 1203) from Fleur Adcock, *The Virgin and the Nightingale* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1983), 46. My translation.

[20] Ó Tuama, 'The lineage of Gaelic love-poetry', 297. He made no reference to this in his later essays.

[21] In the poem *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire* composed by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–91) for Conn Ó Domhnaill (d. 1583), edited by Eleanor Knott in *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*

All three final stages are rejected by the speaker in Céitinn's poem since they involve physical contact. I would suggest, however, that the *tactus*/*tangere* of the third stage of the canonical trope was most probably the touching by hand that is rejected by the speaker in the second line of the poem, *coingibh uaim do lámh* 'keep your hand away from me.'

The text in the *Leabhar Breac* to which I have already referred is a sermon on the ten commandments which, according to a colophon on fol. 245 of the manuscript, was transcribed in Cluain Mac Nois. The text represents the final stage of a 'process of translating and adapting Latin texts'.[22] In the final section of the sermon, on the tenth commandment, *nā sanntaig ben p*[*h*]*ōsta do chomarsan* 'covet not thy neighbour's wife',[23] the author insists that since adultery is regarded with abhorrence, what leads to it must also be avoided:

> Ō tharla i*n* gr*ā*in-si er i*n* adaltras, is cōir duit aderait na heolaig na nethe-si as bud dōig algus a dēnma do shechna co maith .i. silled na sūl (cf. Atkinson, *The Passions*, 258, ll. 7793–5).
>
> 'Since adultery is seen to be so loathsome, the sages say that you should carefully avoid the things which would likely engender an irresistible desire to commit it, namely gazing.'

The steps which lead to adultery are then enumerated and the author insists that each is a mortal sin:

(1550–1591), 2 vols, (London, 1922–26) (henceforth *TD*), poem 1, the poet, in urging the Donegal lord to court Ireland, follows the canonical order of the first four of the *quinque lineae amoris*: (1) *visus*, *Sill go meinic a gruadh gheal / claon do dhearc uirre os íseal*; / *tug th'aghaidh ar a slios slim* 'Look frequently on her bright countenance, bend thine eye upon her in secret; approach her graceful form' (q. 12abc); (2) *alloquium*, *labhair gan fhios re hÉirinn* 'speak covertly with Ireland' (q. 12d); (3) *tactus*, *Dlúthaigh ria, luigh 'na leaba*, / [. . .] / *téigh re cneas chéile Logha* 'Embrace her, go to her bed [. . .], warm to the skin of the spouse of *Lugh*' (q. 13ac) (this chimes perfectly with the wording of ll. 15–16 of Céitinn's poem: *ná bíom cneas re cneas*: / *tig ón teas an tol,* 'let us not be skin to skin: desire comes from warmth'); (4) *oscula*, *póig* (qq. 14c, 15c, 16a, 17c, acc. of *póg* 'a kiss'). Although, in line with the long apologue which is part of the poem (qq. 19–38), the kiss is what is ultimately required of Conn, I would suggest that the fifth *linea* is also envisaged in Ó hUiginn's poem, inasmuch as Conn is required to save Éire from celibacy (*suil bheas Éire i n-aontomha* 'lest Ireland be left unwedded', q. 13d) and to share her bed naked (q. 13ac, and most particularly in qq. 1abd, 2ab: *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire*, / *fada atá ar tí aoinchéile*; / [. . .] / *gan fhear n-aoinleabtha d'fhagháil*; *Fada nár fhéad Inis Bhreagh* / *tógbháil idir í is éinfhear* 'Let you and Ireland be naked together; for a long time she has looked for a spouse [. . .] and has found no man to share her bed. For a long time the Island of Bregia has been unable to be naked with a man.')

[22]Roisin McLaughlin, 'A text on almsgiving in RIA 3 B 23 and the *Leabhar Breac*', *Ériu* 62 (2012), 113–83, at 115. In this stage '[...] the Latin has been almost or entirely omitted, leaving only the Middle Irish.' (ibid.). In the sermon on the commandments all that remains of the Latin original are: names of sources, such as, *in Eclesiastico*, *Hieronimus*, *in Levitico*, *in libro Prouerbiorum*; a very few words, such as *lex*, *serpens*, *aspa* and *locusta*, together with a gloss on this last one (*7 brucus a hain*m*sin*, *co hāsait sciathana f*o*rri*, *7 mar hāsait*, *is loc*u*st*a, *q*uas*i l*o*nga hasta at*b*erar fria* 'and its name is *brucus* till wings grow on it, and when they do, it is called *locusta*, as if it were a long spear, *longa hasta*' — this comparison, based on the insect's long hind legs, being taken *verbatim* from Albert the Great's *De animalibus*); and the final quotation from Ezechiel in the conclusion followed by *Finit*, *amen*.

[23]Cf. Atkinson, *The Passions*, 257, ll. 7764–5.

> silled, ⁊ co*m*rād iar*um*, tadall na lām ia*r*-si*n*, i*n* gnīm fēn fa-deōid; ⁊ bid a f[h]is acut co fhil ce*ch* cēim dīb si*n* maille re rūn cena i*n*a p*ecc*ad ma*r*btha (cf. Atkinson, *The Passions*, 259, ll. 7808–9).
>
> 'gazing, and then conversation, touching with the hands after that,[24] the act itself at last; and be it known to you that every step of those together with an intention of sinning is a mortal sin.'

That the omission of the fourth step is a scribal mistake is made clear by comparison with another, somewhat later, copy of the same sermon in RIA MS 3 B 23 (1227), p. 79b,[25] which reads: *an sill*ed *⁊ an comrād ⁊ taghall na lām ⁊ na póga ⁊ an gn*īm *an*n *sei*n 'gazing and conversation and touching with the hands and kisses and then the act.'

This then is clearly a version of the *quinque lineae amoris*, but one in which the third stage consists of the specific *tadall na lám* rather than the non-specific *tactus* of other versions to which I have made reference. And it is the version which seems to have inspired not only Céitinn's opening half-quatrain (*A bhean* [. . .] *coingibh uaim do lámh* 'Woman [. . .] keep your hand away from me'), but also the third verse of a poem composed by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647–80) in which the speaker is a young woman whose words, as Mícheál Mac Craith has suggested, might well serve as a ripost to the old man of Céitinn's poem.[26] In that third verse Wilmot's young woman, though initially protesting her genteel nature, ultimately, with quite pornographic frankness, insists that her 'reviving hand' will ensure that the 'Ancient Person' of her heart shall not fail to be a *fear gníomha*:

> Thy Nobler parts, which but to name
> In our Sex would be counted shame,
> By Age's frozen grasp possest
> From their Ice shall be releast;
> And sooth'd by my reviving hand
> In former Warmth and Vigor stand.

Céitinn's speaker is well aware of his young lover's competence in that regard, as is clear from his acknowledgement of her *stuaim* (line 1).

DIL's entry on the word *stúaim* has the following:

> (**a**) *ingenuity, cleverness, ability*: [. . .] lámdha lámhdaighi (ón sdúaim) *skill*, *IGT* Decl. §3 (44.13) [. . .]olc an sduaim [. . .] *an ill-advised procedure* DDána 46.4. duine gan stuaim, O'Gr.

[24] Atkinson's translation of *tadall na lām* 'paddling with the hands', though attractive, is unwieldy as it is to some extent tautologous, since the verb 'to paddle' means 'to use the hands or fingers in a caressing way', and as the verb is no longer generally used in this sense, being regarded as archaic.

[25] The scribe of this manuscript, Tadg Úa Rigbardáin, was active in 1473: see Kathleen Mulchrone and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, fasc. 27 (Dublin, 1943), 3365.

[26] Mac Craith, 'A bhean lán de stuaim', 39–40, where the complete text of the poem is quoted.

> Cat. 590.34.[27] cha ferr sdúaim *what better art*? Rel. Celt. ii 289.17. do bhreith éoluis air gach uile stuáim da ccuirfighthear chuige '*to find out every device which shall be put to him*', 2 Chron. ii 14 (Eg. Gl. 540).
>
> (**b**) Of a lady's charms *beauty*, *grace*, *dignity*, *modesty* (?) [. . .]

I do not believe that the meanings given in (**b**) are supported by the quotations (which include Céitinn's poem),[28] and it is surely significant that *DIL*'s entry on the adjective *stúamda*, while giving meanings corresponding to those in (**a**) above, gives none corresponding to those in (**b**). Nevertheless Mícheál Mac Craith seems to suggest that the word *stuaim* in the first line of the poem should be taken in sense (**b**): 'is fiú a mheabhrú go luaitear an líne áirithe atá á plé againn [in *DIL*] mar shampla de bhrí eile ar fad, "*beauty*, *grace*, *dignity*, *modesty*"'.[29] I, however, believe that the first editor of the poem, Eoin Mac Giolla Eáin, was correct in taking the word in sense (**a**),[30] but I would suggest that, rather than taking it in a general sense of 'ingenuity', 'cleverness', 'ability', or 'skill', it should be taken in the specific sense of 'dexterity' or 'manual skill'. This is supported by the entry in the Irish Grammatical Tract on Declension, *lámdha lámhdaighi* (*ón sdúaim*),[31] which is quoted in the *DIL* entry and in which the meaning of the two words derived from *lám* 'hand' is explained by reference to *stuaim*, meaning that some part of the semantic range of *stuaim* corresponds to the meaning of those words. *DIL s.v. lámdae* 'Also *lám*(*d*)*aige*' translates these two words as 'handiwork', 'manual skill', and comments that they are often used with reference to needlework, etc., quoting, for example, 'cen lamda deg-mná deimne, "*without the handiwork of true-born dame*", Met. Dinds. iv 332.31'.

[27] Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1926), i, 591, translates this as 'a headstrong man', but the adjective could also be 'witless' or 'foolish'.

[28] The final quotation, which is from Torna's *Saothar Filidheachta an Athar Pádraigín Haicéad* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1916), has been superseded by Máire Ní Cheallacháin, *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1962), V.9–10: *Ón sduaim — riocht-tslán do bhá — níor mhalartaigh nós*, *an chuanna* 'as a result of her good sense, the beautiful woman — whose form was flawless — did not change her manner.'

[29] Mac Craith, 'A bhean lán de stuaim', 29, and further, 31–2: 'má ghlacaimid leis an bhfocal *stuaim* de réir na céille a thugann Foclóir an Acadaimh dó [. . .] cén difríocht a dhéanann sé sin don mheabhair is féidir a bhaint as an dán fré chéile? An chodarsnacht idir tuarascáil an fhir i rann a dó agus tuarascáil na mná i rann a cúig is suntasaí a thagann chun tosaigh [. . .] Is léir gur caidreamh idir seanfhear caite agus ógbhean álainn atá i gceist.'

[30] Eoin Mac Giolla Eáin, *Dánta Amhráin is Caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1900), 191, where the word is glossed 'ingenuity, wiles'. The first is unproblematic; the second is not so. *OED* glosses the noun 'wile' thus: 'a. A crafty, cunning, or deceitful trick; a sly, insidious or underhand artifice; a stratagem, ruse . . . Chiefly *pl*[*ural*] (in *sing*[*ular*] now *arch*[*aic*] or *poet*[*ic*]). b. Without implication of deceit: A subtle contrivance; a skilful device or scheme . . . *obs*[*olete*] . . . c. In lighter sense: An amorous or playful trick . . .' A meaning of *stuaim* in the sense of 'wile' a. could not have been intended by Céitinn as it would be entirely inappropriate in the context of the poem, and sense b. is obsolete; however, Mac Giolla Eáin may have intended 'wiles' as an interpretation in sense c., but not a translation.

[31] *IGT* ii, 44.

Lambert McKenna had inclined towards this view in his editions of an early seventeenth-century poem composed by Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird for Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill. In his first edition of the poem, having translated *lucht a lámhdhaighe* in q. 16f as 'the folk who do his work (?)',[32] he referred to the *IGT* entry in a note on that line. Subsequently in the glossary of the work in which his second edition of that poem is found, his entry *s.v. lámhdhuighe* and *lamhda* reads, "'sduaim" > "seirbhís" (?)'.[33] His question marks would seem to suggest that he wished to reject the sense 'work'/'service' in general, which implies that he would prefer 'handiwork' or 'craftmanship', which means that he accepted that this was one of the senses of *sduaim*. The glossary *s.v. lámhdhuighe* and *lamhda* in the latter work also refers to a poem by Tadhg Mór Ó hUiginn for Fionnghuala (d. 1310), daughter of Maghnus Ó Conchobhair, in which these lines occur: *Id bhruidhin bhric / bídh re béalaibh bhan lámhdhaidhe / fíon fuar finngheal* 'In your painted palace cold bright wine is before women engaged in handiword/needlework/embroidery'.[34] In this instance 'seirbhís' would be unsuitable as an interpretation of *lámhdhaidhe*, as it is highly unlikely that servants would be served wine; hence the women to whom the poet was referring were Fionnghuala's upper-class companions (the *deg-mná deimne* of the Metrical *Dindšenchas*, referred to above), who were engaged in handiwork/needlework as a past-time appropriate to their status. Here again it would seem that the *lámhdhaidhe/stuaim* equivalence is the one being suggested by McKenna.

It is not surprising then that in his English-Irish dictionary McKenna has s.v. *skill*: 's[kill], ingenuity *rinne . . . sé é le stuaim a lámh*',[35] while Patrick S. Dinneen in his Irish-English dictionary gives 'dexterity' as one of the meanings of *stuaim*,[36] and Niall Ó Domhnaill in his Irish-English dictionary under the heading *stuaim* gives: '2. Ingenuity, steadiness, (patient) skill. **Rud a dhéanamh le [stuaim],** to do s[ome]th[ing] with skill and patience. **Le [stuaim] láimhe,** by skill of hand; with a steady hand [. . .].'[37]

I would suggest, therefore, that it is valid to take it that Céitinn intended the speaker of his poem to be understood to be commenting in his first line, not on his lover's skill in general, but on her manual skill (in patient fondling). The word *lámh* of the second line should be understood then to be silently anticipated to qualify the word *stuaim* of the first line. Thus *stuaim* (*láimhe*) refers to the third stage of the *quinque lineae amoris* which is given as *tadall*

[32]Lambert McKenna, 'Poem to Rudhraidhe, Earl of Tirconnell', *The Irish Monthly* 49.580 (October 1921), 418–22, at 421–2.

[33]Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, S. J., *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938), 579.

[34]Ibid., poem 114, 'Slán fat fholcadh', q. 31a–c.

[35]Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, S. J., *Foclóir Béarla agus Gaedhilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1935), s.v.

[36]Rev. Patrick S. Dineen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1927, repr. 1934), s.v.

[37]Niall Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977). On a recent visit to Inis Oírr, Árainn, together with a friend who is a native of the island I walked past a site where two islanders, father and son, were building a house. When I commented on the fact that the men had not employed a contractor, my friend replied: 'Ó, tá stuaim iontu sin.'

na lám in the *Leabhar Breac*. Having acknowledged in the first line his lover's high level of skill in this regard (*A bhean lán de stuaim* 'Woman full of manual skill'), the old man then proceeds to demand in the second line that she desist from fondling him (*coingibh uaim do lámh* 'keep your hand away from me'), revealing his awareness of the danger that that poses for him in view of his unwillingness to engage in sexual acts which he expresses in line 3 (*ní fear gníomha sinn*) and throughout the poem.

2. *A BHEAN FUAIR AN FALACHÁN*

ABSTRACT

I propose that the wording in the reference to Absalom's hair in the anonymous poem *A bhean fuair an falachán* (*DG* 13, lines 3–4) was influenced by confusion of the English verbs 'disteyne' (outshine *etc*.) and 'disdeyne' (despise *etc*.).

IN Second Book of Samuel in the Old Testament King David's third son, Absalom, is described as follows:

> In the whole of Israel there was no man who could be praised for his beauty as much as Absalom; from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head there was not a blemish on him. When he cut the hair of his head — and he would cut it every year; he would cut it then because it grew too heavy for him — he would weigh the hair; two hundred shekels, king's weight.
>
> (*Jerusalem Bible*, 2 Sam. 14.25–6)

However, the account of relationships between David and Absalom is very much at odds with that attractive picture of the young man. When his elder half-brother, Amnon, raped his sister, Tamar, Absalom murdered him, thus causing a breach with his father who could not forgive him for committing fratricide. Eventually David allowed Absalom to appear before him; but Absalom then embarked on a conspiracy to dethrone his father and take the kingship for himself. When a battle between them loomed, David, who still loved his son, ordered his forces not to kill Absalom, saying 'For my sake treat young Absalom gently' (2 Sam. 18.5) or 'For my sake spare young Absalom' (2 Sam. 18.12). David's forces were victorious, and when Absalom was fleeing, his head became trapped in the branches of a great oak tree and he was killed by David's commander, Joab, and his men.[38] David was overcome with grief and pathetically mourned his rebellious son with the words, 'My son, Absalom! My son! My son, Absalom! Would I had died in your place! Absalom, my son, my son!' (2 Sam. 19.1).

[38]Some versions (e.g. the NIV [New International Version] Bible), evidently harking back to 2 Sam. 14.26, take it that his long locks of hair became entangled in the branches of the tree.

This tragic narrative undoubtedly gave Absalom a status on a par with other famous characters in life and literature, and would have drawn attention to the initial description of his beauty, and particularly of his hair. As a result he became 'a medieval archetype of physical beauty and its hazards'.[39] So, for instance in Geoffrey Chaucer's *ballade* in honour of the goddess Alceste in *The Legend of Good Women* (late fourteenth century), in which the lady is compared to some twenty-one famous individuals to the detriment of each and every one of them, Absalom and his fine head of hair take pride of place, appearing in the first line of the poem:

> Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere;
> Ester, ley thou thy mekenesse al adown;
> Hyd, Jonathas, al thy frendly manere;
> Penalopee, and Marcia Catoun,
> Make of youre wifhod no comparysoun;
> Hyde ye youre beautes, Ysoude and Eleyne;
> My lady cometh that al this may disteyne.[40]

An anonymous Irish poet, in praising an unnamed woman's hair, was content to claim in the first quatrain of his poem that it was more beautiful than the hair of Absalom alone:

> A bhean fuair an falachán,
> do-chiú ar fud do chiabh snáithmhín
> ní as a bhfuighthear achmhasán
> d'fholt Absolóin mhic Dháivídh. (*DG* no. 13)
>
> 'Lady who has got the covering, I see all over your tresses which are fine as thread something from which an insult to the hair of Absalom, son of David, is received.'

The earliest copy of this poem is found in the Book of the O'Conor Don, which was written in Ostend in 1631, fol. 27r. This provides a *terminus ad quem* for the poem, but, given that it is anonymous, it may be significantly older, since it may have taken quite some time for the name of the author to have fallen out of the record. However, since fol. 26 of the manuscript is missing and the poem is acephalous, it is possible that the name of the author was originally recorded in the manuscript, but is now lost.

[39]John H. Fisher, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1989), 625, note on the first line of the verse below. As for Ireland, the story of Absalom is found in TCD MS H.2.16 (1318), 121b–122a, ed. Kuno Meyer, 'David und Absalon' and 'Absalons Tod' in *ZCP* 13 (1921) 177–8, trans. Máire Herbert in Máire Herbert and Martin McNamara (eds), *Irish Biblical Apochrypha* (Edinburgh 1989), 22; and there is in the Book of Fermoy, RIA MS 23 E 29 (1134), 83, dated *circa* 1457, a partly illegible version of the opening section of the same text which starts with a reference to the beauty of Absalom's *del*[*b*] (appearance) and to *tormach a fhuilt* (the increase/ burden of his hair), and a further, partly illegible copy in Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson B 512, part IV, ff. 142va9–vb7.

[40]Fisher, *The Complete Poetry and Prose*, 625, lines 274–5; hyd 'hide'; gilte 'golden'; clere 'shining'; ley 'lay'; Marcia Catoun 'Marcia wife of Cato'; wifhod 'womanhood'; Ysoude 'Isolde'; Eleyne 'Helen'; disteyne 'outshine'.

In his 'Introduction' to *DG*, Robin Flower noted 'the delight in the beauty of hair which finds constant expression in the poetry of Ireland in all periods' and he quoted two examples from the early literature and referred to the *dánta grádha* and in particular to *DG* poem 13.[41] There are stunning examples of the celebration of beautiful hair among the compositions of the professional poets too, e.g. the first 13 quatrains of Tadhg Mór Ó hUiginn's *Slán fat fholcadh* 'I celebrate (?) your bathing',[42] the first 22 quatrains of Niall Ó hUiginn's *Eire trom trillse Saidhbhe* 'A heavy weight (are) the tresses of Sadhb',[43] and all 35 quatrains of Maol Pádraig Mac Naimhin's *Folt Eimhire ar inghin mBriain* 'Brian's daughter has hair like Eimhear.'[44] There was much, then, in the native tradition to inspire a poet such as the author of *A bhean fuair an falachán*. His word-play in qq. 2, 4 and 5 would undoubtedly have pleased many of the bards.

The play in q. 2 is on the homonyms, *cuach* 'cuckoo' and *cuach* 'curl (of hair)': on the lady's hair (*ciabh*) there is a flock (*ealta*) of cuckoos which (because they are really curls) are in a state of debility and do not sing (ll. 6–7, *ealta chuach i gceas naoidhean*; / *ní labhraid an ealta-soin*). This is found elsewhere, e.g. in Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn's *aisling*, *An tusa an bhean do bhí sunn*? 'Are you the woman who was here': *Atá ar chiomhsaibh do chiabh dtiugh* / *ealta nách gnáth i ngeimhriudh* 'On the ends of your luxuriant tresses are bird-flocks not usual in winter', *TD* 40.7a–b; in Ó Géaráin's *Féach orm*, *a inghean Eóghain* 'Look at me, daughter of Eoghan': *a chiabh fhionnfholtach éan gcruinn* 'o you of the fair-tressed hair of the round birds', *DG* 16.47; and in Pádraigín Haicéad's *Dála an nóinín* 'Like the daisy': *a* [*ceann*] [. . .] / *fánar cóirigheadh borddhlaoi* [. . .] / *do tháin na n-eón bhíos ó shín gheimhridh tréith* 'her head around which was arranged a border of tresses (formed of) a flock of the birds which are debilitated by winter weather'.[45]

The *idh órdaighthe* in line 15 is a golden engagement or marriage ring, whereas its synonym *fáinne* in *céad fáinne* in line 16 refers to ringlets of hair, and *idh* in line 19 refers to a fetter to restrain a captive, so that the ringlets around her throat (*brágha*) in line 16 make a captive (*brágha*) of the throat in lines 19–20. The use of these latter synonyms is particularly clever since they are historically the same word.[46]

However, though this poem was published in *DG*, it is not a love poem. Its five quatrains are concerned solely with the lady's hair. There is nothing in

[41] Flower apud *DG*, xx–xxi.

[42] Ed. Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dána*, poem 114.

[43] Ed. Lambert McKenna, S. J., *The Book of Magauran* (Dublin, 1947), poem XVI.

[44] Ed. ibid., poem IX.

[45] Ní Cheallacháin, *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad*, 4.14–16.

[46] See T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Some instances of vowel-shortening in Modern Irish', *Ériu* 13 (1942), 128–34, at 129–30.

it about the lady's character or personality,[47] nor does the poet say that he is attracted to her or that he is in love with her.

In *LIDG* Mícheál Mac Craith cogently argued that much sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Irish verse was influenced by contemporary English literature. I would suggest that the first quatrain of *A bhean fuair an falachán* echoes an earlier English source, viz., the verse by Geoffrey Chaucer quoted earlier in this note, and I would refer in particular to what seems to be a misunderstanding on the part of the Irish poet of the verb 'disteyne' with which each of the three verses of Chaucer's poem ends. The third line of the Irish poem, *ní as a bhfuighthear achmhasán do* 'something from which an insult is received to', seems to me to involve a rather awkward construction, while *achmhasán* 'reproach, rebuke, insult' is a surprisingly strong and inappropriate word to use in the context: both issues smack of amateur translation.

The Middle English verb *disteyne* (also *desteign*, *disteign*) is from Old French *disteindre*, from Latin *dis* + *tingere*: '1. to discolour etc.; 2. to defile, sully, dishonour, etc.; 3. to cause to pale or look dim, to outshine etc.'[48] That the last option, 'to outshine', is the one intended by Chaucer in the text I have quoted is confirmed by another couplet in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*:

> For as the sonne wole the fyr disteyne
> So passeth al my lady sovereyne.[49]
>
> 'As the sun will outshine the fire, so my sovereign lady surpasses all.'

A second verb in Middle English which is also derived from Old French is *disdeyne* (also *desdaine*, *desdeigne*): this came from *desdeignier*, *desdeigne* from *des* < Latin *dē* + *dignare*, *dedignare*: '1. to think unworthy of oneself, or of one's notice; to regard or treat with contempt, to despise, scorn etc.'[50]

I would suggest that the author of *A bhean fuair an falachán* read or heard Chaucer's 'disteyne' as 'disdeyne' and accordingly used *achmhasán* as a suitable equivalent to provide *comhardadh briste* (imperfect rhyme) with *falachán* in the first line.

NOTE

The words given as *lámdae*, *lám*(*d*)*aige* and *stúaim* in *DIL* are spelled as they are found in the texts being quoted.

[47] This is very much at odds with Niall Ó hUiginn's *Eire trom trillse Saidhbhe*. Having given twenty-two quatrains to the praise of the lady's hair, he ends that section with a *dúnadh* and follows with this declaration: *Do Shaidhbh féin is neasa a-nois*, / *canfad maith re mnaoi nDurlais*; / *ro ba breath olc gan duain di — / fuair a folt leath na laoidhe* 'What I am about to say now more intimately concerns Sadhbh. I will sing a good (song) for the lady of Durlas; it would be foolish not to devote a poem to her — for half of this lay has been given to her hair.' The second section of the poem is somewhat shorter than the first.

[48] *OED s.v. distain.*

[49] Fisher, *The Complete Poetry and Prose*, 626, lines 274–5.

[50] *OED s.v. disdain.*

ABBREVIATIONS

DG	Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha*, 2nd ed. (Dublin and Cork, 1926).
LIDG	Mícheál S. Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá* (Baile Átha Cliath 1989).
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (online).
TD	Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn (1550–1591)*, 2 vols, ITS (London, 1922–6).

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TOGHA NA hÉIGSE 1700–1800*

7. *Tarla gné dhaoldatha d'fhoiligh gach rian*
(Séamas Mac Coitir)

Marbhna í seo ar Thadhg (mac Conchubhair) Ó Briain ó Choill na Curra (*Kilcor*, 4 km. soir ó dheas ó Chaisleán Ó Liatháin, Co. Chorcaí)[1] a 'd'éag le bolgach' sa bhliain 1731. Cara don léann ab ea Conchubhar Ó Briain, an t-athair, a bhfuil beagán faisnéise i gcló cheana air in *Éigse* 22 (1987), mar a bhfuil eagar curtha ar phéire dánta a cumadh cúig bliana níos déanaí ná an dán láithreach ag fáiltiú roimh leanbh mic eile a saolaíodh dó, Donnchadh (1736).[2] I gceann den dá 'dhuain leanbaíochta' sin, dar tosach *Fáilte is fiche do chuirim le díograis* (11 vv.) (an tAthair Seán Ó Briain a chum), tá Conchubhar curtha i gcosúlacht le Isaac a bhí naoi mbliana déag is daichead nuair a saolaíodh an dara mac dó, Iácob (v. 3) (*Gen.* xxv 25).[3] Tá méar eolais sa mhéid sin go raibh Conchubhar fágtha gan oidhre mic tar éis bháis Thaidhg i 1731, agus gurb in é ba réasún leis na fáiltí móra a chur roimh Dhonnchadh nuair a rugadh é.[4]

Is é file atá luaite le marbhna Thaidhg ná Séamas Mac Coitir. An t-ainm údair céanna atá os cionn na duaine eile den phéire úd ón mbliain 1736, tos. *Fáilte óm chroí le báb na milse / ar dtrácht a díograis dáilmhéine* (11 vv.).[5] Ach ní gá go gciallódh an t-ionannas idir ainm is sloinne gurbh aon fhear amháin ab údar leo. I scríbhinní a foilsíodh roimhe seo ag tagairt don gCoitireach tá sé mínithe go raibh beirt fhile ann a raibh Séamas Mac Coitir orthu san 18ú haois, athair agus mac, ach nach i gcónaí is féidir saothar duine acu a aithint ó shaothar an duine eile.[6] I gCurrach Diarmada, 1 km. laisteas

*Tá liosta d'fhoilseacháin eile sa tsraith seo luaite in Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Togha na hÉigse 1700–1800, 6. *Mo léansa an galar so shearg mé i sírghéibheann* (Séamas Beag Mac Coitir)', *Celtica* 26 (2010), 1–22 (1 n. *).

[1]Cloím leis an litriú a chleachtann na scríobhaithe ar an logainm go rialta (*Coill na Curra*), seachas leis an bhfoirm atá ag Risteárd Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora .i. Liam Ruadh Mac Coitir agus a Shaothar Fileata* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1937), 1 (tagairt do 'abhainn na Cora') agus atá aitheanta in Pádraig Ó Riain, Kevin Murray agus Emma Nic Cárthaigh (eag.), *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames: Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge*, Fasc. 6: *Cóbh–Cutloch* (Irish Text Society, 2016), 13–14.

[2]Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain leanbaíochta', *Éigse* 22 (1987), 111–23, ar lch 111.

[3]Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain', 119.

[4]Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain', 111.

[5]Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain', 113.

[6]Cf. Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain', 112; do thrácht níos mine ar an bhfianaise, feic Breatnach, '*Mo léansa an galar so*', 1–3. Tá liosta d'fhoilseacháin ina bpléitear cérbh iad Séamas Mac Coitir *père* agus *fils* ibid., 1 n.1 (anuas go dtí 2010). Pléadh an cheist arís ó shin in alt le Breandán Ó Conchúir, 'Véarsaí ó oirthear Chorcaí ar an ngorta a lean sioc mór an gheimhridh 1739–40', in John Carey, Kevin Murray agus Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (eag.), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Dublin, 2015), 301–10 (301–3), ach níl tagairt déanta san alt sin don eagrán de *Mo léansa an galar so* (2010) agus tá torthaí an taighde ann fágtha as an áireamh.

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de Choill na Curra (thuas), a bhí cónaí orthu.[7] Deartháir don fhile Uilliam Ruadh Mac Coitir (1675–1738) ab ea an sinsear,[8] agus b'é Uilliam uncail an fhir eile — mar atá curtha in úil aige sin sa mharbhna ghairid ar Uilliam dar tosach *Mo ghearán glacaidh is measaidh ar méad mo liach* (4 v.) a thagraíonn do 'd[h]reatháir m'athar'.[9] Luaitear Séamas 'Beag' Mac Coitir ar uairibh i bhfoinsí traidisiúnta, agus is dá dheasca sin a thosnaigh scoláirí san aois seo caite ar Séamas 'Mór' a ghlaoch ar an athair; ach faid m'eolais níl aon údarás traidisiúnta laistiar den sonrú deireanach sin.[10] Mar an gcéanna, glacadh i gcónaí leis roimhe seo gur bhain an t-ainm Séamas 'Beag' leis an mac seachas leis an athair.[11] Ach b'fhéidir go mba mhithid gan deimhin a dhéanamh den tuairim sin sula ndéanfar scrúdú iomlán ar sheachadaíocht na ndánta uile atá luaite leo (tá beagnach scór i gceist), ar a mianach liteartha (idir fhoirm agus stílíocht) ina gceann is ina gceann a d'fhéadfadh treoir a thabhairt chun scagadh eatarthu ón dtaobh sin de, agus ar na foinsí éagsúla eile a thugann eolas ar a lucht aitheantais. Is í an mharbhna ar Uilliam Ruadh an t-aon fhoinse amháin ina bhfuil dearbhú inmheánach tugtha gur déantús leis an sóisear é seachas leis an sinsear,[12] agus tá dáta na marbhna sin mar chomhartha dhúinn go bhféadfadh go raibh fear a cumtha gníomhach tamall sular cailleadh a uncail.

Is é an dán atá in eagar thíos an saothar is sine atá luaite le Séamas Mac Coitir dá bhfuil dáta curtha leis (1731). Tá a fhocal féin againn air sa dán 'nach ránga féin aosta ná foilcithe i sians' (l. 42); nóta pearsanta é sin a bhfuil a leithéid cosúil leis le fáil i dhá dhán eile a bhfuil ainm Shéamais Mhic Coitir

[7]*RIA Cat.*, 19 (*ad* 23 L 17 (3)); cf. Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain', 112; Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora*, 9; Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 24.

[8]Cailleadh Uilliam Ruadh in aois a 63 ar an 12 Iúil, 1738 (Liam Ó Buachalla, Richard Henchion, 'Gravestones of historical interest at Britway, Co. Cork', *JCHAS* 68 (1963), 102–3 (102); cf. Breatnach, '*Mo léansa an galar so*', 2.

[9]RIA MS A iv 2 (27), 73b, Maigh Nuad M 7, 5 (l. 5, 'Dreatháir m'athar do chailleas is é mo phian'); i gcló ag Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora*, 75 (uimh. 27). 'Séamas Mac Coitir' atá luaite mar údar leis an marbhna sna foinsí (*pace* Ó Foghludha, ibid.), cf. Breatnach, '*Mo léan-sa an galar so*', 1–2.

[10]Cf. Breatnach, '*Mo léansa an galar so*', 1 n. 2. An t-aon uair atá 'mór' le fáil i bhfochair an ainm i bhfoinse thraidisiúnta chomh fada lem eolas is i riocht imeartais é. Tá an nóta seo a leanas mar cheannscríbhinn le dán deibhí *Ionmhain liom saothar na suadh* a cumadh mar fhreagra ar dhán leis an gCoitireach san mheadaracht chéanna, tos. *Bímse suirgheach le saoithibh* (an péire curtha in eagar ag Breandán Ó Conchúir, 'Comhfhreagras sa deibhidhe ón mbliain 1762', in Máirtín Ó Briain agus Pádraig Ó Héalaí (eag.), *Téada Dúchais: Aistí in Ómós don Ollamh Breandán Ó Madagáin* (Indreabhán, 2002), 273–94): 'Conchubhar Ó Dála cct. dá charaid rothairise Seamus mor Mac Coitir gidh gairmthear beag an treas la d'Feabhra 1762' (cf. Breatnach, *'Mo léan-sa an galar so*', 3 n. 8). Tá an cheannscríbhinn luaite ag an bhfear eagair (Ó Conchúir, 'Comhfhreagras sa deibhidhe', 285) a bheith san fhoirm seo i dtrí lámhscríbhinn, viz. British Library, Egerton 141 (1773–4), fol. 35b, Maigh Nuad B 3 (b), fol. [36] *i* (gan dáta), agus RIA MS 23 E 15 (1029), fol. 192 *i* (1798?), ach níl soiléiriú déanta ar an ngaol eatarthu. Is é brí a bhainim as caint na ceannscríbhinne ná seo: bíodh gur 'Séamas beag' atá (*sic*) mar ainm ó cheart air, i dtuairim an té a dúirt is mó a thuillfeadh Séamas 'mór' a rá leis (ar fheabhas a chuid léinn). Aon uair a bhfuil an t-ainm 'Séamas Mór Mac Coitir' buailte liom is ag tagairt don ridire Séamas (†1705) é (e.g. *RIA Cat.*, 2073 (*ad* 23 C 21 (672), 205); *Éigse* 25 (1991), 72 (*ad* 301)).

[11]Níor cheistíos féin an tuiscint sin roimhe seo ach an oiread le cách, feic Breatnach, '*Mo léan-sa an galar so*', 3.

[12]Feic thuas n. 9.

luaite leo (ag admháil a óige agus a easpa oiliúna i gceird an fhile) — *Mo léansa an galar so do shearg mé i sírghéibheann* (a cumadh agus an file in aois a 17 mbliana) agus *Mo ghearán glacaidh is measaidh ar méad mo liach* (luaite thuas; feic na nótaí téacsúla, ll. 41–2).[13] Ráineodh ón gcomhchosúlacht eatarthu ar an bpointe sin gur de dhéantús an fhir chéanna na trí dhán, dar ndóigh. Ach pé acu ab ea nó nach ea (tá an freagra ar an mámh mór ar gach taobh go fóill), ba fhile maith Gaeilge é fear na marbhna seo a dhéanamh i meadaracht ealaíonta ar modh *acrostic* (túslitreacha na véarsaí ó v. 1 go v. 12 ag litriú an ainm Tadhg Ó Briain).[14]

AN MHEADARACHT

(ll. 1–48) (⌣) | á ⌣ é | é ⌣ ⌣ | i/o ⌣ ⌣ | ia

Tréithe na príomhaiste: (i) ceithre céimeanna meadarachta in aghaidh gach líne (= cA, cB, cC, cD), na trí céimeanna tosaigh (cA–C) tríshiollach, agus an chéim dheiridh (cD) aontsiollach, do réir phatrúin shiollach-aiceanta ar féidir léiriú air leis an bhfoirmle **3331**; (ii) amas laistigh den líne idir guta fada i ndeireadh cA (atá neamhaiceanta ó thaobh meadarachta) agus an guta buailte le hais leis faoin *ictus* in cB (viz. '*é*:|*é*' sa chás seo); (iii) amas ingearach á iompar ó líne go chéile tríd síos ag guta an aicinn mheadarachta in cA, cB, cD faoi seach agus ag guta an amais inmheánaigh i ndeireadh cA; bíonn saormhalartaíocht ar son amais idir na gutaí aiceanta *o*/*i* in cC;(iv) *anacrusis* (forshiolla roimh aiceann tosaigh na líne) ina lán de na línte (feic nótaí téacsúla ar ll. 1, 5, 13).

Tugann an cineál speisialta d'amas inmheánach (nó comhfhuaim) a bhaineann leis an aiste (tréith (ii) thuas) stádas sainiúil di i dtraidisiún an amhráin liteartha mar fho-aicme i measc aistí a mbíonn ceithre céimeanna iontu. Mar murab ionann leis an ngnáthúsáid ina dtiteann le chéile an tsraith d'amais a chomhlíontar ó líne go líne agus na haicinn mheadarachta agus ina mbíonn dhá cheann de na siollaí marcálta sin ar comhfhuaim laistigh den líne (gan cead ach ag siolla(í) neamhaiceanta teacht eatarthu), i gcás na haiste seo is amhlaidh a thiteann siolla amháin den phéire atá ar comhfhuaim sa líne roimh an dara *ictus*.[15]

[13]Séamas 'beag' Mac Coitir atá luaite mar údar leis an gcéad dán i lámhscríbhinn amháin, ach SMC *simpliciter* atá air sna lámhscríbhinní eile, cf. Breatnach, '*Mo léansa an galar so*', 1.

[14]Marbhnaí eile i bhfoirm *acrostic* is ea iad seo leanas, m. sh.: (1) *Mairg do chuala marbh a tuairisc* (Uilliam Mac Cartáin, ar bhás iníne Chormaic Spáinnigh Mhic Cárthaigh, 1720)', in eagar ag P. A. Breatnach, 'Togha na hÉigse 1700–1800, 4: *Mairg do chuala marbh a tuairisc* (Uilliam Mac Cartáin)', *Éigse* 31 (1999), 103–20; (2) *Searbh an dáil, a bháis a chréice chrín* (Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach ar bhás Sheáin Chláraigh Mhic Dhomhnaill, 1754) in eagar ag Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1954), uimh. 147; (sampla Laidne) *Franciscum fortem, formosum, Fodla fatetur* (Seán Ó Catháin ar bhás Franciscus Blake, 1722, luaite ag Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum [Library]*, II (London, 1926), 574).

[15]Maidir le stádas an amais mar eilimint a mbíonn feidhm órnáideach aici seachas feidhm struchtúrtha sa véarsaíocht rithimiúil, feic Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Múnlaí véarsaíocht rithimiúil na Nua-Ghaeilge', in Pádraig de Brún, Seán Ó Coileáin agus Pádraig Ó Riain (eag.), *Folia Gadelica: Aistí ó Iardhaltaí leis a Bronnadh ar R. A. Breatnach* (Corcaigh, 1983), 54–71, ar lgh 54–6.

Is gá a rá ar an bpointe, áfach, nach i gcáilíocht mar aonad le *ceithre* céimeanna ba bhéas le scoláirí roimhe seo féachaint ar líne na haiste seo sna solaoidí di a cuireadh in eagar cheana, ach mar aonad le *cúig* céimeanna.[16] Mar sin, do réir na hanailíse a bheadh ag eagarthóirí romham is patrún meadarachta mar seo a leanas a bheadh le cur síos don dán againne:

(⏑) | á ⏑ | é | é ⏑ ⏑ | i/o ⏑ ⏑ | ia

Ach tá an léamh difriúil sin ar an meadaracht ag dul amú ar chúiseanna éagsúla mar is féidir a thaispeáint, sílim. Ar dtúis, tá sé ag teacht salach ar bhéimniú nádúrtha na gnáthchainte go mbeadh stádas mar chéim iomlán ag an siolla a sholáthraíonn an chéad eilimint den chomhfhuaim inmheánach (*é*). Mar dá ainneoin go gcuimsíonn an siolla sin focail lán-aiceanta sa téacs ar an mórgóir (ll. 1 *gné*, 2 *ré(idhe)*, 3 *cé*, 4 *éag* etc.), ní léir go bhféadfadh sé bheith ar comhthreise i gcúrsaí urlabhra leis an siolla ar comhfhuaim leis a leanann é. Mar dheimhniú ar an bpointe sin tugtar faoi deara gur ag focail neamhaiceanta atá an chéad chomhfhuaim den phéire á hiompar sa téacs ar uairibh (l. 27 *fén* = fé + an; l. 28 *lé* = le). Cúis níos treise fós chun diúltú don léamh a moladh a dhéanamh roimhe seo, áfach, ná go bhfuil sé ag dul i gcoinnibh rithim rialta na líne véarsaíochta ar féidir deimhniú a aimsiú uirthi ina macasamhail eile sa chóras meadarachta lena mbaineann múnlaí na véarsaíochta rithimiúla Nua-Ghaeilge i gcoitinne leis. I dtrácht níos leithne ar na cúrsaí seo i scríbhinní eile tá mínithe agam go bhfuil príomhaistí an amhráin Nua-Ghaeilge ag freagairt ó thaobh struchtúir de do phrototípeanna rithimiúla ar bhain comhthéacs ceoil leo i dtraidisiúin liteartha eile, agus ar chuaigh scaipeadh orthu ar fud na hEorpa dá dheasca sin i bhfad siar.[17] Is féidir riarú socair a sholáthar don chuid is coitianta d'aicmí na véarsaíochta idirnáisiúnta sin laistigh de roinnt mórchatagóirí a bhunaítear ar líon na n-aiceann meadarachta a bhíonn in aghaidh na líne agus an líon línte sa véarsa faoi seach. Má chuardaítear an múnla cuí d'aiste cheathairchéimeach an dáin *Tarla gné dhaoldatha* sa chóras meadarachta sin gheofar é in aicme aitheanta d'amhráin tuaithe Gaeilge a bhfuil na foinn traidisiúnta a ghabhann leo fós ar marthain agus meadaracht an cheoil iontu ag freagairt do phríomhthréithe na prosóide atá sonraithe san aiste is cás linn (ceithre líne cheathairchéimeacha ag críochnú ar chéim aontsiollach faoi seach). Cuirim síos i mo dhiaidh

[16]Deismireachtaí a bhfuil cúig céimeanna curtha síos ag eagarthóirí dóibh is ea iad seo a leanas: (1) 'Mo chrádh an úir iompuighthe ar ghorm do dhearc' (vv. 2–3 den dán dar tos. *Mo chás cumha mo chumhgach mo chogar mo chreach*, eag. Tórna, 'An tAthair Eoghan Ó Caoimh: a bheatha agus a shaothar' in *Gadelica*, i (1912–13), 3, 101, 163, 251 (uimh. 14) (cf. lgh 256–7 n.); (2) *A chara shéimh shéaghain nach ráinig linn* (1 v.), in Máire Ní Cheallacháin (eag.), *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1962), uimh. 26 (lch 109); (3) *Bíodh nár Ghaedheal Éadbhard glan eagnaidhe Lhwyd*, in eagar ag Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach*, uimh. 165, vv. 1–5 (cf. lch 436); (4) véarsa dar tos. 'A choilm an cheoil bhrónaigh san dúna thall' luaite ag V. S. Blankenhorn, *Irish Song-craft and Metrical Practice since 1600*, Irish Studies, 8 (New York, 2003), 169 ('the most arresting feature … is the monosyllabic second foot').

[17]Cf. Breatnach, 'Múnlaí véarsaíocht rithimiúil na Nua-Gaeilge'; idem, 'Die Entwicklung und Gestaltung des neuirischen rhythmischen Versmaßes', in Hildegard L. C. Tristram (eag.), *Metrik und Medienwechsel: Metrics and Media* (Tübingen, 1991), 289–300.

anseo gearrchuid deismireachtaí d'amhráin ón gcnuasach *Ceól ár Sínsear* (an tAthair Pádraig Breathnach do chruinnigh [Baile Átha Cliath, 1913]), ina bhfuil na téacsanna ag freagairt i gcúrsaí rithime don mharbhna ealaíonta le Mac Coitir, agus ar féidir na foinn ag gabháil leo a thabhairt in oiriúint don téacs liteartha go nádúrtha, gan barr cleite isteach ná bun cleite amach: *Is aindeis na sgéalta thar tréanmhuir a' tígheacht*, Fonn 'Idir Ard-mhór a's Eóchaill' (Cuid I, 7); *Mar mheath uaim mo chairde bhí grádhmhar fadó*, Fonn 'Lovely Willy' (Cuid III, 18); *Is fada dhom ar buaidhreamh a' cur tuairisg mo ghrádh*, Fonn 'Réidhchnoc Mná Duibhe' (Cuid V, 24).[18]

Níl aon fhianaise ar fáil, dar ndóigh, gur gabhadh *Tarla gné dhaoldatha* féin ar fhonn ceoil. Ach b'fhéidir nár dhóichí-de rud dó, más iontaoibh a ndúirt fínné amháin, Pádraig (mac Diarmada) Ó Crualaoi (†1949), ó Mhúscraí Uí Fhloinn, uair. Bhí Pádraig cleachtaithe ar an gcuid is fearr de thraidisiún an amhráin liteartha a thabhairt leis ó dhúchas a óige sa chéad leath den chéad blian seo caite. 'D'fhéatainnse,' a ndúirt siúd, 'ceol a chuir le haon amhrán i n-aochor, agus dhineas féin ceol do chuid acu.'[19]

* * *

Is iomaí amhrán ealaíonta a tháinig slán atá ar comhfhoirm le *Tarla ghné dhaoldatha*, cuid díobh níos luaithe ná é agus cuid eile níos déanaí. Gné faoi leith den chineál comhfhuaime sainiúil atá comhchoiteann iontu, agus nár luadh go dtí anois, is ea gur mar ghutaí fada amháin a réalaítear í sna solaoidí go léir atá scrúdaithe agam ó thús an 17ú haois ar aghaidh (*é*|*é*, *á*|*á*, *í*|*í*, *ó*|*ó*, *ú*|*ú*, *ia*|*ia*, *ua*|*ua*, *au*|*au*).[20] Is minic comhartha á thabhairt ag file sna solaoidí seo, i riocht an ghuta a bhíonn roghnaithe don chomhfhuaim inmheánach aige, i dtreo déantúis ar comhfhoirm le file éigin eile ar a bhfuil sé meáite ar aithris a dhéanamh.[21] Ar mhaithe le léiriú beag a thabhairt ar an mórbhuntáiste is féidir le stairí na litríochta a tharraingt as a leithéidí sin de chomharthaí aithrise a leanúint amach, dírím aird anseo ar mhacalla dá chineál ón marbhna seo againne le Séamas Mac Coitir atá le sonrú i ndán is déanaí ná é a chum a fhear gaoil Uilliam Ruadh Mac Coitir mar mharbhna ar dheartháir eile dó, Éamann, a fuair bás sa bhliain chéanna leis féin (1738). Dán gairid é dar tosach *Mo ghearán féin féachaidh gur doilbh an duain* (3 vv.).[22] Tá sé ar ionannas rithime le haiste an dáin ón mbliain 1731 (an fhoirmle **3331** ag

[18]Tá miondeifreacha maidir le dáileadh na siollaí neamhaiceanta i gcéimeanna lasmuigh den chéim dheiridh (cD) neamhthábhachtach sa chomhthéacs comparáideach seo de bhrí gur minic a bhíonn mírialtachtaí i bhfoirm na n-amhrán tíre ó thaobh na prosóide (ag freagairt do ghluaiseacht an fhoinn) nach mbeadh glacadh leo i saothar na n-údar liteartha.

[19]*Seanachas Phádraig Í Chrualaoi*, Seán Ó Cróinín a thóg síos, Donncha Ó Cróinín a chuir in eagar (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 186. Cf. Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Oral and written transmission of poetry in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987), 57–65, ar lch 59.

[20]Tuairim is ceithre fichid samplaí san iomlán atá tugtha faoi deara agam ón dtréimhse.

[21]Do sholaoid amháin atá in eagar sa tsraith seo feic Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Togha na hÉigse 1700–1800: 3. *A bhuime den bhród mhórdha ba rathamhail réim* (Úna Nic Cruitín)', *Éigse* 28 (1999), 135–7 (ll. 1–4) (cúrsaí meadarachta pléite ar lgh 135–6).

[22]Cóipeanna: RIA MS A iv 2 (27), 89b; 23 I 26 (413), 106; i gcló ag Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora,* uimh. 6 ; tá an t-eolas ar bhliain chumtha an dáin le baint as ceannscríbhinn a deir gur chuir an t-údar cóip ag triall ar Dhomhnall Ó Duinnín áirithe, sagart, a bhí mar uachtarán ar choláiste

gabháil leis), agus gan de dhifríochtaí meadarachta idir an dá dhéantús ach iad seo leanas: (i) *a* (gairid) a bheith mar ghuta aiceanta sa chéim thosaigh de mharbhna Éamainn Mhic Coitir; (ii) amas ingearach sa bhreis a bheith á iompar ag an dara siolla den chéim chéanna inti (*á* neamhaiceanta)*;* agus (iii) *ua* seachas *ia* a bheith sa chéim dheireanach de dhán Uilliam Ruaidh, i bpatrún mar seo leanas:

(⌣) | a á **é** | **é** ⌣ ⌣ | i/o ⌣ ⌣ | ua.[23]

An ceangal

(ll. 49–52) (⌣) ú | i ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ | i ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ | ei ⌣ | ia

Baineann an aiste mheadarachta sa véarsa ceangail le haicme ceithre béimeanna chomh maith, agus tá nasc foirmiúil coinnithe idir í agus aiste an phríomhthéacs sa siolla deiridh aiceanta (*ia*).

AN TRAIDISIÚN TÉACSÚIL

Lámhscríbhinní

RIA (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann):
A iv 2 (27), 72*b* (Seán do Níadh, 1751–7) (A);
23 G 20 (211), 187 (Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, 1792–5) (G);
23 G 20 (211), 311 (Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, *c*. 1786–90/91) (H);
23 N 12 (488), 199 (Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin, *c*. 1763) (N);
23 N 21 (976) (b), 245 (Sthiamus O Laochadh, 1759) (O).

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Maigh Nuad:
M 4, 1 (Peadar Ó Longáin, 1818) (C);
M 10, 354 (Eoghan Tóibín, 19ú haois) (D);
M 12, 220 (Pól Ó Longáin, 1818) (E);
B 11, 32 (Éadhmonn Ó Mathamhna, 1792–3) (B).

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh:
Cnuasach Thorna T 85, 61 (Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, 1895) (T).

An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath:
UCD-OFM A 52, 63 (Eoghan Tóibín, 1818) (F).

Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann:
G 430, 13 (Éadhmonn Ua Mathghamhna, 1781–96) (L).

Lámhscríbhinní na nÍosánach, Sráid Líosan, Baile Átha Cliath:
IL 8, 79m (Seán Ó Dreada, 1824) (I).

Soláthraítear tuairisc ar léamha na lámhscríbhinní sna malairtí in ordú mar seo leanas: A, G, H, N, O, C, D, E, B, F, L, I, T.

na nÉireannach i gcathair Toulouse; tá fianaise ar an nDuinníneach seo (Daniel Dineen) a bheith i mbun an phoist úd idir 1738 agus 1746 (cf. L. W. B. Brockliss, Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573–1792', *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004), 7–166, ar lch 66).

[23] Tá tagairt do mhacalla eile i ndán ar comhfhoirm sna nótaí téacsúla ag gabháil le l. 39 thíos; feic chomh maith an nóta ar l. 26.

Ceannscríbhinní

Is féidir leaganacha éagsúla den cheannscríbhinn a aithint. Sa leagan is giorra luaitear ainm an údair, ainm an mhairbh agus a dháta báis (CB). Faisnéis í sin ab fhéidir a bhaint as téacs an dáin féin. (Tá an cás céanna i gceist sa tagairt a deir 'noch d'éag le bolgaigh' in A (cf. l. 28).) Sna ceannscríbhinní eile luaitear pointí eolais de bhreis ar a dtugann an téacs féin uaidh, mar seo leanas: (i) ainm athair an mhairbh a bheith luaite sna ceannscríbhinní a ghabhann le ADFL (a ainm luaite agus scriosta amach in N); (ii) ainm na háite arb as don mharbh luaite i gcás AGHNODEFLIT (litriú botúnach in NI); (iii) an téarma 'acrostic' a bheith luaite leis an téacs sna ceannscríbhinní go léir seachas CB, ach is i bhfoirm frása, 'a modh acrostic', atá sé i gcás AGHOET (vs. NDFLI mar a bhfuil an focal ag seasamh ina aonar), agus tá gluais mhínithe ag gabháil leis an bhfrása sin i gcás GHET ('ase a ainm tuigthear as (*al.* ar) cead leitribh na rann').

Grúpáil

Baineann na trí chóip is luaithe AON le lár an 18ú haois, i slí go bhfuil bearna suas le tríocha bliain idir iad agus dáta cumtha an téacs. Cóipeanna iad seo atá gan spleáchas lena chéile mar a thaispeáineann léamha as gach ceann faoi seach atá gan údarás eile leo (agus ar léamha earráideacha a bhformhór), .i. A (12, 20, 24, 30, 46); O (2, 13, 18, 22, 23, 39, 51); N (20, 25, 33, 34, 48). Ach maidir le téacs na cóipe is sine, A, tá tréithe áirithe ag baint leis ar dócha uathu gur giorra an chóip sin ná an chuid eile do scríbhinn a bhreac an t-údar. Ar an gcéad dul síos soláthraíonn A téacs slán i gcás l. 34 ('gur fhág soin') agus l. 17 ('mbéilgheal') atá ag freagairt do théacs lochtach sna cóipeanna eile, agus is ag A atá an léamh is fearr i gcás l. 39 ('gléir tsaormhaicne Mogha'), feic na nótaí téacsúla. Lena chois sin tá roinnt mionúsáidí aimhrialta i gcúrsaí deilbhíochta agus litrithe ar fud an téacs a sholáthraíonn A (7, 17, 27, 39, 44; tá botún i gceist i gcás amháin, 44 'mBriain', atá comhchoiteann ag AO), agus maraon leo an dá ghluais ar imeall leathanaigh atá tugtha ag an scríobhaí seo amháin (3, 34), a d'fhéadfadh dul siar chun an fhile féin (feic nótaí 3, 7, 17, 39, 44 faoi seach).

Baineann O le grúpa de chóipeanna ar déanaí iad ná é, GHCET, a bhfuil roinnt malairtí suaithinseacha comhchoiteann iontu (11, 20, 23, 30, 40, 52) maraon le léamha earráideacha eile (6, 15, 22, 27). Seasann C ar leataoibh ón ngrúpa le fo-bhotún (coigeartú sa cheannscríbhinn, 26, 27). Is cóip fhíorlochtach a thugann scríobhaí E uaidh (dáta na ceannscríbhinne, 1, 3, 25, 36, 39 etc.). Tá foirm na ceannscríbhinne ar aon dul i gcás GHT, agus roinneann T fo-léamh suaithinseach eile le H (48), I (20), agus le E (3, 38). Tá rian na heagarthóireachta ar léamha ar leithligh in T (10, 27) ach tá léamha botúnacha dá cuid féin flúirseach inti (17, 21, 26, 28, 39 etc.).

Gabhann NI le chéile go rialta (11, 28, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 46), cé go seasann N ina aonar ar uairibh (botún sa cheannscríbhinn, 20, 25, 30, 34, 48), agus I mar an gcéanna (2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 34, 35, 45).

Grúpa so-aitheanta leis féin is ea DBFL (lámhscríbhinní le Eoghan Tóibín (DF) agus Éamann Ó Mathúna (BL) faoi seach), feic 27, 28, 30, 37, 38; ach ní

bhíonn an dá phéire ar aon dul i gcónaí (DF 21, DBF 26, ADL 47). Fianaise eile ar an ngaol idir na lámhscríbhinní seo is ea dhá théacs eile le Séamas Mac Coitir a bheith ag leanúint ar an dtéacs seo againne iontu (*Fáilte óm chroí le báb na milse*[24] agus *Cúig athchuinghe atá agam duit, a Sheáin, chun siubhail*)[25] agus na trí cinn san ordú céanna faoi seach.

Cuireadh na leaganacha go léir chun tairbhe do réir a gcáilíochta i gcomhair an eagráin seo.

[24]Feic thuas lch 38.

[25]I gcló ag Ó Foghludha, *Saothar Suadha* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1908), 36–7.

TÉACS

Séamas Mac Coitir cct i modh acrostic ar bhás Taidhg mhic Conchubhair Uí Bhriain Choille na Curra noch d'éag le bolgaigh 1731

1. **T**arla gné dhaoldatha d'fhoiligh gach rian
Um chláraibh réidhe raonghlana Chonaire ar dtiacht
Nach ráinig an cé céasta so a chosmhaile riamh
Amháin acht éag éindeise, Murchadh is Brian.

TRANSLATION

A chafer-like blackness that has hidden every path has descended about the smooth trail-marked plains of Conaire's land, the like of which never visited this cruel earth before except for the death of two alone, Murchadh and Brian (1–4).

MALAIRTÍ

Lámhscríbhinní: A, G, H, N, O, C, D, E, B, F, L, I, T (*eochair thuas, lch 43*)

Ceannscríbhinní Seamus Mac Coitir cct a modh acroistic air bhás Taidhg mhic Conchubhair Í Bhriain Choille na Curra noch d'éag le bolgaigh 1731, A; Seamus Mc Coitir iar néag Thadhaig Uí Bhriain Choille na Curra a modh acroistic oir ase a ainm tuigthear as cead leitribh na rann san mbliadhain 1731 fuair Tadhg bás, GH; acroistic air bhás Concubhuir (*ceartaithe i láimh eile go* Thaidhg) Ui Bhriain Cille na cCuradh, Seamus Mc Coitir cct, N; Seamus Mac Coitir cc ar bhás Taidhg Í Bhriain Coille na Curra deag san mbliadhain 1731 a modh acrostic, O; Séamas Mac Coitir cct air bhás Thaidhg Uí (: Í, B) Bhriain 1731, CB; Seamus Mac Coitir cct acrostic air bhás Thadhg mhic Conchubhair Uí Bhrian Choille na Curra, D; Séamus Mac Coitir cct air bhás Taidg Í Bhrian Coille na Curra a modh acroistic, óir asé ainim tuigtear as céadlitreachaib na rann, 1781 fuair bás, E; Seamus Mac Coitir cctt acrostic air bhás Thadhg mhic Conchubhair Uí Bhriain Choille na Churra, F; Séamus Mac Coitir cct. acrostic ar bhás Tadhg mhic Conchubhair Uí Bhriain Choille na Curra, L; Acroistic air bhás Thaidhg ui Bhriain Chéile na Curadh. Séamus Mac Coitir cct 1730, I; Seumas Mac Coitir ar bhás Thaidhg Uí Bhriain Coille na Curra i módh acroistigh óir is é a ainm tuigthear ar cheud litiribh na rann. San mbliadhain 1731 is eadh fuair Tadhg bás, T

Línte 18, 19 *in áit a chéile,* 31–2 *in áit* 27–8 (*.i. faoi dhó*), 29–32, 33–6 *in ait a chéile*, E; 29–36 *ar lár* C; *tús na línte* 45, 47, 49, 50 *do-léite* N.

1 1 Tarla] la (*tús an fhocail caillte de bharr gearradh agus na litreacha atá fágtha scriosta amach agus* 'tá' *scríofa os a gcionn*) O: tárla CBT: tarladh DBF: Tádhg E (*sic*); ghné E; daol-. A: ghaol- D; -dhatha T; dfuilig G: d'fuiligh T: dfhuiling C: dfoilic I; go (r.) I 2 uim ADL; réidh O: réigh CE: réighe *lss eile*; raonghlan O: raoghlana E; co. ACD: choncubhair I; iar E; dtiaghacht A: tiagacht N 3 ná I; ráine I: ráinidh A: ráinigh DBFLT: ráin*idh lss eile*; an] ann T; *Nóta ar an imeall:* cé .i. talamh no duthaigh, A; cú E; so] sa C: *ar lár* ET; co. I: cosamhail T 4 aoin-. GHCE; -dise AO: -déise T; Murchadh] murch*a(i)dh* G: muracha A: morch*aidh* D: mhurach*adh* C: mhurc(h)ughadh HE: mhurchadh O: moracha BL: Mhurcha I: murchaidh T; is] Uí T; bhrian H: bhriain GCOFIT: briain ED

2. **A**r bhfáil na laoch léanaithe i ngoradh na ngliadh
Gach ráth tug taom claonta 's do dhoirchigh an iath,
Blátha craobh, céir, mil is torchartha iasc,
Grán is tréad Éireann, do locadar siad.

3. **D**'fhás an scéimh chéanna go follas 'man bhfiadh
Led bhás-sa, a ghéag ghléigeal de mhogall-choill Bhriain;
Ní nár do chéile Éibhir an conchlann ciaigh,
Gach lá dhod ré is léir gur ba cothrom tú is iad.

4. **H**'áras caol aonair, mo dhoilbheas dian
Nach bánbhrog aolta aerach acht fothrach riabhach,
Gan fáidhe séimhe, éigse, ná coigeadal cliar
Ná táirdeal tréan saorfhlaith fád toichim ag triall,

When those heroes were wounded in the smelting of battle every mound shook suddenly (?) and the earth darkened, the blossom of branches, bees' wax, honey, fish-produce, grain crops, and the herds of Ireland failed (5–8).

The same aspect manifested clearly about the land upon your death, o bright scion of the meshed woodland of Brian's kin; no shame is it that a matching bond of grieving affects Éibhear's spouse since truly you were their equal all the days of your life (9–12).

Your lonely narrow dwelling — alas for me! — is no bright airy castle but a dark cave without gentle scholars or poets or chime of clergy or steady procession of noble princes coming to visit you (13–16),

2 5 bhfaghail *lss*; léanaithe] léamaighthe E: leannaighthe F: leanaighthe *lss eile*; an goradh E: a ngorradh F; ngliaidh I 6 gan I; rádh GHOCE; thug T; chla. ADL; is (do) T; dhoirghthidh A: dhoirchidh O: dhoirichthigh DFL (ch *i láimh eile* L); iath OCE: iaith *lss eile*; 's do … iath] is go dorcha an ghrian I 7 torachur A: tocharrthe G 8 gránla I; éireand BL; siad] biadh I
3 9 dás E: dáil T; mun *lss*; bhfiaidh ADL 10 lead bás sa (ghéag) C; gach rádh lead bhása E; sa *ar lár* I; a *ar lár* GE; ghleigil GHOCT: ghlégeil I; mhogaill- C: mhoguil I: mogul T; -chaill GHE: -ca. C: chail (*scríofa os cionn* c: 'dh (?)') T; bhrian FI 11 sní NDLI; an: na NI; canachlann D: conachalann O: chonachlonn I: conna-chlann T; ciaidh ADL: cia GHOCE: ciad N: ciadh I 12 dod CE: dhod *lss eile*; raé GEFI: réir A; is léir *ar lár* A; gur ba *eag.*] gur budh T: gur b*adh lss eile* (*ach* I); tú GN: tu *lss eile*; gur thu comhthrom na ttriath I
4 13 háitreabh O; aoinfhir O: aonur L: aonar C: 'na aonur T; dholibhios ADNL; dáin CE: dhian T 14 aoldha T; aerach *eag.*] aearach A: aorach GHOCET: aighearach NDBL: aéreach I; fotharach ADLT 15 fáige O: faige L: fáighe T; sgéimhe GHOCET; coigidil ANDBLI: cogadal T; chliar ADFLI; 16 -fhlath AL; fádh O: fd E; toici*m* GHCEF: thoichim O: thoicim DBFL: shoichim T

5. **G**an gártha mbléidheadh mbéilgheal ná corn ag riar
Ná sárchrot saobh séisbhinn dob oirfid do thriath
Ná lámhach laoch léidmheach le fothram sciath
Ná stáideach éasca éadrom na mborbchon bhfiaigh.

6. **O**ch! clár ceart saor t'éadain nár choirtithe ciar,
Do dhá rosc réidhe réalta ba gormghlas niamh,
Do bhráid 's do bhéal déidgheal mar chorcaraibh liag
In áras cré ag daolaibh, mo dhochar! mar bhia.

7. **B**arr do chraobh gclaen-ghleannach gcochaill-bhfionn bhfiar
Dár thálsad scao saorbhruinneall solasta a mian
'Na sámhchuilt fén bpéist nduibh chum codalta, is ciach!
Is gan d'ábhar lé a dhéanamh acht bolgach liath.

or clamour of bright-mouthed cups and goblets dispensing, or sweet melody of excellent harps giving royal entertainment, or the jousting of brave heroes and the clash of spears, or loose nimble steeds with fierce hounds of the hunt (17–20).

Alas! The fair noble surface of your forehead whose aspect never darkened, your two steady clear blue-grey eyes, your breast and your mouth with pearl-like bright teeth, (are) in a keep of clay, to my grief, as food for worms (21–4).

Your head of wavy full fair ruffled tresses over which a host of noble lustrous maidens lavished their affections are a quilt for black worms to sleep on — alas! — caused to be made only by the dark pox (25–8).

5 17 ghartha HE: gáirthe N; mbléigheadh A: bléideadh E: béighe T; mbéilgheal A: béilgeal C: béilghil T: béilgheal *lss eile*; corrann G: coirnn O: cornn BFL: coirn T 18 sár-] rár F; -chruit T; saor GHT: saob O: saora E; thriaith AL dob … thriath] ná oirfideadh a sians I 19 léadmhach GHIT; fóthorom A: fotharam DL 20 easg*a* edrom N: neasg' neadtrom A: naosga éadrom GHOCET; mbrob- O: marb- D; -ccoin G; -chúl E; bhfiadhaidh N: fhiadhaigh DE: bhfiaidh F: bhfiaghaidh BL: bhfiadhach IT
6 21 ceart *ar lár* DF; héadain O: th'eudain T; choirtithe DBFL: coirtighthe C choithighthe T: choirtighthe *lss eile*; cliar E 22 do] 'sdo GHCET: is O; réighe BLT: réigh GHOCE; raolta GHOCE: reulta T; budh *lss*; gorm- N: gho. *lss eile*; (ghorm) glas CEI 23 bhraghaid ANCET: bhraighid G: bhraighaid H: bhrágha O: bhrágh DBFL: bhráigh I; chorcaraibh] chorcar na GHC: chorcair na OE: corcar na T; liaig E 24 áras: 3 (?) E; chré T; dhochair T; bhiaigh A: bhiaidh L: bhia(dh) *lss eile*
7 25 na gcraobh T; gclaen-ghleannach] cclæn-. ADBFL: gclaon- GOCE: clæn- N: ghléanach I; gclaon ghealeannach E; ccoch*al*- GDF: gcochal- IT; -fhionn NT; bhfeur T 26 thálsad GO: tháilsead AHNL: talsad C: dháilsead DBF: thábfadh (?) E: tádhalsad I: támhsat T; scao] sgaodh ABDL: sgaoth sláoth C: sgaoth *lss eile*; -bhruinneall AHNCL: mbruinneal G: bruingeall F: bhroinngheal I: bhruinneal T; a *ar lár* T; miann AN: ndian T 27 sámh-: uain C: shámh- I; -chuilc GHOCI: chuilt (*scríofa os cionn* t: '(c ?)') T; fé an ADCLT; nduibh *ar lár* DBFL; chuin N: chunn L; cho. O 28 dadhbhar *lss*; le I: féin T; bolagach ABL; liaith A: dhian NI: riabhach DBFL

8. **R**áib na séad saolta do bhronnadh go fial
Nár ghráigh sin céim cléchlis ná sonnadh ar bith siar
Acht crábhadh, déirc, daonnacht is foirfeacht ria,
Áis is féile, aobhdhacht le foirtile is ciall.

9. **I**ar dtásc an scéil éignigh fán gconair do riacht
Níor fhág soin taobh Gaelach gan gonadh go grian
Go ndearna sé d'éachtmhaighibh oirir na bhfian
Árthach créacht créimnimhe is othras liach.

10. '**A**rdmhac Dé daoradh mar chrochaire ar sliabh
Mar pháis san mhéid dhéineam-na d'olcaibh ar Dhia,
Cé bhásaigh gléir tsaormhaicne Mogha le cian
'Sé an t-ár so an lae dhéanaigh is dona fa-riar!

Bountiful champion bestower of worldy gifts who never leaned towards playing foul or making an oppressive thrust, but only towards piety, charity, humanity, and goodness to boot, faithfulness and generosity, cheer, valour and sound sense (29–32).

Once the report of the fatal news spread about, deep devastation affected every Gael such that it transformed the plains of the land of champions where feats were performed into a vessel of wounds of gnawing poison and searing ills (33–6).

O exalted God-Son condemned as a villain upon a hill to atone by (the) Passion for what we do of evil against God, though many a noble scion of Mogh's descendants has perished before now it is this recent day's destruction that is worst of all, alas! (37–40).

8 29 ráibh E; saoghalta *lss*; bhronna I: bhronnfadh T 30 nár ghrádhaidh sin A: nár bhfáil leis G: nár bháil(l) leis HOCET: ná gráidhfeadh NDBFLI; chlé-. GODBFLT; na ADLT; sonna ADLI 31 foirbhtheacht A: foirifeacht NFL; foirtille F; ria] sia I 32 aobhgacht O: aobhacht T; foirtille F
9 33 dtásc *ar lár* I; fá an A: fan E; cconar GT: cconinn N 34 níor] mona (*nó* níona?) C: nár D: ionar I; fhág soin A: fhagsat T: fhágsad *lss eile*; gonna G: gortughadh (*focal deireanach doiléite*) N; go *i láimh eile* L; ghrian E; g*o* gonadh g*o* grian T; *Nóta san imeall tar éis* grian: .i. grinniol, A; Gaelach … grian] gaodhlaibh go goirtighthe dian I 35 ndeárnaidh AGIT: ndearna O: ndeárnagh N: ndearnuigh CBL; -mho. GH:- mhoghibh E: mhoighthibh T: -mhu. *lss eile*; oirior NI; bhfian BCEIL: bhfiann *lss eile* 36 créimnimhe *eag.*] créidhmnuighthe D: creidhmnighthe F: creidmnime C: creidimh nímhe E: créim neimhe I: créimh-nimhe T: créidhmnimhe *lss eile*; othras *eag.*] otharas AL: othairis N: otharais IT: otaras D: ot(h)ar*u(i)s lss eile*
10 37 -mhac AHNOCEI: -mhic GDBFLT; daoradh (*scríofa os cionn* r: 'n?') T; cro. N: chróchaire D; shl. T 38 mé. GNE: méud I: mheud T; dhéiniomna A: dhéanamna GHOC: déigion ná N: dhéin(n)ghiomna DBFL: déanam na ET: d'éigion nó I; air I; Dhia] fhiar N: fiar I: dia T 39 bhásaigh] bhásaidh AL: casaig E; gléir] go léir T; saor-. O: t'shaor- T; Mogha A: í Mo. H: i mogha T: í Mhogha *lss eile*; cia O 40 sé ár an lae (: lá C: lé E) dhéanaigsi GHOCE: Is ár an lae dhéighionaigh T; dheaghnaigsi CE: dhéighionaig F: dhéighionuidh L; is: *ar lár* C: as *lss eile*; fá-GELI

11. **I**ar dtámh don tréad éigeas do ghoilfeadh 'na dhiaidh
'S nach ránga féin aosta ná foilcithe i sians,
Cá beag é ar aon chor de mholadh air ná hiarr
Acht a fhás de phréimh réimchliste mbrollaigh Í Bhriain.

12. **N**á cráigh an té ghéarchuir an osna so im chliabh,
A bhláth an tséin d'aomh teacht dár bhfortacht ón ndiabhal,
Táid seacht gcéad déag ann, trí coda agus bliain,
Acht fáiltigh é id aontaidh gan fothragadh fiach.

An ceangal

13. Cúis dhoilbhis ag pobailibh nach leighiseann liaigh
Plúr oirdheirc ghuirt Oiliolla go domhain i gcriaidh,
Cnú chobhartha na boichtine le Tadhg Ó Briain;
An chúirt shoilbhir dá shochar soin go bhfaghaidh ó Dhia!

Now that the troop of poets who might weep after him has fallen silent and that I myself am neither old nor bathed in (their) craft, ask not for praise upon him, however small though it be, but only that he sprang from the foremost stock of Ó Briain of skilled feats (41–4).

Do not torment the one who implanted this bitter sorrow in my side, o flower of joy who deigned to come to redeem us from the devil seventeen hundred and thirty-one years ago, but bid him welcome into your fellowship without immersion of penalties (45–8).

It is a cause of sorrow to the people which no surgeon can heal that the noble flower of the land of Ireland is buried deep in the clay with Tadhg Ó Briain, succour of the poor; may he obtain the serene court as a reward for it from God (49–52).

11 41 ttáimh NI; dhon AO: de'n I; éigis GT: éag is E; do gonadh T; dhiag H 42 nách *lss*; ránga HOE: rángadh ADBFL: ránadh G: ráinagh N: rán ga C: ráinic I: ráinigh T; foilcithe NL: foilcidhthe I: foilcighthe *lss eile*; i] a *lss*; ccial NI 43 cé CD; beadh E; air *lss*; do *lss*; mhola GI; *ar* L; na A; thiacht T 44 a *ar lár* ANODLI; de T: do *lss eile*; phreumh T; réimhclisde C: réimhchlide E: shéimhchliste T; bro. G: bhro. NI: mbrollach T; ui I: ua T; mbriain AO: briain NC: bhrian E: mbrian T
12 45 Nar I; cráidhidh A: chráig N: cráig GFL: chrádhaic I; am *lss* 46 bhláith HNEI; d'aomh te.] d'aontuigh T; dár] ár T; bhfortachtna GOCET: bhfolach NI; ó ndiabhal A: ó phian NI: ó'n Diabhal T 47 atáid GDBFIL: táid H; ann] an HEC: *ar lár* T; tríochad I; et H: is IT; bliaghuin I ; *Nóta san imeall*: 1731, ADBL 48 fáiltidh A; id aontaidh] a taontaigh ADBFL: áontaig GCEI: aontoig H: ataonta N: ad aontoigh O: od aen-tigh T; sothragadh HT; sgo soice do riar N; *leanann* amen, A; an ceangail DF: an feartlaoi HCET
13 49 doilbhis GC; pobailibh O: poibilibh ACBDL: poipilibh E: pobalaibh I: pobalaibh T; noch G; léigheas an G: léighision FI: leighisfeadh T; liaig AOEF: liag GHC: liagh I; 50 oirdhiric A: oirdiric L: óirdhearc E; gho. I: -gu. T; oilliolla AI: oilill*a* BL: oilliola T; domhaing A: doimhinn G: dómhuin N: doimhin(n) OCEIT: domhuinn BL; a *lss*; ccriadh GNT 51 cnó HE; co. CET; boichtin(n)e AGDBL: bochtainiocht O: bochtain(n)e HCEIT; ua OT; brian G 52 cúirt T; shoilibhir A: tsoilibhir NDFLI: sholusda GHOCET; do E ; shoc(h)arsan GCBDFLT: shochar sin O: so charsan E: shocharson I; bhfaghaidh GCOI: bhfághaidh A: bhfaighidh NDBFL: bhfaghadh E: bhfag(h)*aidh lss eile*; *Leanann* amen, AG: críoch FL: críoch. T. Ua Donnchadha 3/12-1895 T

NÓTAÍ TÉACSÚLA

1 *Tarla* Nós léannta é gan séimhiú a thaispeáint ar *t* tosaigh i gcás briathra a bhfuil an consan sin iontu ag dul siar go mír neamhaiceanta (*do-rala /-tarla*, aimsir chaite 3 u.; cf. l. 6 *tug*); tá *t* riachtanach mar thúslitir don acrostic anseo. Dar ndóigh tá an tseanfhoirm le guta gairid aiceanta bun os cionn leis an bhfoirm le guta aiceanta fada (*á*) a theastaíonn de ghrá na meadarachta agus atá ar taispeáint i lámhscríbhinní áirithe.

2 *réidhe raonghlana* Tá an uaim mar ornáid i bhformhór na línte.

3 *ráinig (an cé)* Tugann litriú na foirme briathartha (aimsir chaite 3 u. < *rigim*) siolla thar mar a theastaíonn; fuaim 'ráin(e)' (*sic* I) atá ag teastáil sa chéim mheadarachta. Faightear an fhoirm *ráine* sa phrós, e.g. *do/ní/go ráine* in Breandán Ó Conchúir (eag.), *Corraghliocas na mBan* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1991), 178–9. Tá an fabht céanna a thugann an litriú stairiúil sa líne againne tugtha faoi deara agam san fhilíocht, e.g. Diarmaid Ó Muirithe (eag.), *Cois an Ghaorthaidh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1987), uimh. 14, l. 5 *ráinig an réilt(eann)* ar gá mar fhuaimniú air *ráin' an réilteann* (ag freagairt do *tráchtfad féin*, *áille gné*, *cáil is tréith(e)* etc.); cuir i gcomparáid *do tháini'* in 'nó, an bhean do tháini' 'on Traoi, / tug d'Aichil bás i mbruidhin' (Torna (eag.), *Seán na Ráithíneach*, uimh. 66, ll. 37–8), agus 'Acht aitchim an tÁrdmhac, tháinigh ó phéinn an chrainn (: (i) mbeárnain bhaoghail chun gnímh)' ibid., uimh. 147, l. 43); mar an gcéanna i gcás *Fáilte óm chroí le báb na milse*, ll. 9–10 (Breatnach, 'Dhá dhuain leanbaíochta', 114), mar a bhfuil 'táinig (: 'táinigh/táinidh' sna lámhscríbhinní (gan lua san eagrán)) an macaomh') ag freagairt do 'meán an Aibréin'/'d'fhás den phailmghéig'. (Feic thíos n. 42 *ránga*.)

an cé céasta Tá an nóta gluaise a ghabhann leis an bhfrása seo in A ag leanúint Shanasáin Uí Chléirigh, s.v. cé '.i. talamh' (cf. *DIL* s.v. 1. *cé* 94: 25–30); d'fhéadfadh sé go raibh an ghluais i scríbhinn an údair (cf. an réamhrá ar lch 44). Cf. l. 34 (v.l.).

a chosmhaile An séimhiú tosaigh ag tagairt don 'daoldath' (l. 1).

4 *Murchadh is Brian* Thit Brian Bóroimhe agus a mhac Murchadh i gCath Chluain Tarbh. Tá foirm ghinideach ag na hainmneacha in úsáid chomhaisnéiseach i mbeagán cóipeanna.

5 ***A**r* Bíonn feidhm á chomhlíonadh go minic san *acrostic* ag túslitir focail a bhíonn mar *anacrusis* sa líne i dtosach an véarsa (ll. 17 'Gan', 21 'Och', 33, 41 'Iar', 45 'Ná'); feic thíos n. 13.

6 *Gach ráth tug taom claonta* Tá an fhoclaíocht deacair a shocrú agus a chiallú. Ós é an 'pathetic fallacy' atá mar chomhthéacs leis an gcaint san dá véarsa thosaigh (doircheacht na dúthaí máguaird agus teip ar an ndúlra) áirím gur *ráth* 'mound' is dóichí atá i gceist le hainmní an bhr. *tug* seachas *rádh* 'utterance' mar atá i roinnt cóipeanna; is brí mheafarach atá le *tug taom claonta* (br. + cuspóir), ní foláir, ag tagairt do chorraí éigin mínádúrtha a baineadh den talamh de bharr urú na gréine (cf. *do dhoirchigh an iath*); aistr. 'every mound shook suddenly'. Tá séimhiú mírialta ar an aidiacht in ADL ('chlaonta').

7 *torchartha* 'valuables cast up by the sea' (*DIL* s.v. turchairthe). Sa riocht *turchuirthe torchorthe* atá an cnuasainm iolra seo in *IGT* ii §97 (caol

don dara carn consan faoi seach), agus an sampla *tromcaithme* : *torcuirthe* luaite (89); ach is í an fhoirm seo againne atá le fáil sa leathrann *an talamh gona thorthaibh / an tonn gona torchorthoibh* (*Lámh dhearg Éirionn Aoibh Eathach* r. 36cd, Leabhar Uí Chonchubhair Dhoinn, fol. 269r) (díol spéise is ea an litriú 'torcharrthe' G). Bíonn teacht ar fhoirm uatha an ainmfhocail i bhfoinsí déanacha, cf. *turchar* (Niall Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1997), s.v.; Ed. O'Reilly, *An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1821), s.v., etc.); dá réir sin d'fhéadfadh sé go raibh an fhoirm 'torachur' (A) (an guta cúnta marcálta) i scríbhinn an údair.

11 *conchlann* 'comórtas'; tagairt don iomaíocht idir brón na tíre i ndiaidh Thaidhg agus a brón i ndiaidh na seanlaochra a luadh i l. 4.

12 *gur ba* Tá dhá eilimint na foirme seo (*go* + copail chaite 3 u.) scartha ó chéile sna lámhscríbhinní ('gur b*adh*') agus an ghné chopaile fágtha gan séimhiú iontu (le *gurbha* a bheadh coinne), ach is áirithe go dtéann an fhoirm scríofa sa chás seo siar go scríbhinn an údair. Cuir i gcomparáid 'taidhbsíghthear dom gur ba (LS b*adh*) iontugtha etc.' i nóta ón LS G 430 (lch. 66) i gcló in Breatnach, *'Mo léansa an galar so*', 19. Ar an dtaobh eile tá crot nádúrtha ar an leagan cainte atá ag freagairt don bhfrása trí chéile in I, viz. 'gur thu comhthrom na ttriath'.

13 ***H**'áras* Tá feidhm san *acrostic* leis an litir h' (= t(h)) sa chás seo; maidir le nósanna litrithe eile san *acrostic* feic na nótaí thuas ll. 1, 5, agus cf. Breatnach, '*Mairg do chuala marbh a tuairisc*', 117 n. 15, agus Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach*, lch. 425 (uimh. 147).

16 *fád toichim* 'ag dul i do threo'; *toichim* 'going, departing', O'Reilly, *An Irish-English dictionary* s.v.; 'walking, marching', P. S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1927) s.v.; '(Act of) proceeding', Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* s.v. Úsáid liteartha a bhaineann leis an bhfocal do réir Uí Dhónaill; tá samplaí gann.

17 *gártha mbléidheadh mbéilgheal* Sampla de shórt analaigh léannta seanbhunaithe is ea an t-urú ar an ainmfhocal anseo (cf. Breatnach, '*Mo léansa an galar so*', 20 n. 24) a d'fhéadfadh dul siar go dtí leagan an údair cé nach bhfuil sé le fáil ach in A amháin. Féach go bhfuil an t-urú a theastaíonn ar an aidiacht ar lorg an ghinidigh iolra in easnamh i mbotún sna lámhscríbhinní go léir lasmuigh de A. Maidir le húsáidí uraithe aimhrialta eile feic an nóta a leanann thíos, maraon le ll. 25 n., 44 n.

stáideach éasca éadrom Tá a rian ar fhoirm na n-aidiachtaí in A ('neasg' neadtrom') gur tuigeadh don scríobhaí an t-ainmfhocal a bheith sa ghinideach iolra.

22 *ba gormghlas* Tá séimhiú ar an túschonsan i ndiaidh na copaile sna cóipeanna go léir ach N, ach fágaim ar lár anseo é i bhfianaise an ghnáthnóis liteartha sa tsampla i l. 12. Tugtar faoi deara nach mar chomhfhocal atá na haidiachtaí *gorm glas* scríofa i gcóipeanna áirithe.

22 *réalta* 'clear, visible' (Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* s.v.).

23 *mar chorcaraibh liag* Crotal na gcloch atá i gceist.

25 *gclaen-ghleannach* Leanaim nós litrithe na lámhscríbhinní sa chéad eilimint den chomhfhocal aidiachtach (an défhoghar *ae* in áit *ao* sna malairtí) a

thugann le fios gur chóir an consan deiridh de a léamh mar n caol ar bhonn sandhi, ach fuaim *é* (in ait *aoi*) a bheith ag an nguta. Bíonn nós na scríobhaithe mí-shocair sna cúrsaí seo; feic an nóta a leanann.

gcochaill-bhfionn Comhfhocal aidiachtach; tá an t-urú i dtús an dara comhchuid de (formhór na gcóipeanna) aimhrialta agus le míniú ar bhonn analaigh leis an urú tosaigh i suíomh an ghinidigh iolra (cuir i gcomparáid 'sgaodh saor mbruinneall', l. 26, v.l. G). Do nós gaolmhar feic leithéidí (*bruinneall*) *na n-úirgcíoch*; (*bruinneall* (*sic*)) *na mbáingcíoch* (Breatnach, '*Mairg do chuala marbh a tuairisc*', 117, l. 6 n. agus 119, l. 71 n. faoi seach), (*búirtheach*) *na gcúig gcúige* (ibid., 119 n. 93). Tá tacaíocht láidir le caoile an chonsain deiridh den eilimint tosaigh den chomhfhocal sna lámhscríbhinní sa chás seo (v.l.).

26 *scao saorbhruinneall* D'fhéadfadh macalla a bheith i gceist ó línte i ndán le hAogán Ó Raithile atá ar chomhaiste (ach ar mhalairt chomhfhuaime), viz. *Maidin sul smaoin Títan a chosa do luaill* (P. S. Dinneen agus Tadhg O'Donoghue (eag.), *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille* (London 1911), uimh. V), l. 3 'Tarrastar linn scaoith bhruinneal soilbhir suairc', l. 11 'Leanastar línn scaoith na mban gcochall go Tuamhain' (lch. 23). Do nósanna litrithe an fhocail *scao* (scaí scaeth scaíth sgáoi) cf. *DIL* s.v. *scaí*.

27 *-chuilt* 'quilt'; ní fhéadaim míniú a thabhairt ar an malairt 'sámhchuilc' atá ag roinnt cóipeanna.

fén Tá an litriú 'fé an' (A) eisceachtúil; cf. l. 33 (v.l.) 'fá an' sa LS chéanna.

28 *lé* .i. le (fad ar an nguta de ghrá meadarachta).

30 *nár ghráigh sin* D'oirfeadh gach léamh de na léamha éagsúla sa chomhthéacs. Tá an úsáid aistagrach den fhorainm taispeántach a léiríonn A le fáil arís i l. 34.

31 *ria* Foirm chlasaiceach den fhorainm réamhfhoclach (< *ré*) = léi.

32 *féile* … *foirtile* Cf. 'Tárla foirtle fos is fírfhéile' (John C. MacErlean (eag.), *Duanaire Dháibhídh Uí Bhruadair: The Poems of David Ó Bruadair*, 3 iml., ITS 11, 13, 18 (London, 1910–17), ii, 166); 'Ciall is foirtille forus is féile ar geall' (Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach*, uimh. 146, líne 9).

34 *níor fhág soin* An léamh is fearr (A), mar ní oireann an fhoirm bhriathartha iolra atá sna cóipeanna eile ('níor fhágsad', 'mona fhágsad', 'nár fhágsad') sa chomhthéacs.

grian Tá an nóta gluaise a ghabhann leis an bhfocal in A ag leanúint Shanasáin Uí Chléirigh, s.v. *grían* '.i. grinneall mara, locha no abhann' (cf. *DIL* s.v. 158: 72–3); cf. nóta ar l. 3.

37 *'**A**rdmhac Dé* Thabharfadh fianaise na LSS le tuiscint gur foirm ainmneach seachas ghairmeach (*-mhac* seachas *-mhic*) a bhí i scríbhinn an údair (dá mba *-mhic* a bheadh ann bheadh caolú déanta ar an gcéad eilimint go *Aird-*); ní féidir a bheith lánsiúrálta ón gcomhthéacs gur ag cur forráin ar *Mac Dé* atáthar anso (mar atá ó l. 45 ar aghaidh), ach níl bac ar ghlacadh leis an ainmneach i mbrí ghairmeach ar fhianaise ó ghnáthúsáidí meafaracha áirithe (*a rún*, *a stór* etc.) (cf. ''Árd-Mhac Muire ler fuilngeadh céasadh … tabhair cumas do Ghaedhlaibh', Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora*, 41, l. 333). Ní cúis iontais go mbeadh an mhír ar lár roimh ghuta san acrostic (cf. Breatnach, '*Mairg*

do chuala marbh a tuairisc', 110, l. 33, ***A** airdrí*, agus na malairtí ag freagairt dó).

39 *gléir tsaormhaicne Mogha* Do shliocht Eoghain Mhóir (*alias* Mogh Nuad, mac Mogha Néid), óna n-ainmnítear Leath Mogha (Leath an Deiscirt) an tagairt. Áirím gur ag A atá an léamh is barántúla ('Mogha' in áit 'í M(h)ogha' sna cóipeanna eile), cé nach bhfuil locht ar an malairt ó thaobh meadarachta de agus sa mhéid gurbh fhéidir 'í Mhogha' a ghlacadh mar thagairt do shliocht Mogha Néid, seachas do shliocht a mhic sa chomhthéacs; ach cuir i gcomparáid an leagan cainte 'sliocht Mogha' i dtúslíne dáin le hEoghan Ó Méirín (d'Éamann do Barra, an gabha) *Do thaistealas gléir aolbhailte an tsleachta san Mhogha* (*sic*) (Risteárd Ó Foghludha (eag.), *Eoghan an Mhéirín Mac Carrthaigh 1691–1756* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938), uimh. 13 (3 v.)); dar ndóigh, d'fhéadfadh go bhfuil macalla i gceist idir an líne seo againne agus caint Eoghain an Mhéirín (gan dáta) ón uair go bhfuil an dá dhán ar chomhaiste agus an chomhfhuaim chéanna iontu, agus de bhrí gur focal léannta acu araon é *gléir*. Tá *gléir* mar ainm teibí ag Ó Cléirigh ('glér gléir .i. togha'); is coitianta d'fhoirm *gléire* (cf. 'gléire ár gclú', Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach*, uimh. 147, l. 58). Ligim don litriú 'ts' i dtosach '*tsaormhaicne*' seasamh ar an dtuiscint gurb é a bhí ag an údar ós mar sin atá sna cóipeanna go léir; is féidir é a áireamh mar sholaoid de sheanúsáid mós coitianta ag freagairt do s séimh ('ts' = sh), cf. Brian Ó Cuív, 'The linguistic training of the mediaeval Irish poet', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 114–40 (125 n. 28 (2)). Samplaí eile: Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora*, 38, ll. 245, 259, 266, 272; agus feic thíos l. 52, v.l. 'tsoilbhir'.

41–42 Mar atá luaite sa réamhrá (lgh 39–40) tá caint an fhile sna línte seo ar a chúrsaí aoise agus a chéim oiliúna le cur i gcosúlacht le cainteanna i ndánta eile a bhfuil Séamas Mac Coitir luaite mar údar leo, viz. *Mo léansa an galar so shearg mé i sírghéibheann*, ll. 45–6 'Seo an t-éacht óm dhearcaibh tug sratha dá sírbhréagadh / is — cé gur leanbh mé — fairbre im chrínéadan' (Breatnach, '*Mo léan-sa an galar so*', 15) (tá sé ráite sna ceannscríbhinní a ghabhann leis an dán céanna gur 'san 17adh bliadhain dá aois' a bhí an file nuair a chum sé é, ibid., 13); agus *Mo ghearán glacaidh is measaidh ar méad mo liach*, l. 7 'Dreatháir m'athar do chailleas, is é mo phian! / fear dhá maireadh do ghlanfadh mé i n-éifeacht sians' (RIA A iv 2, 73b, i gcló ag Ó Foghludha, *Cois na Cora*, 75, cf. thuas lch 42).

42 *ránga* Aimsir chaite 1 u., foirm tháite < *rigim* (cf. l. 3 n.).

foilcithe i sians Seanmheafar ag baint le traenáil an fhile is ea an tagairt d'fholcadh, e.g. 'Gan teimheal do folcadh i dtobar na Naoi mBéithe' (Pádraig Ua Duinnín (eag.), *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Shúilleabháin* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1907), l. 1708), 'Riamh do chothuigh ó foilceadh le cléir a cheann' (Torna, *Seán na Ráithíneach*, uimh. 146, l. 12).

43 *cá* An t-aiceann meadarachta ar an mír cheisteach; cuir i gcomparáid a leithéid ag Dáibhí Ó Bruadair, 'is uras *é* dham *cé* beag aoinfheoirlinn' (⏑ | u ⏑ | é ⏑ | é ⏑ í | ó ⏑) (MacErlean, *Duanaire Dháibhídh Uí Bhruadair*, iii, p. 12, l. 1), agus feic 'cé' mar mhalairt ar 'cá' sna malairtí (CD).

ná hiarr Is deacair a rá an bhfuil an chaint dírithe ar Mhac Dé nó ar an léitheoir anseo (cf. l. 37 n.).

44 *de phréimh réimchliste mbrollaigh Í Bhriain* Tá an t-urú tosaigh aimhrialta in *mbrollaigh* (formhór na LSS) le háireamh mar cheann de ghrúpa beag d'úsáidí d'athrú tosaigh sa dán atá bun os cionn le gnáthrialacha deilbhíochta agus ar dócha go dtéann cuid díobh siar go scríbhinn an údair (cf. 17 n., 25 n.); ó thaobh brí an ainmfhocail sa chomhthéacs de (cf. *DIL* s.v. *brollach* (c) 200.27–31), d'fhéadfadh sé go bhfuil macalla i gceist ó líne sa seandán *Maiccni Echach ard a ngle* le Flann mac Lonáin sa Leabhar Laighneach, viz. 'Brian ar Banba brollach' (*LL* l. 19437) ('Brian, defender of Banba' ag tagairt do Bhrian Bóroimhe?). Maidir leis an sampla d'urú botúnach ar an bhfocal 'mBriain' sa líne seo (in AO amháin), is é is dócha gur claonadh scríobhaí (cf. l. 17 n.) is bun cúise leis agus leanaim na lámhscríbhinní eile sa chás sin.

47 *trí coda* Briseadh bunaithe ar shanasaíocht neamhstairiúil den fhocal *tríochad* is bun le húsáid *cuid* anseo (cf. 'tríochad' I); níl samplaí eile buailte liom.

48 *aontaidh* < SGh. *óentu* (bain., d-ghas) 'unity, fellowship'.

GIORRÚCHÁN

RIA Cat. T. F. O'Rahilly, K. Mulchrone et al., *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, fasc. I–XXVII, index I–II (Dublin and London, 1926–58); T. Ó Concheanainn, fasc. XXVIII (Dublin, 1970)

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MANX GAELIC: THE END GAME*

Abstract

This article seeks to assess when the Manx language ceased to be passed on to succeeding generations. Full profiles are given of all speakers known and recorded in the period 1909–72, based on census data and other record information, as well as the testimony of fieldworkers such as Carl Marstrander. An estimate is made of the date when the English language replaced or came to dominate over Manx in each household, and the roles of such factors as family structures, education and stigmatisation are considered. It emerges that the shift began in earnest from *c*. 1860 and was largely completed in the decades 1880–1900, and that the chronology was similar across the island.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to seek to assess as precisely as possible when the people of the Isle of Man ceased to pass on to succeeding generations their own community language — Manx Gaelic. Socio-linguistic and socio-historical considerations leading up to this decision have already been dealt with elsewhere, as have the mechanics of language obsolescence in Manx (cf. Broderick 1999). But a detailed analysis of the processes of this decision has yet to be made, in the absence of which much speculation as to how this decision came to pass has developed over the past fifty or so years, generating in its track a certain amount of folklore as to the nature of the demise of Manx, including a belief that the highland village of Cregneash by Port St Mary held out to the bitter end. That was the reality (i.e. what people believed), but not necessarily the truth. This article seeks to establish that truth.

During the nineteenth century Manx Gaelic, the everyday community language of the ordinary people of the Isle of Man, found itself more and more in competition with English which for various reasons had over a period of time begun to take a foothold in Man. Towards the end of the same century Manx entered a critical phase of its existence, and from *c.* 1875 or so onwards, if not before, Manx gradually ceased to be passed on to following generations, with the result that, from an apparent number of 4598 native Manx-speakers recorded in the 1901 census, only a figure of some twenty such speakers could be announced by A. S. B. Davies in 1946 (see Davies 1946 (1948): 89–91).

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This noticeable decline in Manx speech began to attract the attention of scholars who sought to elicit examples of Manx from existing native speakers. So far as is known, this exercise began with Prof. Sir John Rhŷs, University of Oxford, whose visits to Man in 1886–93[1] resulted in interviews with some ninety-three informants and the publication of his findings in his *The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic* (Rhŷs 1893/4; 1895).[2] In this pursuit Rhŷs was followed by Dr Rudolf Trebitsch, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, who made a series of what turned out to be the oldest known surviving sound-recordings of native Manx speech from four informants in August 1909 (cf. Schüller 2003),[3] then by Prof. Carl J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo, in 1929–33, who noted/interviewed some forty-seven informants and sound-recorded six; his findings were published in Marstrander (1932; 1934; 1937).[4] However, it was seemingly as a result of Marstrander's visits to Man that Manx Gaelic enthusiasts began combing the countryside in search of surviving native Manx-speakers and, using their information gathered by Charles Loch (Loch 1946), A. S. B. Davies of North Wales was able to publish twenty names in Davies (1946 (1948)). This in turn led to sound-recordings being made by the Irish Folklore Commission in 1948, by Francis J. Carmody in 1949,[5] the Manx Museum in 1950–2, *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* 'the Manx Gaelic Society' in 1951–3, and to scientific acquisition of material via questionnaires by Prof. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley, 1949, Dr Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 1950,[6] and Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, University of Edinburgh in 1950/1.[7] In August 1972 Prof. Jackson sent David Clement on behalf of the Scottish

[1]It may be pertinent to mention here the visit to Man in 1883 of John Strachan (1862–1907), a scholar of Sanskrit, Ancient Greek and the Celtic languages, and Professor at Owens College and the Victoria University of Manchester, in company with Father Henebry of Co. Waterford (i.e. Richard de Hindeberg, 1863–1916, an Irish priest, Irish language activist and musician, who worked in Salford, Manchester). They interviewed Tom Kermode (1825–1901) of Bradda RU, when Strachan took down from him in his own phonetic script the Manx traditional song *Ec ny Fiddleryn*, which Strachan again took down from him in September 1896 (cf. Strachan 1897).

[2]Rhŷs's material, as found in his eleven notebooks housed in *Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru*, the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, has now been prepared for publication (Broderick forthcoming); see meanwhile https://gaelg-hasht.000webhostapp.com/gh3.php.

[3]Early sound-recordings of native Manx speech and Manx traditional songs, etc., made *c.* 1905–9 (possibly up until 1913) by *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* are not included here, as they have seemingly not survived. For details see Miller (2014: 1–9).

[4]Marstrander's field notes are catalogued in the article following this one in the current issue of *Celtica* (below, 183–205).

[5]Carmody (1954) arranges his material under the following headings: 'I. Phonetics, II. Morphology', thus producing a mini-grammar of spoken Manx.

[6]The material in Wagner's questionnaire is presented in sentence form, thus giving the realisation of each word as it naturally appears in connected speech. But the individual items need to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phonological study can be made of them (cf. Wagner 1958–69).

[7]Jackson worked from a phonological questionnaire; hence his material consists of individual lexical items under various phonological headings, thus enabling easy reference to the Manx form or reflex showing the development of a particular sound in 'Common Gaelic' (cf. Jackson 1955). But the shortage of prose pieces makes it difficult to assess the realisation of each word in connected speech, thus the organisation of his material is in fact opposite to that of Wagner.

Gaelic Linguistic Survey, University of Edinburgh, to Man, who made use of Jackson's questionnaire of 1950/1 to record what he could from Ned Maddrell,[8] believed to be the then sole surviving native Manx-speaker.[9] Clement used his visit also to record Ewan Christian of Peel, a semi-speaker.[10] In addition, three known private recordings of Manx native speech were made, viz. in 1947, *c.* 1960, and 1962 respectively.[11]

In order to give as full a picture as possible, all known native Manx-speakers recorded from 1909 to 1972 are hereby listed, with details of the collectors and their comments on the informants, as well as the material elicited by them. This serves as a continuum to those native Manx-speakers recorded by Prof. John Rhŷs in 1886–93, thus completing the story. To this end some seventy potential informants were sought out, of whom forty-seven were in fact recorded, either on sound-recordings or via scientific questionnaires, between the years 1909 and 1972.

In order to determine when Manx ceased to be transmitted to the following generation, thereby seeking to pinpoint when Manx became obsolete, it may be pertinent at this point to provide as much personal detail as possible about the last recorded native Manx-speakers. To this end I have sought to provide such detail from the various census records relating to the Isle of Man now available to us, namely, those for 1841–1911. These present us with family details which show the position of Manx within the family and the introduction of English into the household. Particular attention is given to the census returns for 1901 and 1911 where details of the language(s), Manx and/or English, known or spoken at home by the informants were asked for.[12] For information concerning the death dates of the informants Brian Lawson's compilation, *An Index to Manx Burials*, an online resource, is mainly used.[13] Other online resources, such as Isle of Man Parish Registers relating to Manx births, marriages and deaths, census returns for England and Wales, as well as for England, Wales and Scotland, where information for the Isle of Man can also be found, are also made use of. Details of such online resources are given at the end.

Though the census enumerators sought the utmost accuracy in obtaining their information, this aim was not always achieved. One area where anomalies may occur is in the ages given, which may or may not tally from one census to another, or, from a given census to a following burial, suggesting a certain 'under reporting' of them, etc.[14] Because of the vagaries of the census records

[8]Clement made an abortive visit to Ned Maddrell in August 1973. He told me Maddrell's hearing had deteriorated quite considerably in the interim period with the result that he obtained nothing from him at all.

[9]But see now n. 29 below.

[10]Interviewed also by myself later on (1978–83).

[11]For full details here, see *LDIM*, 54–76.

[12]Here see also Miller (2007, 2015).

[13]Abbreviated LIB. Since 2015 integrated into the *Micro-Site of the Isle of Man Family History Society* (IMFHS), accessible, it seems, to members only (http://www.iomfhs.im).

[14]As an example of 'under reporting' we have chosen the details of John Kneen ('The Gaaue'), as even in my time during the 1960s/70s there was much local speculation about his actual age. See Appendix (a). I am reminded by Manx genealogist Nigel G. Crowe that in the 1841 Census ages over 15 were rounded down to the nearest five years, i.e. 44 became 40, etc. This directive

the ages given in the burial registers prove much more reliable and for this reason are assiduously used here.

2. The investigators and their informants

2.1. The investigators: the collecting individuals and bodies

Subjoined is a list of individuals and bodies seeking to obtain Manx linguistic material, either in sound-recorded or questionnaire format, for archival or academic use, from 1909 to 1972. Each is given an abbreviation consisting of initials and year(s).

VR 1909: Vienna Recordings, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna (Dr Rudolf Trebitsch, 5–8 August 1909).

CM 1929–33: Marstrander, University of Oslo, Norway (Prof. Dr Carl J. S. Marstrander, June-September 1929, August-September 1930, January–February 1933).

ASBD 1946 (1948): A. S. B. Davies, Moelfre, Colwyn Bay, Wales (List of native Manx-speakers, 1946 (1948)).

PR 1947–62: Private Recordings. 1 (Gelling, 1947), 2 (Clarke, *c.* 1960), 3 (Stowell/Caine, 1962).

IFC 1948: Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (two weeks, April–May 1948).

FJC 1949: Carmody, University of California at Berkeley (Prof. Francis J. Carmody, July 1949).

HW 1950: Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dr Heinrich Wagner, summer 1950, in the company of Myles Dillon for two of the three weeks).

KHJ 1950–1: Jackson, University of Edinburgh (Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, two weeks over Christmas/New Year 1950/1).

MM 1950–2: Manx Museum Recordings (Early 1950–Autumn 1952).

YCG 1951–3: *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* Recordings (late 1951–mid-1953).

LSS 1972: Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings, University of Edinburgh (David Clement, August 1972).

2.2. The informants

Attached is a list of potential native Manx-speakers that were available for interview by the aforementioned bodies and individuals. Not all potential informants were in fact interviewed. Informants whose names are marked solely (ASBD1946) or solely (CM1929 **Noted**) were not interviewed by anyone at all. For ease of reference such names are hyphen-indented. All the rest were dealt with by those individuals and bodies listed (with initials and year) against the respective informants' names. Those names marked **rec**. in bold type were sound-recorded by Marstrander. Those few names labelled **Rhŷs informant**,

evidently applied right across Britain and the offshore islands but only for the year 1841, not for later years (personal communication from Nigel G. Crowe, 30 April 2017).

also in bold type, refer to those interviewed by Prof. Sir John Rhŷs during his visits to Man (1886–93).[15] For parish abbreviations, see below, page 94.

1. Boyde, Harry (1870/1–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA) (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, MM1950, HW1950, KHJ1950/1, YCG1951/2).
2. Cain, Daniel (1860/1–1952), Little London MI (CM1929 **Noted**, YCG1952).
3. Cain, John (1850/1–1939), Ballamoar JU (CM1929, 1933 **rec**.).
4. Cain, William Joseph (1825/6–1911), Douglas (of Conchan) (VR1909).
5. Cashen, Caesar (1856/7–1943), Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec**.). Younger brother to William Cashen (**Rhŷs informant**).
6. Christian, Ewan (1907/8–85), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE (LSS1972).
7. Christian, John (1844/5–1931), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
8. Christian, Thomas (1850/1–1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA) (CM1929).
- 9. Clague, Mrs. Annie (1868/9–1954), Niarbyl, Dalby PA (ASBD1946).
- 10. Collister, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI ('near the station at Kirk Michael') (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 11. Corkill, Mrs. ?, Peel (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 12. Corlett, William (1849/50–1932), Kirk Michael (CM1929 **Noted**).
13. Corrin, John Joseph (1857/8–1930), Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh) (CM1929).
14. Cowley, William (1842/3–1921), Douglas ON (of Lezayre) (VR1909).
15. **Cowley**, Thomas (1846/7–??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE (CM1929).
- 16. Craine, Elizabeth (1872/3–1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby LE (CM1929 **Noted**).
17. Crebbin, Thomas (1847/8–1935), Bradda Village, near Port Erin RU (CM1929, 1930).
- 18. Crebbin, Thomas, Cregneash RU (ASBD1946).
19. Crebbin, Thomas (1853/4–1940), Four Roads, Port St Mary RU (CM1930).
20. Faragher, Thomas Edward (1865/6–1942), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
21. Fayle, Robert (1852/3–1938), Stauard, Sulby LE (CM1929, 1933 **rec**.).
- 22. Fayle, Robert, Ramsey (ASBD1946).
23. Gawne, John (1860/1–1934), West Nappin JU (CM1929).
- 24. Harrison, Thomas (1845/6–1929), Ballasalla ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 25. Johnson, Mrs. ?, 90+ (c. 1839–??), near Grenaby ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 26. Joughin, Robert (1853/4–1929), Dhoon Church MA (CM1929 **Noted**).
27. Kaighin, John Tom (1861/2–1954), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, MM1950, 1951, KHJ1950/1, YCG1952, 1953).
28. Karran, Henry (1859/60–1947), The Howe RU (CM1929).

[15]For details here see Rhŷs's unpublished materials (Broderick forthcoming), and online at https://gaelg-hasht.000webhostapp.com/gh3.php.

29. Karran, Walter James (1873/4–1939) ('somewhat younger brother [to Henry]'), The Howe RU (CM1929).
30. Karran, John (1866/7–1955), Cregneash RU (FJC1949).
31. Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/1–1953), (wife of John Karran), Cregneash RU (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/1, MM 1952).
32. Karran, Thomas (1875/6–1959), (Mrs. Karran's brother), Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (MM1950, YCG1952/3).
- 33. Kaye, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA) (ASBD1946).
34. Kelly, Harry ('Harry Nancy') (1852/3–1935), Cregneash RU (CM1929, 1930, 1933 **rec**.).
- 35. Kelly, Mr. J., 80+ (c. 1849–??), Laxey ('on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines') (CM1929 **Noted**).
36. Kennah, Edward (1860/1–1938), Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
37. Kennah, William (1867/8–1959), Balladuggan ML (CM1929).
38. Kewley, James (1849/50–1939), Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, 'brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)') (CM 1929).
39. Killip, John (1853/4–1935), Ballaugh Road (near Sulby station), Sulby LE (CM1929).
- 40. Killip, Mrs. Catherine (1852/3–1934), Lhen AN (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 41. ?Kinrade, ?Ben, *c.* 76 (*c.* 1853–??), of Arbory (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 42. Kinvig, John Dan (1860/1–1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR) (ASBD1946).
43. Kinvig, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70–1962), (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, YCG1952, 1953).
44. Kissack, John (1857/8–1947), Ballachrink MI (CM1929).
- 45. Kneale, Charles (1856/7–1946), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946).
46. Kneale, Mrs. Annie (1864/5–1949), (wife of Charles Kneale), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948).
47. Kneen, John ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN) (CM1929 N**oted**, ASBD 1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/1, MM1952, YCG1951/2).
- 48. Kneen, William (1856/7–1938), Croit-y-Caley RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
49. Leece, Thomas (1859/60–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookiel ML (CM1929 **Noted**, ASBD1946, IFC1948, KHJ1950/1, YCG1952).
50. Looney, Thomas (1852/3–1930), near churchyard, Maughold MA (CM1929).
51. Lowey, Mrs. Emily (1868/9–1947), Kirkill RU (ASBD1946, PRI1947).
- 52. Maddrell, Edmund (1841/2–1935), 36 Athol[l] Park, Port Erin RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 53. Maddrell, John (1879/80–1948), (brother to Ned), Port St Mary RU (ASBD1946).
54. Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU) (ASBD1946, PR1/1947, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/1, YCG1952/3, PR21960, PR31962, LSS1972).

55. Maddrell, Thomas (1851/2–1931), Glenchass RU (CM1930).
56. Moore, Thomas (1836/7–1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney RU) (VR1909).
57. Mylechreest, Mr. ?, 74+ (1855–??), ?Ballaskeig Beg MA (CM1929).
58. Nelson, John (1839/40–1910), Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN) (VR1909).
- 59. Preston, William (1844/6–1934), Grenaby ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
60. Quane, William (1849/50–1935), 30 St German's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec**.).
61. Quayle, Thomas 'the Gardener' (1848/9–1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
62. **Quayle**, John Thomas (1863–1945), Squeen BA (CM1933 **rec.**)
- 63. Sayle, John (1849/50–1932), Ballathona AN (CM1929 **Noted**).
64. Taggart, Thomas (1846/7–1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert ML) (CM1929, 1930).
- 65. Taubman, Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh) (1879–1966), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU) (CM 1929 **Noted**).
- 66. Wade, Mrs. Mary (1838/9–1933), Barrule Road, Foxdale ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
67. Wade, Wilfred (1868/9–1948), Sandygate JU (CM1929, ASBD1946, PRI1947).
68. Watterson, William (1863/4–1938), Glenchass RU (CM1929).
69. Watterson, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU) (ASBD1946, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/1).
70. Woodworth, Joseph, 75 (1853/4–1931), Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Port Erin RU) (CM1929, 1930).

Total number of Informants: **70**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **47**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **23**.

Subjoined is a list of investigators and the native Manx-speakers they interviewed. Those not interviewed by a particular investigator are marked **not interviewed** and a hyphen indents their names for ease of reference. The following investigators, listed in order of date, either noted, interviewed or sound-recorded the following informants:

2.3. Rudolf Trebitsch, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, August 1909. Sound-recorded.
Sound-recorded here means that the informant was asked to read out a chosen text and was recorded on wax cylinder(s) on an Ediphone recording machine (Schüller 2003).

Cain, William Joseph (1825/6–1911), Douglas (of Conchan).
Cowley, William (1842/3–1921), Douglas ON (of Lezayre).
Moore, Thomas (1836/7–1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney RU).

Nelson, John (1839/40–1910), Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN).

Total number of informants: **4**.
Total number recorded: **4**.
Total number *not* recorded: **0**.

2.4. Carl J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo, 1929, 1930, 1933. Noted/Interviewed/Sound-recorded.

Noted here means that the informant was asked personal particulars, e.g. name, when and where born, etc., by the investigator, but that is all.

Interviewed here means that the informant was given sentences in English of varying difficulty to translate to Manx or was asked to read out passages in Manx, all of which the investigator took down in phonetic script.

Not interviewed here means that the informant was not visited at all to supply examples of Manx.

Sound-recorded here means that the informant was sound-recorded on wax cylinder(s) on an Ediphone recording machine in January/February 1933 (cf. Marstrander *Dagbok* in *LDIM*, 205–29 (English), 229–52 (original Norwegian)).

- Cain, Daniel (1860/1–1952), Little London MI. **Not interviewed**.
Cain, John (1850/1–1939), Ballamoar JU.
Cashen, Caesar (1856/7–1943), Peel GE (of Patrick). Younger brother to William Cashen.
Christian, John (1844/5–1931), Sulby Glen LE.
Christian, Thomas (1850/1–1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA).
- Collister, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI ('near the station at Kirk Michael'). **Not interviewed**.
- Corkill, Mrs. ?, Peel. **Not interviewed.**
- Corlett, William (1849/50–1932), Kirk Michael. **Not interviewed**.
Corrin, John Joseph (1857/8–1930), Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh).
Cowley, Thomas (1846/7–??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE.
- Craine, Elizabeth (1872/3–1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby LE. **Not interviewed**.
Crebbin, Thomas (1847/8–1935), Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU.
Crebbin, Thomas (1853/4–1940), Four Roads, Port St Mary RU.
Faragher, Thomas Edward **'Farakel'** (1865/6–1942), Sulby Glen LE.
Fayle, Robert (1852/3–1938), Stauard, Sulby LE.
Gawne, John (1860/1–1934), West Nappin JU.
- Harrison, Thomas (1845/6–1929), Ballasalla ML. **Not interviewed**.
- Johnson, Mrs. ?, 90+ (*c.* 1839–??), near Grenaby ML. **Not interviewed**.
- Joughin, Robert (1853/4–1929), Dhoon Church MA. **Not interviewed**.
Karran, Henry (1859/60–1947), The Howe RU.
Karran, Walter James (1873/4–1939) ('somewhat younger brother [to Henry]'), The Howe RU.

Kelly, Harry ('Harry Nancy') (1852/3–1935), Cregneash RU.
- Kelly, Mr. J., 80+ (*c.* 1849–??), Laxey ('on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines'). **Not interviewed**.
Kennah, Edward (1860/1–1938), Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR).
Kennah, William (1867/8–1959), Balladuggan ML.
Kewley, James (1849/50–1939), Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, 'brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)').
Killip, John (1853/4–1935), Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE.
- Killip, Mrs. Catherine (1852/3–1934), Lhen AN. **Not interviewed**.
- ?Kinrade, ?Ben, *c.* 76 (*c.* 1853–??), given by Marstrander as 'Bænðken Regg', of Arbory. **Not interviewed**.
Kissack, John (1857/8–1947), Ballachrink MI.
- Kneen, John ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN). **Not interviewed**.
- Kneen, William (1856/7–1938), Croit-y-Caley RU. **Not interviewed**.
Looney, Thomas (1852/3–1930), near churchyard, Maughold MA.
- Maddrell, Edmund (1841/2–1935), 36 Athol[l] Park, Port Erin RU. **Not interviewed**.
Maddrell, Thomas (1851/2–1931), Glenchass RU.
Mylechreest, Mr. ?, 74+ (1855–??), ?Ballaskeig Beg MA.
- Preston, William (1844/6–1934), Grenaby ML. **Not interviewed**.
Quane, William (1849/50–1935), 30 St German's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick).
Quayle, John Thomas (1863–1945), Squeen BA.
Quayle, Thomas 'the Gardener' (1848/9–1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool).
- Sayle, John (1849/50–1932), Ballathona AN. **Not interviewed**.
Taggart, Thomas (1846/7–1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert ML).
- Taubman, Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh) (1879–1966), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU). **Not interviewed**.
- Wade, Mrs. Mary (1838/9–1933), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale ML. **Not interviewed**.
Wade, Wilfred (1868/9–1948), Sandygate JU.
Watterson, William (1863/4–1938), Glenchass RU.
Woodworth, Joseph, 75 (1853/4–1931), Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Port Erin RU).

Total number of informants: **47**.
Total number interviewed: **29**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **18**.

2.5. A. S. B. Davies, Colwyn Bay, North Wales, 1946 (1948). List of native speakers.[16]

Davies simply provides a list of those names of native Manx-speakers he had obtained from a list compiled by Charles Loch from field-workers and enthusiasts on a week's visit to Man in April 1946 (Miller 2009: 1–8).

Not interviewed here means that the informant was never interviewed by anyone at all.

Boyde, Harry (1870/1–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
- Clague, Mrs. Annie (1868/9–1954), Niarbyl, Dalby PA. **Not interviewed**.
Crebbin, Thomas, Cregneash RU. **Not interviewed**.
- Fayle, Robert, Ramsey. **Not interviewed**. Unless he be CM's Robert Fayle of Sulby?
Kaighin, John Tom (1861/2–1954), Ballagarrett BR.
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/1–1953), (wife) Cregneash RU.
- Kaye, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA). **Not interviewed**.
Kinvig, John Dan (1860/1–1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR). **Not interviewed**.
Kinvig, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70–1962), (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR.
- Kneale, Charles (1856/7–1946), Ballagarrett BR. **Not interviewed**.
Kneale, Mrs. Annie (1864/5–1949), (wife), Ballagarrett BR.
Kneen, John ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN).
Leece, Thomas (1859/60–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookiel ML.
Lowey, Mrs. Emily (1868/9–1947), Kirkill RU.
- Maddrell, John (1879/80–1948), (brother to Ned Maddrell), Port St Mary RU. **Not interviewed**.
Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), (brother to John Maddrell), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Wade, Wilfred (1868/9–1948), Sandygate JU.
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

Total number of informants: **18**.
Total number interviewed: **13**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **5**.

2.6. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley, July 1949. Morphology/Sound-recordings.

Morphology here refers to the sentences asked of the informants by Carmody illustrative of aspects of Manx morphology. He introduces his material with a short exposé on Manx phonology.

Sound-recordings here refer to four hours of electric tape recordings made by Carmody of his informants (Carmody 1954: 58).[17]

[16] The two non-native Manx-speakers listed by Davies, viz. Capt. James Kinley, Peel, and James Karran, Cregneash, are not listed here.

[17] Their whereabouts are as yet unknown.

Boyde, Harry (1870/1–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
Kaighin, John Tom (1861/2–1954), Ballagarrett BR.
Karran, John (1866/7–1955), (husband to Mrs. Eleanor Karran), Cregneash RU.
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/1–1953), (wife of John Karran), Cregneash RU.
Kneen, John ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN).
Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

Total number of informants: **7**.
Total number interviewed: **7**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **0**.

2.7. Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Summer 1949. Questionnaire.
Questionnaire here refers to a series of sentences in Manx arranged under English head-words in alphabetical order which the informant provided from English originals (cf. *LASID* iv, 172–88).

Boyde, Harry (1870/1–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
Kaighin, John Tom (1861/2–1954), Ballagarrett BR.
Kneen, John ('the Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN).
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/1–1953), (wife of John Karran), Cregneash RU.
Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

Total number of informants: **6**.
Total number interviewed: **6**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **0**.

2.8. Kenneth H. Jackson, University of Edinburgh, Christmas/New Year 1950–51. Questionnaire
Questionnaire here refers to the questionnaire Jackson 'prepared to cover the phonology of Manx from a historical point of view', i.e. a list of words illustrating a series of aspects of Manx phonology in the context of 'Common Gaelic' (Jackson 1955: v).

Boyde, Harry (1870/1–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
Kaighin, John Tom (1861/2–1954), Ballagarrett BR.
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/1–1953), (wife), Cregneash RU.
- Karran, Tom (1875/6–1959), Cregneash RU. **Not interviewed**.
- Kinvig, John Dan (1860/1–1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR). **Not interviewed.**
- Kinvig, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70–1962), (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR. **Not interviewed**.

Kneen, John ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN).
Leece, Thomas (1859/60–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookiel ML.
Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

Total number of informants: **10**.
Total number interviewed: **7**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **3**.

2.9. David Clement, Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh, August 1972. Questionnaire
Questionnaire here refers to Jackson's questionnaire of 1950/1.

Christian, Ewan (1907/8–1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.
Maddrell, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).

Total number of informants: **2**.
Total number interviewed: **2**.
Total number *not* interviewed: **0**.

3. Profiles of the last native Manx-speakers

As noted earlier, detailed family profiles of most of the seventy noted/recorded native Manx-speakers have been assembled essentially from the Isle of Man census returns for the years 1841 to 1911 in order to assess their connections with the Manx language and to seek to determine as accurately as possible when Manx ceased to be passed on to the following generation in a given household.[18] As the census returns form the basis of our enquiry, some detail as to the workings of the census returns, as well as baptismal, marriage and burial records used, is provided here to facilitate an understanding of how the information is elicited.

As can be seen from the example of John Kneen (Appendix (a)), the census returns often involve inconsistencies in the ages of the various informants. As a result, in order to assess the year of birth of each informant, in so far this was possible, this was determined from the informant's age at death, as found in Brian Lawson's *Index of Burials* (LIB) in Man.

[18]In the censuses for 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 lists of names were not collected centrally, although some are held in local record offices. See *Local Census Listings* (Gibson and Medlycott 1994) or *Pre-1841 Censuses and Population Listings in the British Isles* (Chapman 1994) for more information. There is also a Register for 1939: this is similar to, but not the same as, the census. It contains less information, restricting itself to date of birth, name and address, marital status, occupation. The 1939 Register for England and Wales is available online via www.findmypast.co.uk. For more information on the 1939 Register, see the guide on the 1939 Register (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/1939-register/). The pre-1841 censuses as well as the 1939 Register are not relevant for our purposes here.

With regard to the census enumerations themselves, each is garnished with a reference number:

1841: HO107
1851: HO107
1861: RG9
1871: RG10
1881: RG11
1891: RG12
1901: RG13
1911: RG14

Before 1911 the information contained in the actual Schedules (returns) was bound together with the Enumeration Books. From 1911, when machine methods of processing returns were introduced, the Schedules were compiled separately from the Enumerator's Summary Books. The Register General held the household Schedules and the Enumerator's Summary Books. The 1911 census was the first census where a member of the household, rather than the Enumerator, completed the actual forms (Schedules). The Schedules are completed and signed by the head of the household. They contain an address and a Schedule Number. The Schedules are divided into sixteen columns.

For our purposes here, all census reference numbers comprise four components, as we can see in the following reference number from the 1891 census: RG12/4683 128 34:

1. RG12 (reference number for the 1891 census) (see above).
2. 4683 (district number).
3. 128 (folio number).
4. 34 (schedule/household number).

3.1. The importance of the census years 1901 and 1911 for the assessing the use of Manx in the home

With regard to the census years 1901 and 1911 that make provision for language use in the home, the following differences are to be noted:[19]

1. In **1901** all that was required by the census enumerator was 'Language Spoken (children under 3 years of age to be excluded)', not the language(s) known, i.e. information on the actual language spoken in the home, in which case English may then have been the case, irrespective of whether Manx was known/used or not.
2. In **1911** the question was more specifically framed: '(1) If able to speak English-only, write "English". (2) If able to speak Manx only, write "Manx". (3) If able to speak English and Manx, write "Both". No entry to be made in this column for children under three years of age.' Consequently, the information in 1911 is more accurate.

[19]The appearance of the language question in the 1901 census schedule was apparently due to the efforts of *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh*, the Manx Language Society, established in 1899, rather than by any official initiative of the Isle of Man Government. For details see Miller (2007: 108–9).

The information for both years often does not tally:

1. An entry for 'English' in 1901 may appear as 'Both' in 1911 and vice-versa.
2. An entry for 'English' in both years for a given person may be inaccurate when we know from other sources that the individual concerned, e.g. Harry Boyde (§4.2.41), was a known native Manx-speaker. This may indicate, say, a decision on the part of the family itself to give only 'English' for whatever reason, or it may mean that, even though some of the household members may have been native Manx-speakers, the everyday language of the household by common consent had come to be English.

3.2. Contents of the profiles

The profiles themselves contain three parts:

Part 1 Details of informants whose investigators supply information about them and their Manx are included in this section before the onset of the profile itself. Details are restricted simply to name; address and age are omitted.

Part 2 (indented) provides the family details as given in the relevant census returns, or supplied from baptismal, marriage or burial registers, etc. Examples from each register are given here; the various headings in the registers are supplied in **bold** type:

Census Return Ballaugh (Harry Boyde) 1881:

> **Name** John Boyde, **Relation to Head of Family** head, **Condition as to Marriage** M[arried], **Age last birthday** 32, **Rank, Profession or Occupation** 'farmer of 70 acres', **Where born** Ballaugh.

Baptismal Register Rushen (Emily Isabel Karran) 1900:

> **Parish** Rushen, **When baptized** February 18, **Child's Christian Name** Emily Isabel, **Parent's Christian/Surname** John Karran/Eleanor (Karran), **Abode** Cregneish, **Quality, Trade, or Profession** mason, **By whom the ceremony was performed** C. H. Leece, Vicar, **Column Number** 42.

Marriage Register Braddan (John Joseph Corrin) 1908:

> **Parish** Braddan, **When married** February 5, **Name and Surname** John Joseph Corrin, **Age** 40, **Condition** Bachelor, **Rank or Profession** Farmer, **Residence at the time of Marriage** Jurby, **Father's Name and Surname** John Jospeh Corrin, **Rank or Profession of Father** Shoemaker ∼[20] **Name and Surname** Eva Coole Christian Smith, **Age**

[20] I use this symbol to indicate the end of the husband's details and the beginning of the wife's.

20, **Condition** spinster, **Rank or Profession** [usually no entry],[21] **Residence at the time of Marriage** Cronkbourne, **Father's Name and Surname** William Smith, **Rank or Profession of Father** Labourer, **Column Number** 257.

Burial Register Arbory (Jane Clarke) 1908:

> **Parish** Arbory, **Name** Jane Clarke, **Abode** Ronague, **When buried** May 7, **Age** 68, **By whom the Ceremony was performed** John Kewley, Vicar, **Burial Number** 1189.

In the Isle of Man Census for 1901 and 1911 details of the language(s) known and/or used at home and by whom are given, where applicable. A final line supplies details of the informant's death, and lastly a final paragraph may contain additional comment concerning the informant and his/her situation.

Part 3 The abbreviation **E>** in bold type supplies an approximate date regarding the introduction of English into the household concerned. This date can be arrived at as follows:

1. By looking to see whether both parents are Manx speaking or only one. This is achieved by looking at the census returns for both 1901 and 1911 (but see §3.1. above).

2. If both parents are Manx-speaking, but the family becomes English-speaking, then the age of the eldest child is taken into consideration and its year of birth would give an indication of the formal introduction of English into the household, even though English may have intervened before then.[22]

3. If one parent is English-speaking only, then the marriage date of the couple is used as the starting point of the formal use of English in the family, even though English would likely have been used during the period of courting.

4. In some cases the eldest children acquired Manx, but then a conscious decision to introduce English, for whatever reason, to any and all succeeding children was made by the parents. In such cases the year of birth of the first succeeding child is then taken to indicate the formal introduction of English into the household. There are a few examples of this feature (see §7.3 below).

[21] For female spouses this column is usually left blank.

[22] The reasons for such a change may be multifarious and may be initiated either by the parents or by the children owing to outside pressure. Such matters are dealt with below. For convenience the initiative for change is placed here in the hands of the parents.

3.3. Continued use of Manx outside the household

3.3.1. At the place of work or at regular meeting places for older community members

Up until now we have concentrated on the use of Manx within the family household. However, the use or non-use of Manx in a given household does not preclude its use outside the household, for example, at the workplace or in places where (particularly elderly) members of the community regularly meet to exchange 'skeet' (spicy gossip) or indulge in reminiscing, etc. Such places may be the smithy, which would be regularly visited by farmers wishing to have their horses re-shod, farm implements repaired, etc. John Kneen ('The Gaaue') relates how the smithy functioned as a focal point within the community where 'newses' were exchanged, etc.

> V'ad mennick dy liooar çheet son dy loayrt dys y cheilley ec yn keirdee; v'eh boayl son dy çhaglagh, son v'ad toiggal ooilley va goll er ec y traa, as va'n keirdee boayl mooar ayns y laghyn shen, son v'ad ooilley yn naightyn yn seihll ayns shen. Va'n gaaue toiggal ooilley, ta mee smooinaghtyn, son v'eh loayrt dys yn sleih ooilley va çheet dys y keirdee. (YCG Tape 1, *HLSM* i, 232–5)
>
> 'They very often used to come to chat to each other at the smithy; it was the place to meet, for they all knew what was going on at the time, and the smithy was the main (meeting-)place in those days, for all the world's 'newses' were there. The smith knew everything, I'm thinking, for he would be talking to everyone who would come to the smithy.'

3.3.2. Between men in a group

An example of this is to be found among Manx-speaking fishermen from Rushen, who would talk to each other in Manx whenever they would meet, but would customarily use only English in the home. This practice was noted by Prof. John Rhŷs during a visit to Man in 1890, when he tells of Tom Kermode speaking Manx to his comrade fishermen outside the home, but they would apparently not speak Manx within the home. Rhŷs notes the following:

> [. . .] and on my return [from an interview with an informant] I came upon Blind Kermode [Tom Kermode, Bradda] conversing with two of his comrades in Manx and I found that they always did that among themselves, that is to say the fishermen, but never in their houses: there might be 40 or 50 about then they thought who did the same.[23]

The regular use of Manx in this way would ensure its continuation within the community long after its demise within the home. This may partly explain the ability of some of the very last of the Manx native speakers during the

[23] Rhŷs's notebook 6, 121–2, available at https://gaelg-hasht.000webhostapp.com/astoo/gb/John%20Rhys%20II.pdf.

1950s to produce good Manx until the end.[24] In this respect Nancy Dorian, in commenting on the above practice in an email to me dated 25 April 2017, noted a similar practice from her research work on Pennsylvania Dutch (i.e. German) in the USA:

> [. . .] I thought your recognition of male workmates who continued to use the language among themselves (even if their homes had become English-speaking) was [. . .] realistic, and familiar both in Sutherland and Berks County [Pennsylvania]. Workplace use of Dutch also brought about a few unusually young speakers in Berks County, notably a barman who had occasion to talk with plenty of older men in the bar — the younger man's mother was herself surprised by how much Dutch her son ultimately spoke, more than he would have acquired in the home. Another man acquired more Dutch than he had from home by selling insurance to rural families who were much more receptive to him and the insurance policies if he used Dutch with them (Dorian, personal communication, 25 April 2017).

Nevertheless, as we shall see, there seems to have been a collective decision on the part of the Manx people not to transmit Manx to their children, rather than it being a gradual process from one area to the next. Unlike the situation in Ireland and Scotland, where a Gaelic-speaking area (Ir. *Gaeltacht*/SGc *Gàidhealtachd*) may exist alongside a non-Gaelic-speaking area (Ir. *Galltacht*/SGc *Galltachd*), Manx seems to have disappeared everywhere roughly around the same time (*c*. 1880–*c*. 1900).[25]

4. THE PROFILES

The profiles included here are divided into five categories:

1. Those informants who had children to transmit Manx to. Those informants whose families are affected by possible abrupt transmission failure (cf. §7.3; i.e. the eldest children are in receipt of Manx, but their youngest children are not, for whatever reason) are marked with an asterisk (*).

2. Those informants who had no direct offspring to transmit any language to.

3. Those informants regarded as semi-speakers of Manx.

[24] But not necessarily on sound-recordings or in questionnaires. For details see Broderick (2017).

[25] The use of Manx outside the home (or even between Manx-speaking family elders within the home) is possibly responsible for the belief among children not in receipt of Manx that their parents, or whoever, used Manx in order to keep the conversation private; 'they didn't want the children to know what they were talking about' was a common reason given. For examples see *LDIM*, 35–6 (§2.3.2.3.2).

4. Those informants for whom there is insufficient information regarding their Manx.

5. Those informants for whom there is little or no detail at all about their family background.

For our survey, only those households in Categories 1 and 2 are considered. The semi-speakers in Category 3 are listed only. Categories 4 and 5 are not considered at all as they provide no relevant information. Mr. Mylechreest in Category 5, even though he was interviewed, although included in the general listings does not feature in the figures, as no further personal details about him (e.g. whether he had children or not) are known to date.

Since they are very extensive, the full profiles of the native Manx-speakers are presented at the end of this article in Appendix (b).

5. List of informants by parish

Three figures are set against each parish name. The first figure gives the total number of informants from each parish, the second the number actually interviewed, the third those not interviewed. As with the above listings, the names of those not interviewed are preceded by a hyphen and indented.

5.1. The Northern Parishes

ANDREAS (4/2/2)

- Killip, Mrs. Catherine, Lhen AN.
Kneen, John ('The Gaaue'), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's AN).
Nelson, John, Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN).
- Sayle, John, Ballathona AN.

BALLAUGH (3/3/0)

Boyde, Harry, Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
Corrin, John Joseph, Ballachurry JU (of Ballacroshey BA).
Quayle, John Thomas, Squeen BA.

BRIDE (3/2/1)

Kaighin, John Tom, Ballagarrett BR.
- Kneale, Charles, Ballagarrett BR.
Kneale, Mrs. Annie (wife), Ballagarrett BR.

GERMAN (2/1/1)

Christian, Ewan, 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.
- Corkill, Mr. ?, Peel GE.

JURBY (3/3/0)

Cain, John, Ballamoar JU.
Gawne, John, West Nappin JU.
Wade, Wilfred, Sandygate JU.

LEZAYRE (7/6/1)

Christian, John, Sulby Glen LE.
Cowley, Thomas, Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE.
Cowley, William, Douglas (of Sulby Glen LE).
- Craine, Mrs. Elizabeth, Cooil Bane Cottages, Sulby LE.
Faragher, Thomas Edward (‘**Farakel**’), Sulby Glen LE.
Fayle, Robert, Stauard, Sulby LE.
Killip, John, Ballaugh Road (near Sulby station), Sulby LE.

MICHAEL (4/2/2)

Cain, Daniel, Little London MI.
- Collister, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI (‘near the station at Kirk Michael’).
- Corlett, William, carpenter, Kirk Michael MI.
Kissack, John, Ballachrink MI.

PATRICK (4/2/2)

Cashen, Caesar, Peel GE (of Dalby PA), younger brother to William Cashen
- Clague, Mrs. Annie, Niarbyl, Dalby PA.
- Kaye, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA).
Quane, William, 30 St German’s Place, Peel GE (of Ballachrink PA).

5.2. The Southern Parishes

ARBORY (6/4/2)

Kennah, Edward, Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR).
- Kinrade, Ben, of Arbory.
- Kinvig, John Dan, Ronague AR.
Kinvig, Mrs. Sage (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR.
Taggart, Thomas, Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert AR).
Woodworth, Joseph, Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Ronague AR).

BRADDAN (0/0/0)

- none.

CONCHAN (1/1/0)

Cain, William Joseph, Douglas (of Onchan). **Rhŷs informant**.

LONAN (2/1/1)

- Kelly, Mr. J., Laxey LO ('on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines').
Kewley, James, Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, 'brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)').

MALEW (7/3/4)

- Harrison, Thomas, Ballasalla ML.
- Johnson, Mrs. ?, nr. Grenaby ML.
Kennah, William, Balladuggan ML.
Leece, Thomas, Kerroomooar, Kerrookiel ML.
- Preston, William, Grenaby ML.
Quayle, Thomas 'the Gardener', Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool/Malew).
- Wade, Mrs. Mary, Barrule, Foxdale ML.

MAROWN (0/0/0)

- none.

MAUGHOLD (5/3/2)

Christian, Thomas, 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA).
- Fayle, Robert, Ramsey.
- Joughin, Robert, Dhoon Church MA.
Looney, Thomas, nr. churchyard, Maughold MA.
Mylechreest, Mr. ?, ?Ballaskeig Beg MA.

RUSHEN (19/14/5)

- Crebbin, Mr. Cregneash RU.
Crebbin, Thomas, Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU.
Crebbin, Thomas, Four Roads, nr. Port St Mary RU.
Karran, Henry, The Howe RU.
Karran, Walter James ('somewhat younger brother [to William]'), The Howe RU.
Karran, John, Cregneash RU (Eleanor Karran's husband).
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (wife), Cregneash RU.
Karran, Thomas, Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (Mrs. Karran's brother).
Kelly, Harry ('Harry Nancy'), Cregneash RU.
- Kneen, William, Croit-y-Caley RU.
Lowey, Mrs. Emily, Kirkill RU.
- Maddrell, Edmund, 36 Athol Park, Port Erin RU.
- Maddrell, John, Port St Mary RU (brother to Ned).
Maddrell, Ned, Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Maddrell, Thomas, Glenchass RU.
Moore, Thomas, Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney Lhag RU).

- Taubman, Mrs. Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU).
Watterson, William, Glenchass RU.
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine, Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

SANTAN (0/0/0)

- none.

Total number of Informants for the **North**: **30**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **21**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **9**.

Total number of Informants for the **South**: **40**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **26**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **14**.

Total number of Informants **North and South**: **70**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **47**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **23**.

6. PROVISIONAL FINDINGS

Our provisional findings consider primarily those households which had children to whom Manx could be transmitted (§6.1), and secondarily for comparative purposes by those households who had no children to transmit any Manx to (§6.2). The semi-speakers are listed only for completion (§6.3). As in the full profiles (Appendix (b)), names bearing an asterisk (*) refer to families affected by abrupt transmission failure.

6.1. Informants with children exposed to Manx
6.1.1. By year

Approx. date when Manx given up in the household	*Name*	*Parish*	*No. of informants per period*
1860–70			
c. 1860/1	Cain, W. J.	Conchan	1
1871–80			
c. 1875	Woodworth, J.	Rushen	
c. 1875/6	Kaighin, J. T.	Bride	
c. 1875/6	Christian, T.	Maughold	
c. 1876	Crebbin, T.	Rushen	
c. 1877	Kennah, W.*	Malew	
c. 1877/8	Christian, J.	Lezayre	

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Approx. date when Manx given up in the household	*Name*	*Parish*	*No. of informants per period*
c. 1878/9	Cashen, C.	Patrick	
c. 1879	Sayle, J.	Andreas	
c. 1879/80	Quane, W.	Patrick	9
1881–90			
c. 1882	Looney, T.	Maughold	
c. 1882	Cowley, W.	Lezayre	
c. 1884	Quayle, T.	Malew	
c. 1884/5	Maddrell, J.*	Rushen	
c. 1885	Quayle, J. T.	Ballaugh	
c. 1885/6	Leece, T.	Malew	
c. 1886	Kissack, J. J.	Michael	
c. 1886/7	Kneale, Mrs. A.	Bride	
c. 1886/7	Kneale, C.	Bride	
c. 1888/9	Kneen, W.	Rushen	
c. 1888/9	Clague, Mrs. A.	Patrick	
c. 1889/90	Kennah, E.	Arbory	12
1891–1900			
c. 1893/4	Watterson, Mrs. C.	Rushen	
c. 1894/5	Maddrell, E.	Rushen	
c. 1894/5	Kinvig, J.*	Arbory	
c. 1894/5 or 1908	Kinvig, Mrs. S.*	Arbory	
c. 1895/6	Lowey, Mrs. E.	Rushen	
c. 1897	Nelson, J.	Maughold	
c. 1897	Kneen, J.	Andreas	
c. 1898	Wade, W.	Jurby	
c. 1899	Taubman, Mrs. C. J.	Rushen	
c. 1899	Karran, T.	Rushen	
c. 1900	Karran, Mrs. E.	Rushen	
c. 1900	Karran, J.	Rushen	12
1901–10/11			
c. 1901	Karran, H.	Rushen	
c. 1901–11	Killip, J.	Lezayre	
c. 1901–11	Cowley, T.	Lezayre	
c. 1904	Crebbin, T.	Rushen	
c. 1906	Maddrell, E. (Ned)	Rushen	
c. 1908	Corrin, J. J.	Ballaugh	6
			Total: 40

6.1.2. Distribution of language obsolescence by parish North and South
6.1.2.1. North

Name	*When Manx given up approx.*	Eng. introd. between	No. of informants per parish
Andreas			
Sayle, J.	*c.* 1879		
Kneen, J.	*c.* 1897	1879–97	2
Ballaugh			
Quayle, J. T.	*c.* 1885		
Corrin, J. J.	*c.* 1908	1885–1908	2
Bride			
Kaighin, J. T.*	*c.* 1875/6		
Kneale, Mrs. A.	*c.* 1886/7		
Kneale, C.	*c.* 1886/7	1875–87	3
Jurby			
Wade, W.	*c.* 1898	1898	1
Lezayre			
Christian, J.	*c.* 1877/8		
Cowley, W.	*c.* 1882		
Killip, J.	*c.* 1901–11		
Cowley, T.	*c.* 1901–11	1877–1911	4
Michael			
Kissack, J. J.	*c.* 1886	1886	1
Patrick			
Cashen, C.	*c.* 1878/9		
Clague, Mrs. A.	*c.* 1888/9		
Quane, W.	*c.* 1879/80	1878–89	3
		Total (North):	16

6.1.2.2. South

Arbory			
Kinvig, Mrs. S.*	*c.* 1894/5 or 1908		
Kinvig, J.*	*c.* 1894/5		
Kennah, E.	*c.* 1889/90	1894–90 or 1908	3
Conchan			
Cain, W. J.	*c.* 1860/1	1860–1	1
Lonan			
(none)			0

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Name	*When Manx given up approx.*	Eng. introd. between	No. of informants per parish
Malew			
Kennah, W.*	*c.* 1877		
Quayle, T.	*c.* 1884		
Leece, T.	*c.* 1885/6	1877–86	3
Marown			
(none)			0
Maughold			
Christian, T.	*c.* 1875/6		
Looney, T.	*c.* 1882		
Nelson, J.	*c.* 1897	1875–97	3
Rushen			
Woodworth, J.	*c.* 1875		
Crebbin, T.	*c.* 1876		
Crebbin, T.	*c.* 1904		
Karran, H.	*c.* 1901		
Karran, J.	*c.* 1900		
Karran, Mrs. E.	*c.* 1900		
Watterson, Mrs. C.	*c.* 1893/4		
Taubman, Mrs. C. J.	*c.* 1899		
Maddrell, E. (Ned)	*c.* 1906		
Maddrell, E.	*c.* 1894/5		
Maddrell, J.*	*c.* 1884/5		
Lowey, Mrs. E.	*c.* 1895/6		
Kneen, W.	*c.* 1888/9		
Karran, T.	*c.* 1899	1875–1906	14
Santan			
(none)			0
		Total (South):	24
		Total (whole island):	40

6.2. Informants with no children exposed to Manx
6.2.1. By year

Period of years	*Name*	*Parish*	*No. of informants*
1881–1900			
c. 1900	Cain, D.	Michael	1
1901–10/11			
c. 1901	Boyde, H.	Ballaugh	
c. 1901	Watterson, W.	Rushen	
c. 1902	Cain, J.	Jurby	
c. 1909	Taggart, T.	Malew	
c. 1910/11	Kelly, H.	Rushen	5
1911–33			
c. 1911	Craine, Ms. E.	Lezayre	
c. 1912	Kewley, J.	Lonan	
c. 1922	Moore, T.	Rushen	
c. 1933	Gawne, J.	Jurby	4
			Total: 10

As we can see, Manx became obsolete in this category essentially between the years 1901 and 1933.

6.2.2. Distribution of language obsolescence by parish North and South

Parish	*Name*	*Approx. date when Manx given up*	*No. of informants per parish*
6.2.2.1. North			
Ballaugh	Boyde, H.	*c.* 1900	1
Jurby	Gawne, J.	*c.* 1933	
Jurby	Cain, J.	*c.* 1902	2
Lezayre	Craine, Ms. E.	*c.* 1911	1
Michael	Cain, D.	*c.* 1900	1
			Total (North): 5
6.2.2.2. South			
Lonan	Kewley, J.	*c.* 1912	1
Malew	Taggart, T.	*c.* 1909	1
Rushen	Watterson, W.	*c.* 1901	
Rushen	Moore, T.	*c.* 1922	
Rushen	Kelly, H.	*c.* 1910/11	3
			Total (South): 5
			Total (whole island): 10

As can be seen, the distribution of language obsolescence is equal between North and South.

6.3. The semi-speakers

6.3.1.	Christian, E.	German
6.3.2.	Faragher, T. E.	Lezayre
6.3.3.	Karran, W. J.	Rushen
6.3.4.	Maddrell, T.	Rushen
6.3.5.	Wade, Mrs. M.	Malew
		Total: 5

6.4. Summary

6.4.1. With regard to the speakers with children, we perhaps learn the following from the above figures:

6.4.1.1. That all forty informants with children in our sample replace Manx with English as the daily language of their household over a period spanning the years *c.* 1860–*c.* 1908 (§6.1.1). This transition takes place more or less simultaneously right across the board, irrespective of parish, as if by consensus, i.e. the transition does not begin in parish X and move gradually through the other parishes to end up in parish Y. Consequently there is no *Gaeltacht/Gàidhealtachd* as such to be found.

6.4.1.2. According to our sample, the transition starts gradually, from *c.* 1860, gathering speed during the years *c.* 1875–*c.* 1880, building up into a crescendo between 1881 and 1900, and petering out during the first decade of the twentieth century.

6.4.1.3. The distribution of the speakers over the parishes is as follows:

- Yielding the most speakers is Rushen parish, even at the end (14 out of 40) (35%).
- Yielding between three and four speakers are: Arbory (3), Bride (3), Lezayre (4), Malew (3), Maughold (3), Patrick (3).
- Yielding two or fewer speakers are: Andreas (2), Ballaugh (2), Conchan (1), Jurby (1), Michael (1).

6.4.2. With regard to the speakers with no children, we see the following:

6.4.2.1. Unlike their counterparts with children, the ten informants in this section comprise people who continue to speak Manx till a later date (*c.* 1900–33), seemingly with family members or with outsiders.

1. **With family members**: Daniel Cain (brother), John Cain (father's sister-in-law), Elizabeth Craine (parents), John Gawne (wife), James Kewley (wife), Thomas Moore (wife), Thomas Taggart (wife), Mary Wade (husband), William Watterson (mother).

2. **With outsiders**: Harry Boyde (?co-farmers), Harry Kelly (?co-fishermen). Even though we have evidence that Manx continued to be spoken outside the family (cf. §3.3 above), we are not certain whether this was in fact the case here.

7. THE DECLINE OF MANX GAELIC IN MAN

The decline of Manx Gaelic in Man was seemingly a relatively slow process, beginning perhaps with discussions in the Manx press between 1821 and 1872 regarding the use of Manx in everyday discourse (Lewin 2014: 1–30).[26] Thereafter the situation was seemingly affected by two phenomena: 1) that of stigmatisation; and 2) that of the establishment of formal teaching of English within the Manx school system.

7.1. Stigmatisation

This was a feature of Manx in its end-phase and examples of this can be found in *LDIM*, 26–37. Some examples taken from the Manx Folk-Life Survey are given here to illustrate the situation.[27]

7.1.1. Henry Quayle, Ramsey, age 86 [b. c. 1873]

> My father and mother could all talk Manx, though they weren't encouraging the children to speak it. There weren't all Manx teachers in the schools, and I suppose the parents would be wanting the children to speak English and not Manx. They would not be wanting them to appear backward compared with others [. . .]
>
> (MFLS/Q/36c (1959))

7.1.2. Mrs. Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride [c. 1864–1949] (cf. profile in §4.1.23 below)

> In my young days girls were only scoffing at Manx.
>
> (MFLS/E 1949))

7.1.3. Edward Christian, Northop, Greeba, Marown

> [. . .] Among younger people of my own generation, if the old folk would say anything in Manx there would be a lot of giggling and laughing. That was the attitude of young people in my experience — they thought it was something to laugh at — a funny sound.
>
> (MFLS/C/27E (1962))

[26] In printing details of a Manx reading session in Peel on 3 January 1872, Lewin (2014: 23 n. 70) notes that the occasion was organised by a certain John Dawson, an ironmonger in Peel and later one of Rhŷs's informants (cf. Broderick, forthcoming) who experienced much discouragement from his own Manx countrymen in his promotion of Manx — making clear that Manx was well on the retreat — but, nevertheless, was resolved to get a series of Manx readings going.

[27] The Manx Folk-Life Survey collected Manx folklore and folklife material from the 1940s to the 1970s. (archive at MNHL).

7.1.4. John Fletcher Kinvig [1893–1986], Spring Valley, Braddan (orig. of Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory, son to John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, cf. §4.1.19/20 above), age 81

> (reported:) He [John Fletcher Kinvig] has a painful recollection of his schooldays. He was the only child from the tops of Ronague who went to Arbory school. Most of the children went to Ballamodha [Malew] or to Rushen, and the children at Arbory in his time [*c.* 1900] were more from the lowlands where there was not much Manx to be heard. He however had Manx-speaking parents and lived with his grandparents who had Manx as well.[28] He vowed when he was only seven years old that he would not talk Manx, because the children used to get him in the play ground and ask him the Manx word for various things and then laugh at him when he told them, and in class he was also mocked and laughed at if he used a Manx word. He said that this was the worst thing that ever happened to him and one he has never got over — this sense of inferiority that he was made to feel, because he came from the uplands of Ronague and from a home where Manx was spoken — he was regarded as stupid and backward [. . .]
>
> (MFLS/K/127 (1975))[29]

John Fletcher's reported statement continues:

> One day Archdeacon [John] Kewley [1860–1941] came into the school when he was being taunted for something he said, and the other children as usual were making fun of him, and he [Kewley] gave the schoolmaster — Teare — a fearful lecture about allowing the class to do this. He of course was himself very interested in the language, and was doing all he could to keep it alive. It was not long after that that Teare (who was Liverpool-Manx) was trying to teach it himself. The Archdeacon had made him see how mistaken he was in allowing the children to think of the Manx language as [a] thing to ridicule. (MFLS/K/127 (1975))[30]

7.1.5. Henry Clague, Ballahaven, Ballamodha, Malew (of Balladda, Patrick)

> I went to Dalby school till I was thirteen and then I got no more education, but went to work on a farm. There were 60 or 70 scholars.

[28] Probably with his paternal grandfather, viz. Daniel Kinvig (1825–1906) and wife Eleanor (alias Leece) (1834–92) and daughter Jane Kinvig (36; b. *c.* 1865) at Garey Mooar AR. The wife seems to have died before John Fletcher came to Garey Mooar.

[29] John Fletcher Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Douglas Borough Cemetery on 26 March 1986 (LIB). As he was a native Manx-speaker, being the eldest son of native Manx-speakers John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig (see Profiles, below) and living a while, it seems, with his grandfather and daughter (both entered as Manx-speakers in the 1901 census), so far as we can now assess, he appears to have in fact been the last reputed native Manx-speaker, outliving Ned Maddrell by just over eleven years.

[30] It may be that John Fletcher's father John Dan Kinvig called in Archdeacon Kewley to speak to the schoolmaster.

> When I was a boy I could speak Manx better than I could English, and I was the only child there who could. I was hearing a lot of it at home. The other children got interested and used to come to me and ask about Manx, and the master didn't like it. He said I had to stop talking Manx and spoke to my mother about it too. Well, one day an inspector came to [the] school and asked the master (his name was Popplewell) if any of the children could speak Manx, and Popplewell said there was only one boy who could speak it, and so the inspector asked me to talk in Manx. I said, 'The master stopped me from talking Manx before, so I'm not going to talk Manx today.' Manx was a native language with me, though, and I can understand a good deal yet [...], but I have forgotten a lot of it now. (MFLS/C/88 (1965))[31]

7.2. Formal use of English in Manx schools

So far as is known, the first determined effort to bring in English in a systematic way to the ordinary Manx people was made by Bishop Isaac Barrow (1663–71). In addition, as the state of the Anglican Church (the Established Church) in Man was considered by Barrow as leaving much to be desired, the introduction of English was to form part of his improvement scheme.[32] However, Barrow's scheme met with limited success, until it was revamped by Bishop Thomas Wilson (1698–1755) at the start of the eighteenth century. Wilson's policy, pursued with vigour, enjoined all Manx parents under penalty of fines to send their children to school to learn English, but owing to difficulties and conflicts with the secular authorities his scheme by 1736 was in a state of virtual collapse (Clamp 1988b: 185–98). Although various private initiatives to provide schooling for Manx children were therafter set up, nothing much came of them until 1858 when Man came fully within the English education ambit.

In 1872 the Manx authorities adopted the English Elementary Education Act of 1870 which provided for compulsory schooling from five to thirteen years' age. Though the medium of tuition was to be English this was not compulsorily laid down in the Act (the only subject made compulsory by the Act was religious education). However, though there was nothing in the Act providing against the teaching of Manx, in practice the Act facilitated the dissemination of English in Man. However, by the time the Act came into being Manx was already becoming obsolete and any hostile intent towards Manx abetted by the 1872 Act was evidently ineffectual (Bird 1995: 1–43). Nevertheless, children were allegedly actively discouraged from speaking Manx at school (see above) by means of a 'knot' or 'tally' passed from one child to the other till the close of school, when the last recipient would be punished.

[31] For details of stigmatisation in East Sutherland Gaelic and Pennsylvania German, see Dorian (2014a: 148–9).

[32] For details of the 'Barrovian Design' see Clamp (1988a: 10–21). Barrow apparently found on his arrival in Man that the local Manx clergy was poorly paid, and to make ends meet resorted to keeping alehouses (ibid.).

In addition, the parents of immigrant children, who had only English, demanded the teaching of English as a means of advancement in life, and given that Man was now being drawn more and more into an English-speaking world through commerce and tourism, etc., this attitude gained ground at the expense of Manx. The children of Manx-English families would be predominantly English-speaking, as would those of all Manx families in the course of time (Hindley 1984: 15–17, 26, 32). However, even as late as the 1870s and 1880s there were still a number of Manx families who were bringing up their children in Manx (see §7 above), and whose children had no English until they went to school. In some cases the school had difficulty in getting some children to learn English. John Tom Kaighin (see Profile §4.1.11 below), recorded by the Manx Museum's Manx Folk-Life Survey *c.* 1950, tells the story he had of learning English at school:

> Tra ren mee goll dy schoill va mee bunnys hoght vleeaney [sic] as va mee toiggal Gailck foddee share na va mee toiggal Baarle, as ren ad goll dy gynsaghey mee son dy gra . . .'nane' — they were saying 'one' and I was saying nane, and they were saying 'two' a[s] va mee gra 'jees', as ren ad gra 'three' as ren mee gra strass [sic], as v'ad gra 'four' as va mee gra 'kiare', as ren ad goll dys y mainshter dy geddyn yn fer shoh, 'Cha jarg mee gynsaghey, cha jarg mee gynsaghey, t'eh loayrt Gailck [. . .]'
>
> (MM Tape 22, *HLSM* i, 286–7)

> 'When I went to school I was almost eight years old, and I was understanding Manx far better than I was understanding English, and they went to teach me for to say "one" — they were saying "one" and I was saying *nane*, and they were saying "two" and I was saying *jees*, and they were saying "three" and I said *strass* (i.e. *trass* [= a third; *rectius tree*], and they were saying "four" and I was saying *kiare*, and they went to the master to get this one (sorted) [and said], "I cannot teach him, I cannot teach him, he's talking Manx . . ."'

From the late nineteenth century to the present day the Manx education system has largely followed that of England and Wales. It is against this background and that of stigmatisation that the phenomenon of the abrupt transmission failure in Manx is perhaps to be seen.

7.3. Transmission failure in Manx within the family

In the course of obsolescence in Manx we have three cases whereby the elder children in a family are in receipt of Manx from their parents, but the younger children apparently not so. They are the families of William Kennah, Balladuggan, Malew, John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Arbory, and John Maddrell, Cregneash, Rushen. These families have the following children. Their names and ages are taken individually from either the 1901 or

1911 census returns, whichever is felt to be more appropriate. Their occupations or professions are also entered here, as this can play a role in deciding on the language pursued by the children (see below).

7.3.1. The family of William Kennah, Balladuggan, Malew
From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English:

(parents): Jane (WK's mother) widow (66) AR.
(children):
Anne R. Clarke (44), dgt., AR, fisherman's wife.
William (33) AR, farmer.

Speakers of English-only:

Isaline (24) AR, [no entry].

In the 1911 census all three are entered as English-speakers only, viz. William Kennah, 43, farmer, his wife Margaret, 38, and John Crellin, manservant, 19, '[Looking] After Horses'. It would seem that the manservant was English-speaking only, as was Kennah's wife. Although Kennah himself from the 1901 census was a Manx-speaker, the home situation seemingly demanded English as the daily language.

The age-gap between William and Isaline is nine years.

7.3.2. The family of John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Arbory
From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English:

(parents): John (39) and Sage (30) Kinvig AR
(mother-in-law) Jane Clarke (62) AR
(children):
John Fletcher (7) AR, [no entry, probably scholar].

Speakers of English-only:

Eleanor J. (6) AR, [no entry, probably scholar].
Elizabeth E. (4) AR, [no entry, probably at home].
Gertie M. (3) AR, [no entry, probably at home].
Blanche (1), AR, [under age, language not considered].

From the 1911 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English:

(parents) John (49) and Sage (40) Kinvig AR

Speakers of English-only

(children): John Fletcher (17) AR, [farm] worker.
William D. (9) AR, school.
Nellie (Eleanor) (16) AR, domestic servant.
Bessie (14) AR, school.
Gertie (13) AR, school.
Blanche (11) AR, school
Elsie (6) AR, [no entry, probably at school].
Myra (1) AR, [under age, language not considered].

John Fletcher Kinvig is entered as a Manx-speaker in 1901 but English-only in 1911. As noted above (§§4.1.19/20), this may represent his later-developed preference for English. We learn from his reported interview with MFLS in 1975 (cf. above, §7.1.4) that he apparently refused to speak Manx when seven years old (*c.* 1901/2) as a result of alleged taunting in school by other children owing to his knowledge of Manx. This may in fact be the reason for his entry as an English-only speaker in the 1911 Census. With reference to the 1901 Census the age-gap between John Fletcher (7) and Eleanor (6) is just one year.

7.3.3. The family of John Maddrell, Cregneash, Rushen
From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English:

(parents): Margaret (JM's mother) (47) RU
(children):
John F. (21) RU, mariner, seaman.
Isabella ((18) RU, [no entry, probably 'worker' at home]

Speakers of English-only:

Sarah (16) RU, worker.
George (13) RU, [no entry, probably scholar].

As can be seen, of the four children the elder two were brought up as fluent Manx-speakers, the younger two not so. Here the age-gap between the two groups is two years.

We see here that those children pursuing traditional professions where Manx is generally spoken, e.g. farming and fishing, or who are living at home,

are by and large Manx-speakers. Whether we can speak of a 'tip' in Dorian's sense (2014b: 169) taking place in this context in Manx is questionable. The evidence at our disposal in the above family cases is too meagre to discern any pattern — we simply do not have the necessary details that are available in the East Sutherland Gaelic and Penn Dutch cases. Consequently, in the Manx cases it may simply be that the regular schooling, where English was the language of discourse and instruction, was the determining factor.[33]

7.4. Summary

As can be seen, the size of the age-gap between those children who have fluent Manx and those who do not is seemingly immaterial, though we do not have any hard evidence for a recognition within the family of the competences of their children in Manx, nor do we possess any such evidence regarding the attitude of the children themselves towards their knowledge of Manx, e.g. whether those with imperfect Manx were sensitive about their situation or not.[34] But we do have evidence (in one case) of stigmatisation and the role played by English in the community.

As already noted above, stigmatisation and advancement in an acquisition of English were critical factors in the passing on of Manx to children in the above families. As we have seen, children of Manx-speaking families seemingly experienced taunting in school by non-Manx-speaking children because they had Manx (cf. above §7.1.4), or were actively discouraged from speaking Manx through the 'knot' or 'tally' system (§7.2). In addition, there developed a belief among parents that, without a knowledge of English, prospects of career advancement were limited (hence the Manx saying: *Cha jean oo cosney ping lesh y Ghailck* 'you will never earn a penny with the Manx'), and among children that speaking English was 'cool' or 'hip', and therefore to be encouraged, while a knowledge of Manx, in contradistinction, was felt to be 'old hat', and therefore to be discarded.[35]

[33]In addition, Cassie Smith-Christmas (2016: 1–6) provides a detailed account of the current state of research in which, in particular, the various complexities of the position of a minoritised language within a family situation are explored. Nevertheless, Smith-Christmas (2016: 18), in her work in the Isle of Skye, realistically saw that '[w]ith less than half the population being able to even understand Gaelic, it is clear to see that for the most part, Gaelic cannot be used as a community language in Skye. Home generational transmission remains low as well: [17.3%] reported Gaelic as the language they used at home, while [78.6%] [. . .] reported using only English at home. In many cases, use of Gaelic at home may well not mean that Gaelic is the exclusive or dominant language of the home, but rather, that *some* Gaelic is used in the home.' In her conclusion Smith-Christmas (ibid.) observes: '[. . .] [I]t should be emphasised that just as Gaelic's status as a minority language is a striking reality on a national level despite various revitalisation efforts, so too is this the case in Skye as a whole.' In the Manx cases, however, the information provided by them is too meagre for us to come to any meaningful decision on the matter, other than what has been said already.

[34]For examples of this in East Sutherland Gaelic and Penn Dutch see Dorian (2014b: 170–1).

[35]For a similar situation in Cape Breton Scottish Gaelic, see Mertz (1989). This article relates to another Gaelic language which experienced significant speaker loss in the region in question at a slightly later period than that in Man. Mertz found a widespread breakdown in transmission in two different Gaelic-speaking communities in Cape Breton at roughly the same time during the inter-war years, with particular emphasis on the 1930s.

8. CONCLUSION

From the above statistics regarding our sample we can observe the following:

8.1. As noted above, the informants at our disposal between *c.* 1875 and *c.* 1908 made a conscious decision right across the board, as if in consensus, not to pass on Manx to their children. As noted earlier, the shift starts *c.* 1860[36] but gains momentum from *c.* 1875 onwards, reaching its climax between the years 1880 and 1900, and petering out during the first decade of the twentieth century.

8.2. Of the 70 informants at our disposal, ten consist of Manx-speaking couples or singles who have no children to pass any language on to, i.e. they continue to speak Manx to each other until their deaths.

8.3. As our figures show, many of the last speakers are to be found in the parish of Rushen in the south of the island, thus contributing to the belief that Manx lingered on in that parish longer, especially in the isolated highland village of Cregneash. This is perhaps demonstrated by the following two reports:

8.3.1. From Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig (1870–1962), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, in 1953, referring to a period around 1880:

> Ren mee clashtyn y jishig ginsh mygeayrt eh as v'eh goll dys yn skaddan mârish as v'eh gra …va fer elley goll dys yn skaddan, v'eh woish Cregneash as cha row monney Baarle echey, as v'eh jannoo gamman jeh eshyn. Cha row Gaelg echey as v'eh gra rish yn jishig aym, 'T'eh futile loayrt rishyn. Cha nel eh toiggal Baarle, as cha nel ad toiggal Baarle erbee heose ayns Cregneash', dooyrt eh […]
>
> 'I heard my father telling about him and he used to go to the herring with him and he was saying … there was another one going to the herring, he was from Cregneash and he hadn't any English, and he would make sport of him. He (the first man) had no Manx and he would say to my father. 'It's futile speaking to him. He can't understand English, and they do not understand any English up in Cregneash.'
>
> (Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig 1953, YCG Tape 34, *HLSM* i, 338–9)

8.3.2. Karl Roeder, Introduction to Edward Faragher's Skeealyn Æsop *('Æsop's Fables'), in a section giving brief details of Faragher's vita (which he would have obtained from Faragher himself):*

> […] There was little English taught and known in Cregneish [*c.* 1840], his mother being the only person who could converse

[36] From *c.* 1853/4 if we include Thomas Crebbin Sr. (Profile §4.1.10a below).

> with strangers. His father was a fair scholar, and wrote all the letters [in English] for the Cregneish people, and that was a great thing then [. . .] (Roeder, *apud* Farquhar [Faragher] 1901: 9)

8.4. However, in a recent article Stephen Miller (2007: 108–21) seeks to show that the truth of the matter is different from the perceived reality. In his analysis of the 1901 census figures in the context of Cregneash, Miller (2007: 111–12) first of all gives a breakdown of the inhabitants and their background and occupations to set the language question in context. He then points out the importance of the visiting industry for Port Erin and Port St Mary, and also for Cregneash which was reachable on foot from both resorts. Miller (2007: 113–15) then turns to the language question which first featured in the Isle of Man Census of 1901, outlining the transfer from Manx to English in Cregneash in the following table:

> [. . .] The Manx-speakers numbered 44, those speaking English [. . .] 45. The breakdown by age groups is followed in brackets by the male/female split:

		Manx (44)	English (45)
1 to 20	39	3 (1/2)	36 (18/18)
20 to 40	17	8 (2/6)	9 (6/3)
40 to 60	23	23 (12/11)	—
60+	10	10 (5/5)	—
		(Oldest = 75)	(Oldest = 38)

(Miller 2007: 113)

As we can see, the transfer from Manx to English evidently begins with those in the age-group 20–40 and accelerates in the youngest age-group 1–20. This, along with other factors, contributed to the introduction of English into Cregneash at around the same time as in other parts of the Isle of Man. In this context Miller was able to come to the following conclusion:

> Taking these 16 [out of 24] households with children for whom returns were made, only one was entirely Manx speaking, the Karran household. Just five households had Manx speaking children, and only one had more than one child speaking Manx, again the same Karran household. However, this is a child in the wider sense of the word and not children of school age or under; for instance, Lina Faragher, 29, spoke Manx but resided with her father, Edward Faragher, who was 70. Looking at the remaining four households, all the Manx-speakers there had siblings. These households show the following age differences (Manx/English): 18/16, 19/2, 27/23, 28/14. These children, of course, are not necessarily the eldest sibling but simply the eldest child now remaining at Cregneash. Those present in 1891 remain to be traced

> in the 1901 census. Nevertheless, what can be clearly seen is Manx not being transmitted to children in Cregneash at all during the 1880s; 36 of those aged under 20 remaining in the village spoke only English. (Miller 2007: 115)

If we accept the foregoing, Miller's analysis clearly belies the belief that Manx in Cregneash lingered on longer than in other parts of the island. In other words, Cregneash was just as much affected by the onset of English as elsewhere in Man. In this context the testimony of Stanley Karran regarding Manx in Cregneash in his time is perhaps pertinent (see §8.8.2. below).

8.5. By the beginning of the twentieth century, as the 1901 Census makes clear, English had established itself even in Cregneash. The evidence adduced above shows that between 1880 and 1900 the Manx people, as if by consensus, did not pass on Manx to their children for various reasons, but probably in the belief that any career advancement would require a knowledge of English. The nineteenth century saw a period of upheaval in Manx society, brought on, it may be argued, by Revestment (1765): emigration of many from the Manx-speaking heartlands, immigration of a lower-middle-class cadre of entrepreneur, mainly from Lancashire, developments in various industries (mining, manufacturing, tourist, etc.) requiring additional skills and management, economic rises and collapses, etc. (cf. Kinvig 1975: 139–55). Such a scenario lay outwith the scope of Manx Gaelic with its emphasis on the traditional industries of farming and fishing. Given these developments the Manx people perhaps had no other choice but to opt for English.

8.6. Nevertheless, the Manx that the people learned and produced in their writings during the first half of the nineteenth century makes clear that they had a firm command of the language (cf. Broderick 1981, 1982; Lewin 2014). Even in the last years of its life during the twentieth century Manx was able to sustain an effective *Abwehrkampf*, in spite of heavy pressure from English. Even the numerical system of Manx, counting as it does by twenties (e.g. (*ta mee*) *kiare feed as queig jeig son yn Doonagh* [(t^{h}a mi) k´eːə fid as kwɛg ʤɛg sɔnən dunax] '(I am) 95 on Sunday' (literally '… four score and fifteen …'), is kept intact to the last, without any resort to English (*HLSM* i, 47–52).[37]

8.7. It may be interesting to note that in a letter from Wales dated 16 February 1872, printed in the *Mona's Herald* of 21 February 1872,[38] Rev. John Thomas Clarke (1799–1888) (here *Juan Thomaase Mac y Chleree*), one time chaplain of St Mark's, Malew (1827–64),[39] tells of an occasion *c.* 1849 when he spoke to a few young boys in Cregneash, first in English, then in Manx when they

[37]Ned Maddrell, Thursday 18 August 1972, interviewed by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh.

[38]I am grateful to Christopher Lewin, University of Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to this letter; cf. Lewin (2014: 28–9). Also partly cited after Kneen (1931: 14) in *LDIM*, 26–7.

[39]Cf. Gelling (1998: 225).

apparently could not understand him in English. Finally resorting to Manx Clarke said:

> [...] Smooinee mee çhelleeragh er y Ghaelg [...] Cha leah's cheayll ad yn Ghaelg heillagh peiagh dy row spyrryd noa sheidit stiagh ayndoo [...] Fey-yerrey, roish daag shin ad, vrie mee jeu row thie scoill syn naboonys oc dy ynsagh yn Vaarle. 'Oh va', dooyrt ad, 'agh cha vel traa ain goll huggey. Ta un yuilley beg ayns shid ta goll, as ta Baarle echey agh ta Gaelg share echey', dooyrt eh. Tra va mee goll roym dy aagail ad, yeeagh yn fer shinney jeu feer yennal seose ayns my eddin as lesh sooill feer vitçhooragh vrie eh jeem kys nagh loayr mee roo hoshiaght ooilley ayns Gaelg. Agh roish va traa aym freggyrt eh, dooyrt eh roosyn va mygeayrt-y-mysh lesh lane yindys, 'Agh quoi heillagh', dooyrt eh, 'dy beagh Gaelg ec mwannal bane?
>
> '(...) Then I quickly thought of (asking in) Manx (...). As soon as they heard the Manx you would have thought that a new spirit had blown into them (...). At last, just before I left them, I asked them if they had a school in the neighbourhood where they could learn English. "Oh, yes," they said, "but we've no time to go to it. There's one young lad there who goes to it, and he can speak some English but his Manx is much better", he said. As I was about to leave them, the oldest of them looked up very gleefully into my face and with a mischievous look asked me why I had not spoken to them all in Manx at the start. Before I could reply to him he said to those around him quite surprised, "But who would have thought", he said, "that a 'white neck'[40] would have Manx?"'[41]
>
> (Rev. J. T. Clarke, *Mona's Herald* 21 February 1872)[42]

If we take the Rev. J. T. Clarke at his word, then it seems that there were a number of young monoglot Manx-speakers in the area of Cregneash *c.* 1849.[43] But he also had this to say (ibid.):

> [...] [T]a sleih coontey beg jeh'n ghlare oc hene; [...]. [T]a ard-reiltee Ellan Vannin noi'n Ghaelg. Ta shirveishee yn Ghoo jeh dy chooilley chedjue noi eck; ta briwnyn as leighderyn noi eck.

[40] A minister with a 'dog-collar'.

[41] Seemingly young Manx-speaking boys did not see 'men of the cloth' as supporters of Manx.

[42] For details of the circumstances of this and other letters, see Wood (1919: 272–81). For the Clarke letter see also Paton (1957: 28–32).

[43] Nevertheless, as Lewin (2014: iii) notes, even Clarke's enthusiasm for Manx had its limits, accepting that Manx in reality had no future in Man, except perhaps in matters of religion: *Shoh yn ynrican vondeish, choud's ta mish abyl dh ghoaill tastey jeh, yinnagh girree ass gynsagh ooilley adsyn nagh vel scoill oc 'syn ellan dy ve ynsit dy lhaih Goo Yee ayns çhengey ny mayrey, yinnagh leeideil dys saualtys nyn anmeenyn* 'This is the only advantage, as far as I am able to see, that would arise from teaching all those who do not go to school in the island to be taught to read the Word of God in the mother tongue, which would lead them to the salvation of their souls.'

> 'The people (of Man) set little store by their own language. The rulers of the Isle of Man are against Manx. The church services of every religion are against it; the judges and lawyers are against it.'

There might be a slight exaggeration here, but it perhaps shows that even by 1872 Manx was thought little of by the Manx people at large. This is perhaps reinforced by the comment in the *Mona's Herald* of 10 January 1872, reporting on a Manx reading in Peel held on Wednesday 3 January 1872, that the organiser, a certain John Dawson, an ironmonger in Peel, later to become one of Rhŷs's informants, 'met with much discouragement' but nevertheless 'resolved to *try* at all events. He was not to be so easily beaten.' But by 1872 at any rate the way had been prepared by the Manx people themselves for the *Untergang* of Manx.

8.8. With regard to whether Manx was heard by Manx people in the early years of the twentieth century, whether they could speak it themselves or not, the following comments from the Manx Place-Name Survey (1988–2006) may perhaps be relevant:

> 8.8.1. While making tape-recordings of some 150 informants throughout the Isle of Man for the Manx Place-Name Survey (1989–92), I would on occasion ask the informants after the recording work whether they would ever remember Manx being spoken or knew of people who spoke Manx in their area when they were young. For the northern area of Man, i.e. Bride, Andreas, Lezayre, the replies were largely negative, i.e. they said they did not remember any Manx being spoken in their area in their younger days (1900–20), though they knew of people who had Manx. Few said that they remembered any of their relations, e.g. grandfather/grandmother, speaking Manx. However, in the South (Arbory, Rushen) many said that their grandparents could speak Manx, or even their parents. Replies of Manx-speaking grandparents from the South were not a rarity. But to my recollection, only two informants (from the South) told me that their parents spoke Manx. One was Stanley Karran, Cregneash, whose parents John and Eleanor Karran were two of the last native speakers, the other was Lewis Carron, Port Erin (of the Whallag, Arbory). (GB)
>
> 8.8.2. Mrs. Eleanor Karran's son, Stanley Karran (then living in the Karran household in Cregneash still), told me during an interview with him for the Manx Place-Name Survey on 21 January 1991 that, although he was born in 1910, he said, he does not remember Manx ever having been spoken at all in Cregneash. He said that known speakers, such as Harry Kelly, would speak English, not Manx, to other known native Manx-speakers in the village as their normal everyday language. He said that the only

> time he remembers Manx ever having been spoken was by his mother to a neighbour when accompanying her back home to the Corvalley (Howe) after a Christmas visit, and she would bring her son Stanley along with her for company on the way back. That was the only Manx I ever heard, he said. The young people in Cregneash in my time spoke only English, he said. (GB)

8.9. As Harry Boyde would have it, faced with such a situation: *Shen yn red t'eh!* 'That's how it is!'

9. ABBREVIATIONS

9.1. Manx parish abbreviations

AN — Andreas.
AR — Arbory.
BA — Ballaugh.
BN — Braddan.
BR — Bride.
CO — Conchan.
GE — German.
JU — Jurby.
LE — Lezayre.
LO — Lonan.
MA — Maughold.
MI — Michael.
ML — Malew.
MR — Marown.
PA — Patrick
RU — Rushen.
SA — Santan.

9.2. General abbreviations and clarifications of terms used in profiles below

Ag. Horse — agricultural worker, responsible for the horses
CM — Carl Marstrander
CT — Castletown (fishing boats registered in)
E — English
E > — Introduction of English into the household
f. — father
GB — George Broderick
gdr — granddaughter
gf. — grandfather
IMFHS — Isle of Man Family History Society (online resource)
IMPR — Isle of Man Parish Registers, 1598–2009 (online resource)
Jr — junior
LASID — Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (Wagner 1958–69).
LIB — Lawson's Index of Burials (IMFHS online resource)
LDIM — Language Death in the Isle of Man (Broderick 1999)
LSS — Linguistic Survey of Scotland.
M — married
MBMD — Manx Births, Marriages, Deaths (online resource)
MFLS — Manx Folk-Life Survey (Manx National Heritage)
MPNS — Manx Place-Name Survey

own account = self-employed
Penn Dutch — Pennsylvania German (Dorian 2014a).
rec. — recorded
S — unmarried, single
scholar = attending school
SM — Stephen Miller
Sr — senior
VR — Vienna Recordings of Manx Gaelic speech, August 1909 (Schüller 2003: 63–70).
worker = employee.
YCG — *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* (Manx Language Society)

10. Archive sources and bibliography

All online resources were checked on 17 August 2018.

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APPENDIX (A)
'UNDER-REPORTING' IN THE CENSUS FIGURES: THE CASE OF JOHN KNEEN ('THE GAAUE')

As an example of 'under reporting' in the Manx census figures, the case of John Kneen ('The Gaaue' (Gaelic *gobha* 'blacksmith') (Profile §4.1.24 below) has been chosen. He first turns up in the Isle of Man Census for 1861 where his age is given as one year. In the subsequent census enumerations Kneen's age is given as follows: 1871: 10, 1881: 21, 1891: 31, 1901: 42, 1911: 49. As can be seen, there is a certain amount of irregularity between the censuses. Such irregularity at that time was not uncommon, as people sometimes forgot their precise age, since, until the introduction of birth certificates in Man in 1879,[44] a person's age, if he did not have it fixed in his own mind already, was generally calculated from the date of his baptism as found in the parish registers. In Kneen's case this took place in St Jude's, Kirk Andreas, on 22 February 1860.[45] From information supplied by field-workers and those who knew Kneen personally his birthday was on 12 November. There was some discussion during the 1970s among Manx field-workers and enthusiasts

[44]Courtesy of Ms. Jane Salter, Central Registry, Douglas, personal communication, 21 October 2016.

[45]IMPR Andreas, St. Jude's, Baptism, 22 February 1860, 624.

about Kneen's actual age, one of whom, the late Walter Clarke of Ramsey, told me that

> independent deductions were made concerning the Gaaue's age, relating it to the ages of those who were connected with him, and it was estimated that he was about 104 or so when he died.
> (Walter Clarke, personal communication, *c.* 1975)

Carmody (1954: 60) notes that Kneen was 96, Jackson (1955: 3) 97, when they interviewed him. However, as we know from death and burial records that Kneen died on 6 June 1958 and was buried two days later on 8 June 1958 (cf. profile §4.1.24 below), the estimation of 104, if correct, would put Kneen's year of birth around 1853–4 or thereabouts. Some believe that he was even older, something like 105 when he died. This included a photographer for the *Isle of Man Times* who took a picture of Kneen on his alleged 100th birthday on 12 November 1952.[46]

The various census returns were made on the following dates in their respective years:[47]

1841: 6 June 1841.
1851: 30 March 1851.
1861: 7 April 1861.
1871: 2 April 1871
1881: 3 April 1881.
1891: 5 April 1891.
1901: 31 March 1901.
1911: 2 April 1911.

And as we are advised that Kneen's birthday fell on 12 November, the following calculations can perhaps be made:

Year	Age given	Calculated date of birth
1861 (7 April)	1	12 November 1859.
1871 (2 April)	10	12 November 1860.
1881 (3 April)	21	12 November 1859.
1891 (5 April)	31	12 November 1859.
1901 (31 March)	42	12 November 1858.
1911 (2 April)	49	12 November 1861.

As we have gleaned from the baptismal records that Kneen was baptised on 22 February 1860 (above), this would exclude the years 1860 and 1861 from our calculations. The residuum would suggest a birth-year of either 1858

[46]Cf. Manx National Heritage — iMuseum — People — John Kneen. (https://www.imuseum.im/search/archive_record/view?id=mnh-museum-115425\&type=archive\&tab=archive\&from=0\&term=mnh-agent-583677\&size=20\&sort=\&filter=\&view=\&images=\&ttmgp=0\&rfname=\&rlname=\&machine=\&race=\&raceyear=\&linked=0\&pos=12)

[47]See http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/census-records/\#3-how-the-census-was-taken-and-on-what-dates.

or 1859. If the former (1858), given his death-date above as 6 June 1958, Kneen would have been 99 (just short of 100) when he died. If the latter (1859), he would have been 98 on his passing. Given that his gravestone in Kirk Andreas churchyard tells us that he was 100 when he died, this would speak for 1858 as his year of birth. The census records, however, suggest the year 1859 on three occasions, in which case 1859 may be more likely.[48]

APPENDIX (B)
THE PROFILES

The profiles included here are divided into five categories:

1. Those informants who had children to transmit Manx to. Those informants whose families are affected by possible abrupt transmission failure (cf. §7.3; i.e. the eldest children are in receipt of Manx, but their youngest children are not for whatever reason) are marked with an asterisk (*).
2. Those informants who had no direct offspring to transmit any language to.
3. Those informants regarded as semi-speakers of Manx.
4. Those informants for whom there is insufficient information regarding their Manx.
5. Those informants for whom there is little or no detail at all about their family background.

Each entry has a unique number. They begin with (4) to mark their relationship to §4 above. On the abbreviations M, S, gf., gdr, f., Ag. Horse, and the terms 'scholar', 'worker', 'own account', see above, pages 94–5.

4.1. Informants with children[49]

4.1.1. William Joseph CAIN (1825/6–1911), Douglas (of Mullen-e-Corran, Conchan)

> 'The Gospel according to St Luke XV, 1–10 spoken by William Joseph Cain, 83 years old, retired landowner.' (VR63, rec. 5 August 1909 Douglas)

1841: So far as is known, William Joseph Caine (WJC) first appears in the 1841 census as William Cain, 14, agricultural

[48] In a similar situation, but concerning Scottish Gaelic, Kenneth Mackinnon (1985, 1986) also experienced difficulties with the Scottish census returns. In the Scottish cases the returns for 1971 and 1981 at any rate were vague on details of pupil ability in Gaelic. Though the Scottish census returns concerning Gaelic come seventy years after their Manx counterparts, there is nevertheless a certain amount of imprecision common to both censuses, even though the details of the imprecision relate to different topics. This suggests that imprecision of one sort or another is seemingly endemic in census enumerations generally.

[49] This section also includes details on informants who were not interviewed. But the documentation is such that it provides sufficient detail on these informants to indicate the position of Manx within the family.

labourer, of [Onchan], Isle of Man,[50] working for Robert Lewin, 59, miller, and his wife Ann Lewin, 50, both from Man, in Mullen-e-corran [Mwyllin y Corran], Onchan. Living and working with them was Helen Quiggin, 49, dress maker, John Quilliam, 20, miller, James Callow, 20, agricultural labourer, as well as William Garrett, 14, agricultural labourer, Jane Grandin, 20, female servant, and Eliza Cain, 11, female servant, all of Man (HO107/1465 1 4).

1851: WJC is here entered as William Cain, S, 25, miller, of Onchan, nephew to Robert Lewin, M, 69, miller, and his wife Ann, M, 62, both of Onchan, living in Mullen-e-Corrin. Also entered are Isabella Quine, S, 92, family nurse, Matthew Corrin, S, 15, nephew, cart man, Helen Quiggin, sister-in-law, S, 59, dress-maker, all of Onchan. Also there was Jane Grandin, niece, S, 34, house-keeper, of 'the I. of Man', Eliza Gawne, niece, M, 26, visitor, of Braddan, Ellin Clarke, S, 17, house servant, also of Braddan, Andrew Kissack, 12, scholar, of Onchan, and John Lewin-Gawne, 1, of Onchan (HO107/2525 93–4 15).

1861: WJC here as William Joseph Cain, head, M, 35, grocer, here enumerated as of Braddan, living at 23 Church Street, St George's, Douglas, with his wife, Jane, M, 33, of Malew, and their daughter Eliza G. 6 months, of Douglas. Living with them is Jane Creer, mother-in-law, widow, 59, of Malew, and Thomas Creer, brother-in-law, 32, baker, also of Malew (RG9/4416 54 48).

1871: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, 45, miller land owner, of Onchan, living in Lark Hill ON, with his wife Jane, M, 43, of Malew, and their sons William, S, 10, scholar, and Robert, 3, scholar (*sic*), both of Onchan. Also in the same household are Jane Creer, mother-in-law, widow, 70, annuitant, of Malew, Thomas Sayle, servant, S, 49, farm servant indoor, of Michael, James Bridson, servant, S, 18, miller, of Douglas, James Killey, servant, 12, assistant to miller, of Onchan (RG10/5774 141 46).

1881: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, M, 55, retired miller, of the 'Parish of Braddan', living at 16 Woodbourne Square, St George's, Douglas, along with his wife Jane, M, 53, of Malew, and their children William J., S, 20, banker's clerk, of Douglas, Robert, S, 13, scholar, of Onchan, and nephew Herbert Lindop, S, 14, scholar, of Douglas (RG11/5605 26 4).

1891: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, M, 65, Parish Clerk of Braddan, of Onchan,[51] living at 18 Woodbourne Square, St

[50] At this date the birthplace asked for was either 'in same Island' (i.e. Man) in one column, or 'whether born in England, Scotland, Ireland or Foreign Parts' in a separate column. A 'Y' (= 'Yes') was entered in the appropriate column. As from 1851 the parish is specified.

[51] The William J. Cain noted above from Onchan is probably the William Joseph Cain, of Glendhoo, Onchan, who was sound-recorded by Rudolf Trebitsch of the Österreichische Akademie der

George's, Douglas, along with his wife Jane, M, 64, of Malew, and their two sons William J., S, 30, also a Parish Clerk (parish not stated), of Douglas, and Robert L., S, 23, assistant clerk in the Douglas Iron Foundry, of Onchan, and Ellen Sandford, lodger, S, 80, living on her own means, of England (RG12/4688 83 32).

1901: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, widower, 75, retired miller, of Onchan, living on his own at 8 Woodbourne Square, St George's, Douglas, of Onchan, but seemingly no longer Parish Clerk of Braddan.

- Manx: William Joseph Cain is enumerated here as a Manx-speaker (RG13/5303 85 29).

William Joseph Cain died, aged 85, and was buried 21 March 1911 in Braddan (LIB).

E> *c.* 1860/61? As we do not know whether WJC's wife was a Manx-speaker or not, I have taken the introduction of English into the household as from the birth, not of Eliza G. (1861), who seems to have died early, but of their eldest son William (b. 1860/1) (cf. 1871 Census).

4.1.2. Caesar CASHEN (1856/7–1943), Peel GE (of Ballacain, Patrick)

'Together with [William] Quane I walked down to the Market Place and here met Caesar Cashen (ca. 70 yrs.) He remembered Rhŷs quite well whom he had often spoken to when he came to consult his [Cashen's] older brother [William Cashen]. Cashen seems to speak quite good Manx. The sentence 'I would like to go to Douglas' he repeated immediately like Woodworth, but Quane used a different expression: *ta mee bwooish* [...] 'I am wishing' which doesn't appear to be very idiomatic. Both Quane and Cashen were extremely pleasant. It is very likely that with help from them it should be possible to outline the main features of the Peel dialect — phonetic and grammatical.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 32) 'Cashen spoke Manx from the cradle.' (CM MNHL MS 05357 B, vol. IV, 2564 (24 September 1930))

1861: So far as is known, Caesar Cashen (CC) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Ceaser Cashen, 4, of Patrick, youngest son of Thomas Cashen, head, M, 59, fisherman, of Patrick, and his wife Mary, 52, of Patrick, living in Ballacain, Patrick, along with their other sons Thomas, 28, fisherman, John, 18, fisherman, Edward, 16, fisherman, and Joseph, 8, and their two daughters Jane, 15, and Margaret, 11, all of Patrick (RG9/4427 6 25).

1881: CC next turns up in the census of 1881 as Ceaser Cashin, head, M, 24, fisherman, of Patrick, living in 14 Glaenfaba Road,

Wissenschaften in August 1909. His dates are 1825/6–1911. For details of his contributions see *LDIM*, 54.

Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth Cashin, 27, and their nephew Ceaser Quirk, 4, both of Patrick (RG11/5597 77 102).

1901: CC next turns up in the 1901 census as Caesar Cashin, head, 42, green grocer, own account (i.e. self-employed), of Patrick, living now in 1 Castle Street, Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth, listed here as of Peel, and their niece Tamar Craine, 10, of Peel.

- Manx: Caesar Cashen is entered as a Manx-speaker, his wife and niece English-only (RG13/ 5306 50 44).

1911: CC here as Caesar Cashin, head, 53, mariner, of Patrick, now living in 8–9 Market Place, Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth, 53, both married 32 years [***c.* 1878/79**], fruiterer, of Peel, and their niece Tamar Craine, 20, S, shop assistant, also of Peel.

- Manx: As in 1901 Caesar Cashin is entered as a Manx-speaker, his wife and niece as English-only (RG14/34741 0391 40).

Caesar Cashen died, aged 86, and was buried in German on 2 June 1943 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1878/79. As Caesar Cashen's wife was a non-Manx-speaker, English would have been the regular language between them, almost certainly in the family since their marriage in 1878/9, and since the arrival of their niece in 1911 at the latest. Caesar Cashen seemingly had no children of his own; his niece would serve as a child in lieu.

4.1.3. John CHRISTIAN (1844/5–1931), Sulby Glen, Lezayre

'John Christian, carpenter, 84 yrs. old (several years older than his brother). He lives a short distance from the chapel near the Sulby Glen road. Faragher also recommended him and he seems really to be one of the best.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 45–6 (20 June 1929))[52]

1851: So far as we are aware, John Christian (JC) first appears in the 1851 census as John Christian, 6, joiner's son at home, of Lezayre, son to John Christian, head, 39, joiner master, of Lezayre. Living with them in Old Sulby LE is John senior's mother Isabell Christian, 68, house keeper, of Lezayre, and John senior's brother Robert, 29, shoemaker master, also of Lezayre (HO107/2523 244 39).

1861: JC here as John Christian, 17, son of John Christian, head, 49, head, joiner and farmer, living on Sulby Old Road LE along with his wife, Mary, 37, and the remaining children: Thomas, 9, Henry, 5, and Margaret 3. The place of birth for all of them is simply 'Isle of Man' (RG9/4422 33 63).

1871: JC here as John Christian, 25, joiner, of Lezayre, son to John Christian, head, 59, joiner, farmer of 11 acres, living in

[52]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 318–19.

Glenmore [Sulby Glen] LE, along with his wife Mary Anne, 46, and the remaining children: Frederick, 21, labourer, Henry, 15, scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Francis, 6, scholar, and Mary Ann, 4, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 33 10).

1881: JC here as John Christian, head, married, 36, joiner employing 2 labourers, living in Starch Mill House [Sulby Glen] LE along with his two sons: John C., 5, scholar, and Alfred E., 3, all of Lezayre (RG11/5599 81 3). JC's wife Margaret, then 32, was clearly absent when the census was taken.

1891: JC here as John Christian, head, 45, joiner, along with his wife, Margaret, 42, living in Old Sulby along with their children: John C., 15, joiner's apprentice, Alfred E., 13, scholar, Margaret E., 12, scholar, and Alice M., 10, scholar (RG12/4684 116 19). As in 1861 only 'Isle of Man' is given for all their birthplaces.

1901: JC here as John Christian, head, 56, joiner and carpenter, employer working at home, of Lezayre, living in Sulby Glen along with his wife Margaret, 52, also of Lezayre, and their children: Alfred E., 23, carpenter and joiner, Margaret E., 22, and Alice M., 20.

- Manx: John Christian and his wife Margaret are enumerated as Manx-speakers, the rest as English-only (RG13/5300 63 15).

1911: JC here as John Christian, head, 64, joiner, builder, own account, of Lezayre, living in Sulby Glen, Lezayre, along with his wife Margaret, 62, of Lezayre, both married 36 years [***c.* 1874/75**], along with their son Alfred Edward, 31, single, farmer, of Lezayre.

- Manx: Both John and Margaret, as in 1901, are enumerated as Manx-speakers, Alfred Edward as English-only (RG14/34696 0031 16).

John Christian died, aged 87, and was buried in Lezayre on 10 December 1931 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1877/8. Although both John and Margaret Christian are enumerated as native Manx-speakers, nevertheless, they decided not to pass on Manx to their children. This would likely have started at the birth of their first child Alfred in 1877/8.

4.1.4. Thomas CHRISTIAN ('the Carter') (1850/1–1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey, Maughold (of Lewaigue, Maughold)

'Thomas Christian whom I visited today lives in College Street quite near the [Saddle] hotel. He is an excellent old man, a Nordic type through and through. Here I seem finally to have found the man to work with. His pronunciation is clear; the man is intelligent, patient, and understands that he can be of great service to scholarship by making himself available. He answers small

test examples quickly and idiomatically.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 47–8 (21 June 1929))

'25th June [1929]: Had my first lesson with Christian today. Manx is going to be a complicated study when it comes to phonetics. It is not possible at this stage to make detailed phonetic notes. I'll have to work my way into the language first and then check details later on when my ear is more attuned to it. The phonetic system is much different from Irish, and I will have to orientate myself from scratch.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 53)

'31st [*sic*] June [1929]: Have now worked with Christian for appr. a week (from ca. 10–12 and from 2–4), and beginning to get the hang of the system. Chr. without doubt knows a lot of Manx. But it is quite clear that even he is a long time without practice at speaking the language. He often neglects the ordinary rules of mutation (aspiration [i.e. lenition], eclipsis), but maybe that is part of the development of the dialect he is speaking.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 53–4)[53]

1851: So far as is known, Thomas Christian (TC) first appears in the 1851 census as Thomas Christian, 1, of Maughold, son to William Christian, head, M, 43, agricultural labourer, of Lonan, living in Lewaigue, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, M, 32, dressmaker, of Maughold, and their remaining children: Eliza, 10, scholar, Elizabeth, 8, scholar, Ann, 5, scholar, and Margaret, 4, all of Maughold (HO107/2524 277 56).

1871: TC next appears in the 1871 census as Thomas Christian, 20, carter,[54] son to William Christian, head, M, 60, carter, of Lonan, living in 6 Dale Street, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Margaret, 48, carter's wife, of Maughold, and their remaining children: William, 18, saddler, of Maughold, and Robert, 12, scholar, also of Maughold (RG10/5773 194 179).

1881: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 29, carter, living now in 16 Dale Street, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife, Margaret, 28, carter's wife, and their children: Eliza Ann, 5, scholar, and Margaret Ellen, 3, the birth-place of all given simply as 'Isle of Man' (RG11/5600 115, 29).

1891: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 44, carter, local preacher, of Maughold, living in 1 Barrack Yard, Ramsey MA with his wife Margaret Ann, 39, of Kirk Bride, and their children: Eliza Ann, 14, scholar, Margaret Ellen, 13, scholar, Thomas, 6, scholar, Annie, 9, scholar, William, 4, scholar, and Catherine Jane, 2, all of Ramsey (RG12/4685 66 19).

[53]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 168–229.

[54]Thomas Christian was known locally as 'The Carter', from his profession, according to the late J. F. (Freddie) Cowle (1984), Ramsey, a great nephew to Thomas Christian.

1901: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 53, master carter, own account, of Maughold, living in 8 College Street, Ramsey, along with is wife Margaret, 46, of Bride, and their children: Margaret E., 32, baker's assistant, worker, Thomas, 17, dressmaker, own account, William, 15, grocer's assistant, Catherine J., 12, Robert, 9, John, 7, Edward, 4, all of Ramsey.

- Manx: Only Thomas Sr is entered as a Manx-speaker, his wife and children as English-only (RG13/5307 174 87).

1911: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, 60, general carter, own account, of Maughold, living at 4 College Street, Ramsey, along with his wife Margaret Ann, 58, both married 35 years [***c.* 1875/76**], here of Andreas, and their children: Margaret Ellen Cubbin, 30, married 2 years [***c.* 1908/09**], dressmaker, own account, at home, William, 24, S, general carter's assistant, worker, Robert, 20, S, carpenter, house, worker, John,16, S, assistant butcher, worker, Edward, 14, S, message boy, worker, all of Ramsey.

- Manx: Both Thomas Sr and his wife Margaret Ann are entered as Manx-speakers, the children English-only (RG14/34726 0231 116).

Thomas Christian died, aged, 79, and was buried in Maughold on 24 February 1930 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1875/76. Though Thomas is entered as a Manx-speaker in both the 1901 and 1911 censuses, his wife Margaret Ann only in the 1911 census, as English-only in that of 1901. Nevertheless, both had decided not to pass on Manx to their children, probably on the birth of their first child Eliza in 1875/6.

4.1.5. Mrs. Annie CLAGUE (1868/9–1954), Niarbyl, Patrick

1888: **Marriage**, Patrick, 7 July 1888, Henry Clague, 25, bachelor, mariner, Ballada [Patrick], f. James Clague, labourer ~ Annie Cretney, 21, spinster, [no entry], Nairbyl [Niarbyl] [Patrick], f. William Cretney, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Patrick, 7 July 1888, 310).

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Clague (AC) first appears in the 1901 census as Annie Clague, M, 32, of Patrick, wife of Henry Clague, head, M, 37, mariner, also of Patrick, both living at Niarbyl, Patrick, along with their children: William H., 12, Edith, 6, and Frederick 1, all of Patrick.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5306 107 14).

1911: AC here as Annie Clague, 42, M, of Patrick, wife of Henry Clague, head, 47, M, fisherman, also of Patrick, both married 24 years [**1888**] living in Niarbyl Cottage, Dalby, Patrick, along with

their son Frederick, 11, school, of Patrick. Also living with them is Ann Watterson, mother-in-law, 68, S, also of Patrick.

- Manx: Only Annie and her mother Ms. Ann Watterson are entered as Manx-speakers, her husband and son as English-only (RG14/34732 0047 24). **Not interviewed**.

Mrs. Annie Clague died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 1 February 1954 (LIB).[55]

Henry Clague died, aged 73, and was buried in Patrick on 9 June 1937 (LIB).

Ms. Ann Watterson died, aged 70, and was buried in Patrick on 30 November 1913 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1888/89. Again we witness the vagaries of the 1901 census where all (i.e. Annie Clague, her husband Henry, and their children) are entered as English-only speakers, probably representing the actual language (English) spoken at home. In the 1911 census both Annie and her mother Ann Watterson are entered as Manx-speakers, suggesting that Manx was used only between these two, but English with the whole family. If so, English would likely have been formally introduced into the family on her marriage in 1888 or on the birth of her first child William H. in *c.* 1888/9. If she spoke Manx at all with her mother in the household, then this would have ended on her mother's death in 1913.

4.1.6. John Joseph CORRIN (1857/8–1930), Ballachurry, Jurby (of Ballacroshey, BA)

'On the Jurby Road some miles or so from Ramsey I had a chat with John Joseph Corrin, 71 yrs. old, born in Ballaugh parish in Ballacroshey, now lives in Jurby in Ballachurry (on Jurby Road). Fifty years ago when he came to Jurby Manx was in extensive use. He appears to have quite some proficiency in spoken Manx. The test sentence 'if you don't come at once, I shall beat you' he managed quite well (with the exception of 'at once' which he did not translate); the weekdays he rattled off at a surprising rate (Christian got stuck on 'Tuesday' which can be attributed to his lack of memory in general. Even in English he seemed sometimes to hesitate). I'll have to call on him [Corrin] later. He is more than willing to receive me again.' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 55–6 (30 June 1929))

1881: So far as is known, John Joseph Corrin (JJC) is first enumerated in the 1881 census as John J. Corrin, S, 21, farmer's son, of Ballaugh, living in Ballachurry Quaye's House along with Mary A. Quaye, head, widow, 56, farmer of 56 acres, of Jurby,

[55] Annie Clague was an informant for Mona Douglas regarding Manx traditional songs (cf. Broderick 2008, Miller 2016: 1–2).

Robert Teare, visitor, S, 32, farmer labourer (indoor), of Jurby, and Robert Kneen, servant, S, 11, also of Jurby (RG11/ 5598 115 25).

1901: JJC next turns up in the 1901 census as John J. Corrin, son, S, 41, car-driver/carman, own account, of Ballaugh, living in Kerrookneale, Jurby, along with Mary A. Quaye, head, widow, 78, farmer, own account, at home, of Jurby, and Gertrude Pilling, S, 17, general servant, domestic, of England.

- Manx: Mary Quaye and John J. Corrin are entered as Manx-speakers, Gertrude Pilling as English-only (RG13/5302 66 4).

1908: **Marriage**, Braddan, 5 February 1908, John Jospeh Corrin, 40, bachelor, farmer, Jurby, f. John Joseph Corrin, shoemaker ~ Eva Coole Christian Smith, 20, spinster, [no entry], Cronkbourne, f. William Smith, labourer (IMPR Braddan 5 February 1908, 257).

1911: JJC here as John J. Corrin, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Ballaugh, living in Ballacurry, Summer Hill, Jurby, along with his wife Eva, 23, M, both married 3 years [**1908**], of Douglas, and their daughters Annie, 12, of Braddan, and Mary, 11 months, Jurby.

- Manx: John J. Corrin alone is entered as a Manx-speaker, the others as English-only (RG14/ 34694 0059 35).

John Joseph Corrin died, aged 72, and was buried in Jurby on 17 April 1930 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1908. It is clear from the 1901 and 1911 censuses that John Jospeh Corrin at any rate was a Manx-speaker. He married late in life, marrying a much younger woman, Eva Coole Christian Smith, 20, of Cronkbourne, Braddan, an English-only speaker. As Eva's daughter Annie (b. 1898/9) would also be living with them English would be the language of the household, formally at any rate, as from John Joseph's marriage to Eva in 1908.

4.1.7. William COWLEY (1842/3–1921), Douglas (of Sulby Glen, Lezayre)

'Two old folk-songs spoken by William Cowley, 66 years old, shoemaker.' (VR63–4, rec. 6 August 1909 in Douglas)[56]

1851: So far as is known, William Cowley (WC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as William Cowley, 8, scholar, of Lezayre, son to Thomas Cowley, head, M, 50, shoemaker, farmer of 35 acres, of Braddan, living in Glenmoar [Sulby Glen], Lezayre, along with his wife, Catharine, M, 46, of Lezayre, and their remaining children: Elizabeth, 15, 'employed in house and on farm', Catharine, 12, Elizabeth, Ann, 10, scholar, William, 8, scholar, Margaret, 5,

[56]For details of his recorded contributions, see also *HLSM* i, 316–19.

scholar, Eliza, 11 months, at home, all of Lezayre. Living with them is James Clague, servant, S, 18, farm labourer, of Braddan (HO107/2524 240 9).

1861: WC here as William Cowley, S, 18, shoemaker's son, of Lezayre, son to Thomas Cowley, head, 60, shoemaker, of Braddan and his wife Catharine, M, 54, living now in Ballaskella, Sulby Glen LE, along with their remaining children: Elizabeth, S, 25, dressmaker, Catharine, S, 22, Margaret, S, 15, Eliza, 11, all of Lezayre, and their granddaughter Catharine A. Mylecraine, 5 months, of Lezayre. Living with them is Mary Joughin, visitor, 61, and Margaret Kneale, visitor, 23, dressmaker, both of Lezayre (RG9/4422 5 15).

1871: WC here as William Cowley, S, 27, son to Thomas Cowley, head, M, 70, farmer of 70 acres, and his wife, Catharine, M, 65, still living and farming in Ballaskella, Sulby Glen LE, along with their remaining children: Margaret, 24, Eliza, S, 20, all of 'Isle of Mann'. Living with them is their granddaughter Alice Mylechraine, 10, scholar, and John Thomas Mylechraine, grandson, 7, scholar, also of 'Isle of Mann' (RG10/5773 34 26).

1881: WC here as William Cowley, S, 37, now living in 10 Back Stanley Terrace, St Thomas's, Douglas ON, along with his mother Catharine, widow, 78, of Lezayre, and his sister Margaret, S, 34, housekeeper, all three of Lezayre (RG11/5605 82 50).

1882: **Marriage**, Braddan, 21 January 1882 William Cowley, full age [37/8], bachelor, shoemaker, Back Stanley Terrace, Douglas, f. Thomas Cowley, shoemaker ~ Charlotte Corkish, full age [26/7], spinster, [no entry], Kewaigue, Braddan, f. William Corkish, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Braddan, 21 January 1882, 95).

1891: WC here as William Cowley, head, M,47, shoemaker, now living at 64 Allan Street, Douglas, of Lezayre, along with his wife, M, Charlotte, 35, of Braddan, and their children: Florence, 8, scholar, William H., 4, scholar, Catharine, 2, and Eleanor M., 3 months, all of Douglas (RG12/4688 53 148).

1911: WC appears next in the 1911 census as William Cowley, head, 67, M, shoemaker, boot and shoe shop, worker, of Lezayre, now living in 62 Allan Street, Douglas, along with his wife Charlotte, 55, M, both married 29 years [***c.* 1881/2**], of Braddan, and their children: William Henry, 24, S, draper's assistant, worker, Elleanor, 20, S, Edith A. 17, S, shop assistant, worker, and Mona A., 15, S, all of Douglas.

- Manx: William Cowley Sr only is entered as a Manx-speaker, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34665 0167 85).

William Cowley died, aged 75, and was buried in Douglas Borough Cemetery on 10 March 1921 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1882. As William Cowley is the only Manx-speaker in the household, English is naturally the daily language. English is likely to have been formally introduced into the household on his marriage to his wife Charlotte in 1882.

4.1.8a. John COWLEY (1843/4–1935), Druidale, Michael,
or 4.1.8b. Thomas COWLEY (1846/7–??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will, Lezayre

> 'Lunch in Tholt y Will. From there up a steep road to the south; ca. 1 mile up there is a side-road to the left. It leads to Creggan [...] where Cowley [...] lives. He is now 85 yrs. old, almost blind and rather rheumatic, but his pronunciation is quite clear. His memory seems somewhat weakened. Even when he speaks English he hesitates and seems to be rooting for the words. It was impossible for him to remember what 'head' was in Manx. It wasn't until I mentioned the southern Manx [kjɔ:n] [*kione*] that he gave me his pronunciation of it as [kjɔun]. He also had problems differentiating between 'with him' and 'with her', but things like that will hopefully diminish fairly naturally in more connected speech.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 42 (20 June 1929))

As it is uncertain which 'Cowley' Marstrander interviewed in Creggan, both possibilites are entered here. For comment see end of section.

> **1851a**: So far as is known, **John Cowley** (JC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as John Cowley, 7, scholar, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 49, farmer of 100 acres; employs one man, of Lezayre and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Michael, living in Crammag, Lezayre, along with their remaining children: Ann, 13, scholar, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, of Michael, Thomas, 4, at home, of Michael, Elinor Margaret, 1, at home, of Michael. Also living with them was John Kermeen, servant, S, 22, farm labourer, of Patrick, and Margaret Quayle, servant, house servant, of Andreas (HO107/2524 239 1).
>
> **1851b**: So far as is known, **Thomas Cowley** (TC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as Thomas Cowley, 4, at home, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 49, farmer of 100 acres; employs one man, of Lezayre and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, 13, scholar, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, of Michael, John, 7, scholar, of Michael, Elinor Margaret, 1, at home, of Michael. Also living with them was John Kermeen, servant, S, 22, farm labourer, of Patrick, and Margaret Quayle, servant, house servant, of Andreas (HO107/2524 239 1).
>
> **1861a**: JC here as **John Cowley**, S, 16, farmer, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 59, farmer of 100 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 49, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, S, 23,

of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 19, of Michael, Thomas, 14, farmer, of Lezayre, Margaret, 11, scholar, of Michael, and William, 4, scholar, also of Michael (RG9/4422 6 18).

1861b: TC is entered here as **Thomas Cowley**, 14, farmer, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 59, farmer of 100 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 49, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, S, 23, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 19, of Michael, John, 16, farmer, of Michael, Margaret, 11, scholar, of Michael, and William, 4, scholar, also of Michael (RG9/4422 6 18).

1871a: JC here as **John Cowley**, S, 27, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, widower, 69, farmer of 162 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, living still in Crammag LE, along with his remaining children: Thomas, S, 24, of Lezayre, Margaret, S, 21, of Lezayre, William, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre. Living with them is Robert Quayle, servant, S, 13, farm servant indoor, of Lezayre, as well as Elizabeth Christian, servant, S, 40, domestic servant, of Andreas (RG10/ 5773 34 22).

1871b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, S, 24, of Lezayre, son to John Cowley, head, widower, 69, farmer of 162 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, living still in Crammag LE, along with his remaining children: John, S, 27, of Michael, Margaret, S, 21, of Lezayre, William, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre. Living with them is Robert Quayle, servant, S, 13, farm servant indoor, of Lezayre, as well as Elizabeth Christian, servant, S, 40, domestic servant, of Andreas (RG10/ 5773 34 22).

1881a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, M, 37, farmer of 167 acres, of Michael, living in Crammag LE but now with his wife Jane, M, 30, of Lezayre, along with their son John C. 11 months, of Lezayre, as well as John Sr's brother Thomas, S, 35, farmer, of Lezayre. Also living with them is John Bridson, servant, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth E. Quayle, niece, 7, scholar, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 82 12).

1881b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, S, 35, farmer, of Lezayre, brother to John, head, M, 37, farmer of 167 acres, of Michael, living in Crammag LE with John and his wife Jane, M, 30, of Lezayre, and their son John C., 11 months, of Lezayre. Also living with them is John Bridson, servant, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth E. Quayle, niece, 7, scholar, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 82 12).

1891a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, now a widower,[57] 47, farmer, living still in Crammag LE with his children: John C.,

[57] His first wife Jane died, aged 33, and was buried in Lezayre on 26 August 1884 (LIB).

10, Thomas C., 9, and Jane, 8. Living with them is Isabella Fargher, servant, S, 49, general servant, domestic, all of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4684 116 27).

1891b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, S, 44, farmer, now living in Creggan, Tholt-y-Will, Lezayre, along with his sister Ann Quayle, widow, 51, retired, his nieces Eliza E., S, 17, dressmaker, Julia F., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor J., S, 15, scholar, and his nephew Francis H., S, 10, scholar, all of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4684 117 30).

1901a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, M, 57, farmer, employer, of Michael, living and farming now in Druidale, Michael, along with his wife Judith, M, 32, of Maughold, and his son by his first wife Jane, John Cashin Cowley, S, 20, farmer's son, worker, of Lezayre, Jane, S, 15, worker, of Lezayre, and the children of his second wife Judith, William, 5, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth, 4, of Lezayre.

- Manx: John Cowley Sr alone is entered as a Manx-speaker, the rest as English-only (RG13/ 5300 18 67).

1901b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, S, 54, farmer, own account, of Lezayre, living now in Corrody, Lezayre, along with his sister Ann Quayle, widow, 61, house keeper, also of Lezayre.

- Manx: Both Thomas and Ann are listed as Manx-speakers (RG13/5300 65 33).

1911a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, 67, M, farmer, employer, of Michael, still living in Druidale MI along with his wife Judith M, 43, M, both married 16 years [***c.* 1894/5**] and their son William, 15, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Lezayre, and their daughter Elizabeth, 14, scholar, of Lezayre. Living with them is John E. Coole, servant, 18, S, horseman on farm, worker, also of Lezayre.

- Manx: Both John and Judith are enumerated as Manx-speakers, the rest as English-only (RG14/34729 0029 15).

1911b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, 64, S, farmer, own account, at home, [of Lezayre], living now back in Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE along with his nephew Francis Henry Quayle, 30, S, sheep farmer, own account, of Lezayre, and Eleanor Teresa Quayle, niece, 34, S, Lezayre.

- Manx: Thomas Cowley alone is listed as a Manx-speaker, the others English-only (RG14/ 34696 0047 24).

John Cowley died, aged 91, and was buried in Lezayre on 26 March 1935 (LIB).

Thomas Cowley. So far as is known, there is no record of his death in Man (LIB, MBMD).

E(JC)> *c*. 1895/6. From LIB we learn that John Cowley's first wife Jane died, aged 33, and was buried in Lezayre on 26 August 1884 (b. 1850/1). She is likely to have been Manx-speaking and with her husband would probably have brought up their children also Manx-speaking, though we have no confirmatory evidence for this. Ten years later, in 1894/5, John married again, viz. Judith, according to the 1901 Census also a Manx-speaker along with her husband. That their children are listed in 1901 as English-only speakers makes clear that their parents decided not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely happen on the birth of their first child William (b. 1895/6), soon after their marriage.

E(TC)> *c*. 1901–11. Thomas, on the other hand, did not marry or have children at all, so far as we can assess, but lived with family (either with his brother John and his wife and family (1881) or with his sister Ann Quayle and his nieces and nephew (1891). By 1901 he was living solely with his sister as housekeeper, and in 1911 solely with his nephew and niece, both English-only speakers. In 1901 we are told that both Thomas and his sister Ann Quayle were entered as Manx-speakers — and so in 1891 when they lived with their seemingly English-only speaking nieces and nephew. Whether Thomas spoke Manx or English in John's household 1881 × 1891 is not clear. But what is clear is that by 1911 his English-only speaking nephew had accompanied him back into Creggan. All this would imply that Thomas and his sister Ann Quayle may have passed on Manx to his sister's children when living with them 1881 × 91; this we do not know. But by 1911 at the latest he would almost certainly be speaking English to his non-Manx-speaking nephew Francis Henry Quayle.

Comment:

Marstrander (*Dagbok*, 42, 44–5) records interviewing a Mr. Cowley, Creggan, Tholt-y-Will on 21 June 1929, adding that he was then 85 years of age. If so, then he would have interviewed John Cowley, then living in Druidale MI. The occupant of Creggan on Marstrander's visit was John's slightly younger brother Thomas Cowley, then 82 years of age. The fact that Marstrander was specific about the age would suggest that he had interviewed John. If so, then Thomas may have asked him to come over, or he may have been there when Marstrander visited. But I get the feeling that Marstrander mixed up the ages and interviewed the actual occupant of Creggan, namely Thomas.

4.1.9. Thomas CREBBIN (1847/8–1935), Bradda, Port Erin, Rushen

> 'Called on Thomas Crebbin in Bradda Village today, and am going to meet him tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. He appears to have a clear pronunciation. A palatal *n* came very clearly from him. He was born in Port Erin (half way between P. Er. and Bradda Village). Like his father and grandfather he has spoken Manx from early childhood. He appears to pronounce *laa* 'day' with a broad fronted *l*. In other words [Joseph] Woodw[orth] and [Harry]

Kelly's pronunciation is flavoured by the dialect from which they learned Manx.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 73–4 (1 September 1930))[58]

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Crebbin (TC) is first noticed in the 1861 census, 12, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 45, fisherman and 3 acres of land, of Rushen, and his wife Cathrine, M, 45, of Rushen, living in Rowany, Bradda, Rushen, along with their remaining children: Cathrine, 15, John, 9, scholar, Edward, 5, Jane, 2, and William, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 44 45).

1871: TC here as Thomas, 21, fisherman, of Be Carick [Baie Carrick, Carrick Bay] RU, on the fishing boat *Harry* CT82, Vessels sailing from Port St Mary to Kinsale Fishery (RG10/ 5778 132 *Harry* CT82).

1873: **Marriage**, Rushen, 18 September 1873 Thomas Crebbin, full age [34], bachelor, fisherman, Spaldrick, f. Thomas Crebbin, fisherman ~ Elizabeth Crebbin, full age [36], spinster, [no entry], Fleshwick, f. Thomas Crebbin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 18 September 1873, 500).

1881: TC here as Thomas Crebbin, M, 31, fisherman, of Rushen, Fishing boat *Cedar* (RG11/ 5609 83 9).

1901: TC next turns up in the 1901 census as Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 52, mariner, of Rushen, living in Ballaglonney, Rushen, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 54, of Rushen, and their children: Catherine, S, 25, Lottie, S, 19, Edith, S, 18, all of Rushen. Living with them was their nephew Thomas E. Corkill, S, 33, naval reservist, of Rushen.

- Manx: Thomas Crebbin and his wife Elizabeth are listed as Manx-speakers, the rest English-only (RG13/5301 118 42).

1911: TC here as Thomas Crebbin, head, 62, M, mariner, worker, of Rushen, living in Bradda, Port Erin RU, along with his wife Elizabeth. 47, M, both married 37 years [***c.* 1873/4**], of Rushen, and daughter Ida, 28, S of Rushen.

- Manx: Thomas and his wife Elizabeth are both listed as Manx-speakers, Ida as English-only (RG14/34744 0015 8).

Thomas Crebbin died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 6 December 1935 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1876. In 1901 we learn that Thomas Crebbin and his wife Elizabeth were both Manx-speaking, but not their children. They were both married in Rushen on 18 September 1873, but evidently decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would likely be introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Catherine, b. 1876.

[58]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 398–401.

4.1.10a. Thomas CREBBIN Jr (1853/4–1940), Hillberry, Four Roads, Port St Mary RU
4.1.10b. Thomas CREBBIN Sr (1823/4–1904), 'Mona Cottage', Bradda, Rushen

> 'T. Crebbin at Four Roads near Port Erin. He is an old man of around 80. His knowledge of Manx is rather limited from several angles. I did not miss much by not visiting him earlier.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 76 (30 September 1930))

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Crebbin [Jr] (TC) first appears in the 1861 census as Thomas Crebbin, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin [Sr], head, M, 36, fisherman, of Rushen and his wife Eleanor, M, 41, also of Rushen, living in 'Brada' [Bradda] RU, also with their remaining children: John, 10, scholar, William, 1, all of Rushen. Living with them is Elenor Clague, servant, S, 18, house servant, of Rushen, and Jane Crebbin, daughter, S, 15, also of Rushen (RG9/4430 40–1 12).

1871: TC Jr here as Thomas Cribbin, S, 18, of Rushen, son to Eleanor Cribbin, wife, M, 51, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living at Four Roads, Port St Mary RU, along with the remaining children: Jane, 15, and William, 11, both of Rushen (RG10/5778 79 81).

1881: TC Sr here as Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 57, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Bradda with his wife Eleanor, 61, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, along with their daughter Jane, S, 25, dressmaker, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 120 115).

1901: TC Jr turns up next in the 1901 census as Thomas, S, 46, shoemaker, worker, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin [Sr], head, widower, 76, fisherman, own account, of Rushen, living in 'Mona Cottage', Bradda RU, along with daughter Jane, S, 44, house keeper, also of Rushen.

- Manx: Both Thomas Sr and Thomas Jr are listed as Manx-speakers, Jane as English-only (RG13/5301 117 20).

1905: **Marriage**, Rushen, 1 February 1905, Thomas Crebbin, full age, bachelor, shoemaker Bradda, f. Thomas Crebbin, Bradda, fisherman ~ Emily Gawne, full age, spinster, [no entry], Four Roads, f. William Gawne, tailor (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 01 February 1905, 34).

1911: TC Jr here as Thomas Crebbin, head, 57, M, mariner, home, of Rushen, living at Hillberry, Four Roads, Port St Mary, Rushen, along with his wife Emily, 53, M, both married six years [**1905**], of Liverpool, and Thomas's sister Jane Crebbin, 55, S, of Rushen, his nephews John Gawne, 7, and Tommy Gawne, 3, both of Liverpool.

- Manx: Only Thomas Crebbin Jr is listed as a Manx-speaker, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34742 0249 123).

Thomas Crebbin Jr died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 8 May 1940 (LIB).

Thomas Crebbin Sr died, aged 81, and was buried in Rushen on 25 December 1904 (LIB).

E(TC Sr)> *c.* 1856/7. In 1901 we learn that Thomas Crebbin Jr (57) and his father Thomas Crebbin Sr (76) are both entered as Manx-speakers, but not Thomas Sr's daughter (Thomas Jr's sister) Jane (44) (b. *c.* 1856/7). That is to say, that Thomas Sr and his wife Eleanor had already decided not to pass on Manx to their children after Thomas Jr, i.e. as from Jane born *c.* 1856/7. **Not interviewed**.

E(TC Jr)> *c.* 1904. In 1911 only Thomas Crebbin Jr is listed as a Manx-speaker, the rest (i.e. his wife, his sister, and his nephews) English-only. As his wife Emily, of Liverpool, was an English-only speaker, Thomas would speak English to her when they first met; they married in 1905 and they both continued with English with Thomas's sister Jane and his two nephews John and Tommy Gawne. Thomas Jr may have spoken Manx to his father Thomas Sr alone till the latter's death in 1904, thereafter English only, at least within the household.

4.1.11. John Tom KAIGHIN (1862/3–1954), Ballagarrett, Bride

'John Tom Kaighin [Jr], then 88, was born in and lives at Ballagarrett, was awhile at Ballaugh with his grandfather, spent his life as a farmer and used Gaelic regularly at the market. His fluency returned quickly when he was discovered in 1946 [*rectius c.* 1936]. His speech is careless and his articulation often obscure; but he was eager to propose interesting words and constructions and to translate key sentences from English.' (Carmody 1954: 59)[59]

1871: So far as is known, John Tom Kaighin (JTK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as John T. Kaighin, 8, scholar, grandson to Thomas Kaighin, head, widower, 74, farmer, and son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr, M, 27, both of Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride. Living with them is Jane Kaighin, S, 30, and Eliza Alice Kaighin, 23, daughters to Thomas and sisters to John Thomas Sr, as well as Thomas's remaining grandchildren: William, 5, scholar, Ann Jane, 7, Cathrine, 8 months, all of 'Isle of Man'. Also living with them is Thomas Martin, servant, S, 16, farm servant indoor, also of 'Isle of Man' (RG10/5773 16 65).

1881: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 18, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Thos. Kaighin, head, M, 38, farmer of 53 acres,

[59]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 284–305.

of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 41, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett BR along with their remaining children: Ann Jane, S, 17, farmer's daughter, William, 15, scholar, Catharine, 10 scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Sophia A., 7, scholar, Esther M., 5, scholar, Elenor, 3, and Isabella, 1, all of Bride. Living with them is John Thomas Sr's father Thomas Kaighin, widower, 84, farmer, here entered of Jurby, and Elizabeth Kaighin, John Thomas Sr's sister, S, 33, farmer's daughter, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 64 14).

1891: JTK here as John T. Kaighin, 28, S, farm labourer, employed, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr, head, M, 49, farmer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 54, of Andreas, living now in Ballamin, Bride, along with their remaining children: Margaret E., S, 23, dressmaker, Elizabeth, S, 19, dressmaker, Sophia A., S, 17, scholar, Esther M., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor, S, 13, scholar, and James J. S, 6, scholar, all of Bride. Living with them is William B. W. Lawson, S, 16 farm servant, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 10).

1901: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 38 farmers son, worker, at home, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr, head, M, 59, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 61, farmer's wife, of Andreas, living still in Ballamin along with their other children: Henry, S, 18, farmer's son, worker, at home, James J., S, 17, farmer's son, worker, at home, Esther M, S, 24, worker, at home, Eleanor, S, 22, worker, at home, Annie, gdr. 9, and Alice J., gdr. 6, all of Bride. Living with them is Thomas Crennell, S, 18, cattleman, worker of Bride.

- Manx: entered here as Manx-speakers are John T. Kaighin Sr, his wife Anne, and the following children: John Thomas, Henry, James J., Esther M, and Eleanor. Entered as English-only speakers are the granddaughters Annie and Alice J. and the cattleman Thomas Crennell (RG13/5302 39 10).

1911: JTK turns up next in the 1911 census as John Thomas Kaighin, 48, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr, head, 69, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, 71, of Andreas, both married 49 years [***c.* 1861/2**]. Living with them in Ballagarrett BR are their other children: William, 44, M, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, Eleanor, 33, S, farmer's daughter, worker, of Bride, Jane Alice Kaighin, granddaughter, 16, S, milliner, of Bride, John William Kaighin, grandson, 14, S, school, of Douglas, and Thomas Ernest Kaighin, grandson, 2, of Douglas. Also living with them is William Cannell, 15, working indoor, of Douglas.

- Manx: entered here as Manx-speakers are John Thomas Sr, his wife Jane, John Thomas Jr, and his brother William. The

> rest, viz. Eleanor, and the grandchildren Jane Alice, 16, and Thomas Ernest, 2, and the servant William Cannell, are entered as English-only speakers. (RG14/34648 0049 25).
>
> **John Thomas Kaighin** Jr died, aged 91, and was buried in Bride on 12 June 1954 (LIB).
>
> **John Thomas Kaighin** Sr b. Bride 1842/3, died aged 71, and was buried in Bride on 27 September 1914 (LIB).
>
> **Thomas Kaighin** gf. b. Jurby 1797, died aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 17 April 1882 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1884/5. From the 1901 census we learn that the parents and all six children, from John Thomas downwards to Eleanor, are entered as Manx-speakers. Only the two granddaughters Annie and Alice J. are entered as English-only speakers. From the 1911 census, however, we learn that only the parents and the two eldest children John Thomas and his brother William are entered as Manx-speakers, Eleanor as an English-only speaker along with the three grandchildren. But from the 1901 census Eleanor is, as noted above, entered as a Manx-speaker. It may be that in the meantime she had chosen to speak English. The situation seems to be that Manx was the language of the household as far as the parents and children were concerned, but that English was spoken to the grandchildren. If this is the case, then the parents made a conscious decision not to pass on Manx to the grandchildren, the eldest of whom, James J. was born *c*. 1884/5. That is to say, that English was formally introduced into the Kaighin household in that year, in which case John Tom Kaighin had over 20 years' experience of Manx in the home. In addition, Carmody comments that he lived for a time with his grandfather Thomas Kaighin (1791–1863) (in Close Rhenney, Ballaugh), which would suggest that he was in receipt of good Manx there. The sound-recordings make clear that John Tom Kaighin was competent in Manx.

John Tom Kaighin neither married nor had children, so far as is known.

4.1.12. Henry KARRAN (1860/1–1938), The Howe, Rushen

> '17th June [1929]: Glorious weather. Started walking to the south [from the Falcon's Nest Hotel, Port Erin] to get a glimpse of the Calf of Man. In the village of Cregneish I had a chat with a 69 yr. old man (Karran). He was from [the] Howe (on the map Howe) just north of Cregneish, but his father was born in Cregneish. He was able to express himself in Manx, as long as the sentence wasn't too complicated. A sentence like 'I would not have beaten him if he were not a bad man' neither he nor another older man could translate. But a sentence like 'I shall go to the fair tomorrow', 'I went to the fair yesterday, but bought nothing' they both managed without any difficulty [...]' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 17 (17 June 1929))

1871: So far as is known, Henry Karran (HK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as Henry Karran, 11, scholar, of Rushen, 'relative' of William Karran, head, M, 70, farmer of 23 acres, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 73, also of Rushen, living in Fisgert [Fistard] Road [by Port St Mary], Rushen, along with William Curk [Quirk], border, 68, fisherman, of Rushen, and Ann Karran 'relative', S, 9, scholar, of Rushen (RG10/5778 89 11).

1881: HK here as Henry Karran, S, 21, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Ellan Vannin* (RG11/5609 85 75).

1891: HK here as Henry Karran, S, 32, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Harvest Home* CT115 (RG12 4692 84).

1901: HK here as Henry Karran, head, M, 40, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Cregneash with his wife Isabella, M, 36, of Rushen, and their children: William, 2, of Rushen, Robina, 6 months, Isabel, S, 19, dressmaker, worker, of Rushen.

- Manx: entered as Manx-speakers are Henry Karran and his wife Isabella, and their eldest daughter Isabel. As William and Robina are under age (younger than 3) no entry is made (RG13/5301 109 152).

Henry Karran died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 12 May 1938 (LIB).

E> 1901. According to the 1901 census Henry Karran, his wife Isabella, and their eldest daughter Isabel are enumerated as Manx-speakers. Although their youngest children are not enumerated because of their age, there is no reason to believe that they would not have had Manx passed on to them also, though we cannot be certain. But we can be certain that until 1901 Manx was the language of the Karran household.

4.1.13. John KARRAN (1866/7–1955), Cregneash, Rushen

'I note[d] several constructions used by Mr. Karran [...]' (Carmody 1954: 60)

1881: So far as is known, John Karran (JK) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Karran, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, aboard the fishing boat *Seek* CT50 (RG11/5609 88 31).

1901: JK here as John Karran, head, M, 34, stone mason, worker, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, with his wife Eleanor C. (q.v.), M 29, of Rushen, along with their daughter Emily, J., 1, of Rushen.

- Manx: Both John and Eleanor are entered as Manx-speakers; no entry is made for the daughter, as underaged (RG13/5301 108 149).

John Karran died, aged 88, and was buried in Rushen on 16 July 1955.

E> *c.* 1900. See next.

4.1.14. Mrs. Eleanor C. KARRAN (1870/1–1953), Cregneash, Rushen

'[. . .] and have excellent Bible readings by his wife [Mrs. Eleanor Karran] [. . .]' (Carmody 1954: 60)

'Mrs. Eleanor Karran, of Cregneish. About 80. She was my chief source, with whom I worked right through the questionnaire.' (Jackson 1955: 2)[60]

1881: So far as is known, Mrs. Eleanor Karran (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Eleanor Karran, 9, of Rushen, daughter of Isabella Karran, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash RU, with her other children: Jane, 7, Thomas, 5, James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: EK here as Eleanor Karran, S, 20, of Rushen, daughter of Thomas Karran, head, M, 51, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 46, also of Rushen, living in Cregneash Farm, Cregneash RU, along with their other children: William, 12, scholar, John F., 9, scholar, Isabella, 4, Margaret A., 1, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 48 97).

1899: **Marriage**, Rushen, 22 April 1899 John Karran, 32, bachelor, mason, Cregneish, f. Henry Karran, farmer ~ Eleanor Catharine Karran, 27, spinster, [no entry], Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, fisherman and farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 April 1899, 942). So far as we know, there seems to be no direct or indirect relationship between the two families sharing the same surname.

1900: **Baptism**, Rushen, 18 February 1900 Emily Isabel, John Karran/Eleanor (Karran), Cregneish, mason, C. H. Leece, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Rushen, 18 February 1900, 42).

1901: EK here as Eleanor Karran, M, 29, of Rushen, wife of John Karran (q.v.), head, M, 34, stone mason, of Rushen, living in Cregneash along with their daughter Emily J., 1, of Rushen.

- Manx: Both John and Eleanor Karran are entered as Manx-speakers (RG13/5301 108 149).

1911: EK here as Eleanor Karran, wife, 40 M, of Rushen, married 12 years [***c.* 1898/9**], living in Cregneash, Port St Mary, with her three children: Emily Isabel, 11, Catharine Millicent, 7, Stanley James Maddrell, 8, all of Rushen.

- Manx: Only Eleanor Karran is here entered as a Manx-speaker; the rest English-only (RG14/ 34746 0089 41).

Mrs. Eleanor Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 11 October 1953 (LIB).

[60]For details of her recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 382–83.

E> *c.* 1900. Given that John and Eleanor Karran (1901) and Eleanor alone (1911) are listed as Manx-speakers, it is clear that they had decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would have likely been introduced into the household, as elsewhere, on the birth of their first child Emily Isabel (*c.* 1899/1900) (baptism 18 February 1900), if not earlier.

4.1.15. Thomas KARRAN (1875/6–1959), Douglas (of Cregneash, Rushen).

> 'Mr. Thomas Karran, her [Eleanor Karran's] brother, now of 30 Peel Street, Douglas. About 75. I had no opportunity of using him.' (Jackson 1955: 2)[61]
>
> **1881**: So far as is known, Thomas Karran (TC) is first attested in the census for 1881 as Thomas Karran, 5, of Rushen, son to Mrs. Isabella Karran, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, along with her other children: Eleanor, 9, Jane, 7, and James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).
>
> **1891**: TC here as Thomas Karran, S, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Sylph* CT 59 (RG12/4692 78).
>
> **1899**: **Marriage**, Rushen, 3 March 1899 Thomas Karran, 23, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, farmer ~ Annie Louisa Collister, 20, spinster, [no entry], Port Erin, f. William Collister, boatsman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03 March 1899, 939).
>
> **1911**: TC turns up next in the 1911 census as Thomas Karran, head, 35, M, mariner, of Rushen with his wife Annie, 32, also of Rushen, both married 12 years [***c.* 1898/9**], living on Dandy Hill, Port Erin, Rushen, along with their children: Wilfrid, 10, school, Lena, 9, William, 8, James, 6, Emily Jane, 3, and Edith, 1, all of Rushen.
>
> **- Manx**: Only Thomas Karran is entered as a Manx-speaker, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34745 0123 109). **Not interviewed**.
>
> **Thomas Karran** died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 17 March 1959 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1899. English would have been introduced formally into the family when Thomas married his wife Annie (3 March 1899), as Annie was an English-only speaker.

4.1.16. Edward KENNAH (1860/1–1938), Port Erin, Rushen (of Ronague, Arbory).

> 'Edward Kennah from Ballaclery, a short distance from Grenaby, is better [than Taggart]. The man is from the Port Erin area. He is

[61] For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 384–85.

an absolutely trustworthy man. But he doesn't speak Manx with ease.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 68 (27 August 1930))[62]

1871: So far as we are aware, Edward Kennah (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Edward Kennah, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to James Kennah, head, M, 47, shoemaker, of Arbory, and his wife Jane, M, 37, of Arbory, living in Ronague with their remaining children: Ann K., S, 14, shoemaker's daughter, Margaret J, 9, scholar, Elizabeth, 7, scholar, and William, 3, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 58).

1891: EK turns up next in the 1891 census as Edward Kannah, head, M, 33, farmer [of Arbory], living now in Kerrow Moar [Kerroo Mooar], Malew, with his wife Jane, M, 27, farmer's wife, of 'Isle of Man' and daughter: Eleanor J., 2, of 'Isle of Man'. Also living with them is EK' s mother-in-law Eleanor Gale, widow, 69, living on her own means, also of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4690 120 21).

1901: EK here as Edward Kennah, head, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Ballayelse, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 38, of Rushen, and daughter Eleanor J., 12, of Malew.

- Manx: Both Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered as Manx-speakers, the daughter Eleanor English-only (RG13/5301 168 24).

1911: EK here as Edward Kennah, head, 51, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Ballamaddrell, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, 47, M, of Rushen, both married 23 years [***c.* 1887/8**], and their daughter Eleanor, 22, S, at home, of Malew. Also living with them is Stanley Gell, servant, 17, S, horseman on farm, worker of Malew, and Alfred Wise, servant, 20, single, cowman on farm, worker, of London, Poplar.

- Manx: Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered as Manx-speakers, the rest English-only (RG14/34634 0013 76).

Edward Kennah died, aged 78, and was buried in Arbory on 7 May 1938 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1889/90. Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered both in 1901 and 1911 as Manx-speakers. They ceased to pass on Manx to their children probably on the birth of their first child Eleanor (*c.* 1889/90).

4.1.17. William KENNAH (1867/8–1939), Balladuggan, Malew*

'William Kennah from Balladuggan just south of Grenaby, 62 yrs. old; he says he can express himself using ordinary sentences in Manx. A random sample 'I am going to Castletown' he translated

[62]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 396–97.

correctly. His father and mother both spoke Manx, but also a bit of English. When they spoke to each other they used Manx in preference, and especially when there was something they did not wish the children to understand (this trait I have heard emphasised from many other quarters).' (CM 1929 *Dagbok*, 15 (16 June 1929))

1871: So far as is known, William Kennah (WK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as William Kennah (younger brother to Edward Kennah (above)), 3, of Arbory, son to James Kennah, head, M, 47, shoemaker of Arbory, and his wife Jane, M, 37, shoemaker's wife, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, also with their remaining children: Ann R, S, 14, shoemaker's daughter, Edward, 11, scholar, Margaret, 9, scholar, and Elizabeth, 7, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 58).

1901: WK next appears in the census for 1901 as William Kennah, S, 33, farmer, own account, of Arbory, son to Jane, head, widow, 66, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, along with her two daughters: Isaline J., S, 24, of Arbory, Ann R. Clarke, M, 44, fisherman's wife, of Arbory, and grandson Ernest Clarke, 12, also of Arbory.

- Manx: Both Jane Kennah and William Kennah, as well as Ann Clarke are entered as Manx-speakers, the other two, Isaline Kennah and Ernest Clarke, English-only (RG13/5301 168 32).

1911: WK here as William Kennah, head, 43, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Kerrow Moar [Kerroo Mooar], Malew, with his wife Margaret, 38, M, of Arbory, both married 4 years [***c*. 1906/7**], and John Crellin, servant, 19, S, after horses, worker, of Marown.

- Manx: All are entered here as English-only speakers. This would be an error in the case of William Kennah from the 1901 entry (RG14/34714 0013 7).

William Kennah died, aged 90, and was buried in Arbory on 11 July 1958 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1877. In 1901 we are told that entered as Manx-speakers are William Kennah's mother Jane (66), William Kennah himself (33) and his elder sister Anne R. (44), but not his younger sister Isaline (24) and his nephew Ernest (12). That would suggest that WK's parents ceased to pass on Manx to their youngest daughter Isaline on her birth (*c*. 1877). But see §8 below.

4.1.18. John KILLIP (1853/4–1935), Ballaugh Road, Sulby, Lezayre

'21st June [1929]: Ramsey, Saddle Hotel. I called on Mr. Killip before I left Sulby. He lives on the Ballaugh road a couple of hundred metres from Sulby railway station. He turned out to be identical with a man I had stopped the previous night and asked

directions to the Sulby Glen Hotel. The man was quite sure of himself and spoke a little about his knowledge of Manx, which in fact was deficient. He couldn't even recite the Our Father and naturally got stuck rather quickly when I gave him the ordinary test sentences.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 46 (20 June 1929))

'1933 Mr. Killip, Sulby, has forgotten everything. His parents spoke Manx' (CM1933 *Dagbok*, 41 (2 February 1933)).

1861: So far as is known, John Killip (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Killip, 7, scholar, of Lezayre, son to William Killip, head, M, 40, farmer of 50 acres, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm with his wife Margaret, M, 35, farmer's wife, also of Lezayre, and also their other children: Catharine, 13, scholar, Elizabeth, 11, scholar, William, 9, scholar, Christian, daughter, 4, Sophia, 2, all of Lezayre. Living with them is Jane Cowley, servant, 23, house servant, of Lezayre (RG9/4422 18 29).

1871: JK here as John Killip, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre, son to William Killip, head, M, 50, farmer of 50 acres, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm with his wife Margaret, M, 46, also of Lezayre also with their other children: Catharine, S, 22, Eliza J., S, 20, William, S, 19, Christian, 14 scholar, Sophia, 12, scholar, Eliza, 4, and Esther, 1, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 37–8, 10).

1901: JK turns up next in the census for 1901 as John Killip, S, 47, worker, at home, of Lezayre, living still in Curragh Farm with is father William Killip, M, 80, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Margaret, M, 76, of Lezayre, and their servant Isabel Faragher, S, 18, general servant, worker, at home, of Ballaugh.

- Manx: All three Killips, viz. William, Margaret and John are entered as Manx-speakers, Isabel Faragher English-only (RG13/5300 71 24).

1911: JK here as John Killip, head, 57, S, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm still with his sister Sophia Quayle, 52, widow, of Lezayre, and his niece Sophia Mona Quayle, 16, S. of Lezayre, and their servant William Alfred Kneale, 27, S, farm labourer, worker, also of Lezayre.

- Manx: All four are entered as English-only speakers, though this probably reflects the language spoken at home. We know from the 1901 census (q.v.) that John Killip was a Manx-speaker (RG14/34697 0045 23).

John Killip died, aged 81, and was buried in Ballaugh on 27 February 1935 (LIB). Ballaugh church and churchyard is in fact nearer to the Curragh Farm than is Lezayre church.

E> *c.* 1901–11. In 1901 both John Killip's parents, William and Margaret Killip, as well as John himself are listed as Manx-speakers. They would likely

converse in Manx between themselves, but speak English to their servant Isabel Faragher. In 1911 John is living with his younger sister Sophia Quayle, probably also a Manx-speaker (cf. 1871, as with his then other sisters and brothers), but probably not his niece Sophia Mona Quayle and possibly not the servant William Alfred Kneale. This would suggest that English was introduced into the household when Sophia Mona and William Alfred came to live with them, sometime between 1901 and 1911. In this regard, the fact that Marstrander was able to comment on the poor state of John Killip's Manx, and that the 1911 census reports all four as being English-speakers (but entered as Manx-speakers in 1901), would support the view that between 1901 and 1911 a decision had been made to introduce English as the daily language of the household. If so, this would explain John's poor Manx, as reported by Marstrander in 1929.

4.1.19. John Dan KINVIG (1860/1–1953), Ronague, Arbory (of Garey Mooar AR)*

> 'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all.' (Jackson 1955: 3)
>
> **1871**: So far as is known, John Dan Kinvig (JDK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John Kinvig, 9, scholar, of Arbory, son to Elenor Kinvig, M, 35, fisherman's wife, of Patrick, living in Garey Mooar, Arbory,[63] also with her other children: Jane, 7, William, 5, Ann, 3, Robert, 1, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 59).
>
> **1881**: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Arbory, son to Eleanor Kinvig, M, 47, fisherman's wife, farming 10 acres, of Patrick, living still in Garey Mooar AR, also with her other children: Ann, 13, fisherman's daughter, Robert, 12, scholar, George, 8, scholar, Alfred, 4, all of Arbory (RG11/5608 79 54).
>
> **1891**: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 29, stonemason, employed, of Arbory, son to Daniel Kinvig, head, M, 66, farmer, employer, of Arbory, and Eleanor Kinvig, wife, M, 58, of Patrick, living in Ronague AR also with their other children: George, S, 17, farm servant, employed, and Alfred, 14, employed, both of Arbory (RG12/4691 82 27).
>
> **1892**: **Marriage**, Arbory, 01 November 1892 John Kinvig, full age [31/2], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full age [22/3], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).
>
> **1901**: JDK turns up next in the 1901 Census as John Kinvig, head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living now in Gaa helen

[63]The father was Daniel Kinvig (1835–1916) (IMPR Arbory, Baptisms 1834–83, MS. 10356–2).

[Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Sage Kinvig (q.v.), M, 30 of Arbory, and their children: John F[letcher], 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, all of Arbory. Living with them is Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, widow, 62, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

- Manx: The following are entered as Manx-speakers: John and Sage Kinvig, John F[letcher] Kinvig, and Mrs. Jane Clarke; the rest are English-only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin] AR, along with his wife Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, both married 18 years [**1892**], and their children: John F[letcher], 17, worker, William D, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic server, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, the rest English-only. Note that John F[letcher] was entered as a Manx-speaker in 1901, but English-only in 1911. The latter may represent his later developed preference for English (RG14/34635 0027 14), perhaps as a result of his bad experience in school at having been taunted because he had Manx when seven years old (in 1900–1) (cf. §8.2.1.4 below). **Not interviewed**.

John Dan Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Arbory on 28 April 1953 (LIB).[64]

Daniel Kinvig f. died, aged 81, and was buried in Arbory on 5 December 1906 (LIB).[65]

E> *c.* 1895. In 1901 we learn that the Manx-speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F[letcher] (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first-born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (*c.* 1895). We learned *c.* 1975 from field-worker and lexicographer the late Douglas C. Faragher, who knew John Dan Kinvig personally, that he had very good Manx.

4.1.20. Mrs. Sage Jane KINVIG (1869/70–1962), Garey Hollin, Arbory*

'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all.' (Jackson 1955: 3)[66]

[64] Although JDK is regularly entered in the censuses as 'John Kinvig', he was apparently known locally, according to the field-workers, as 'John Dan Kinvig' (from his father's name Daniel) and 'the Contractor', from his later occupation as a stone mason.

[65] 1916 in LIB, probably a misprint for 1906 (cf. MBMD Death, Daniel Kinvig, 81, Arbory, 1906, C1, 279).

[66] For details of her recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 376–81.

1870: Baptism, Arbory, 6 November 1870: Sage Jane daughter, f. William Clarke and m. Jane (Kelly), Ronnag, farmer, J. Qualtrough, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Arbory, 6 November 1870, 1860).

1871: So far as is known, Sage Jane Kinvig (SJK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Sage J. Clarke, 6 months, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 47, farmer of 10 acres, employing one man, of Malew, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 30, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Also living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 28, general servant, of Arbory, and Edward Kelly, brother-in-law, S, 20, farm servant indoor, also of Arbory (RG10/5778 30 35).

1881: SJK here as Sage Clarke, 10, scholar, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 57, farmer (13 acres), of Malew, living in Ballaquinney, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 42, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 40, general servant domestic, of Arbory, and Esther Clarke, mother, widow, 85, farmer's widow, of Patrick (RG11/5608 76 31).

1891: SJK here as Sage Clarke, S, 20, dressmaker, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 69, farmer, of Patrick, living still in Ballaquinney AR along with his wife Jane, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory (RG12/4691 84 38).

1892: **Marriage**, Arbory, 1 November 1892 John Kinvig, full age [31–2], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar, f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full age [22/3], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).

1901: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, M, 30, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig (q.v.), head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with their children: John F[letcher], 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, and Blanche, 1, all of Arbory. Living with them is Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, 62, widow, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, their eldest son John F[letcher], and the mother-in-law Mrs. Jane Clarke, the rest English-only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1908: **Burial**, Arbory, 7 May 1908 Jane Clarke, Ronague, 1908 May 7, 68, John Kewly (IMPR Burial, Arbory, 7 May 1908, 1189).

1911: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, both married 18 years [**1892**] and their children: John F[letcher], 17, worker, William,

9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic server, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are John and Sage Kinvig alone, the rest English-only. As noted under John Dan Kinvig above, John F[letcher] is entered as a Manx-speaker in 1901, but English-only in 1911 (but see foregoing). **Not interviewed** by Jackson but recorded by the Irish Folklore Commission (1948) and *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh*, the Manx Language Society (1952, 1953).

Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig died on 13 April 1962, aged 91, and was buried in Arbory on 17 April 1962 (GR, LIB).

Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother, died, aged 68, and was buried in Arbory on 7 May 1908 (IMPR Burial, Arbory, 7 May 1908, 1189).

E> *c.* 1895 or 1908. As noted under John Dan above, in 1901 we learn that the Manx-speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F[letcher] (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first-born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (*c.* 1895), though they would likely continue speaking Manx to Sage Jane's mother, Jane Clarke till her death in 1908. Or that Manx continued to be spoken by everyone in the household till Jane Clarke's death in 1908.

4.1.21. John James KISSACK (1857/8–1947), Ballachrink, Michael

'P.S. Kirk Michael: John Kissack in Ballachrink on the Douglas road just on the outskirts of Kirk Michael; he is a man of over 70 yrs. He knows amongst other things the Our Father [Lord's Prayer] in Manx — but appears strangely enough not to be able to count to 10.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 37 (19 June 1929))

1861: So far as is known, John James Kissack (JJK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John James Kissack, 5, scholar, of Michael, son to William Kissack, head, M, 41, agricultural labourer, of German, living in Lhergydhoo (Curragh), German, along with his wife Margaret, M, 32, of Braddan, also their other children: William, 12, scholar, of German, Jane Kissack, 14, scholar, of Michael, Ann, 7, scholar, of German, and Thomas, 2, infant, also of German (RG9/4420 45 52).

1881: JJK turns up next in the census for 1881 as John James Kissack, servant, S, 24, farm servant, of Michael, living in and working for the Cannells in Ballacarnane Beg, Michael (RG11/5598 55 22).

1901: JJK turns up next in the 1901 census as John Kissack, head, M, 46, stoker on steam ship, worker, of Michael, living

in Ballagawne, Michael, along with his wife Isabella, M, 51, of Rushen, and their three daughters: Margaret J., 15, Emely A, 13, and Christian, 11, all of Michael.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (but see next) (RG13/5300 30 26).

1911: JJK here as John Jas. Kissick, head, 55, M, farm labourer, of Michael, living in Ballagawne, Michael, with his wife Isabella, 61, M, of Rushen, both married for 28 years [***c*. 1882/3**].

- Manx: Both John James and Isabella Kissack are entered here as Manx-speakers (RG14/ 34731 0011 6).

John James Kissack died, aged 76, and was buried in Michael on 6 June 1933 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1886. In 1911 we learn that both John James Kissack and his wife Isabella are entered as Manx-speakers. If we take it that this also applied in 1901 then they, too, did not wish to pass on Manx to their children. They would likely introduce English formally into the household on the birth of their eldest child Margaret (*c*. 1886).

4.1.22. Charles KNEALE (1856/7–1946), Ballagarrett, Bride.

1861: So far as is known, Charles Kneale (CK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Charles Kneale, 4, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, M, 43, farmer of 60 acres, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 40, as well as their remaining children: John, S, 19, Katherine, S, 17, Thomas, S, 16, Daniel, 3, Mary, 8, scholar, Robert, 6, scholar, Esther, 5, scholar, Ellen, 3, James, 2, all of Bride (RG9/4413 30 28).

1871: CK here as Chas. Kneale, S, 14, labouring boy, son to John Kneale, head, M, 54, living in Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 46, and their other children: Robert, S, 16, labouring boy, Ellen Jane, 13, scholar, James, 11, scholar, Joseph, 10, scholar, Eliza, 8, scholar, Isabella, 7, scholar, all of 'Isle of Man'. Living with them are their grandchildren John J., 3, grandson, and Polly, 2, granddaughter, both of 'Isle of Man' (RG10/ 5773 16 64).

1881: CK here as Charles Kneale, 24, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, M, 64, of Andreas, living now in Ballacregga, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 61, of Bride, and their other children: Thomas, S, 36, Robert, S, 27, James, S, 21, Joseph, S, 19, all farmer's sons, all of Bride, Ellenor, S, 22, Eliza, S, 17, and Isabella, S, 16, all farmer's daughters, all of Bride. Living with them is John Kerruish, grandson, 13, 'blind from birth', and Thomas Carran, 1, grandson, both of Bride (RG11/5599 64 10).

1891: CK here as Charles Kneale, S, 34, agricultural labourer, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, widower, 74, farmer, of Andreas, living still in Ballacregga, Bride, along with his other children: James, S, 31, agricultural labourer, Joseph, S, 30, agricultural labourer, all of Bride. Living with them is his grandson John Kerruish, S, 23, 'blind from birth', here of Ballaugh, Thomas Cowle, servant, S, 20, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh. As well there are his two daughters Ellin, S, 38, housekeeper domestic, and Isabella, S, 26, dressmaker, both of Bride, and his granddaughter Sarah A. Kerruish, 14, servant (domestic), of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 5).

1901: CK here as Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, of Bride, living once again in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Ann J. M, 36, also of Bride, along with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3,Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English-only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: CK here as Charles Kneale, head, 53, M, farmer, here of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Annie, 46, M, of Bride, both married 15 years [***c.* 1895/6**], and their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[r]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English-only RG14/34649 0001 1). **Not interviewed**.

Charles Kneale died, aged 89, and was buried in Bride on 29 December 1946 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1886/7. In both 1901 and 1911 Charles Kneale and his wife Annie are entered as Manx-speakers. Neverthless, they chose not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely start from the birth of their eldest child Hilda (*c*. 1886/7). Hilda's non-appearance in the 1911 census may be for various reasons, e.g. she may have died in the meantime, or gone to live elsewhere. Nonetheless, the decision of Charles and Annie Kneale to introduce English into the household is in my view to be taken from Hilda's birth. See also next.

4.1.23. Mrs. Annie KNEALE (1864–1949), Ballagarrett, Bride.[67]

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Kneale (AK) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Ann J. Kneale, M, 36, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, here of Bride,

[67] For details of her recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 306–9.

living in Ballagarrett, Bride, with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3, Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English-only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: AK here as Annie Kneale, 46, M, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, 56, M, farmer, of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, both married 15 years [***c.* 1895/6**] along with their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[r]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English-only (RG14/34649 0001 1).

Mrs. Annie Kneale died, aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 4 May 1949 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1886/7. For comment see foregoing.

4.1.24. John KNEEN ('The Gaaue') (1858/9–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St Jude's, Andreas).

'Furthermore [a man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx-speaker] Mr. Kneen, Lhen (a short distance from Sartfield).' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 57 (30 June 1929))[68]

'Jackie Kneen, then 96, was born at Kirk Andreas of local parents and spent his active days as a blacksmith in Jurby East, in constant contact with Gaelic-speaking farmers. He speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm, describes old-time situations and tells anecdotes of his early life; none of his stories show[s] traces of fixed wording or narrative techniques. He was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949.' (Carmody 1954: 59)[69]

[68] Although recommended to Marstrander, Kneen was for some reason not visited by him and thereby passed temporarily into oblivion. He was 'rediscovered' seven years later, in 1936, as John Kneen ('The Gaaue') (1859–1958), Ballaugh Curragh, by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, then a counter clerk in the Isle of Man Bank, Ramsey (later its manager). Craine told me in July 1974 that around the same time he also 'discovered' John Tom Kaighin (1862–1954), Ballagarrett, Bride, and Harry Boyde (*c.* 1870–1953), Ballaugh, as all three used to come into his bank every Saturday morning to deposit their week's takings. He said they all looked old enough to be Manx-speakers and one Saturday, he said, he plucked up enough courage to speak to them in Manx when they came to his counter. They each replied in Manx, Craine said, and he then introduced himself to them, and thereafter spoke to them in Manx whenever they would come to his counter.

[69] John Kneen was better known by his contemporaries as 'The Gaaue' ('blacksmith'). Most of the material we have of him is folklife in character, along with a number of stories, mostly of

1860: Baptism, Andreas, 22 February 1860, John, son of John Kneen and Eleanor Margaret (Cannan), St Jude's, Andreas, Blacksmith, G. Bishop (IMPR Baptism, Andreas, 22 February 1860, 624).

1861: So far as is known, John Kneen ('The Gaaue') (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Kneen, 1, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor K., M, 33, of Kirk German, living at Cross Four Ways, Andreas, along with their other children: Esther A, 14, agricultural labourer, of Kirk German, William, 13, scholar, also of Kirk German, Eleanor, 10 scholar, of Andreas, Catherine, 7, scholar, of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 4, also of Andreas (RG9/4410 45 91).

1871: JK here as John Kneen, 10, scholar, son to John Kneen, head, M, 53, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Ellen, M, 48, of Michael, living in Lheaney Voar House, Jurby, along with their children: William, S, 22, blacksmith's son, of German, Catharine, S, 16, blacksmith's daughter, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 13, blacksmith's daughter, of Andreas, Thomas, 4, and Robert, 1, both of Andreas (RG10/5772 138 49).

1873: **Baptism**, Andreas, 2 November 1873, Esther, daughter of Caesar Kennish and Ann (Cormode), Andreas, Labourer, Jos. C. Moore (IMPR Baptism, Andreas, 2 November 1873, 618).

1881: JK here as John Kneen, S, 21, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 62, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor M, 58, blacksmith's wife, of German, living still in Lheaney Voar, Jurby, along with their other son Robert, 11, scholar, of Jurby (RG11/5598 113 4).

1891: JK here as John Kneen, S, 31, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to Ellan Kneen, head, widow, 67, of German, living still in Lheney Voar, Jurby, along with her daughter: Ellan, S, 40, farmer's daughter, of Andreas, as well as her granddaughter Florence, 7, scholar, of Liverpool, and her two grandsons: John A. Pooley, 5, of Liverpool, and John R. Corlett, 17, blacksmith apprentice, of Jurby (RG12/4684 4 13).

1897: **Marriage**, Jurby, 21 August 1897 John Kneen, full age, bachelor, blacksmith, Jurby, f. John Kneen, blacksmith ~ Esther Kennish, full age, spinster, [no entry], Jurby, Caesar Kennish (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897, 127).

his younger days (cf. *HLSM* i, 230–69). His articulation on the sound-recordings presents some problems of interpretation, and he is one of the more difficult informants to understand (GB).

1901: JK here as John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, living in Lheaney Voar with his wife Esther, M,[70] 26, of Andreas, along with their two children: Ethel M, 2, of Jurby, and John F. 9 months, of Liverpool, and their nephew John A, Pooley, 15, blacksmith's apprentice [of Liverpool].

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English-only (RG13/5302 67 12).

1911: JK here as John Kneen, head, 49, M, blacksmith, own account, of Andreas, living now in Loughan, Jurby, along with his wife Esther, 36, M, also of Andreas, both married 13 years [***c.* 1897**], and their children: Ethel May, 12, John Francis, 10, school, Edward, 9, school, Esther Mildred, 6, and Emily Florence, 2, all of Jurby.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English-only (RG14/34694 0021 13).

John Kneen ('The Gaaue') died, aged 100, and was buried in Andreas on 8 June 1958 (LIB).

Esther Kneen died, aged 58, and was buried in Andreas on 16 July 1931 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1897. As John Kneen's wife had no Manx, it was clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally into their household on their marriage on 21 August 1897. In 1891 JK would likely continue to speak Manx to his mother Ellan (Eleanor) on her own but English when his mother's granddaughter Florence (of Liverpool) and grandson John A. Pooley (Liverpool) at any rate were present, probably also with the other grandson John Corlett (Jurby) when he was present.

4.1.25. William KNEEN (1856/7–1938), Croit-y-Caley, Rushen

'It was this man [from Ballasalla], however, who told me about William Kneen as a good speaker. This Kneen is over 70 yrs., born in Croit-e-Caley (somewhat south-west of Colby) where he now lives.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 14–15 (16 June 1929))

1871: So far as is known, William Kneen (WK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as William Kneen, 14, scholar, of Arbory, son to William Kneen, head,M, 40, farmer of 112 acres employing one man and two lads, of Rushen, living in Bellelby, Patrick, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 48, farmer's wife, of Arbory, and other children: Eleanor, S, 16, farmer's daughter, of Arbory, Elizabeth Ann, 11, scholar, of Arbory, Richard Thomas, 8, scholar, of Arbory, John Henry, 5, scholar, of Patrick. Living

[70]Esther Kneen (alias Kennish), f. Caesar Kennish, m. Ann Cormode, was christened on 2 November 1873 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas (IMPR Baptisms, Andreas, St Jude's, 2 November 1873, 618).

with them is Catherine Kneen, servant, 33, general servant domestic, of Patrick, John Kannaugh, servant, 24, farm servant, indoor, of German, and Evan Kannaugh, 17, farm servant indoor, also of Patrick (RG10/5771 14–15 10).

1881: WK here as William Kneen, S, 24, farmer's son working on farm, of Arbory, son to William Kneen, head, M, 50, farmer of 111 acres, employs one labourer, one boy, of Rushen, living still in Ballelby, Patrick, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory, and their other children: Elizabeth, S, 21, farmer's daughter, of Arbory, Richard Thomas, S, 18, farmer's son work on farm, of Arbory, John Henry, S, 15, farmer's son, scholar, of Kirk Patrick. Living with them is Sophia Christian, servant, S, 21, house servant (domestic), of Patrick, and Thomas Kneale, servant, S, 15, farm servant indoor, of Michael (RG11/5596 15 6).

1901: WK turns up next in the census for 1901 as William Kneen, head, M, 44, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living now in Croit-y-Caley, Rushen, along with his wife Eva, M, 44, of German, and their two sons William, 11, of German, and Alfred G., 6, also of German. Living with them is Thomas Maddrell, servant, S, 46, horseman on farm, worker, of Patrick, and Mary Corlett, servant, S, 18, servant domestic, of Rushen.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5301 135 86).

1911: WK here as William Kneen, head, 54, M, farmer, employer, at home, of Arbory, living in Croit-y-Caley, Rushen, along with his wife Eva, 54, M, of German, both married 22 years [***c.* 1888/9**], and their son Alfred G., 16, S, articled accountant, worker, of German. Living with them is William Kneen Sr, boarder, 80, widower, retired farmer, of Rushen, Herbert McFee, servant, 32, widower, labourer on farm, worker, of Santon, and Margaret Duke, servant, 25, S, general servant (domestic), worker, of Malew.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely William Kneen Sr (1831–1913), the rest English-only. William Kneen Jr is likely to have had Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34748 0173 22). **Not interviewed**.

William Kneen Sr died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 15 January 1913 (LIB).

William Kneen Jr died, aged 81, and was buried in Rushen on 8 August 1938 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1888/9. As William Kneen Sr is the only Manx-speaker entered in the 1911 census, it is clear that English would be the language of the household.

This would likely take place formally on his mariage to Eva, seemingly an English-only speaker, in 1888/9.

4.1.26. Thomas ('Tommy') LEECE (1859/60–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookeil, Malew

> '[. . .] Aged 91. A very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material [. . .]' (Jackson 1955: 3)[71]
>
> **1861**: So far as is known Thomas (Tommy) Leece (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thos. Leece, 1, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 35, lead ore washer, of Arbory, living on the Ronague Road AR with his wife Margaret, M, 26, of Patrick, and their other children: Edna, 5, and Louisa, 3, both of Arbory (RG9/4409 41 13).
>
> **1871**: TL here as Thomas Leece, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 46, lead miner, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, with his wife Mary Ann, M, 36, lead miner's wife, of Patrick, and their other children: Louisa, 13, scholar, Edward, 10, scholar, and Robert, 8, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 31 51).
>
> **1881**: TL here as Thomas Leece, S, 21, labourer, of Arbory, living in Malew, boat *Hope* (fishing boat based in Castletown) (RG11/5609 101 103).
>
> **1901**: TL here as Thomas Leece, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Malew, living in Ballarobbin AR/ML with his father-in-law William Watterson, head, M, 67, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his wife, M, 66, of Malew, along with his (TL's) wife Elizabeth Leece, 34, of Malew, and the Watterson children: William E., S, 27, general farm servant, worker, at home, of Malew, and Elenor J., S, 24, also of Malew, as well as their grandchildren (Thomas Leece's children): Annie, gdr., 10, Florie, 7, Bertha, 3, and Thomas H., 4, all of Malew.
>
> **- Manx**: Entered as Manx-speakers are: William Watterson and his wife Ann, and Thomas Leece, the rest English-only (RG13/5308 68 18).
>
> **1911**: TL turns up next in the census for 1911 as Thomas Leece, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Moaney Moar, Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth Ann, 45, M, of Patrick, both married 25 years [***c.* 1885/6**], and their children: Florence, 17, S, dairy worker, Thomas Henry, 11, Isabel, 7, and Alfred, 5, all of Malew.
>
> **- Manx**: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely Thomas Leece Sr, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34714 0017 9).

[71] For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 374–75.

Thomas Leece died, aged, 96, and was buried in Arbory on 15 April 1956 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1885/6. In 1901 Thomas Leece along with his parents-in-law are entered as Manx-speakers. Thomas Leece is entered as the sole Manx-speaker in his household in 1911. As his wife and their children are entered as English-only speakers, English is likely to have been introduced formally into the family on TL's marriage to his wife Elizabeth Ann in 1885/6.

4.1.27. Thomas LOONEY (1852/3–1930), Glebe Farm, Maughold

'A digger at the churchyard [Maughold] gave me Tom Looney, ca. 75 yrs., as one who spoke Manx. He lives quite close to the churchyard. He was not at home when I came, but his brother's son said he had only heard 'an odd word of Manx' from him. So he can probably be erased from my list of Manx-speakers.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 48–50 (22 June 1929))

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Looney (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thomas Looney, 7, scholar, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr, head, M, 45, farmer of 40 acres, of Maughold, living in the Village of Maughold along with his wife Catherine, M, 46, of Kirk Bride, and their other children: Annie, 11, scholar, John, 9, scholar, Edward, 4, scholar, and Catherine, 4, scholar, all of Maughold. Living with them is Thomas Lockel, manservant, 18, carter, also of Maughold (RG9/4425 5 13).

1871: TL here as Thomas Looney, S, 17, farmer's son, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr, head, M, 54, farmer (50 acres), of Maughold, living now in Ballakilley, Maughold, along with his wife Catherine, M, 53, of Bride, and their other children: John, S, 19, farmer's son, Edward, 14, farmer's son, and Catherine, 14, farmer's daughter, all of Maughold (RG10/5773 87 70).

1881: TL here as Thomas Looney, servant, S, 26, farm servant indoor, of Maughold, living and working in Ballaterson House, Maughold (RG11/5600 18 33).

1882: **Marriage**, Maughold, 2 February 1882 Thomas Looney, full age [26/7], bachelor, labourer, Maughold, f. Thomas Looney, labourer ~ Sarah Corkill, full age [30/1], spinster, [no entry], Maughold, f. John Corkill, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Maughold, 2 February 1882, 220).

1891: TL here as Thomas Looney, head, M, 37, farmer, of Maughold, living in Ballaterson, Maughold, along with his wife Sarah, M, 41, of Maughold, along with their two sons Reuben, 12, scholar, and John T., 8, scholar, both of Maughold (RG12 4684 160 33).

1901: TL here as Thomas Looney, widower, 46, farmer, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr, head, widower, 83, retired

farmer, of Maughold, living in Maughold Village along with the latter's daughter Catherine, S, 43, of Maughold, and his grandson John Thomas Looney, S, 18, agricultural labourer, also of Maughold.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is Thomas Looney Sr only, the rest English-only (RG13/ 5302 8 47).

1911: TL here as Thomas Looney, head, 57, widower, farmer, employer, of Maughold, living in Glebe Farm, Maughold, along with his sister Catherine Jane, 54, S, housekeeper, worker, at home, of Maughold, his niece Annie Looney Vickers, 19, S, general servant domestic, worker, at home, of Frizington, Cumberland. Living with them is boarder John Robert Looney, 20, S, parish clerk and sexton, worker, of Maughold.

- Manx: Entered here as a Manx-speaker is solely Thomas Looney Jr, the rest English-only, though it is likely that his sister Catherine Jane, younger only by three years, also had Manx (RG14/34721 0069 35).

Thomas Looney Jr died, aged 77, and was buried in Maughold on 22 September 1930 (LIB).

Sarah Looney died, aged 44, and was buried in Maughold on 17 October 1893 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1882. In 1901 and 1911 Thomas Looney is entered as the sole Manx-speaker in his family. However, as his wife Sarah died in 1893, it is not known whether she was a Manx-speaker or not, or whether English was introduced into the household on Thomas' marriage with Sarah (2 February 1882) or on the birth of their first child Reuben (*c.* 1882). Although the 1911 census enters Thomas Looney [Jr.] as a Manx speaker (he was listed as English-only in 1901, probably reflecting his preferred language), Marstrander reported that he allegedly only had 'an odd word of Manx'. He had seemingly ceased to speak Manx, as we suspect, in 1882, and if so by 1929 he would not have spoken it for some forty-seven years, and so would largely have forgotten it, hence the foregoing comment.[72]

4.1.28. Mrs. Emily LOWEY (1867–1947), Kirkill, Rushen[73]

1867: **Baptism**, Rushen, 29 September 1867 Emily Jane Taylor, Lingague RU, m. Margaret Taylor, illegitimate (iMuseum Baptisms,[74] Rushen, 29 September 1867).

1871: So far as is known Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Emily Taylor, 3, scholar, of Rushen,

[72]Either that, or he could speak Manx, as reported in 1901 and 1911, but didn't wish to, either through shame or possibly through downright cussedness, a known Manx trait, even today.

[73]For details of her recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 386–7.

[74]http://imuseum.im/search/agent_record/view?from=0&id=mnh-age.

granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 66, labourer, of Rushen and his wife Elizabeth, M, 63, of Rushen, living on the Lengage [Lingague] Road RU, along with their children: Richard, S, 22, miner, and Margaret, S, 25, general servant, both of Rushen.

1881: EL here as Emily Taylor, 13, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 76, formerly farm labourer, living in Lingague with his wife Elizabeth, M, 72, of Rushen, and their daughter Margaret, S, 35, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 85 29).

1896: Marriage Rushen, 22 February 1896 Henry Lowey, full age [34/5], bachelor, farmer, Kirkill, f. William Lowey, farmer ~ Emily Jane Taylor, full age [28/9], [no entry], Lingague, [father unknown] (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 February 1896, 887).

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1901 as Emily Lowey, M, 35, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, M, 40, farmer, own account, of Rushen, living in Kirkill, Rushen, with their two sons William, 5, and John, 4 both of Rushen.

- Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx-speakers, their sons English-only (RG13/5301 128 9).

1911: EL here as Emily Lowey, 42, M, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, 50, M, farmer, worker, of Rushen, both married 15 years [***c*. 1895/6**], living in Kirkill, Colby, Rushen, along with their children: William H., 15, S, working on farm, John, 14, school, Margaret A., 6, Elenor, 5, Richard W., 8, and Thomas E., 1 [? all of Rushen]. Living with them is Henry Taylor, boarder, 72.

- Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx-speakers, William and the rest English-only (RG14/34748 0047 83).

Mrs. Emily Lowey died, aged 79, and was buried in Rushen in 1947 (MBMD 208, 606).

E> *c*. 1895/6. In 1901 and 1911 both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx-speakers, their children English-only. English would likely have been formally introduced into the household on the birth of their eldest child William H. *c*. 1895/6.

4.1.29. Edmund MADDRELL (1841/2–1935), 36 Athol Park, Port Erin, Rushen

'As a good Manx-speaker in Port Erin he [J. J. Kneen] mentioned Edmond Maddrell, a tailor, ca. 80 yrs. old, Athol (*sic*) Park.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 63 (14 July 1929))

1851: So far as is known, Edmund Maddrell (EM) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as Edmund Maddrell, 1, of Rushen, son to Ann Maddrell, head, widow, 45, of Rushen, living in the Corvalley, Rushen, with her other children: Isabella, S, 17, William, 11,

scholar, and John, 9 scholar, all of Rushen (HO107/2526 325–6 44).

1871: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, S, 27, fisherman, Howe, Rushen, boat *Victor* CT34. Vessels sailing from Port St Mary to Kinsale Fishery (RG10/5778 133 CT34).

1881: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, S, 33, fisherman of Rushen, boat *Otter* (RG11/5609 89 62).

1891: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, boarder, S, 43, dock labourer, of 'Rushin' [Rushen], Isle of Man, living at 38 Juriss Street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, with Edward Quayle, head, M, 43, police constable, of 'Rushin', Isle of Man, and his family (RG12/2934 21 201).

1901: EM turns up next in the 1901 census as Edmund Maddrell, head, M, 51, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, with his wife Helen, M, 37, of Shetland, and their two daughters: Helena, 6, of Rushen, Emma, 3, also of Rushen.

- Manx: All entered as English-only speakers, probably reflecting the language spoken at home (RG13/5301 104 93).

1911: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, head, 67, M, mariner, of Rushen, living in Strathroy, 8 Glen View Terrace, Port Erin, Rushen, with his wife, Hellen (*sic*), 41, M, boarding housekeeper, at home, of Shetland, Scotland, both married 18 years [***c.* 1892/3**]. Living with them is Harry Conrich, boarder, 28, S, housepainter, of Malta.

- Manx: Only Edmund Maddrell is entered as a Manx-speaker, the others English-only (RG14/34745 0197 72). **Not interviewed**.

Edmund Maddrell died, aged, 93, and was buried in Rushen on 22 December 1935.

E> *c.* 1894/5. As Edmund is entered as the sole Manx-speaker in the household, the introduction of English as the family language would formally have taken place on his marriage to his Shetland wife Helen in 1892/3 in Shetland, and back in Man (1901) on the birth of their first child Helena *c*. 1894/5.

4.1.30. Edward (Ned) MADDRELL (1877–1974), Glenchass, Rushen. Brother to John

'Ned Maddrell, then 71, of Glen Chass, was born at Corvalley (The Howe) and lived with his grand-parents at Cregneash.[75] He was at sea for many years with a Scottish engineer, and claims to have learned something of his language. He landed in

[75] Apparently not so. According to Maddrell himself, he was reared by a great-aunt (see n. 73 below).

Southern Ireland frequently and spoke Gaelic with the Irish. I cannot believe that any part of his usage shows foreign influence.' (Carmody 1954: 60)[76]

'Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass, near Cregneish. Aged 72 [...]. He learned his Manx when he went at the age of five to live with an aunt [*rectius* a great-aunt] who knew no English' (Jackson 1955: 2).[77] 'Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him.' (Jackson 1955: v, vi)

1881: So far as is known, Edward (Ned) Maddrell (NM) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Edward Maddrell, 3, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 27, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her other son: John T., 1, of Rushen. Also living with them was her aunt Margaret Taubman [Paaie Humman], widow, 72, of Rushen, and Ann Kelly, S, 21, servant, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: NM here as Edward Maddrell, 13, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, along with her other children: John, 11, scholar, Isabella, 8, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1906: **Marriage**, Rushen 3 January 1906 Edward Maddrell, 28, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Maddrell, mariner ~ Mary Margaret Skelly, 24, spinster, [no entry], Croit e Caley,

[76]Edward (Ned) Maddrell was born in the Corvalley, near Cregneash, RU on 20 August 1877, son of Thomas Maddrell and Margaret Watterson, both of Cregneash. Because of the size of the family Ned was farmed out at an early age to be reared by a great-aunt (Paie Humman/Margaret Taubman, 1809–90), who had little or no English. After 1962 (when Sage Kinvig died) he was regarded as the last reputed native speaker of Manx Gaelic (Catherine Taubman (1879–1966), Cregneash, later of Port Erin RU, a native Manx-speaker, was at that time unknown; see above). For details of Maddrell's recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 342–81.

[77]cf. *HLSM* i, 361: *Tra va mee queig bleeantyn dy eash va mee goit son sheshaght da my çhenn naunt, as tra veagh shin ayns y lhiabbee cooidjagh yinnagh ee gra rhym: 'My bee uss guilley mie as my nee uss fuirraghtyn aynsh sho son shesh-aght dooys, yiow oo yn thie shoh as ooilley ny t'ayn tra ta shinyn marroo'. As tra va mish tree bleeantyn jeig ren ee geddyn baase, as hoght bleeantyn lurg shen yn vac* (sic) *eck geddyn baase as hooar mee* [...] *yn thie as* [...] *ooilley ny va ayn, as ta ny reddyn er cooid aym ayns y thie aym nish. Shen v'ad gyllagh ree, Paaie Humman. V'ee naunt da my vummig as naunt vooar dooys* (Ned Maddrell YCG13: 18 February 1953). ('when I was five years old I was taken for company for my old aunt. And when we would be in bed together she would say to me, 'if you are a good boy and stay here to keep me company, you will get this house and everything in it when we are dead.' And when I was thirteen she died [17 July 1890, aged 82], and eight years after that her son [Thomas (1836–98)] died [25 May 1898, aged 62], and I got the house and everything in it, and this is what I have now in my house. That is what they were calling her, Paaie Humman. She was an aunt of my mother's and a great aunt of mine.') Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx, died on 27 December 1974 (cf. IMFHS Burials Index vol. 187, 689). The Isle of Man Census for 1881 records Margaret Taubman as living in the Maddrell household and as an aunt to Margaret Maddrell, Ned's mother. Ned Maddrell himself is entered as her three-year-old son (RG11/5609 9 67).

f. John Skelly, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 3 January 1906, 49).

1911: (Census for England and Wales, Barrow-in-Furness, hence no reference to language(s) known/spoken) NM here as Edward Maddrell, crew, 33, M, AB seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen.

- Manx: not requested on the form (RG14, PN25702 RD 482 SD1 ED52 SN0).

1911: NM's wife is entered as Mary M. Maddrell, wife, 29, M, of Rushen, married 5 years [**1906**], living in Howe, Port St Mary, with her two children Emily M., 5, and Stanley, 3, both of Rushen.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG14/34746 0037 15).

Ned Maddrell died, aged, 97, on Friday 27 December 1974 and was buried in Rushen on Monday 30 December 1974 (Burial Register for Rushen 1926, no. 365).

Mary Margaret Maddrell died, aged 78, and was buried in Rushen on 26 June 1960 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1906. Ned Maddrell seems to have been the only Manx-speaker in the household. This would suggest that English was introduced formally into the household on his marriage to Mary Margaret Skelly in 1906.

4.1.31. John MADDRELL (1879/80–1948), Cregneash, Rushen. Brother to Ned (previous).*

1881: So far as is known, John Maddrell (JM) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Maddrell, 1, of Rushen son to Margaret Maddrell, M, 27, fisherman's wife, living in Rushen with her other son Edward, 3, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: JM here as John Maddrell, 11, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, with her other children: Edward, 13, scholar, Isabella, 8, scholar, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1901: JM here as John F. Maddrell, S, 21, mariner, worker, of Rushen, son to Margaret Madd-rell, M, 47, [fisherman's] wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, with her other children: Isabella, S, 18, Sarah, S, 16, and George, 13, all of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Margaret Maddrell, and the children John and Isabella Maddrell, the remaining two children English-only (RG13/5301 108 144). **Not interviewed**.

John Maddrell died, aged 68, and was buried in Rushen on 17 September 1948 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1884/5. We learn from the 1901 census that some of the children have Manx while younger ones do not. This may indicate that English was introduced into the household between Isabella (18) (1882/3) and Sarah (16) (1884/5), probably on Sarah's birth *c*. 1884/5. But see §8 below.

4.1.32. John NELSON (1839/40–1910), 73 Waterloo Road, Ramsey, Maughold

'Old story, spoken by John Nelson, 69 years old, hotel proprietor'. (VR67, 6 August 1909, Douglas)[78]

1851: So far as we are aware, John Nelson (JN) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as John Nelson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, son to Thomas Nelson, head, M, 57, joiner and farmer of 20 acres employing one man, of Jurby, living in Ballayockey, Andreas, with his wife Ann, M, 40, of Andreas, also with their other children: Thomas, 9, scholar, of Lezayre, Mary, 8, scholar, of Maughold, Elizabeth, 7, of Jurby, Robert, 5, of Andreas, Jane, 3, of Andreas, and Catherine, 1, also of Andreas. Living with them are Thomas Sr his father William, M, 80, of Michael, and his mother Mary, M, 82, of Jurby, as well as Charlotte Cavendish, servant, S, 19, general servant, of Bride (HO107/2524 56 9).

1861: JN here as John Nelson, S, 21, farming son, of Jurby, son to Thomas Nelson, head, M, 67, farming 20 acres employing 2 men, of Jurby, living still in Ballayockey, Andreas, along with his wife Ann, M, 51, also with their other children: Ann, S, 18, dressmaker, of Ramsey, Elizabeth, S, 16, housemaid, of Jurby, Robert, 15, watch maker's apprentice, of Andreas, Jane, 13, scholar, also of Andreas. Living with them is William Christian, brother-in-law, widower, 58, agricultural labourer, of Andreas (RG9/4410 54 23).

1871: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 31, farmer and courier, here of Andreas, living now in 7 Bark Lane, Ramsey, Maughold, with his wife Mary, M, 25, tanner's wife, of Liverpool, and their son Thomas, 6 weeks, of Ramsey (RG10/5773 187 92).

1881: JN here as John Nelson, head, widower, 41, farmer currier and dealer, of 'Isle of Man', living still in 7 Bark Lane, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his son Percy, 8, scholar, of England, and two daughters Louisa, 6, scholar, of England, Annie Gertrude, 2, of 'Isle of Man'. Living with them is Ellenor Cowle, servant, 19, general servant, of 'Isle of Man' (RG11/5600 21 88).

1887: **Marriage**, Maughold, 23 November 1887 John Nelson, full age [46/7], widower, tanner, Ramsey, Maughold, f. Thomas Nelson, carpenter ~ Eliza Mc Combe, full age [36/7], spinster, [no entry], Ramsey, Maughold, f. William McCombe, cabinet maker (IMPR Marriage, Maughold, 23 November 1887, 323).

[78]For details of his recorded contributions, see also *HLSM* i, 320–23.

1891: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 51, victualler and licensee, living now in Ballure House, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, 40, [illegible], of England, and his two daughters Louisa, 16, shop assistant, of England, Annie, 6, scholar, of 'Isle of Man', Thomas, 7, of 'Isle of Man' and Robert, 1, of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4685 7 118).

1901: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 61, victualler pub, employer, of Jurby, now living at 73 Waterloo Road 'Albion Hotel', Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, M, 50, of England, and his children: Annie, S, 21, Thomas H., 17, Robert C., 11, and Frank J., 9, all of Ramsey. Living with them are Adalaid Johnson, servant, S, 31, general servant domestic, of England, and Catherine Nelson, aunt, widow, 74, living on her own means, of Ramsey.

- Manx: Entered as speakers of Manx are John Nelson and his aunt Catherine Nelson, the rest English-only (RG13/5307 170 30).

John Nelson died, aged 70, and was buried in Andreas on 10 August 1910 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1887. John Nelson would be the sole Manx-speaker responsible for the household. As his wife Eliza was not a Manx-speaker, English would be formally introduced into the household on their marriage in 1887, though he would likely speak Manx with his aunt Catherine Nelson, 74 (b. 1826/7), until her death, whenever that may have been (her death in Man is evidently not recorded), or until his death in 1910.

4.1.33. William QUANE (1849/50–1935), 30 St German's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick)

'Quane lives in St German's Place [Peel] together with his sister. He is 79 yrs. old (born 1850) and gives the impression of being able to speak Manx quite well. He quite often speaks it with Caesar Cashen at the Market Place. But I notice he doesn't get much practice, which is understandable. His pronunciation was quite clear [...][79] But Quane in fast speech doesn't seem to distinguish between *aige* and *aice*, as in Irish. However, more examples would obviously make clearer the Manx forms [...]. (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 27–8; 31–2 (18 June 1929))[80]

'Quane did not understand or speak Manx until he was 16. Cashen spoke Manx from the cradle.' (CM MNHL MS 05357 B, vol. iv, 2564 (24 September 1930))

'29/1/33. Visited Quane yesterday. Recorded the Lord's Prayer, some verses of a hymn (see Peel material) together with a couple

[79]There now follows two pages of examples (cf. *LDIM*, 29–31).
[80]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 322–23.

of small sentences. Quane's voice didn't turn out to be very good either for the recordings, and his knowledge of Manx is probably rather limited. He is not like Kelly and Cashen born with Manx, but has learned it, as he says himself, by listening to the old people when he was a boy. His pronunciation often varies for the same words, it seems to me.' (CM1933 *Dagbok*, 83–4)

1861: So far as is known, William Quane (WQ) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as William Quane, 11, scholar, of Patrick, son to Philip Quane, head, M, 53, farmer of 31 acres, of Patrick, and his wife Margaret, M, 48, farmer's wife, also of Patrick, living in Ballacrink [Ballachrink], Dalby, Patrick, also with their other children: John, 15, scholar, Thomas, 9, scholar, Charles J., 7, scholar, Eleanor M., 4, scholar, all of Patrick. Living with them are Edward Clague, servant, S, 19, carter, of Patrick, and Margaret Hedghin, servant, S, 21, maidservant, also of Patrick (RG9/4427 25 48).

1871: WQ here as Wm. Quane, M, 21, mariner, of Peel, boat *Sarah Ann* 31. 'Enumeration of Fishermen from Peel to Kinsale Fishing' (RG10/5771 201 31).

1879: **Marriage**, Patrick, 2 January 1879: Evan Clucas, full age, bachelor, mariner, Kirk Patrick, f. Henry Clucas, shoemaker ~ Eleanor Margaret Quane, full age [22/3], spinster, [no entry], Kirk Patrick, f. Philip Quane, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Patrick, 2 January 1879, 279).

1891: WQ here as William Quane, S, 40, joiner and builder, of Patrick, brother to Ellen Clucas, wife, M, 34, of Patrick, living at 68 Patrick Street, Peel, with her children: John, 11, scholar, Margaret, 8, scholar, Lilly, 7, scholar, Elizabeth, 4, scholar, Annie, 2, Evan, 5 months, all of Peel (RG12/4683 60 84).

1901: WQ here as William Quane, S, 51, joiner and builder, own account, of Patrick, brother to Ellen Clucas, wife, M, 44, of Patrick, living now at 30 St German's Place, Peel, along with her children: Elizabeth, 14, Annie, 12, Evan, 10, Emily, 7, Joseph, 4, and James, 1, all of Peel.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Ellen Clucas and William Quane, the rest English-only (RG13/5306 63 229).

William Quane died, aged, 85, and was buried in Patrick on 1 January 1936 (LIB).

Eleanor Margaret ('Ellen') Clucas died, aged 91, and was buried in German on 9 November 1947 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1879/80 Marstrander's comments suggest that William Quane was a semi-speaker, but as he was seven years older than his sister Eleanor Margaret ('Ellen') Clucas, seemingly a full speaker, it is likely that he, too, was also a

full speaker, but later became 'rusty' in his Manx due to lack of use. William Quane, unmarried with no children, had gone to live with Ellen Clucas and her children in Peel by 1891. His sister evidently decided not to pass on Manx to her children. Her eldest child then (1891) was John (11), implying *c.* 1879/80 as his birth-year from which time she formally decided to use English-only with the children.

As the children were brought up in Peel (German), William Quane with Ellen Clucas and her family for purposes of language use in the household are sectioned under the parish of German, not Patrick. William Quane is not entered in the 1911 census.

4.1.34. Thomas QUAYLE ('the Gardener') (1848/9–1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool)

> 'Someone who spoke good Manx, according to him [man from Derbyhaven], was "Quayle the Gardener". He is a man of over 80 yrs, born in Arbory[81] and he lives just north of Castletown.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 11 (16 June 1929))
>
> 'Without being asked Cashen mentioned as a good speaker "Quayle the Gardener", the same as I'd heard mentioned in Castletown, and the same one as Mr. Cubbon in a later letter from Castletown had brought to my attention: "Quayle's address is Shore Road [Castletown]; he is", writes Cubbon, "the most fluent speaker in the town."' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 32–3 (18 June 1929))
>
> '25 August 1930. Qua[y]le born and grown up at Ronnag [Arbory] above Ballabeg' (CM1930 MNHL MS 05357 B, vol. iv: 2621).
>
> **1851**: So far as is known, Thomas Quayle (TQ) is first noticed in the 1851 census for Liverpool (Lancashire) as Thomas Quayle, 2, of Liverpool, son to Thomas Quayle, head, M, 35, tailor master, of Isle of Man, and his wife Jane, M, 33, also of Isle of Man, living at 1 Upper Stanhope Street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, also with their other children: Anne, 10, scholar, of Isle of Man, William, 9, scholar, of Liverpool, Eleanor, 4, of Liverpool, Charles, 8 months, also of Liverpool. Living with them are Mary Cain, sister-in-law, S, 28, milliner, of Isle of Man, William Hill, lodger, S, 24, skip ironmonger journeyman, of Derbyshire, George Hill, lodger, seedsman journeyman, also of Derbyshire, Henry Hill, lodger, S, 17, ironmonger apprentice, of Isle of Man, and Elizabeth Seyde, S, 17, house servant, of Dublin, Ireland (HO 107/2168 421 1).
>
> **1861**: TQ here as Thomas Quayle, boarder, 12, scholar, of England, living with Robert Shimmin, head, M, 66, farmer of 31 acres employing one man, of Michael, and his wife Catharine, M, 64, of

[81] Marstrander's note: 'approx. 3 km east of Colby on the road to Port Erin' (CM *Dagbok* 11).

Malew, as well as Thomas Harper, visitor, S, 53, also of England (RG9 4424 58 22).

1871: TQ here as Thomas Quayle, servant, S, 22, farm servant, of Liverpool, living with John Shimmin, head, M, 48, farmer of 150 acres land owner employing 4 labourers, of Malew (RG10/5777 131 63).

1881: TQ here as Thomas H. Quayle, servant, S, 39, farm servant, indoor, of England, living in 5 Ballagary (by the Wesleyan Chapel) [St Mark's, Malew] with John Shimmin, head, M, 58, farmer, of Malew, and his wife Catherine, M, 56, also of Malew. Also living with them are Rebecca Taggart, servant, S, 18, housemaid, of Malew, Ann Preston, servant, S, 17, general servant, of Malew, William M. Taggart, S, 17, farm servant indoor, of Malew, Samuel Taggart, lodger, 12, scholar, of Malew, William Cringle, servant, S, 21, farm servant, indoor, of Braddan, and James K. Christian, servant, S, 35, farm servant indoor, of Rushen (RG11/5608 9 57).

1884: **Marriage**, Malew, 10 June 1884 Thomas Henry Quayle, 35, bachelor, farmer, Ballagarey [ML], f. Thomas Quayle, farmer ~ Elizabeth Jane Kennaugh, 28, spinster, [no entry], Moaney Moar [ML], f. Robert Kennaugh, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Malew, 10 June 1884, 129).

1901: TQ next turns up in the 1901 census as Thomas Quayle, head, M, 51, farmer, employer, of England, living in Mary Veg [Meary Veg], Santan, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 43, of Arbory, and their children: Thomas, S, 16, farmer's son, worker, at home, of Malew, William A, S, 14, farmer's son, worker, at home, of Malew. Living with them are Anna Gawne, S, 18, general servant domestic, worker, of Arbory, Hugh Moore, servant, S, 25, carter on farm, Ag. Horse, of Marown, and John Bridson, servant, S, 41, carter on farm, Ag. Horse, of Malew.

- Manx: All are entered as English-speakers (RG13/5307 14 17).

1911: TQ here as Thos. Hy. Quayle, head, 61, M, farmer, employer, of Liverpool, living in Ballagrangey [older Balla Juan Vark], St Mark's [Malew], along with his wife Elizabeth J., 54, M, of Arbory, both married 27 years [***c.* 1883/4**], and their son: Thomas, 6, S, farmer son on farm, own account, at home, of Malew. Living with them are Catherine Kennaugh, servant, 30, S, general servant, of German, and Thomas Lace, servant, 43, S, cowman on farm, farming, worker, of Douglas.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely Thomas Henry Quayle Sr, the rest English-only (RG14/34713 0055 28).

Thomas Quayle died, aged 86, and was buried in Michael on 14 May 1935 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1884. Although Thomas Quayle was born to a Manx family in Liverpool, he was seemingly taught Manx, suggesting that Manx was the language of the Quayle family household in Liverpool.[82] But by 1861 he was back in Man, presumably because his parents had died in the meantime, as he was put to live as a scholar with a Robert Shimmin in Malew, still living in the same household in 1871 but this time as a servant. By 1881 we find him in Ballagarey (now St Mark's), Malew, still as a servant with the same family. In 1884 he marries. Later on we learn from the 1911 census that Thomas Henry Quayle was the sole Manx-speaker in the household. As his wife Elizabeth was not a Manx-speaker, English would likely have been introduced formally into the household on their marriage (10 June 1884), but whether he spoke Manx in the Shimmin household after his coming to Man in or before 1861 is not known.

Note. So far as we can gather, this is the only Quayle that fits. All others are either too old or too young, or in another profession.

4.1.35. John Thomas QUAYLE (1863–1945), Squeen, Ballaugh

> '67 years old, 68 years 22 May. Qua[y]le is completely steady in numerals; that part of the material is therefore reliable. [He] was recommended [to me] in Ballaugh as a Manx-speaker, but proved to have forgotten practically everything: Lord's Prayer and *yn kirrey fo sneaghta* [*Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* — a Manx traditional song]. I managed to get one roll [cylinder] [of him]; valuable here are the numbers 1–60 (and later again 1–20). Apart from that some simple sentences and words, some [of which] had to be put into his mouth [i.e. suggested to him]. How weak he is in Manx can be seen from his use of 'enn' after a comparative he used Eng. *than* (in the local pronunciation I think he said *dan*) [...]'[83] (CM1933, MNHL 05357 B, vol. iv, 2618)
>
> **1871**: So far as is known, John Thomas Quayle (JTQ) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John T. Quayle, 7, scholar, of Ballaugh, son to Edward Quayle, head, M, 37, tailor, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catharine, M, 30, of Michael, living in Squeen, Ballaugh, along with their other son Edward, 9, scholar, also of Michael (RG10/5772 78 4).
>
> **1881**: JTQ here as John Quayle, S, 17, apprentice tailor, of Ballaugh, son to Edward Quayle, head, M, 47, tailor, of Ballaugh, and his wife Cath[arine], M, 41, of Michael, living now in Cronkbreck, Ballaugh (RG11/5598 72 3).
>
> **1885**: **Marriage**, Braddan 2 August 1885 John Thomas Quayle, full age, bachelor, tailor, of Ballaugh, f. Edward Quayle, tailor ~

[82] Unless his acquisition of Manx was linked to possible revival activity.

[83] I am grateful to Lars Ivar Widerøe, Oslo, for the provision of the Norwegian text and English translation of Marstrander vol. iv: 2618–22 concerning 'Quale Ballaugh'.

Cath[erine] Jane Cringle, 'Maior', spinster, [no entry], of Ballamona, Braddan, f. William Cringle, lab[ourer] (IMPR Marriage, Braddan, 2 August 1885, 30).

1891: JTQ here as John T. Quayle, head, M, 27, tailor, of Ballaugh, living back in Squeen, this time with his wife Catherine, M, 26, also of Ballaugh, along with their children: Florence M., S, 3, of Ballaugh, and Catherine J., 1 month, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 16 35).

1901: JS here as John T. Quayle, head, M, 38, tailor, worker, at home, of Ballaugh, living again in Cronk Breck, Ballacrosha, Ballaugh, but along with his wife Catherine J., M, 37, of Braddan, along with their children: Florence, S, 13, Catherine, S, 10, Emily, S, 5, all of Ballaugh. Living with them was JTQ's father Edward Quayle, widower, 67, tailor, worker, at home, also of Ballaugh.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely Edward Quayle, the rest English-only (RG13/ 5300 43 3).

1911: JTQ here as John Thomas Quayle, head, 48, M, farmer, employer, of Ballaugh, living back in Squeen, Ballaugh, along with his wife Catherine Jane, 47, M, also of Ballaugh, both married 26 years [**1885**], and their children: Florence Maud, 23, S, dressmaker, own account, Catherine Theresa, 20, S, dressmaker, worker, Emily Gertrude, 15, S, dairy worker, all of Ballaugh. Living with them is JTQ's father Edward Quayle, 78, widower, retired tailor, also of Ballaugh.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is solely Edward Quayle, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34637 0003 13).

John Thomas Quayle died, aged 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 27 July 1945 (LIB).

Catherine Quayle (wife) died, aged 60, and was buried in Ballaugh on 31 December 1924 (LIB).

E> *c*. 1885. J. T. Quayle is entered in both the 1901 and 1911 census as a speaker of English-only, which implies that he had not spoken Manx for quite some time. Marstrander's comments (above) would suggest as much. I suspect that the decision to have himself entered on both occasions (1901 and 1911) as a speaker of English-only was probably his. Marstrander's note that his knowledge of numerals was reliable would bear witness to the probability that Quayle was initially a native Manx-speaker but began to speak English at an early age. Whether he spoke much Manx at all in the family home when growing up is not known. But we may take it that, as his wife was not a Manx-speaker, English was introduced formally into his household, at the latest on his marriage to his wife Catherine, i.e. *c*. 1885.

4.1.36. John SAYLE (1849/50–1932), Ballathona, Andreas

'North of Jurby Church I got some more information from Sartfield farm from a man in his 50s. He gave me as a good Manx-speaker John Sayle in Ballathona [AN] about 3 miles north of Jurby, North Road (Shore-road), ca. 70–80 yrs. old.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 56–7 (30 June 1929))

1851: So far as we are aware, John Sayle (JS) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as John Sayle, 5 months, joiner's son, of Andreas, son to William Sayle, head, M, 30, joiner, of Andreas, and his wife Mary, M, 32, joiner's wife, also of Andreas, living in Ballavastan, Andreas, along with his daughter Jane M., 3, also of Andreas (HO107/2524 88 51).

1861: JS here as John Sayle, 10, of Andreas, son to William Sayle, head, M, 40 farmer of 16 acres, of Andreas, and his wife Maria, M, 42, also of Andreas, living now in Ballathona, Andreas, also with their three daughters: Jane Maria, 13, Eleanor, 6, and Ann, 1 month, all of Andreas (RG9/4410 20 5).

1871: JS here as John Sayle, S, 20, son to William Sayle, head, M, 50, land owner farmer of 30 acres, of Andreas, and his wife Maria, M, 52, also of Andreas, living still in Ballathona, Andreas, also with their three daughters: Jane M., S, 28, Ellenor, S, 16, and Ann C., 11, all of Andreas (RG10/5772 165 6).

1878: **Marriage**, Andreas, 25. May 1878 John Sayle, full age [26/7], bachelor, farmer, Andreas, f. William Sayle, farmer ~ Eliza Ann Gale, full age [24/5], spinster, [no entry], Andreas, f. William Gael, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Andreas, 25 May 1878, 286).

1881: JS here as John Sayle, head, M, 30, agricultural labourer, of Andreas, living now in Ballalhane [Ballalhen], Andreas, with his wife Eliza, M, 28, grocer, also of Andreas, along with their son John E., 2, of Andreas (RG11/5599 22 15).

1891: JS here as John Sayle, head, M, 40, farmer, now living in Ardonan, Andreas, with his wife Eliza, M, 37, also of Andreas, along with their two sons John E., 12, and William H., 6, both of Andreas (RG12/4684 90 44).

1911: JS turns up next in the census for 1911 as John Sayle, head, 60, M, farmer, at home, of Andreas, living in Ballalhen, Andreas, with his wife Eliza A., 56, of Andreas, both married 32 years [***c.* 1878**], along with their daughter Lillian M, 15, S, farmer's daughter, at home, of Andreas.

- Manx: All entered as English-only speakers, though this may well represent the actual language that had come to be used in the household by the time of the 1911 census. However, as is the case elsewhere, John Sayle would likely have had some Manx, if he

had been recommended to Marstrander (RG14/36430 0085 43). **Not interviewed**.

John Sayle died, aged 82, and was buried in Andreas on 14 September 1932 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1879? As John Sayle was born into a farming family in *c.* 1849/50 it is almost certain that he and his siblings at that date were brought up Manx-speaking. His wife Eliza, born *c.* 1852/3 also in Andreas, would also likely have been brought up speaking Manx. However, as we are told in the 1911 census that all the family were entered as English-only speakers, i.e. that English had become the language of the household, this may likely have taken place on the birth of their eldest child John E. *c.* 1879.

4.1.37. Catherine Jane TAUBMAN-KENNAUGH (1879–1966), Port Erin, Rushen

'[. . .] was not at home, neither was Mrs. Taubman (c/o Mr. Kennaugh, grocer), Port Erin (she is, of course, mentioned by Rhys).'[84] (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 34 (18 June 1929))

1881: So far as is known, Catherine Jane Taubman (CJT) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Catherine J. Taubman, 3, of Rushen, daughter to John Taubman, head, M, 45, farmer of 25 acres, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 35, farmer's wife, also of Rushen, all living in [the Cregneash peninsula of] Rushen (RG11/5609 8 60).

1891: CJT here as Catherine Taubman, 12, daughter to John Taubman, head, M, 56, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 44, also of Rushen, all living in Cregneish, Rushen (RG12/ 4692 48 85).

1899: **Marriage**: Rushen 18 October 1899 Richard Henry Kennaugh, 24, bachelor, grocer, Port Erin, f. William Kennaugh, farmer ~ Catherine Jane Taubman, 21, spinster, [no entry], Cregneish, f. John Taubman, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 18 October 1899, 953).

1901: CJT here as Catherine Kennaugh, M, 22, of Rushen, wife to Richard Kennaugh, head, M, 27, grocer shop keeper, own account, of Arbory, living in Station Road, Port Erin, Rushen, with their 10-month-old daughter Annie, of Port Erin [Rushen].

- Manx: Catherine Kennaugh is entered here as an English-only speaker, as she was then living with her husband (an English-only speaker) and their daughter Annie, 10 months (RG13/5301 87 43).

[84]Cf. Rhŷs (1895: ix). He notes that he 'knew of only one family where Manx appeared to be more talked than English and that was Mrs. Keggin's [Cregneash Farm]. She was an octogenarian who had two sons living with her [Thomas and John], together with a granddaughter in her teens. That girl was the only Manx-speaking child that I recollect meeting with in the whole island.'

1911: CJT here as Catherine Kennaugh, 32, M, Cregneish [Rushen], wife to Richard Kennaugh, head, 37, M, licensed grocer, employer, of Arbory, living in Savier, Station Road, Port Erin, Rushen, both married 12 years [**1899**] with their two daughters Annie, 10, S, school, and Olive, 8, S, both of Port Erin [Rushen].

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is Catherine Kennaugh alone, the rest English-only (RG14/34745 0281 30). **Not interviewed**.

Catherine Jane Taubman-Kennaugh died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 9 February 1966 (LIB).[85]

E> *c.* 1899. As Catherine Taubman's husband Richard Henry Kennaugh was not a Manx-speaker, it was clear that the language of the household would be English. This would likely have been introduced formally on their marriage in 1899, but likely before during their period of courting.

4.1.38. Wilfred WADE (1868/9–1948), Sandygate, Jurby

'From there [West Nappin] I called on carpenter Wilfred Wade, Sandygate, Jurby, who is hardly much of a number. His pronunciation seems quite clear. He can read quite a lot of the Manx Bible (which he has at least one copy of), which one notices in all his conversation. Provided I can manage to work with Gawne, Wade might be useful [some exx.]. Wade was extremely dissatisfied with my pronunciation.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 38–9 (19 June 1929))

1871: So far as is known, Wilfred Wade (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Wilfred Wade, 8, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 71, domestic servant, of Ballaugh, son to her daughter Sophia Wade, widow, 31, domestic servant, of Jurby, living in Ballaworrey Cottage, Jurby, also with her (Isabella's) other grandchildren: Sophia Cottier, granddaughter, 8, scholar, of Maughold, James, grandson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, and Frederick, grandson, 8, scholar, also of Jurby (RG10/5772 126 19).

1881: WW here as Wilfred Wade, 12, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 81, annuitant, of Ballaugh, son to Sophia Wade, widow, 44, annuitant, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran Cottage, Jurby, along with Thomas Cottier, son to above Isabella, widower, 56, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh, and Frederick Wade, grandson, S, 18, joiner, of Jurby (RG11/5598 107 27).

[85] William J. C. Kelly of Ballaqueeney, Rushen, who knew some of the younger members of the family, told me (16 September 2016) that the family was known as 'Taubman-Kennaugh' and that their grocer's shop in Station Road was where the Co-op shop now is. The family also had the nearby Allandale Café, now Manton's, he said.

1891: WW here as Wilfred Wade, S, 22, joiner and builder, of Jurby, nephew to Thomas Cottier, head, widower, 66, gardener, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran, Jurby, with Sophia Wade, sister, widow, 54, housekeeper, also of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 44 25).

1898: **Marriage**, Jurby, 15 October 1898 Wilfred Wade, 30, bachelor, joiner, Ballavarran [JU], f. Robert Wade, farmer ~ Sophia Kewin, 29, spinster, [no entry], [Jurby], f. John Kewin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 15 October 1898, 179).

1901: WW here as Wilfred Wade, M, 32, joiner, own account, at home, of Jurby, son-in-law to Ann Kewin, head, widow, 73, living on own means, of Patrick, living at Sandy Gate, Jurby, along with Frederick Kewin, son, S, 36, of Jurby, Sophia Wade, daughter, M, 31, of Jurby, Sophia M. Wade, granddaughter, 2, of Jurby, and Lillian I. A. Wade, granddaughter, 5 months, of Jurby.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Ann Kewin and Wilfred Wade, as English-only Frederick Kewin and Sophia Wade. No entry for the very young children (RG13/5302 62 25).

1911: WW here as W. Wade, head, 42, M, joiner, worker, at home, of Jurby, living at Lough, Sandy Gate, Jurby along with his wife Sophia Wade, 41, M., assisting in the business, of Jurby, both married 12 years [***c.* 1898/9**] their daughter Sophia M., 12, S, school, Lillian I. A., 10, school, Mona E., 8, school, Elizabeth M. B., 6, at home, and Esther A. C., 4, at home, all of Jurby.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is Wilfred Wade, the rest English-only (RG14/34693 0063 30).

Wilfred Wade died, aged, 79, and was buried in Lezayre on 14 March 1948 (LIB).[86]

E> *c.* 1898. As Wilfred Wade alone is entered as a Manx-speaker, it is clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally on his marriage to Sophia Kewin in 1898.

4.1.39. Mrs. Catherine WATTERSON (1859/60–1951), Colby, Rushen (of Glenchass RU)

'Mrs. (Catherine Kinley) Watterson, then 89, living at Colby, was born in Glen Chass and brought up with her grandparents in Port-Erin;[87] they refused to use English. She speaks readily and with enthusiasm, tells stories and experiences of former times, but with no trace of fixed wording. I made no attempt to have her translate

[86] According to local field-worker the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey, Wil Wade was a known carval (Manx religious folksong) singer. For details about the Manx carval tradition, see Broderick (2007: 42).

[87] In fact in Fistard Road in nearby Port St Mary.

from English; she had spoken very little before 1949.' (Carmody 1954: 60)

1890: Marriage: Rushen, 6 March 1890 James Watterson, full age [32/3], bachelor, mariner, the Howe, f. James Watterson, mariner ~ Catherine Ann Kinley, full age [28/9], spinster, [no entry], Glenchass, f. William Kinley, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 6 March 1890, 805).

1891: So far as is known, Catherine Watterson (CW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Catherine Watterson, M, 30, lodger, of Rushen, daughter to Ann Kinley, head, widow, 57, living on own means, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, along with her two sons Thomas, S, 19, farmer's son, and John, S, 16, shoemaker's apprentice, both of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 136).

1901: CW here as Catherine Watterson, 40, wife to James Watterson, head, M, 44, mariner, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, along with their three daughters: Edith A., 7, Janet C., 5, and Marion, 1, all of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are James and Catherine Watterson, their daughters English-only RG13/5301 105 101).

Mrs. Catherine Watterson died, aged 91, and was buried in Rushen on 5 August 1951 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1893/4. As Catherine Watterson and her husband James were enumerated as Manx-speakers, but not their daughters, this would indicate that a conscious decision was taken not to pass on Manx to their offspring. As in other similar cases (q.v.), English was likely introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Edith A., *c.* 1893/4.

4.1.40. Joseph WOODWORTH (1853/4–1931), Port Erin, Rushen

'Before I left Port Erin I went to see Joseph Woodworth, an old fisherman whose name was mentioned to me in Douglas as one who was a good Manx speaker. He was out fishing and his daughter said that he was not expected back before 3 o'clock, I spent the time walking all over the [Cregneash] peninsula south of Port Erin.' (CM1929 Dagbok 19-20 (16 June 1929))

'Joseph Woodworth is 75 yrs. old and appears really to know a good deal of Manx. He is a fisherman and his day much depends on the weather. 'I would like to go to Douglas tomorrow he translates *liack lhiam dy gholl gys Doolish mairagh*. 'If he hadn't been a bad man [...]' he translates: *mannagh beagh eh er ve drogh ghooinney*. He was willing to talk Manx with me if I came back to Port Erin.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 23 (16 June 1929))

'The best is Jos. Woodworth, Port Erin, with whom I am now writing down the story of Joseph. He is clear and certain, and his

Manx seems to be with him something more than just memories.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 68 (27 August 1930))[88]

1861: So far as is known, Joseph Woodworth (JW) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Joseph Woodworth, 7, scholar, of Rushen son to Elizabeth Woodworth, head, M, 35, mariner's wife,[89] of Castletown, living in Cross e Caley [Croit y Caley], Rushen, also with her other children: Elizabeth, 13, scholar, Charlotte, 12, scholar, Emily, 9, scholar, Sarah Jane, 5, Rebecca, 3, and George, 1, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 17 135).

1875: **Marriage**: Rushen, 6 March 1875 Joseph Woodworth, full age, bachelor, fisherman, Smelt, Rushen, f. Matthew Woodworth, fisherman ~ Margaret Callister, full age, [no entry], [no entry], Port Erin, f. William Callister, fisherman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 6 March 1875, 533).

1881: JW turns up next in the 1881 census as Joseph Woodworth, M, 27, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Alert* (RG11/5609 84 58).

1891: JW here as Joseph Woodworth, head, M, 37, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, with his wife Margaret, M, 38, also of Rushen, and their children: Elizabeth, 14, Sarah Ann, 12, scholar, Joseph, 11, scholar, Thomas, 9, scholar, Catherine, 8, scholar, Matthew, 7, scholar, Dorales, 5, Charles, 3, William, 1, Violet, 2 months, all of Rushen (RG12/ 4692 45 52).

1901: JW here as Joseph Woodworth, head, M, 46, fishing, of Rushen, living in Shore Road, Port Erin, with his wife Margaret, M, 48, of Port Erin, Rushen, and their children: Elizabeth, S, 24, Joseph, S, 21, fishing, Norah, 15, Mories, daughter, 13, William, 11, Violet, 9, and Ivy, 3, all of Port Erin.

- Manx: Only Joseph Woodworth is entered as a Manx-speaker, the rest English-only (RG13/ 5301 91 94).

1911: JW here as Joseph Woodworth, head, 57, M, fisherman, of Rushen, living on the Shore Road, Port Erin, along with his wife Margaret, 59, M, also of Rushen, both married 36 years [***c.* 1875**] and their children: Joseph, 31, S, fisherman, William, 21, S, mariner, Norah, 24, S, assisting at home, Violet, 20, S, assisting at home, and Ivy, granddaughter, 13, school, all of Rushen.

- Manx: As in 1901, only Joseph Woodworth is entered as a Manx-speaker, the rest English-only (RG14/34745 0153 94).

Joseph Woodworth died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 4 September 1931 (LIB).

[88]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 392–95.

[89]Husband: Matthew Woodworth, head, M, 29, fisherman, of Rushen (cf. 1851 Census HO107 2526 301 26).

E> *c.* 1875. As Joseph Woodworth is noted both in 1901 and 1911 as sole Manx-speaker in the household, it is clear that English would be the spoken language of the same. As in other similar cases (q.v.), English would be introduced formally on the marriage of Joseph Woodworth with his wife Margaret in 1875.

Total no. of informants with children: 40 (nos. 1–40).

4.2. Informants with no children

4.2.41. Harry BOYDE (1870/1–1953), Bishop's Demesne, Ballaugh

> 'Harry Boyd, about 80, recounted his stock of short yarns with fixed end-formulae or 'punch-lines', mi[l]dly amusing but not autobiographical; when retold, these stories vary slightly in wording except for the end-formula, in which appear certain definite archaisms. He has been speaking Gaelic actively since 1935; his fund of lexical knowledge, notably of names of plants and animals, is very extensive.'[90] (Carmody 1954: 59–60)
>
> 'Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh, now in the [Mannin] Infirmary, Douglas. Aged 82. Blind. Another very good speaker, who was most useful.' (Jackson 1955: 3)[91]
>
> **1881**: So far as is known, Harry Boyde (HB) first appears in the 1881 census as William H. Boyde, 11, scholar, of Ballaugh, grandson to John Boyde, head, M, 74, 'farmer of 70 acres', of Ballaugh, and his wife Isabella, 72, living in Bishop Court farm, Ballaugh. Also living there were William Cottier, 54, John Boyde's brother-in-law, of Ballaugh, and Margaret Cottier, 61, his sister-in-law, also of Ballaugh (RG11/5598 74 28).
>
> **1891**: HB next appears in the 1891 census as Harry Boyde, 22, 'farmer's grandson', along with his grandfather John, 85, and John's daughter Jane, 45, of Ballaugh, as well as Isabella Wade, John's grand daughter, 13, and William, 5, another grandson, of Ballaugh, and his brother-in-law William Cottier, all living in 'Bishops Domain' (i.e. Bishop's Demesne) farm (RG12/4684 14 14).
>
> **1901**: HB here as Henry Boyde, 30, agricultural labourer, and nephew to John J. Boyde, head, M, 54, farmer, own account, and his wife Catherine, M, 48, both of Ballaugh, living in Bishops

[90] This was confirmed to me by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, at his home at Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, on 8 July 1974. It was on the same occasion that he also told me he had 'discovered' Harry Boyde, along with the Gaaue and John Tom Kaighin in 1936. For details, see above, p. 131, n. 68. Of the three, he said, he got on best with Harry Boyde, from whom he learned much of his Manx and obtained a number of Manx traditional songs, including *Hie mee stiagh* (cf. Broderick 1982: 20–1).

[91] Thus confirming Wagner's view, related to myself in 1983, of Harry Boyde. See Broderick (2017). For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 270–83.

Domain along with their children Robert, 13, Thomas, 11, Anne, 17, and John J.'s sister Jane, 53, and his niece Bella, 23, all of Ballaugh.

- Manx: All, including Harry, are entered here as English-only speakers (but see note below) (RG13/5300 44 20).

1911: HB here as Harry Boyde, 40, nephew, single, farm labourer, of Ballaugh, living in Bishop's Domain along with his uncle John J. Boyde, head, 60, M, farmer of 100 acres, employer, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catherine, 56, M, of Ballaugh, along with their children William H., 26, S, Thomas D., 21, S, John J.'s sister Jane, 64, S, all of Ballaugh. Also living with them were John J.'s other nephews and nieces, viz. Isabella, niece, 33, S, Florence Wade, niece 9, and Bertie Wade, 5, nephew, all of Ballaugh. The parents of Harry Boyde are to date unknown.[92]

- Manx: As in 1901 all are entered as English speakers (s.v. 1901), though we know from later interviews and recordings (see above) that Harry Boyde could also speak Manx, and no doubt his grandparents (and his parents), and probably his uncle John J. Boyde, but not necessarily his uncle's wife or children (RG14/34637 0035 18).

Harry Boyde died, aged 82, in the Mannin Infirmary, Braddan, on 2 February 1953, and was buried in Ballaugh on 6 February 1953 (GR, LIB).

E> *c.* 1901. I have taken it that HB's grandparents spoke Manx, as did his parents (though they are to date unknown), as well as his uncle John J., but not necessarily his uncle's wife or their children. It may be, of course, that English was introduced into the household when HB's grandfather John and his daughter Isabella Wade, 13 (1891), came on the scene *c.* 1878 (i.e. some seven years or so after HB's birth), but we just do not know. I have therefore taken E > to start from 1901 when we know for certain that English was the language of the household, though it may well have started much earlier. Harry Boyde never married and had no children. His Manx would then die with him (1953).

4.2.42. Daniel ('Danny') CAIN (1861/2–1952), Little London, Michael (of Eary, Michael)

'As a good Manx-speaker he [John Kisack MI] mentioned Daniel Cain in Little London, 2–3 miles further south on the Douglas road (the place is marked on the map). But the place was too far off my route.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 37 (19 June 1929))[93]

[92]Former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh, told me privately in July 1974 that Harry Boyde was born illegitimately.

[93]Daniel Cain, noted but not visited by Marstrander, but recorded briefly by YCG in ?April 1952 (YCG21). For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 310–11.

1871: So far as we are aware, Daniel Cain (DC) first appears in the 1871 census as Daniel H. Cain, 9, scholar, of Braddan, son to William Cain [1811–95],[94] M, 59, labourer, of Braddan, and his wife Ellen, M, 55, labourer's wife, also of Braddan. They lived in Pisco House (SC3683), Baldwin, Braddan, with their other sons William, S, 29, farmer of 5 acres, Philip, S, 21, tailor, and James, S, 14, labourer, all of Braddan (RG10/5777 52 32).

1881: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 18, farmer's son, of Braddan, living now in Eary farm, Michael with his parents William Caine, head, M, 69, farmer of 130 acres, and wife Ellen, M, 62, also of Braddan, and his elder brother William, S, 35, farmer's son, and sister Eleanor, S, 30, both of Braddan (RG11/5598 46 13).

1891: DC here as Daniel H. Caine, S, 28, farmer's son, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI along with his parents William, head, M, 80, of Braddan, and Eleanor (*sic*), M, 74, also of Braddan, as well as his sister Eleanor, S, 42, farmer's daughter, and brother James, S, 31, farmer's son, both of Braddan (RG12/4683 128 34).

1901: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 38, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI, but now with his mother Eleanor, head, widow, 83, of Braddan (his father William having died in 1895). Also living in the same household were Daniel's sister Eleanor, S, 52, and brother James, S, 42, 'farmer's son farm relief', both of Braddan.

- Manx: All four are entered as Manx-speakers (RG13/5300 22 4).

1911: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 49, farmer, is entered as born in Michael. He is still living and working in Eary farm MI, but now with his older brother James, head, M, 53, and his wife Elizabeth, 34, of German, both married 10 years [***c.* 1900/1**]. Also living with them were their children William, 9, 'school', Eleanor, 7, 'school', Maggie, 5, Annie, 3, and Fanny, 1, all of Michael.

- Manx: Listed as a speaker of Manx is Daniel alone; his brother James and his wife English-only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census (above) that James was also a Manx-speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (of German) probably was not, and also their children (RG14/34730 0057 29).

Daniel Cain died, aged 84, and was buried in Michael on 19 August 1952 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1900. For the reasons given above, and considering the date of marriage of James and his wife (*c.* 1900), I would estimate that English was introduced

[94] Also an informant interviewed by Prof. John Rhŷs during his visit to Man in 1887 (cf. Broderick forthcoming).

into the household around that time. Nevertheless, it is likely that Daniel and his brother James continued to speak Manx together when on their own, as was the case, noted by Rhŷs (1890) §3.3.2 above, of Manx speaking fishermen of Rushen speaking Manx among themselves when others were not present. Daniel Cain never married and evidently had no children to transmit Manx to. His Manx would therefore die with him (1952).

4.2.43. John CAIN (1843/4–1935), Ballamoar, Jurby

> 'As a good speaker he [Wilfred Wade] mentioned to me John Cain, Ballamoar [JU].' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 38–9 (19 June 1929))
>
> 'He [Wade] gave me Cain's age as 80-odd yrs., but he [Cain] didn't give me the impression of being more than 70-odd. He unfortunately had visitors when I came [...], but I got the impression that he knew a bit of Manx [...] Nevertheless, he recited *stante pede* a good deal of Manx poems.[95] His pronunciation seemed to be clear and correct. He would probably be of some help if I settled down here to work with Gawne.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 40 (19 June 1929))
>
> '4/2[1933]. To Jurby. John Cain confirmed completely the good impression I got of him in 1929. Used the two last cylinders on him. It is a pity I hadn't met him before. He would have been one of my main informants together with Christian, Woodworth, and Kelly.' (CM1933 *Dagbok* 84–5)[96]
>
> **1851**: So far as is known, John Cain (JC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as John Caine, 5, grandson of Thomas Corlett, head, 60, agricultural labourer, of Jurby, living in the Curragh with his wife Jane Corlett, 60, labourer's wife, of Braddan, their son-in-law John Caine, 29, agricultural labourer, of Jurby, their daughter, Catharine Caine, 25, labourer's wife, also of Jurby, and their son, Thomas' grandson, John Caine (HO107/2524/20/27).
>
> **1861**: JC here as John Caine, 15, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Thomas Corlett, widower, 75, farmer of 8 acres, of Jurby, all living in Ballamoare Cottage, Jurby. Living with them are Thomas's daughters Jane Corlett, unmarried, 39, of Jurby and Catharine Caine, 33, and her husband John Caine, 40, agricultural labourer, both of Jurby. John Caine, the scholar, would be their son (RG9/4421 15 24).
>
> **1881**: JC is next noticed in the 1881 census as John Caine, 34, farmer's son, of Jurby, living now in Croit Earick, Jurby, along with John Caine, head, widower, 50, farmer of 38 acres, of Jurby, and Jane Corlett, sister-in-law, 39, also of Jurby (RG11/5598 108 31).

[95] Some of these can be found in *HLSM* i, 312–15.

[96] For details of John Cain's recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 312–15.

1891: JC here as John Caine, 40, farmer's son, of Jurby, son of John Caine, 71, head, farmer, of Jurby, living in Lhenny Earick [Lheeannee Earick], Jurby, with his sister-in-law Jane Corlett, 70, also of Jurby, who was serving as his domestic house-keeper (RG12/4684 42 9).

1901: JC here as John Caine, 50, head, farmer, living in Ballamoar, Jurby, along with his wife Eliza J. Caine, 40, also of Jurby, and his father's sister-in-law Jane Corlett, 83.

- Manx: Both John Caine and Jane Corlett are enumerated as Manx-speakers; John Caine's wife Eliza is listed solely as an English speaker (RG13/5302 61 16).

1911: In 1901 John Caine, 60, and his wife Eliza J., 50, both married 17 years [***c.* 1893/4**], are listed as the sole occupiers of Ballamoar, Jurby.

- Manx: John Caine is enumerated as a Manx-speaker, Eliza solely as an English speaker (RG14/34693 0051 24).

John Cain died, aged, 92, and was buried in Jurby on 18 May 1935 (LIB).

Jane Corlett died, aged 83, and was buried in Jurby in 1902 (MBMD C1 149).

E> 1902 As John Cain's wife Eliza is an English-only speaker, John Cain would have spoken English to her when they first met. He would speak English to her and Manx to his father's sister-in-law on their own, but when they were altogether, then English. In this regard we cannot say that English became the daily language of the household, since there were no children involved about whom, as elsewhere, we would likely have ascertained from the census record whether the children were all English-only speaking or not. But as John Cain's father's sister-in-law Jane Corlett died in 1902, aged 83, his use of daily Manx in the home would likely end then.

4.2.44. Ms. Elizabeth CRAINE (1872/3–1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre

'He [Mr. Faragher] recommended as a good speaker Mrs. Craine, ca. 55 yrs. old (whose grandfather spoke only Manx); she lives on the road to Ballaugh (Cooilbane Cottage).' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 41 (19 June 1929))

1881: So far as is known, Elizabeth Craine (EC) is first noticed in the 1881 census as Elizabeth Craine, 8, scholar, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel J. Craine, head, M, 40, labourer, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Jurby, living in Glenway Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre, also with their two sons: John C, S, 15, of Lezayre, and William, 12, scholar, also of Lezayre (RG11/5599 84 35).

1891: EC here as Elizabeth Craine, S, 18, dressmaker, daughter to Daniel Craine, head, M, 48, highway labourer, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 48, living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE, with also their son John, S, 25, woollen dyer, all of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4684 115A 4).

1901: EC here as Elizabeth Craine, S, 28, dressmaker, own account, at home, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel J. Craine, head M, 59, road man, worker, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 59, of Jurby, all living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE.

- Manx: All three are listed as Manx-speakers (RG13/5300 63 3).

1911: EC here as Elizabeth C. Craine, 38, S, dressmaker, own account, at home, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel Craine, head 70, M, retired roadman, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth C., 69, M, both married 50 years [***c.* 1860/1**], of Jurby, all living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE.

- Manx: As in 1901 all three are listed here as Manx-speakers (RG14/34696 0005 3). **Not interviewed**.

Daniel James Craine died, aged 70, and was buried in Lezayre in 1911 (MBMD B1, 127).

Elizabeth Charlotte Craine died, aged 70, and was buried in Lezayre in 1911 (MBMD B1, 127).

John S. Craine died, aged 45, and was buried in Ramsey in 1910 (MBMD A, 410).

Ms. Elizabeth Craine died, aged 72, and was buried in Lezayre on 13 June 1945 (LIB).

E> 1911. In 1901 we learn that Daniel Craine, his wife and daughter were all Manx speaking. This was confirmed in the 1911 census, i.e. Manx was the language of the household. The daughter would likely cease speaking Manx at home on the death of her parents in 1911. She had no issue.

4.2.45. John GAWNE (1860/1–1934), West Nappin, Jurby

'A good speaker is Mr. Gawne, W. Nappin, just south of Jurby Church.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 35–6 (19 June 1929))

'He [Mr. Gawne] is about 70 yrs. old and has quite a good pronunciation. The man gives you the impression of being somewhat older [...]. I think Gawne is fairly usable and given some time would be able to squeeze the complete Manx system out of him. He is extremely willing to co-operate. Here are a couple of words and expressions which I noted (in sufficient phonetic script) [...]' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 36–7 (19 June 1929))

1861: So far as is known, John Gawne (JG) is first attested in the census for 1861 as John Gawne, 7 months, of Andreas, son

to William Gawne, head, M, 38, agricultural labourer, of Andreas, and his wife Ann, 36, also of Andreas, living in Ballavarey [Ballavarry] AN along with their remaining children: Ann, 6, and William M., 3 (RG9/4410 40 41).

1871: JG here as John Gawne, 10 scholar, of Andreas, son to William Gawne, head, M, 49, farm labourer, of Andreas, and his wife Ann, 46, labourer's wife, also of Andreas, now living in Maughold on the Cornaa Road along with their remaining children: William, 13, scholar, Thomas, 2, Ellen, 7, all of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 5, of Maughold (RG10/5773 95 25).

1891: JG turns up next in the 1891 census as John Gawne, head, M, 31, farmer, of Andreas, with his wife Annie, M, 43, of Jurby, living in Ballasalla Cottage, Jurby, along with Hugh Forsythe, stepson, S, 20, farmer's stepson, of Jurby, and Annie Forsythe, stepdaughter, 18, farmer's stepdaughter, (?of Jurby) (RG12/4684 36 7).

1901: JG here as John Gawne, head, M, 40, farmer, employer, entered as of Lezayre, still living in Ballasalla Cottage, Jurby, along with his wife Ann, 54, of Jurby. Living also with them is Thomas Gale, servant, S, 19, horseman, worker, of Douglas, John Redpath, servant, S, 17, cattleman, of Lezayre, and Catherine Cowell, servant, 16, general servant domestic, of Andreas.

- Manx: Both John Gawne and his wife Ann are entered as Manx-speakers, the remaining three persons English-only (RG13/5302 54 5).

1911: JG here as John Gawne, head, 47, farmer and dealer, at home, of Andreas, living in Ballaholly, Ballasalla, Jurby, with his wife A[nn] J. 60, of Jurby, both married 24 years [***c.* 1886/7**]. Living with them is Reggie Quaye, servant, 15, S, of Douglas.

- Manx: Both John Gawne and his wife Ann are entered as Manx-speakers, Reggie Quaye as English-only (RG14/34692 0011 6).

John Gawne died, aged 73, and was buried in Jurby on 20 March 1934 (LIB).

Ann Gawne died, aged 86, and was buried in Ballaugh in 1933 (MBMD D 213).

E> 1901/33. Since *c.* 1901 John Gawne and his wife have had only servants in the household with whom they would have spoken English, though they would likely have spoken Manx with each other. John's wife Ann, who was much older than her husband by *c.* 12–14 years, died in 1933, which would likely mark the end of Manx speech in the Gawne household.

4.2.46. Harry KELLY ('Harry Nancy')[97] *(1852/3–1935), Cregneash, Rushen*

'Harry Kelly, 77 yrs. old who lives at the bottom of the village on the right hand (south) side of the road. A nice old man with a clear pronunciation. The few sentences I gave him to translate — they were quite simple — he managed without any difficulty. His father spoke practically only Manx [...]. Kelly can be used without doubt.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 18 (17 June 1929))

'Woodw. sick today; for that reason, I took a trip to Cregneish and met old Kelly. He makes a very good impression. He grew up in a home where the parents spoke Manx to each other. He has always understood Manx himself — even as a small boy he was able to speak a little. He only achieved complete mastery of the language when, as with Woodw., he went fishing with the older men when he was around 15 yrs. old. It was most interesting to observe that K. did not have a broad fronted *l* [viz. [L]], as in *laa* 'day'. There is a question here whether we are up against a change in the old Manx dialect in the Port Erin district, or the loss of this feature could be that W. and K. grew up with English as their main language. The problem will have to be solved. It is of considerable general interest.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 71 (28 August 1930))

'30/8[1930]. Took a trip to Cregneish yesterday evening and paid a visit to Harry Kelly. Arranged to meet him tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and have just arrived back from my first session with him. He will be 79 next year. He appears to have an extraordinarily good knowledge of Manx. I've still not been able to get to know him well at all, but it would not surprise me that of all the speakers I have met he is the one who speaks best and most idiomatically. Made him tell me his 'Life' in English; I'll take it down in Manx tomorrow morning about 9 o'clock. Kelly is supposed to be very unapproachable — a fish-monger who passed by was surprised that I ever got Kelly to speak Manx.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 72 (30 August 1930))

'1/9/30. My impression of Kelly is confirmed. He appears to be an excellent speaker considering the position of Manx. I noted down his *vita* yesterday, which contained many interesting pieces of information about manners and customs in the old days. But he is a difficult man to handle. When I called in this morning at 9 o'clock as we had agreed he had no time to spare. I'll have to come to a permanent arrangement with him.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 73)

[97] According to the late Mrs. Doris Maddrell, a native of Cregneash. Harry Kelly was known in Cregneash as 'Harry Nancy', from his mother Ann, known as Nancy, to differentiate him from another Cregneash inhabitant 'Harry Kelly the Tailor'. See MPNS Tapes 54, 55, 71, 72, 76.

'I tried to get in contact with Kelly on 24th Jan; walked over the hill from Port Erin (Station Hotel as in 1930), and started the recordings here in the hotel on 25th. My impression is that the recordings are rather uneven. Kelly's voice is somewhat hoarse, is a bit squeaky and not very sonorous, but the result improves when he speaks relatively softly and has his mouth well close to the horn. Have worked with him for four days now; will probably finish tomorrow morning the 30th Jan. [1933].' (CM1933 *Dagbok* 81–2 (24–5 January 1933))

'30/1/33. Finished my work with Harry Kelly today, 29 cylinders for "metalisation". I also tried the other apparatus on him. The oscillations were more visible when I used a *short* [M's italics] arm. The main result: faintly voiced media χ [x] ʒ [ɣ] in *dorcha* are voiced; *p, t, k* considerably weaker aspiration than in Norwegian; [ɑun´] 'river', [dɑun´] 'deep' have a non-nasal vowel.' (CM1933 *Dagbok*, 81–3)[98]

1861: So far as is known, Harry Kelly (HC) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Henry Kelley, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Thomas Kelley, head, M, 47, fisherman, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 35, also of Rushen, living in Cregnesh [Cregneash], Rushen, along with their remaining children: Thomas, 12, scholar, James, 10, scholar, and Margaret, 1, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 68 97).

1871: HC here as H[enr]y. Kelly, 28 [*rectius* 18], fisherman, of the Howe RU, boat *Ospray* CT30, 'Vessels sailing from Port St Mary to Kinsale Fishery' (RG10/5778 131 CT30).

1881: HC here as Henry Kelly, M, 28, fisherman, boat *Queen* [of Rushen] (RG11/5609 54 102). Sailing out of Peel.

1891: HC here as Henry Kelly, S, 35, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Harvest Home* CT115 (RG12/4692 84 CT115).

1901: HC here as Henry Kelly, S, 48, fisherman, of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered here as a Manx-speaker (RG13/5301 107 137).

1911: HC here as Henry Kelly, head, 58, S, mariner, worker, of Rushen, living alone in Cregneash, Port St Mary.

- Manx: Entered here as a Manx-speaker (RG14/34746 0101 47).

Harry Kelly died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 4 April 1935 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1910/11. Harry Kelly had no children to transmit Manx (or English) to. He was living on his own in 1911, according to the census, and apparently thereafter till his death in 1935. Stanley Karran (1910–2009), Cregneash,

[98]For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 324–41.

son to Prof. Jackson's chief informant Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash, told me (21 January 1991) that he remembers that Harry Kelly and his contemporaries, although they were native Manx-speakers, would speak English to each other whenever they met (see §9.8.2 above). Nevertheless, it is clear from the sound-recordings that Harry Kelly had good Manx.

4.2.47. James KEWLEY (1849/50–1939), Ballig, Maughold/Grawe, Lonan (of Lezayre)

> 'My next victim was James Kewley, 79 yrs. old (b. 1850) the youngest and only surviving one of 10 brothers. Born in Lezayre, but brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey). He had also lived for some time in Maughold. Met him on the island somewhat south of Laxey and had a long chat with him. He certainly knows a lot of Manx [several exx. follow]. He recites some verses he had heard from an older brother: [re Castle Mona].[99] There were several verses, but I only remember this one. A nice man and quite informative.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 51–2 (22 June 1929))[100]
>
> **1881**: So far as is known, James Kewley (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as James Kewley, S, 31, farmer's son, of Lezayre, son to Cathrine Kewley, head, widow, 74, farmer of 104 acres, of German, living in Grawe, Lonan also with her eldest son Robert, S, 35, farmer's son, of Bride. Also living with them is Alfred Cain, servant, S, 14, in door servant, of Lonan, and Jane Crennell, S, 16, general servant, also of Lonan (RG11/5601 65 26).
>
> **1891**: JK here as James Kewley, S, 41, mariner, of Lezayre, brother to Robert Kewley, head, S, 43, auctioneer, of Bride, living in North Grawe, Lonan along with Julia Crebbin, servant, S, 27, domestic housekeeper, of Lonan, and William H. Crebbin, servant, S, 16, general labourer, also of Lonan (RG12/4686 64 132).
>
> **1901**: JK here as James Kewley, S, 51, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, living in Grawe, Lonan, along with his elder brother, Robert Kewley, head, S, 53, farmer and auctioneer, employer, of Bride. Also living with them is Julia Crebbin, servant, S, 37, house keeper domestic, and George H. Redpath, servant, S, 18, horseman on farm, both of Lonan.
>
> **- Manx**: Both Robert and James Kewley are entered as Manx-speakers, Julia Crebbin and George Redpath English-only (RG13/5307 40 41).
>
> **1911**: JK here as James Kewley, head, 61, M, farm labourer (cattleman), worker, of Lezayre, now living in Ballig, Maughold,

[99] A satirical song on the building of the Castle Mona in 1804, formerly the residence of John Murray, Fourth Duke of Atholl and Governor of Man (1793–1830). For a fuller text (4 stanzas) see Broderick (1982: 11–12).

[100] For details of his recorded contributions, see *HLSM* i, 318–19.

along with his wife Rebecca Kewley, 52, M, dressmaker, worker, of Lonan, both married 3 years [***c.* 1907/8**].

- Manx: Both James and Rebecca Kewley are entered as Manx-speakers (RG14/34724 0027 14).

James Kewley died, aged 89, and was buried in Lonan in 1939 (MBMD).

Rebecca Kewley died, aged 53, and was buried in Lonan on 10 September 1912 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1912. As James Kewley and his wife Rebecca, both Manx-speakers, had no children, there was no one to transmit Manx (or English) to. Manx would likely continue to be the language of the household until Rebecca died (1912).

4.2.48. Thomas MOORE (1836/7–1923), Brookfield, Port Erin, Rushen

'Description of a popular custom (x2)/Description of Port Erin, about fairies, about a well/Translation of the English hymn of the Isle of Man [Manx National Anthem], spoken by Thomas Moore, 73 years old, landowner.' (VR64–7, 6 August 1909, Douglas)[101]

1841: So far as is known, Thomas Moore (TM) is first noticed in the census for 1841 as Thomas Moore, 4, grandson to Thomas Moore Sr, 60, farmer, and his wife Catherine, 56, living in Bradda, Rushen, also with their other children: Robert, 31, agricultural labourer, Margaret, 32, Jane 2, all of the Isle of Man. Living with them is Jane Moore, 17, female servant, and Jane Corrin, female servant, also of the Isle of Man (HO107/1465 40 16).

1851: TM here as Thomas Moore, 14, farmer's son, of Rushen, grandson to Thomas Moore, head M, 71, farmer of 13 acres, of Rushen, living in Moore House, Rushen, with his wife Cathrine, M, 66, farmer's wife, of Rushen, and Margaret, daughter-in-law, 42, farmer's son's wife, of Rushen, also Thomas Sr, his other grandchildren: Jane, 11, scholar, Robert, 9, scholar, John, 7, scholar, and William, 5, all of Rushen. Living with them are James Watterson, servant, S, 46, farm labourer, and Thomas Corrin, servant, S, 16, farm labourer, both of Rushen (HO107/2526 314 118).

1861: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, S, 24, farmer of 60 acres, of Rushen, living with his grandmother Catherine, widow, 76, of Rushen, his mother Margaret, widow, 50, of Rushen, his sister Jane, S, 21, employed at home, of Rushen, his brother John, S, 17, carpenter at tread, of Rushen, his other brother William, S, 13, blacksmith apprentice, of Rushen. Living with them is William Gale, manservant, S, 20, carter, of Rushen (RG9/4430 40 4).

[101] For details of his recorded contributions, see also *HLSM* i, 402–5.

1881: TM turns up next in the 1881 census as Thomas Moore, head, M, 44, farmer of 35 acres, employing one man, of Rushen, living now in Ballaglonney, Rushen, with is wife Ann, M, 39, farmer's wife, of Rushen. Living with them is Jane Corrin, servant, S, 17, general servant, of Rushen, and Edward Crebbin, servant, S, 15, farm servant, also of Rushen (RG11/ 5608 122 142).

1891: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, M, 54, living on own means, of Rushen, living still in Ballaglonney, with his wife Ann, M, 49, living on own means, of Rushen (RG12/4692 38 167).

1901: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, M, 64, living on own means, of Rushen, living now in Ballafesson, Rushen, along with his wife Anny, M, 59, living on own means, of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are both Thomas and his wife Anny (RG13/5301 122 100).

1911: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, 74, M, retired farmer, of Rushen, living now in Brookfield, Port Erin, along with his wife Anne, 69, M, of Rushen, both married 45 years [***c.* 1865/6**].

- Manx: Both Thomas and Anne are entered here as speakers of 'English and Manx' (RG14/ 34747 0139 70).

Anne Moore died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 8 December 1922 (LIB).

Thomas Moore died, aged 86, and was buried in Rushen on 6 January 1923 (LIB).

E> 1922. As can be seen from the 1901 and 1911 census returns both Thomas Moore and his wife Anne are entered as Manx-speakers, since 1891 living on their own. In looking through the census returns as from 1861 when Thomas Moore became the head of the household, they seem not to have had any children. Thomas may likely have continued speaking Manx to contemporaries after his wife's death in 1922, but even there we are uncertain. All we can say is that Manx ceased to be spoken in the Moore household on his wife's death in 1922.

4.2.49. Thomas TAGGART ('the Tailor') (1846/7–1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby, Malew

'Thomas Taggart turned out to be a jolly old man with a great apostolic beard, and quite a talkative man with a brilliant sense of humour. His pronunciation appears to me to be inarticulate, not only in Manx but also in English (which, however, doesn't say much, because my knowledge of Manx is practically nil). He lisps a little bit; certainly he doesn't have all his teeth, and some of the words appear to stick in his beard. But as far as I can see his

Manx is impeccable [. . .]. I'm quite sure I can use the man; I have to keep him in mind [. . .]' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 16 (16 June 1929))

'Now [1930] working with Taggart in Grenaby. He is a bit of a disappointment; he is very overrated. He has forgotten most of his Manx; he does not remember the most ordinary of words like 'shoulder', 'knee', etc., and this is probably not because of his great age. I will probably give him up shortly.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 67–8 (27 August 1930))

'Taggart is a very difficult subject to put it mildly. First of all he's deaf and a continuous conversation with him is almost impossible. His memory is also weakened to a considerable degree. All his information will have to be checked and used with the greatest care. False associations with synonymous or similar sounding English or Manx words would often lead him to produce completely mad forms, such as [æ:-kəl] 'lime-kiln' (under the influence of Eng. 'kiln') for [i:l] = [G] *aoil*!! I'll have to arrange some phonetic system of what he has explained. Yesterday [27 August 1930] we were shouting for a full 4½ hours, which I'm sure could be heard all over the parish — and we were both completely knackered when we were finished.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 70–1 (28 August 1930))[102]

1851: So far as is known, Thomas Taggart (TT) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as Thomas Taggart, 4, of Malew, son to Thomas Taggart Sr, head, M, 32, tailor master, employing apprentice, of Malew, and his wife Jane, M, 38, tailor's wife, of German, living in Ballagilbert, Malew, also with their other children: Jane, 9, scholar, William, 7, at home, Ann, 2, Ceasar, 1 month, all of Malew. Living with them is Sarah Quayle, lodger, 1, also of Malew (HO107/2526 88 55).

1861: TT here as Thomas Taggart, 14, scholar, of Malew, son to Thomas Taggart Sr, head, M, 42, tailor, of Malew, and his wife Jane, M, 49, of German, living in Ballagilbert Beg, Malew, also with their two other sons William, S, 17, pupil-teacher, and Ceasar, 11, scholar, both of Malew (RG9/4424 72 6).

1869: **Marriage**, Malew, 2 January 1869 Thomas Taggart, full age [21/2], bachelor, tailor, Kerroo Keiyl [Kerrookeil], f. Thomas Taggart, tailor ~ Isabella Watterson, full age [30/1], spinster, [no entry], Kerroo Keiyl, f. William Watterson, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Malew, 2 January 1869, 150).

1871: TT here as Thomas Taggart, 24, tailor, of Malew, son-in-law to William Watterson, head, M, 77, farmer of 45 acres, living in 1 Ballarobin, Malew, with his wife Jane, M, 70, of Malew, and their

[102]For details of his recorded contribtuions, see *HLSM* i, 388–91.

children: Elizabeth, S, 39, Robert, S, 29, and Isabella Taggart, S, 33, all of Malew. Living with them are the two granddaughters Ann Wallace, 14, scholar, and Martha Wallace, 10, scholar, both of Malew, and the two grandsons Archibald Wallace, 6, scholar, and William Watterson, 7, scholar, both of Malew (RG10/5777 140 33).

1881: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 34, tailor, employing one man, of [Malew] 'Isle of Man', living in Ballarobin, Malew, with his wife Isabella, M, 43, of Malew (RG11/5608 16 19).

1891: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 44, taylor [*sic*], of Malew, living on the Kerrowkeil Road, Arbory, with his wife Isabella, M, 53, of Malew, and along with Thomas Watterson, nephew, S, 23, taylor, of Rushen, Martha Rug, visitor, M, 30, of Malew, Robert Rug, visitor, 8 scholar, of Malew, and William Rug, visitor, 3, of Peel (RG12/4690 120 19).

1901: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 54, tailor, own account, at home, of Malew, living in Kerrowkeil, Malew, with his wife Isabella, M, 63, also of Malew.

- Manx: Entered as speakers of Manx are both Thomas Taggart and his wife Isabella (RG13/ 5308 66 19).

1911: TT here as Thomas Taggart, visitor, 64, widower, tailor, own account, at home, 'Isle of Man', both. Then in Manx: *Jeeagheyder, Three feed as Kiare, Dooiney troghe, Tailleur, er ney coontey hene, ec-y-thie, Mannin, yn jees.* Leading the group is Robert Keig, head, 51, mason, worker, Martha Keig, wife, 50, both married 29 years [***c.* 1881/2**], Annie Elizabeth, daughter, 16, S, worker, all of 'Isle of Man', living together in Colenso House, Palace Road, Douglas, Isle of Man.

- Manx: Only Thomas Taggart is entered as a Manx-speaker, the others English-only (RG14/ 34675 0015 8).[103]

Thomas Taggart died, aged 87, and was buried in Arbory on 6 December 1933 (LIB).

Isabella Taggart died, aged 73, and was buried in Arbory on 23 May 1909 (LIB).

E> 1909. Thomas Taggart and his wife Isabella were seemingly childless, and as such headed no household. Since their marriage in 1869 they first (1871) lived with his wife's family in Ballarobin, Malew, then (1881) on their own but still in Ballarobin, then (1891) on the Kerrookeil Road but along with their nephew Thomas Watterson and three visitors, then (1901) once again on their own, this time in Kerrookeil. In 1909 Isabella died and Thomas then went

[103]Manx revivalist the late Mona Douglas (1898–1987), who knew Thomas Taggart personally, told me *c.* 1975 he was known locally as 'Tom the Tailor' from his profession.

to live with Robert Keig and his family in Douglas. As the Schedule for the 1911 census was to be filled out and signed by the head of the household Tom Taggart clearly took the opportunity of inserting a Manx translation of his details, suggesting that Taggart was, or had been, involved in Revival activity. As Thomas and his wife were both entered as Manx-speakers in the 1901 census, Manx would cease to be the language of his household when his wife died (1909) and when he moved into Douglas. By the time Taggart was visited by Marstrander (1929) he was living in the old schoolhouse in Grenaby, Malew.

4.2.50. William WATTERSON (1863/4–1938), Glenchass, Rushen

> 'An old man in the village of Fistard who was about 70 told me that his father spoke only Manx; his mother, however, spoke both. He was himself only able to manage a simple sentence in Manx. As a good speaker he mentioned Watterson in Glenchass near Howe, *c*. 65 yrs. I called on this man [...]. Watterson gave me the impression that he was able to hold a conversation in Manx, although his knowledge of the language probably wasn't perfect judging from several examples. He gave me several forms of numerals which I noted in a hurry [exx. 1–100]. Watterson was, however, not quite certain when he exceeded 40. He mentioned 60 as *tree keead* which has to be 300, but he corrected himself later [exx. of several words] [su:l´] 'eye' (which he, however, couldn't remember immediately, and it was only after I mentioned the Irish word for it that he did remember it) [...]. Manx-speakers one could find at Ballakilpheric and in Lingague, both near Colby, says Watterson.' (CM 1929 *Dagbok*, 20–2 (16 June 1929))

1871: So far as we are aware, William Watterson (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as William Watterson, 7, scholar, of Rushen, son to Jane Watterson, head, M, 46, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living on the Cregneish Road, Rushen, also with her two daughters: Catherine, S, 15, farm labourer, and Sarah J., 10, scholar, both of Rushen (RG10/5778 95 70).

1881: WW here as William Watterson, S, 18, fisherman, boat *Venture* (RG11 5609 60 129). His mother Jane Watterson, wife, head, 56, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her daughter Darah, S, 20, also of Rushen (RG11/5609 12 107).

1891: WW's mother Jane Watterson, wife, M, 66, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, with her daughter Sarah J., S, 30, also of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 140).

1901: WW here as William Watterson, S, 35, of Rushen, son to Jane Watterson, head, widow, 77, of Rushen, living in Fistard, Port St Mary, Rushen, also with her daughter Sarah J., S, 35, also of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are all three, i.e. Jane Watterson, her son William and daughter Sarah J. (RG13/5301 104 89).

1911: WW here as sole entry William Watterson, head, 47, S, mason's labourer, worker, of Rushen.

- Manx: William Watterson is entered here as a Manx-speaker (RG14/34746 0009 1).

William Watterson died, aged 73, and was buried in Rushen on 23 February 1938 (LIB).

Jane Watterson (mother) died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 11 August 1901 (LIB).

E> 1901. William Watterson, although a Manx-speaker, had no children, and so no household to transmit any language to. Nevertheless, he would likely speak Manx to his mother until her death in 1901, thereafter with outside contemporaries, but that is not known. Even so Marstrander was able to detect uncertainties in his Manx, suggesting a long while without speaking it.

Total no. of informants without children: 10 (nos. 41–50).

4.3. Informants regarded as semi-speakers

4.3.51. Ewan CHRISTIAN (1907/8–1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE

'Ewan Christian told us that he first learned Manx from two old ladies in the same street when he was about five years old, and later from farmers and fishermen in and around Peel. He admitted to us that he had also attended Caesar Cashen's Manx classes that were held in Peel before the Second World War [...]. Nevertheless, it was quite clear from his pronunciation that he had had contact with native Manx-speakers at an early date in his life, and in that respect his contribution is valuable. Christian was apparently great friends with Ned Maddrell, and he told us that they would visit each other fairly regularly to talk Manx together.' (GB, *LDIM*, 75)

Ewan Christian was born Philip Ewan Christian in Peel in 1907 (MBMD A 501), f. Philip Daniel Christian, m. Geraldine Cowell (IB, IMFHS).

1911: So far as census returns are concerned, Ewan Christian is first noted in the census for 1911 as Ewan Christian, 3, of Peel, son to Philip Christian, head, 33, M, of Peel, and his wife Geraldine, 31, M, also of Peel, both married 8 years [***c.* 1902–3**] all three

living at 32 Patrick Street, Peel. Philip Christian's name and details have for some reason been deleted from the census return,[104] which bears his wife Geraldine Christian's signature.

- Manx: Geraldine Christian is entered solely as an English-only speaker; no entry is made for her son Ewan owing to his young age (RG14/34741 0165 153).

Ewan Christian died [aged 77] in Douglas in 1985 (MBMD 10211 115).[105]

A semi-speaker.

4.3.52. Thomas Edward FARAGHER ('Farakel') (1865/6–1942), Sulby, Lezayre

'Up Sulby Glen. A man of 64 (his name was Farakel [?Faragher]) born "at the bottom of the glen" said that his father spoke Manx and his grandfather only Manx. But his own knowledge of the language was rather fragmentary.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 41 (19 June 1929))

Marstrander (CM1929 *Dagbok* 41) writes 'Farakel' which has been interpreted here as a possible mishearing of the Manx surname Faragher. If so, the only candidate which fits the requirements here is Thomas Edward Faragher. His abodes of Cooilbane, Holly Farm and Clanagh Veg all lie in the vicinity of the entrance to Sulby Glen. For this reason his family details are given.

1871: So far as is known, Thomas Edward Faragher (TEF) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Thomas E. Fargher, 5, of Lezayre, son to William C. Fargher, Head, M, 36, carpenter employing one man, of Lezayre, living in Cooilbane, Sulby, Lezayre, with his wife Ann, M, 37, of German, also their other children: Anna M., 7, and William, 1, both of Lezayre (RG10/5773 35 37).

1881: TEF here as Thos. E. Fargher, 15, joiner's son, of Lezayre, son to William C. Fargher, head, M, 47, joiner, of Lezayre, living in Cooilbane Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre, along with his wife Ann, M, 47, formerly dressmaker, here of Michael, also with their other children: Anna M., 17, William H., 11, scholar, Robert, 9, scholar, Amelia J., 7, scholar, and Isabella, 5, scholar, all of Lezayre (RG11/5599 84 36).

1901: TEF turns up next in the census for 1901 as Thomas E. Fargher, head, M, 35, carpenter and joiner, own account, at home,

[104] Philip Daniel Christian, according to LIB, died, aged 89, and was buried in German on 5 December 1967; Geraldine died, aged 83, and was buried in German on 17 November 1962 (LIB).

[105] According to his family doctor, Dr. Malcolm Hannan, Peel, Ewan Christian died in Nobles Hospital, Douglas, in January 1985 (personal communication March 1985).

of Lezayre, living now in Holly Farm, Lezayre, along with his wife Catherine A., M, 34, of Maughold, and their son Robert W., 4 months, of Lezayre.

- Manx: All three are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5300 71 23).

1911: TEF is here Thomas Edward Faragher, head, 45, widower,[106] joiner, worker, at home, of Lezayre, living in Clanagh Veg, Sulby, Lezayre, with his son Robert William, 10, and his house keeper Mary Ellen Corkish, 34, S, of Liverpool, Fairy St

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is Mary Ellen Corkish alone, Thomas Edward and his son Robert William English-only, though he is likely to have had some Manx to be recommended to Marstrander. (RG14/34697 0055 28)

Thomas Edward Faragher died aged 76, and was buried in Lezayre on 21 January 1942 (LIB).

A semi-speaker. In 1901 and in 1911 Thomas Edward Faragher is entered as an English-only speaker, probably on his own initiative, thus confirming Marstrander's statements about his Manx.

4.3.53. Walter James KARRAN (1873/4–1939), Cregneash, Rushen

'Also met Karran's somewhat younger brother (55 yrs.), a sailor. His father spoke good Manx; he even preferred it to English and was well able to read it.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 18 (16 June 1929))

1881: So far as is known, Walter James Karran (WJK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Walter Karran, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Catherine Karran, M, 50, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, also with her two daughters Ann, S, 23, and Emily, 11, scholar, both of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 64).

1891: WJK here as Walter Karran, S, 18, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Bonnie Lass* CT11 (RG12/4692 74 CT11).

1901: WJK here as Walter J. Karran, S, 28, farmer, son of Catherine Karran, head, widow, 70, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, also with her sister-in-law Catherine Karran, S, 66, of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as Manx-speakers are Catherine Karran, 70, and Catherine Karran, 66, Walter James as English-only (RG13/5301 107 134).

[106]His wife Catherine A. died aged 35, and was buried in Lezayre on 23 September 1900 [*rectius* 1902] (LIB).

1911: WJK here as Walter James Karran, head, 38, M, farmer, employer, of Rushen, living in Cregneish, Port St Mary, Rushen, along with his wife Annie Margaret, 38, M, also of Rushen, both married 8 years [***c.* 1902/3**], and their children: Margaret Edith, 9, George Henry, 6, John Edward, 3, Annie Esther, 11 months, all of Rushen. Living with them is Walter James' mother Catherine Karran, 80, also of Rushen.

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is Catherine Karran only, the rest English-only (RG14/ 34746 0095 44). **Not interviewed**.

Walter James Karran died, aged 66, and was buried in Rushen on 26 September 1939 (LIB).

He may have had some Manx, as a semi-speaker. But essentially he was an English-only speaker. As can be seen above, Marstrander is quite definite about Karran's age of 55, implying a birth-year of 1873–4. If this is the case the only Karran from Rushen and 'a sailor' to fit the bill is Walter James Karran, of Rushen, earlier a fisherman. His name and details appear here tentatively. Marstrander did not interview him, as he likely guessed that Karran had little or no Manx, as can perhaps be read between the lines in Marstrander's comment above.

4.3.54. Thomas MADDRELL (1851/2–1931), Glenchass, Rushen

'T. Maddrell in Glenchass was an uncongenial man between 70 and 80 and did not appear to be much worthwhile as a subject. He told me himself that he could not speak Manx before he was 18, when from that time he learned it from the old people. But he couldn't keep up a conversation nor speak it fluently.' (CM1930 *Dagbok*, 75–6 (26 September 1930))

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Maddrell (TM) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Thomas Maddrell, 9, scholar, of Rushen, son to John Maddrell, head, M, 36, agricultural labourer, of Rushen, living in Brada [Bradda], along with his wife Isabela, M, 34, agricultural labourer, of Rushen, and their other children: Isabela, 11, agricultural labourer, John, 7, scholar, Ann, 5, and Elenor, 3, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 41 16).

1881: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, M, 28, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Cruiser* (RG11/5609 84 10).

1901: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, AB, S, 48, AB Seaman, worker, Rushen IOM, boat *Prince of Wales*. Vessel moored at West Float, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

- Manx: not asked for (RG13/3394 5).

1911: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, crew, 58, M, AB Seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen.

- Manx: not asked for (RG14 PN25702 RD482 SD1 ED52 SN0 Barrow-in-Furness census).

Thomas Maddrell died, aged, 79, and was buried in Rushen on 20 August 1931 (LIB).

A semi-speaker in view of Marstrander's comment that Maddrell told him 'that he could not speak Manx before he was 18.' In 1861 it is almost certain that Manx was the language of the Maddrell household in Bradda, and as Thomas by 1881 was pursuing the career of a fisherman, the language even then on the fishing boats, according to Ned Maddrell (who was talking about a time around 1890), was Manx.[107] If so he would likely have been using Manx even then. But Thomas never married and does not seem to have had any children to transmit to.

4.3.55a. Mrs. Mary WADE (1838/9–1933), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale, Malew
4.3.55b. John Joseph WADE (1834–1913), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale, Malew

'As good Manx-speakers he [the man from Ballasalla] mentioned two old women Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Johnson, both ca. 90 yrs. and living quite near [Cross Four Ways, Ballasalla].' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 13 (16 June 1929))

1891: So far as is known, Mrs. Mary Wade (MW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Mary Wade, M, 50, wife to John Wade, head, M, 55, sawyer (Foxdale mines), both of 'Isle of Man' (RG12/4690 106 96).

1911: MW here as Mary Wade, 74, M, of Port Erin, Rushen, wife to John Wade, head, 77, M, wood-sa[w]yer, Foxdale mines, of Peel, German, both married 56 years [*c.* **1854/5**].

- Manx: Entered as a Manx-speaker is John Wade alone, Mary Wade is entered as English-only. (RG14/34712 0011 6). **Not interviewed**.

Mrs. Mary Wade died, aged 94, and was buried in Foxdale, Malew, on 7 February 1933 (LIB).

John Joseph Wade died, aged 79, and was buried in Foxdale, Malew, on 26 February 1913.

E> 1854/5 A semi-speaker? Although not entered as a Manx-speaker in 1911, she is likely to have had some Manx if she had been recommended to Marstrander, but it may have turned out that she had very little, or had forgotten most of it (particularly after her husband's death in 1913), and for that reason was not interviewed. As John and Mary Wade had no family, no language (whether Manx or English) could be transmitted.

Total no. of semi-speakers: 5 (nos. 51–55).

[107] *Tra va mee guilley veg hie mee magh gys y skaddan un oie ayns baatey enmyssit yn 'Puffin'. Hie shin woish Purt Çhiarn. Va shiaght deiney aynjee as cha row un ockle dy Baarle loayrt, ooilley Gaelg* 'when I was a small boy I went out to the herring (fishing) one night in a boat called the 'Puffin'. We went from Port Erin. There were seven men in her (the boat) and there was not a word of English spoken — all Manx.' (*HLSM* i, 373)

4.4. Informants whose language details are uncertain

4.4.56. William CORLETT (1849/50–1932), Ballaugh Village (of Michael)

'The carpenter William Corlett, ca. 80 yrs. old, from what I've heard was from Kirk Michael. He was not at home when I enquired about him.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 36 (19 June 1929))

1901: So far as is known, William Corlett (WC) is first noticed in the 1901 census as William Corlett, head, M, 51, joiner, employer, of Michael, living in the village of Ballaugh along with his wife Ann E., M, 56, of Ballaugh, and their daughters Eliza A. J., S, 26, dressmaker, own account, at home, of England, and Dora, J., S, 22, of Ballaugh.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5300 36 23), though in view of his being recommended to Marstrander, William Corlett is likely to have been a Manx-speaker.

1911: WC here as William Corlett, head, 61, widower, joiner, employer, of Michael, living in Laurel Villa, Ballaugh, along with his daughter Eliza Ann Teare Corlett, 36, S, of Birkenhead, Cheshire, his niece, Matilda Jane Teare, 17, S, of Ballaugh, and boarder Joseph Cook Hornall, 20, S, railway porter, Isle of Man Railway, worker, of Ramsey.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (see 1901 above) (RG14/34636 0051 22). **Not interviewed**.

William Corlett died, aged, 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 10 January 1932 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1874? It may be that William Corlett was not interviewed as it had been found out that he had little Manx, if any at all. If he had, then the decision not to transmit Manx would have formally taken place when he married (*c.* 1874). Given that his daughter Eliza was evidently born in Birkenhead, however, it may be that William Corlett was working for a while in England. There is insufficient evidence here that Corlett had any Manx at all.

4.4.57. Robert FAYLE (1852/3–1938), Stauard Farm, Sulby, Lezayre

'Mr Fayle [. . .], Stauard [. . .], is 76 yrs. old. He lives a few hundred metres from the [Sulby Glen] hotel on a line which goes from it and across to the chapel or a little bit to the right of it. His father spoke only Manx and spoke in a thick accent when speaking English. His mother spoke both Manx and English. He gives the impression of being quite knowledgeable in Manx, but lacks practice. The sentence 'I would not have beaten him, if he hadn't been a bad man' he hesitated for a while; for 'beat' he used [betɑl] [*beatal*] or something like it, which has to be the English word. He did not know any Manx for Sulby. *Glen* is here pronounced with *dn*. Without doubt he would be quite useful, but I think rather difficult to work with.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 40–1 (19 June 1929))

'3/2[1933]. To Sulby where I used a couple of cylinders on Fayle. He was an impossible subject, hoarse and had a squeaky voice, and barked the words into the horn — and his memory of Manx was rather limited.' (CM1933 *Dagbok*, 84)

'1933: 2/2 took two cylinders with me to Fayle; almost impossible. But the man was very careful and told me that his pronunciation was not quite idiomatic.' (CM1933 *Dagbok*, 41–2)

1871: So far as we are aware, Robert Fayle (RF) is first noticed in the 1881 census as Robert Fayle, 16, labourer, of Lezayre, son to John Fayle, head, M, 64, farmer of 60 acres, of Lezayre and his wife Jane, 54, of Ballaugh, living in Ballacuberagh, Sulby Glen Lezayre along with their remaining children: William, S, 23, labourer, Margaret, 19, and Ellen, 10, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 35 31).

1881: RF turns up next as Robert Fayle, S, 25, farmer's son, of Lezayre, son to John Fayle, head, widower, 74, farmer of 160 acres, living in Sulby Village LE along with his remaining children: William, S, 34, farmer's son, Ellen, S, 20 housekeeper, both of 'Isle of Man'. Living with them is John Kaighen, servant, 72, servant domestic, and Isabella Watterson, niece, S, 22, visitor, both of 'Isle of Man' (RG11/5599 89 10).

Robert Fayle died, aged 84, and was buried in Lezayre on 12 March 1938 (LIB).

Robert Fayle is not enumerated in the census returns for 1891–1911. But he is the only likely candidate. His presumed descendant Jimmy Fayle (1896–1990), of Stauard Farm, Sulby LE, was interviewed by the Manx Place-Name Survey on 12 February and again on 1 March 1990.

As we do not know the details of language use within the Fayle household we are unable to offer any suggestion here. Nevertheless, Marstrander regarded him as a full speaker but lacked practice when Fayle spoke Manx to him.

4.4.58. Thomas HARRISON (1845/6–1929), Ballasalla, Malew

'Further they [2 younger and 1 older Manxman by Derbyhaven] mentioned Tom Harrison in Ballasalla; he was well over 80 yrs. old.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 12 (16 June 1929))

1901: So far as is known, Thomas Harrison (TH) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Thomas Harrison, head, M, 55, employed in timber yard, worker, of Arbory, living on St Mark's Road, Ballasalla, Malew along with is wife Martha, M, 44, also of Arbory, and their children: Thomas, S, 20, gardener, worker, William, S, 18, draper's apprentice, worker, Emily, S, 16, employed in jam factory, Eva, 10, John, 11, Richard, 9, and Arthur, 6, all of Malew.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5308 36 45).

1911: TH here as Thomas Harrison, head, 67, M, worker in timber yard, worker, of Arbory, living in Willow Cottage, Crossag Road, Ballasalla ML, along with his wife Martha, 55, also of Arbory, both married 32 years [***c.* 1878/9**]. Also living with them are their children: William, 29, S, farm labourer, general, worker, Eva, 23, S, milliner, worker, John, 21, S, clerk in Railway Co., and Arthur, 16, S, gardener (market), worker, all of Malew.

- Manx: As in 1901 all are entered as English-only speakers, though Thomas Harrison at any rate is likely to have had Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34711 0141 71). **Not interviewed**.

Thomas Harrison died, aged 83, and was buried in Arbory on 17 October 1929 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1880? If Harrison had had any Manx at all he would by 1901 have likely spoken English to his children from the time the eldest, Thomas, was born (*c.* 1881). Uncertain.

4.4.59. Robert JOUGHIN (1853/4–1929), Dhoon Church, Maughold

'As a Manx-speaker he [Mylechreest] gave me a Robert Joughin, Dhoon Church, a man over 70; but I didn't manage to get a hold of him.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 51 (21 June 1929))

1861: So far as is known, Robert Joughin (RJ) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Robert Joughin, 7, of Maughold, son to Robert Joughin Sr, head, M, 59, labourer, of Maughold, and his wife Jane, M; 52, of Maughold, living in Ballalin [Ballellin], Maughold, with their other children: William, 12, Margaret, 9, both of Maughold (RG9/4425 43 32).

1871: RJ here as Robert Joughin, 22, farmer's son, of Maughold, son to Robert Joughin Sr, head, M, 68, farmer of 60 acres, of Maughold, and his wife Jane, M, 61, also of Maughold, living on the Barony, 2nd Farm House, along with their other son William, S, 22, farmer's son, of Maughold (RG10/5773 117 139).

Robert Joughin died, aged 75, and was buried in Maughold on 17 September 1929 (LIB).

Both Ballellin and the Barony lie near the Dhoon Church, and although Robert Joughin does not feature in any later censuses he is almost certainly our candidate here. He would very likely have spoken Manx to his children 1861 and 1871 (though we have no confirmatory evidence for that), and have had Manx himself to have been recommended to Marstrander. However, as we do not know the details of language use within the Joughin household, we are unable to offer any suggestion here.

4.4.60. Mrs. Catherine KILLIP (1852/3–1934), Lhen, Andreas

'Further [the man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx-speaker] [. . .] and Mrs. Killip (also in Lhen judging from my notes). Her husband died more than 40 yrs. ago. She is different from the Mrs. Killip I met in Sulby whose husband is still alive.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 57 (19 June 1929))

> **1901**: So far as we can see, Catherine Killip (CK) is first noticed in the census for 1901 as Catherine Killip, head, widow, 47, farming, own account, of Jurby, living in Ballacallum (nr. Lhen), Andreas, with her son John William Killip, 14, of Andreas.
>
> **- Manx**: Both are entered as English speakers, probably reflecting the language actually spoken in the home; whether either or both had Manx or not is not certain (RG13/5300 122, 20).
>
> **1911**: CK here as Catharine Killip, head, 58, S, widow, farmer, employer, of Jurby, living still in Ballacallum, Andreas, with her granddaughter Violet Hare, 6, of Andreas.
>
> **- Manx**: Both are entered here as English-only speakers, though Catherine is likely to have had some Manx, if she had been recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34630 0059 30). **Not interviewed**.
>
> **Mrs. Catharine Killip** died, aged 81, and was buried in Andreas 18 September 1934 (LIB).

E> *c.* 1886/7? If Catherine alone had Manx but did not wish to pass it on to her son John William, then she would likely have done so on his birth (*c.* 1886/7). But this is pure speculation, as neither census notes her as a Manx-speaker nor was she ever interviewed.

4.4.61. William PRESTON (1845/6–1934), Grenaby, Malew

> 'In addition, he [a man from Ballasalla] mentioned [. . .] a shoemaker in the same place [Grenaby] William Preston who was over 80; he thought it was useless to go to him, as he would probably "slam the door in my face if I called on him".' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 13–14 (16 June 1929))
>
> **1851**: So far as is known, William Preston (WP) is first noticed in the census of 1851 as William Preston, 7, of Malew, son to John Preston head, M, 51, farmer of 20 acres, of Malew, living in Cronkvrack [Cronk Breck], Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 44, farmer's wife, of Malew, and also their other children: Ann, S, 16, farmer's daughter, Margaret, 13, Sunday scholar, Elizabeth, 11, Sunday scholar, Charles, 7, and John, 2, all of Malew (HO107/2526 81 7).
>
> **1861**: WP here as William Preston, 14, carter, son to John Preston, head, M, 62, farmer of 20 acres employing one man, of

Malew, and his wife Elizabth, M, 55, also of Malew, living still in Cronk Vrack also along with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 20, general servant, and Charles, S, 17, ploughboy, both of Malew (RG9/4424 79 66).

1871: WP here as William Preston, S, 24, shoemaker, of Malew, son to John Preston, head, M, 72, farmer of 20 acres, of Malew, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 65, of Malew, living in Knock Breck, Malew, also with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 28, Charles, S, 26, and Robert, S, 17, all of Malew (RG10/5777 137 15).

1881: WP here as William Preston, S, 32, shoemaker, of Malew, son to John Preston, head, M, 80, farming employing one man, of Malew, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 75, also of Malew, living in Grenaby [?Cronk Breck], Malew, also with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 39, general servant, and Charles, S, 35, agricultural labourer, both of Malew. Living with them is their granddaughter Margaret Cain, 6, scholar, of Douglas (RG11/5608 19 41).

1891: WP here as William Preston, S, 44, of Malew, son to Elizabeth Preston, head, widow, 84, farmer, of 'Isle of Man', living on the Grenaby Road [?Cronk Breck] along with her son Charles, S, 48, farmer, and daughter Elizabeth, Nankwell, M, 50, housekeeper, all of Malew (RG12/4690 119 2).

1901: WP here as William Preston, S, 55, living in Cronk Brack with his brother Charles, head, S, 58, farmer, own account, at home, of Malew, and his sister Elizabeth Nankwell, M, 61, housekeeper, of Malew.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers (RG13/5308 65 12).

1911: WP here as William Preston, brother, 60 [65], S, shoemaker, at home, of Malew, living in Cronk Breck, Malew, with his brother Charles, head, 67, S, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his sister Elizabeth Nankwell, M, 70, M, of Malew.

- Manx: All are entered as English-only speakers, though William at least would likely have had some Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34714 0001 1). **Not interviewed**.

William Preston died, aged 88, and was buried in Malew on 16 December 1934 (LIB).

John Preston (William's father) died, aged, 84, and was buried in Malew on 1 April 1883 (LIB).

In both 1901 and 1911 the entire family is entered as English-only speaking. It may be that Marstrander found out that Preston knew little or no Manx, and so did not interview him. William Preston, it seems, was never head of the family. But to judge from his age, and that of his siblings (see under 1851),

it is very likely that they all would have been brought up with Manx, and that Manx continued to be the family language until the death of William's father John on 1 April 1883, after which date English was introduced. All this, of course, is mere speculation. But what is certain is that English, if we accept the entry for 1901, had become the language of the Preston household by that year (1901), but probably some time before then. Given the insufficient information regarding the situation of Manx within the Preston family, William Preston is hereby placed here.

Total no. of informants whose language details are uncertain: 6 (nos. 56–61).

4.5. Informants for whom no personal details are known

4.5.62. Mrs. COLLISTER, The Dolly,[108] *Kirk Michael, Michael*

'I did not visit Mrs. Collister, the Dolly, near the station at Kirk Michael.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 36 (18 June 1929))

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.63. Mrs. CORKILL, Peel, German

'Mrs. Corkill, Peel, who Cubbon told me was a good speaker, was not at home.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 34 (18 June 1929))

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed**.

4.5.64. Mr. CREBBIN, Cregneash, Rushen

'Mr. Crebbin, Cregneash'. (Davies 1946 (1948))

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed**.

4.5.65. Robert FAYLE, Ramsey, Maughold

'Robert Fayle, Ramsey'. (Davies 1946 (1948))

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed**. Unless the Robert Fayle here is the same as CM's in Sulby?

*4.5.66. Mrs. JOHNSON, 90+ (*c. *1838/9–??), nr. Grenaby, Malew*

'As good Manx-speakers he [a man from Ballasalla] mentioned two old women Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Johnson, both ca. 90 yrs. and living quite near [Cross Four Ways, Ballasalla].' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 13 (16 June 1929|))

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed**.

[108]The reference to 'The Dolly' here probably refers to Ballaugh, as there is no known place of that name in Michael parish.

4.5.67. Ms. KAYE, Onchan Village CO (of Glen Maye, Patrick)
'Miss Kaye, Onchan (of Glen Maye, Patrick).' (Davies 1946 (1948))

To date no further information is available. **Not interviewed**.

*4.5.68. Mr. J. KELLY, 80+ (*c. *1846/7–??), Laxey, Lonan.*
'As a good Manx-speaker he [William Cubbon] mentioned Mr. J. Kelly, Laxey, on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines. He is over 80 yrs. old.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 62 (11 July 1929))

To date no further information is available. **Not interviewed**.

4.5.69. ?Ben KINRADE, c. *76, (*c. *1852/3–??), of Arbory.*
'Another speaker is [Bænðken Regg] ?Ben Kinrade, ca. 76 yrs. probably born in Arbory. But I cannot remember from whom I got this information.' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 15 (16 June 1929))

To date no further information is available. **Not interviewed**.

4.5.70. Mr. MYLECHREEST, 74 (1854/5–?), ?Ballaskeig Beg, Maughold.
'In Ballaskeig Beg on the road from Maughold to Ballaglass I met a man of 74 yrs. with the well-known name Mylechreest. His father and mother spoke only Manx. He appeared to have a good grasp of the language. 'Good subject' my notes tell me. Words and expressions from him [several exx. follow]. Mylechreest lives alone; his wife has a bed and breakfast place in Douglas. He seems to be excellent and I think it would be useful to have a chat with him later on when I've got a better grasp of the language.' (CM1929 *Dagbok*, 50–1 (22 June 1929))

To date no further information available. **Interviewed**.

Total no. of informants for whom no personal details are known: 9 (nos. 62–70).

4.6. Commentary
As indicated above, the seventy informants noted all told are divided into five categories:

1 Forty households (1–40) have families to whom they could transmit Manx. Of these possibly three households have families affected by possible abrupt transmission failure (see §7).
2 Ten households have no family to whom any language at all can be transmitted (41–50).

3 Five informants are regarded as semi-speakers (51–5), i.e. they seemingly did not learn Manx thoroughly in their formative years, thereby failing to have gained full command of the language.
4 Six informants (56–61) appear here, for whom insufficient detail about the position of Manx in their household is available.
5 Nine informants (62–70) appear here about whom little or no personal information is known.

The above seventy informants represent that last generation of Manx-speakers, of whom forty-seven were interviewed, either on sound-recordings or via scientific questionnaires, etc., between the years 1909 and 1972.[109]

GEORGE BRODERICK

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[109]For details of these recordings, see *LDIM* i, 54–76.

CARL MARSTRANDER'S FIELD NOTES FROM THE ISLE OF MAN 1929, 1930, 1933

Abstract

This article presents a catalogue of Carl Marstrander's manuscript collections of Manx material in Manx National Heritage Library MSS 05354–8 B.

1. Introduction

Carl Johan Sverdrup Marstrander (1883–1965),[1] Professor of Celtic languages in the University of Oslo (1913–54), collected a number of items in Manx Gaelic, both on phonograph (cylinder) recordings and in phonetic script, from some twenty-nine (out of forty-seven) informants in the Isle of Man during the years 1929, 1930 and 1933 (§2 below). The cylinder sound-recordings were made in January–February 1933. All told, Marstrander made forty-seven cylinder recordings from native Manx speakers,[2] of which twenty-three have so far survived (Oftedal 1982: 18). In a prepared statement sent to me, marked Oslo, April 1978, Magne Oftedal, Professor of Celtic Languages in the University of Oslo and himself one of Marstrander's students, provided the following information regarding the cylinder recordings:

> According to a contemporary letter there were originally 48 wax cylinders, recorded with an Ediphone recording machine.[3] We have recovered only 23, numbered from 1 to 24 with number 7 missing. No. 14 is broken and only part of it can be played back.[4] The original numbering is in Roman numerals, scratched and inked in white on the edge of the cylinders (which are black) and also written in blue crayon on the lid of the cylindrical cardboard container [...] Scratched on the cylinders and written on the container lids are also the names of the speakers. Cylinder no. 1 is marked J. J. Kneen [non-native speaker]; the rest are all marked H. Kelly (on the cylinders; HK on the container lids). Henry (Harry) Kelly was described, in a letter to Marstrander from William Cubbon,[5] dated 6th April, 1935, as 'the only native

[1] For details of Marstrander's background and of his life and times, see Oftedal (1982: 11–15), also Binchy (1966: 237–8).

[2] For details see below, contents list of Marstrander's vol. I, 597–8.

[3] 47 from native Manx speakers and 1 from non-native speaker J. J. Kneen. But see below, contents list of Marstrander's vol. I, 597–8 for the details.

[4] The contents of these can be found in *HLSM* i, 324–41, in IPA script as well as Standard Manx Orthography (as with all other texts recorded from native Manx speech).

[5] Librarian at the Manx Museum, Douglas (1922–32), its Director (1932–40).

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> speaker of Manx Gaelic' [...] According to contemporary correspondence the recordings were made in the second half of January, 1933.[6] Only two of the recordings are dated, on the container lids of cylinders 18 and 19; the date they bear is 28.1.33.
>
> (Oftedal: Statement, April 1978)

In an article on the matter Oftedal (1982) provides the following additional information:

> The amount of material found in these recordings is not very impressive, as it takes only a little over three minutes to play back one cylinder. Moreover the technical quality is very poor. The cylinders were retrieved, after Marstrander's death, in a cardboard box in his attic directly under the roof where they had apparently been stored for several years and exposed to very great variations in temperature. The cylinders are now [1978] in my custody and I have had them copied. The copy was made mechanically, with a microphone, and contains much noise from the scraping of the needle. We hope in time to be able to copy the cylinders electronically, whereby the noise of scraping may perhaps be reduced.
>
> (Oftedal 1982: 18–19)

Copy-tapes from this copy were then made and sent to various interested parties, including myself, in May 1978. So far as I am aware, no such electronically produced copies from the original cylinder recordings have to date been made.

But by far the greater part of Marstrander's Manx material exists as fieldnotes in phonetic script contained in four manuscript volumes spanning in all some 2635 pages in continuous pagination (MNHL MSS 05354–7 B); a fifth volume in box-form contains a number of sundry items (MNHL MS 05358 B) (see below). Bound in red leather with gilt tooling and embellished with the motif in gold of the prow of a Viking ship, the volumes, entitled *Defunctae linguae Manniae specimina quae collegit Carolus Marstrander*,[7] were presented by Professor Marstrander himself to the Manx Museum on behalf of the Norwegian Government on 2 July 1951 to coincide with the 'Festival of Britain' celebrations then taking place. The language of Marstrander's field notes is predominantly Norwegian, with English used occasionally. Most, if not all, of the original textual material was later published in IPA script and in Standard Manx Orthography, along with an English translation, in the first volume of *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (Broderick 1984–6) and are referenced here as '*HLSM* i, page number'. Vocabulary, phrases and sentences supplied by the informants appear in *HLSM* ii (Dictionary). Place-names have been incorporated

[6] Of Harry Kelly, but of three additional speakers sound-recordings were made till 4 February 1933 (see *LDIM* 299).

[7] Acording to Oftedal (1982: 17–18), the choice of the adjective *defunctus* 'extinct' apparently gave some offence to some Manx students of the language. I, too, had heard this, but was told that it was more a raising of eyebrows than actual offence caused.

in the *PNIM* volumes (Broderick 1994–2005). Marstrander's examples in his phonetic script, based seemingly on that of Henry Sweet (1888), are rendered here in IPA format. For ease of reference themes dealt with by Marstrander's informants, informants' names, aspects of Marstrander's handling of the manuscripts, etc., are highlighted in the Catalogue in **bold** type.

Marstrander's comments on the situation of Manx and on his informants and their contributions appear in *Dagbok,* his 'Diary' of his visits to Man (1929–33). Written in Norwegian in an exercise book, *Dagbok* was translated into English in 1983 at my request by Knut Janson, a Norwegian national then living in Dublin, and was published in its entirety in *LDIM* (Norwegian text 229–52, English translation 205–29).[8] *Dagbok* comprises eighty-five pages of script and details Marstrander's three visits to Man as follows:

1. in 1929 (4(12) June–9 September, pp. 1–66), the longest visit;
2. in 1930 (early August–27 September, pp. 67–78);
3. in 1933 (7(16) January–6 February, pp. 78–85).[9]

Dagbok is housed in the Manx National Archive within Manx National Heritage, Douglas, Isle of Man, under the reference number MNHL MS 05358 B.[10] Although Marstrander sought information and guidance regarding possible informants from William Cubbon (1865–1955), Librarian (1922–32) and Director of the Manx Museum (1932–40), and local Manx scholar J. J. Kneen (1872–1938), so far as is known, he had no local Manx assistance to accompany him on his travels around Man. He did everything himself.

On his arrival in Man at the start of his first visit in 1929 he sought accommodation in the British Hotel on the North Quay in Douglas, the island's capital, and after settling himself in and seeking guidance from local worthies (see above) regarding the situation of Manx and its speakers, he began making, as he put it, a *cuairt* of the island by bicycle on the afternoon of 15 June, travelling in a clockwise direction, starting from Douglas and heading first for Castletown. On the way round he would stop at various places to enquire of local Manx people about Manx and who, if anyone, still spoke it, or could remember some of it. He would either be advised of the best person or persons in a given area to go to for material, or be informed that no one in the district spoke Manx at all. Sometimes those asked might say that their parents or grandparents spoke Manx, but that they did not. In this way Marstrander was able to build up a fairly accurate picture of the distribution of Manx speakers, including semi-speakers, and those who had a smattering of Manx, in the island at that time. He had, he says, no Manx at all when he came to Man, and would assess the competence of individual speakers from his knowledge of Irish. His

[8]The Norwegian text was transcribed in 1998 by Anne Fevang and Lars Anders Ruden, Norwegian students then in the University of Mannheim.

[9]The figure in brackets in the first date of each visit marks the actual date he landed in Man. On his way there Marstrander would spend some time in London first, visiting Celtic scholar Robin Flower before proceeding on his journey to Man via Liverpool (cf. *Dagbok* 1–6 (1929); 67 (1930); 78–9 (1933)).

[10]For further details see *LDIM* 203–4.

main aim at this time was to find someone with whom he could work regularly to learn from and question. He found his ideal person in Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, and began working with him systematically on 25 June 1929, mornings from 10 to 12 and afternoons from 2 to 4 seemingly five days a week (see below), and on 8 September he was able to announce that he had 'really got the hang of Manx'. But what he came across after his three visits in reality was a *Trümmerlandschaft* where all that remained were the 'ruins' of a language.[11]

A list of Marstrander's informants has been given in the preceding article in this issue of *Celtica*.[12] Likewise, extracts from Marstrander's *Dagbok*, in which he describes each of the speakers of Manx whom he encountered, are cited in that article at the beginning of each profile.

2. CONTENTS OF THE FIELD-BOOKS

VOLUME I (MNHL MS 05354 B)

Made up of a number of exercise books minus their covers, but three hard covers do appear a) at the start after the section of photographs, b) between pages 447 and 448, and c) at the end at page 715. The exercise books comprise all told 733 pages ([15] + iv + 715) measuring some 15cm × 22cm, and contain material mostly from Thomas Christian (Ramsey MA). Towards the end we find details of the phonograph recordings from Harry Kelly (Cregneash RU) and William Quane (Peel GE) in phonetic script.

Contents

[1–15]	Photographs of various personalities and scenes, including the following informants: **Thomas Christian** (Ramsey MA), **Joseph Woodworth** (Port Erin RU), **Harry Kelly** (Cregneash RU), **Thomas Taggart** (Grenaby ML), **William Quane** (Peel GE).
i–iii	Tekstpröver ['sample texts']: contents list of material obtained from **Thomas Christian**, b. 1851.
iv	Recitation of song-fragment ***Phynnodderee*** (Moore 1891a: 56), ***Phynnodderee*** (Moore 1891a: 57), ***Tarroo Ushtey*** (Moore 1891a: 58), sayings (Moore 1891a: 89).
1	(Biblical) **Jonah**: ***yn chied cabdil Jonah*** (I:1–3) (continued p. 3).
2	Two copies of a photograph of Carl Marstrander, Thomas Christian and J. Q. Killey[13] [July 1929].
3–7	(Biblical) **Jonah** I:3–7.
8	Some linguistic comment on Christian's /t/, /d/, /l/, etc.

[11] For full details see *LDIM* 54–61, 67–9.
[12] p. 56 above.
[13] Headmaster of Albert Road School, Ramsey (d. 1932).

9–39	(Biblical) **Jonah**: pp. 9–16, I:8–17 (even-numbered pages used for comment); pp. 17–21, II:1–10; pp. 23–29, III:1–10; pp. 29–39, IV:1–11.
39–349	(Biblical) ***Ny Raaghyn Creeney* (Solomon)**: pp. 39–53, I:1–33; pp. 53–61, II:1–22; pp. 61–73, III:1–35; pp. 73–83, IV:1–27; pp. 83–91, V:1–23; pp. 91–103, VI:1–35; pp. 103–13, VII:1–27; pp. 113–27, VIII:1–36; pp. 127–33, IX:1–18; pp. 135–45, X:1–32; pp. 145–59, XI:1–31; pp. 159–69, XII:1–28; pp. 169–79, XIII:1–25; pp. 179–90, XIV:1–35; pp. 190–201, XV:1–33; pp. 201–11, XVI:1–33; pp. 212–23, XVII:1–28; pp. 223–31, XVIII:1–24; pp. 231–41, XIX:1–29; pp. 243–51, XX:1–30; pp. 253–61, XXI:1–31; pp. 263–73, XXII:1–29; pp. 273–85, XXIII:1–35; pp. 285–95, XXIV: 1–34; pp. 295–301, XXV:1–28; pp. 301–9, XXVI:1–28; pp. 309–17, XXVII:1–27; pp. 317–23, XXVIII:1–28; pp. 323–31, XXIX:1–27; pp. 331–9, XXX:1–33; pp. 341–49, XXXI:1–31.
351–86	**Sermon**: Lonan 3 May 1801/Luke VIII:18 (each page contains text; p. 380 notes).
387	**Sermon**: delivered in Ballaugh 1st Sunday after Easter 1751, Kirk Michael 21 July 1751, Ballaugh 26 January 1752, Kirk Michael 9 February 1752, Peel 28 June 1752, Peel 8 October 1752, Peel 8 April 1753, Peel 21 October 1753. Heb. IV.7–8, vers. part –'To day if ye hear his voice — harden not your hearts'.
388–411	**Sermon**: Psalm CXIX.59, 60 (Christian and Killey, 29 August [1929]).
412–439	(Biblical) ***Dobberan Yeremiah***: pp. 412–17, I:22; pp. 417–23, II:1–22; pp. 423–32, III:1–66; pp. 432–6, IV:1–22; pp. 437–9, V:1–22.
440–3	***Graih Yee*** (*Carrey yn Pheccagh*, s. [page] 21).
444–7	***Fin as Oshin*** (Moore 1891a: 10–11); p. 444 ***Fin mac Cooil as ooilley e heshaght*** (Moore 1891a: 13).
447	***Ollick Ghennal erriu as Blein Vie Noa*** (Moore 1891a: 103).
448	Comment.
449–57	**Charms** (Moore 1891a: 96–9).
457	**Seasons**: **Cutting off the fiddler's head** (Moore 1891a: 104), ***Gogganyn*** (Moore 1891a: 105).
457	**Sayings**: ***Laa'l Paul gherrinagh*** (Moore 1891a: 106).
459	***Laa'l Breeshey*** (Moore 1891a: 106).
461–3	**Seasonal sayings** (Moore 1891a: 107–10, 113, 119).
465–7	***Oie Houney*** (Moore 1891a: 123), ***Hoganay, ta shoh oie ny houney*** (*sic*) (Moore 1891a: 124).[14]

[14]The Manx version here seems to be a spontaneous translation by Christian of Moore (1891a: 124).

469	***Kiark Katreeney marroo*** (chant, Moore 1891a: 127).
471–3	***Ushag Veg Ruy ny Moaney Dhoo*** (song, Moore 1891a: 149).
473–5	**Various birds** and associated rhymes (Moore 1891a: 150–1).
477–511	**Proverbs** (Moore 1891a: 181–91).
511–13	***Cassan ny Greiney*** (Moore 1891a: 192).
515–29	**Carol [Carval]**[15] (Moore 1891b: 182), 28 August 1929.
530–1	(Biblical) **John** IX.4; **Jeremiah** XIII.1, 5, 7, 10.
531–39	(Biblical) **Jeremiah**: pp. 531–3, XIII: 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 27; pp. 533–6, XIV:2–22; pp. 536–9, XXIII:1–9.
540	***Chibbyr y Pherick*** (story about), Thomas Christian.
541–7	(Biblical) **Jeremiah** XXIII:10–38.
547–55	(Biblical) **Arrane Solomon** IV:1–17.
555–63	(Biblical) **Joel** I:4–20 (sporadic).
563–9	***Leigh da Noidyn Yee***.
569–71	Vers fra ['a verse from'] ***Carrey yn Pheccagh***
572	Details of the phonograph cylinders used [January/February 1933] are here **deleted**. They are set out anew on pages 597–8 below. 'Prøverulle ['sample roll'] ([unclear], Ig, Pibbe): **3**, Prøverull A. B. C. D: **4**, Kelly[16] 2–29: **28**, Quane 1–5: **5**, Cashen 1–9: **9**, Fayle 1–2: **2**, Cain 1–2: **2**, Qua[y]le 1: **1**. [Total]: **54**.'
573	'Jan. 1933 Jan. Fonogr. Optagelser cp.p. 597 infra. Mat. refererer til mit[17] manske materiale fra Cregneash (H. Kelly). A. Prøverulle, B. Prøverulle.' Pages 572–3c. No 2 [unclear] as p. 597–9 below.
573b–	'C Prøverulle.' Details of contents in Norwegian.
573c–	Drawing; 'D Prøverulle, se s. [see page] 607.'
573d–	'Christa. Inn sa s 574ff.'
574	Comment.
575	'Vokabulet' [Vocabulary].

(Change in numbering.)

566	Blank.
567–95	Manx phrases and vocabulary.
596	Blank.

[15] Religious poem / folksong of Reformation provenance.
[16] *neen* [i.e. *Kneen*] deleted, *elly* [for *Kelly*] inserted.
[17] *det* deleted, *mit* supra.

597–8 Copied OSLO 2 June 1951 after pp. 573–73c above. Phonogr. Records Jan. 1933.

'3 prøveopptak ['trial recording'] (Cubbon, jeg, min sönn Kai)
4 prøveopptak A–D.
1 Kneen: Lords Praye[r], Hymne
28 Kelly
5 Quane
[9] Cashen
2 Fayle
2 Cain
1 Qua[y]le [Total 55].
Mat refers to material collected at Cregneash (H. Kelly).
A Prøverulle
B Prøverulle
C Prøverulle'
Contents thereof in Norwegian.

599 'traktens breddi'.

600 Blank.

601 I (Kneen) **J. J. Kneen** [not a native speaker]:
a) Lord's Prayer
b) Hymn: ***ta farran ayn***; [recorded in] Douglas, 19 January 1933.
II–XXIX **Harry Kelly**, Creagneash.

602 B Prøverulle (H. Kelly, 25 January 1933). Details (a)–(g).

603 (Page-numbering here 579–87 deleted, but not thereafter; 603 inserted here. Changed page numbering now followed.)

579–83 II H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. Sentences, *HLSM* i, 338–9, a–k.

583–9 III H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. Sentences, *HLSM* i, 338–41, l–u.

589–93 IV H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. ***Tarroo Ushtey***, *HLSM* i, 332–5.

595–7 V H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. ***Beisht y Kione Dhoo***, *HLSM* i, 334–5.

597–9 V H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. Song: ***Shannon Rea***, *HLSM* i, 334–5.

599–601 VI H. Kelly, 25 January 1933. **Lord's Prayer**, *HLSM* i, 336–7.

603–7 VII H. Kelly, 26 January 1933. Some sentences.

609–51 VIII–XVI H. Kelly, 26–28 January 1933. '**Vita H. Kelly**', *HLSM* i, 324–31.

651–3 XVII H. Kelly, 28 January 1933. Comment. Some sentences.

653–5	XVIII H. Kelly, 28 January 1933. Vocabulary, some sentences.
657–8	XIX H. Kelly, 28 January 1933. Hymn: ***As lhig da'n corp shoh geddyn baase***, *HLSM* i, 336–9. Vocabulary.
659–88	XX–XXIX H. Kelly, 28 January 1933. Vocabulary, one or two place-names. Some sentences.
689	[Cylinder] No. 5 **Quane**, 29 January 1933. Vocabulary, phrases.
690–1	[Cylinder] 1 Quane. **Lord's Prayer**.
693–9	[Cylinders] 2–5 Quane. Vocabulary. Sentences. Phrases. See p. 685 [689].
700	**Caesar Cashen** (Peel), 2 records, 31 January 1933.
701–9	Blank.
710	'P. a–d the numbers refer to Vol.– Harry Kelly.' Bracketed sentence in Norwegian follows.
711a–712b	**Harry Kelly**. Sentences. Vocabulary.
713	Blank.
714c	Harry Kelly. **Processing wool**, *HLSM* i, 330–1.
715d	Harry Kelly. Sentences.

VOLUME II (MNHL MS 05355 B)

Made up of five exercise books (2 'Jubilee', 3 in black cloth cover) containing all told 767 pages (numbered 716–1481). Each page measures some 20cm × 16cm.

Exercise book 1: 716–829 (including inside of front and back covers).

Exercise book 2: 830–947 (" ").

Exercise book 3: 948–1159 (" ").

Exercise book 4: 1160–1364 (" ").

Exercise book 5: 1365–1481 (excluding covers; 19 pages blank at the end).

Contents

Book 1 (of **Thomas Christian**, Ramsey, June–July 1929).

716–17	Mutations.
720–31	Separate items and sentences, sometimes with English translation (p. 727, extracts from Kelly 1804: xiff.).
733–41/42	Examples of *goll, çheet, geddyn*.
737	Song-fragment: ***Arrane Oie Vie*** (1 stanza), *HLSM* i, 228–9.
743–45	*çheet.*
745–54	*jannoo.*
755–9	*cur.*

760–4 *gra.*
765–9 *goaill*.
769–71 *clashtyn*.
771–2 *fakin*.
773–9 Substantive verb.
781–3 *fod*.
785–6 *screeu*.
787–9 *giu*.
791 *kionnaghey*.
791 *gymmyrkey* (no examples).
793–7 General sentences, *son* + pronoun.
797 *baillesh* (Kelly 1804: 56).
799–826 Adverbs (Kelly 1804: 59).
826–9 from Cashen's *Folklore* (Cashen 1912).

Book 2 (of **Thomas Christian**)
The following pages contain general contents:[18] 855, 860–2, 866–7, 883–92, 916, 924–30, 933–6.

830–1 Folklore material from Cashen (1912).
833 Nicknames of persons including Thomas Christian's own.
835–7 Story: **Christie Sayle** (from Kirk Andreas), *HLSM* i, 168–9 (notes p. 836).
838–51 General items and sentences (Kelly 1804).
853 Questions with the copula.
856–9 Questions.
863–5 Re place-name **Creg ny Baa**, place of shelter for cows, sheep, and goats, *HLSM* i, 168–9.
878 Some types of boats.
879–81 Explanation of [mə'ʧu:rax] (ship broken on rocks).
881–2 *clagh* [klax'vödn] *Clagh Vane* (near Ramsey).
893–912 Prepositions (p. 901 *bentyn rish*).
913–15 Recitation of ***Yn Graihder Jouylagh*** from Cashen (1912).
917–21 Story: **Splitting oaks**, *HLSM* i, 170–1.
922–3 ***Saveen Millish***.
931 Story: **Man who sought alms**, *HLSM* i, 170–1.
932 Norwegian version of the story.
937 Story: **Harry Yalderen**, *HLSM* i, 172–3.
937–47 Some place-names in Andreas, Lonan, Onchan.

Book 3 (of **Thomas Christian**)
The following pages contain general contents: 951–2, 971–3, 995a.

949–51 Story: **Bill Kennish and the Buggane of Gob ny Scuit**, *HLSM* i, 172–3.

[18] 'General contents', here and below, means general vocabulary, phrases and sentences.

950 Norwegian translation of the same.
953–5 A religious tale: **Giving thanks to God**, *HLSM* i,172–5.
957–9 The preposition *lurg*.
959–61 Story: **Origin of the name Ballajora**, *HLSM* i, 174–5.
961–3 Norwegian translation of the same.
965–71 Story: **Juan Christeen of Lewaigue**, *HLSM* i, 174–7.
973–5 Story: ***Laa Boaldyn*** and related customs (**Customs relating to May Day**), *HLSM* i, 178–9.
975 Story: **Blessing the fishing boats before going to sea**, *HLSM* i, 178–9.
977 Story: **Priest curing a cow**, *HLSM* i, 178–181.
979 Story: **Keeping in with the fairies**, *HLSM* i, 180–1.
978 Norwegian translation of the same.
981 Story: **Well on Maughold Head**, *HLSM* i, 180–1.
982–3 Story: **Boat stranded on the shore** *HLSM* i, 180–3.
984–5 Norwegian translation of the same.
986–93 General; *shegin*, *b'egin*.
994 Story: **Keeping the fire lit**, *HLSM* i, 182–3.
995–9 Names of parts of the body.

(Change in page numbering. 1101 follows on 999.)

1101 Whisky on board boat (Cashen 1912: 28).
1102 Norwegian translation of the same.
1103 About fishing (Cashen 1912: 28).
1104 Norwegian translation of the same.
1105 Proverbs (Cashen 1912: 29)
1106 Norwegian translation of the same.
1107 Proverbs (Cashen 1912: 35). ***Bannee Perick Noo shin as nyn baatyn*** (Cashen 1912: 54) ***Hi Ho Hon***.
1109 Cashen (1912: 55): songs: ***Snieu, wheeyl, snieu; Mraane Kilkenny***.
1111–15 Recitation of ***Yn Shenn Lair, Va cabbyl baghey ayns Skyll Andreays*** (Cashen 1912: 58ff.).
1113 *Cha lhisagh, cha lhiass* + general.
1114 General sayings / proverbs from Cashen (1912).
1117 Story: ***Banjagh***, *HLSM* i, 182–3.
1119 Tenant? [unclear]

(Change in page numbering.)

1023–6 Copy of pamphlet.
1027–75 ***Pingyn yn Ommidan***, translation of English 'the fool's penny', etc.
1077–8 Folklore: ***Cloan na Moyrn*** (Cashen 1912: 17).

1079–81 Folklore: power of the fairies. Fishing lore: **Lights seen on top of masts** (Cashen 1912: 18).
1081–2 Folklore: **much noise under *Cronk Inneen Paie*** (Cashen 1912: 19).
1083 Folklore: **giant making path from Man to Scotland** (Cashen 1912: 20).
1085–9 Story: **Some family details** (brief autobiography), *HLSM* i, 184–7.
1091–3 Story: **Firing stones at trees**, *HLSM* i, 186–7.
1095 Story: **Ghost unable to cross newly ploughed field***,[19] *HLSM* i, 186–7. Story: **Spirit of man coming home with his clothes wet; a sign that he had drowned***, *HLSM* i, 188–189.
1097 Story: **Scaa dorrys** (building door of faggots), *HLSM* i, 188–9. Story: **Pig of plenty***, *HLSM* i, 188–9.
1099 Story: ***Crosh cuirn*. Rowan brings luck to fishermen***, *HLSM* i, 188–9.

(Change in page numbering.)

The following pages contain general contents: 1007, 1010, 1012–15.

1001 **The Glashtyn** (fairies riding on his back, seen in Glen Auldyn), *HLSM* i, 188–91.
1003–5 Story: **Man called to the Lord**.
1006 Story: **Gadflies**, *HLSM* i, 190–1.
1008–9 Story: **Birds and hawthorn berries**, *HLSM* i, 190–1.
1011 Story: **Small house on the Barony full of smoke**, *HLSM* i, 190–1.
1015–17 Story: ***Tarroo-ushtey***, seen in Glen Auldyn, *HLSM* i, 190–3.
1019 Story: **The dung-beetle**, *HLSM* i, 192–3.

(Change in page numbering.)

The following pages contain general contents: 1120–1, 1130–7, 1142–3, 1148–9, 1152–9.

1123 ***gow magh dy lhome as trooid thie dy mollagh*** (Cashen 1912: 75).
1125 Riddles (Cashen 1912: 74, 75).
1127–9 Story: **John Kerruish**, *HLSM* i, 194–7.
1128 Norwegian translation of the same.
1139–41 Story: **Billy Hudn**, *HLSM* i, 196–9.

[19]The pieces marked with an asterisk seem to be spontaneous translations of the same in Cashen (1912: 22, 23, 27).

1138–40 Norwegian translation of the same.
1141–43 Story: **How the 'Adam's Apple' came to be**, *HLSM* i, 198–9.
1144–5 Story: ***Perick ny Molgyn***, *HLSM* i, 198–9.
1145 Norwegian translation of the same.
1147 General; **making sandals out of bull hides**.
1150–1 Story: ***Humpy Mitchooragh***, *HLSM* i, 198–201.

Book 4 (of **Thomas Christian**)
The following pages contain general contents: 1168–70, 1178–9, 1191–1205, 1206–16, 1218–27, 1229–36, 1238–41, 1243–57, 1261–6, 1275–85, 1287–90, 1294–1304, 1323–5, 1329–50, 1354–60.

1161–7 Story: **The Woman in White**, *HLSM* i, 200–3.
1167 Story: **About lambs**, *HLSM* i, 202–3.
1171 Story: **Wild mustard**, *HLSM* i, 202–3.
1173–5 Story: **Tom Christory**, *HLSM* i, 202–5.
1177 Story: **An Irish card-sharp**, *HLSM* i, 204–5.
1181 Story: **Marking sheep serviced by the ram**, *HLSM* i, 204–5.
1183–7 Story: **Rumboo**, *HLSM* i, 204–7.
1187 Story: **Custom re christening a child**, *HLSM* i, 206–7.
1188 General; story: **Murderer, murderer!** *HLSM* i, 206–7.
1189–91 Story: **Rachel**, *HLSM* i, 206–9.
1191 Story: **About a large swamp**, *HLSM* i, 206–7.
1198 Blank.
1205 Story: **Jemmy Quine**, *HLSM* i, 208–11.
1217 Story: **An old shepherd**, *HLSM* i, 210–11.
1226 Story: **A curse**, *HLSM* i, 210–11.
1227 Norwegian translation of the same.
1237 Part of stanza 2 of song ***Mannin Veg Veen***, *HLSM* i, 210–11.
1237 Story: **Stocking herring on St. John's Day**, *HLSM* i, 210–11.
1238 Story: **Playing at see–saws**, *HLSM* i, 212–13.
1241–2 Story: **About a hare**, *HLSM* i, 212–13.
1258 Sentence (Biblical) ***Dobberan*** II.16.
1259 (Biblical) **Isaiah** XLIII.10, **Exodus** XLIII.13,17.
1260 Parts of a door.
1267 Rhyme: **Pipe and tobacco**, *HLSM* i, 212–13.
1268 Story: **Earning a piece of bread and cheese**, *HLSM* i, 212–15.
1269 Story: **Making a whistle from willow**, *HLSM* i, 214–15.
1270 Story: **Making a *soddag***, *HLSM* i, 214–15.
1271 Story: **Making *bonnag***, *HLSM* i, 214–15.
1272–3 Story: **Making of *sollaghyn***, *HLSM* i, 214–17.
1286 **The Quaaltagh**.

1291–2 Story: **The sow of Dhoon Skylley Maghal**, *HLSM* i, 216–17.
1293 Norwegian translation of the same.
1305–6 Story: **'The Manx Fairy'**, *HLSM* i, 218–19.
(Two pages are numbered 1309; the first is referred to as 1308a.)
1321–2 Story: **Lighting the fire**, *HLSM* i, 218–19.
1326–7 ***O Hiarn***, from an *Oie'l Voirrey* service [ʃər've:ʃ 'e:l´ vɔirə].
1351–4 Story: **Going to a woman charmer**, *HLSM* i, 218–21.
1361–4 Story: **The Meillia**, *HLSM* i, 220–3.

Book 5 (of **Thomas Christian**)
The following pages contain general contents: 1375, 1377–9, 1381–90, 1393–1402, 1405–22, 1424–6, 1427–31, 1432–5, 1439–51, 1480–1.

1365–7 Story: **About the primrose**, *HLSM* i, 222–3.
1367–9 Putting sods on thatch to prevent it blowing away.
1369–70 Story: **An old woman from the Jalloo**, *HLSM* i, 224–5.
1371–2 Story: **The marsh penny-wort** *HLSM* i, 224–5.
1376 Verse of (Biblical) **Isaiah** I.3.
1380 Names of coins.
1381 Woman who scraped groats and threepenny pieces.
1391–3 Cows in pain moving about.
1403–4 Story: **Making oatmeal**, *HLSM* i, 224–7.
1422–3 Story: ***Mohlt y gynsaghey*** (snow and sheep on the mountain) *HLSM* i, 226–7.
1426–7 More drink and in a fight.
1432 Jacob dreaming of a ladder.
1436–9 (Biblical) **Solomon** VII.11,12, VIII.5–6.
1452–64 Recitation of Carval: ***Carval ny Drogh Vraane***.
1465–6 (Biblical) **I Corinthians** XIII, 2, 35, 36; **I Corinthians** XV.33; general.
1468–71 (Biblical) **Matthew** V.8, 11, 13, 16–19, 21; 24–26, 28, 29, 33–41; 42–46.
1472–9 (Biblical) **Matthew** VI.1–9, 20–34.
(19 pages blank at end.)

Volume III (MNHL MS 05356 B)

Made up essentially of three exercise books, the first and third bound in a black cloth, the second in a blue cover. The exercise books span the following pages and measure thus:

Exercise book 1: 1482–1805; 22cm × 17cm.

Exercise book 2: 1806–2039; 20.5cm × 16cm.

Exercise book 3: 2040–2195; 22cm × 17cm.

Contents

Book 1 (of **Joseph Woodworth**, Smelt, Port St. Mary RU).
The following pages contain general contents: 1486–7, 1497–1502, 1507–10, 1511–12, 1514–21, 1572.

1482	Two brown/white postcards of a) the Sugarloaf Rock, Port St. Mary; b) the Calf of Man with place-names superimposed.
1483	Joseph Woodworth's biographical details.
1484–5	Parts of a single-masted fishing boat.
1487–91	Names of fish / fishing terms.
1491	**Some compass directions**, *HLSM* i, 394–5.
1492–3	Terms relating to the sea, some place-names.
1494	Blank.
1495–6	Some names of animals. Jingle: ***c'woad uiljyn ta er mummig my vummig, bedn my yishag vooar as my warree*?**
1497	Some lexical items.
1503–5	Domestic animals and vermin (insects).
1511	Lord's Prayer.
1513	Days of the week, tomorrow, today, etc.
1522–71	Blank.
1573	Examples of Joseph Woodworth's English.
1575–1616	Woodworth's 'Lydsystem' English.
1616–27	/a/.
1616	Parts of a fish.
1627–39	/ɔ:/.
1640–50	/o:/.
1651–8	/u:/.
1658	Song-fragment ***Arrane Oie Vie*** (2nd half of stanza 2), *HLSM* i, 392–3).
1659–63	Recitation of the Manx traditional song ***Mylecharaine*** (8 stanzas), Joseph Woodworth, 28 August 1930, with noted variants from Thomas Taggart, Malew. For Taggart's version see pp. 2231–5 below.

(Upside down)

1691	reversing to 1688 contain reading of Aesop's fable (*Skeealyn Aesop*, p. 32) [ən e:ə / e:a az ə nɛk].

(Right way up)

1691	22nd stanza of song ***Coayl ny baadyn-eeastee***.
1692–1706	Phonetic discussion of Joseph Woodworth's vowels.
1707–8	Consonants.
1709–12	/r/.

1713 /n/, /m/.
1714 /s/, /ʃ/.
1715 /t/, /ʧ/.
1716 /ʤ/, /ʧ/.
1717 Spirants.
1720–1 Vowels.
1722–37 Blank.
1738 Some notes.
1739 Joseph Woodworth reads from Aesop's Fable, *Wolf, wolf*; English. Exx. of Woodworth's English, continuous piece.
1740–7 Blank.
(Numbers 1740–7 reused after cardboard division.)
1740–1805 (Biblical) **Genesis**: pp. 1740–65, XLII.1–38; 1765–89, XLIII.1–34; 1789–1805, XLIV.1–30.
(Five blank pages unnumbered.)

Book 2 (of **Harry Kelly**, Cregneash RU).
General contents: 1837–8, 1860–5, 1875–81, 1886–7, 1891, 1893–1911, 1920–8, 1932–8, 1940–70, 1972–98, 2027–9, 2031.

1806 Some notes.
1807–35 Sentences of Harry Kelly put together in prose form, from cylinders 8–16 (cf. also vol. I, 609–51).
1834 Place-names on the Calf of Man.
1836 Place-names on land opposite the Calf.
1839 (i.e. 1841)–57
Manx Society XVI, 85 ***Coayl ny Baatyn Scaddan***.
1858–9 Sentences from Cylinder II, vol. II, 603.
1866 About the ***slouree***.
1874 Quatrain 5 of ***Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey***, *HLSM* i, 338–9.
1882–3 Blank.
1884 /e:/.
1885 /æ:/, /e:/.
1888–9 Blank.
1892 Future of *goll*, inflected and with *jannoo*.
1901 Song-fragment: ***Graih my Chree*** (1 stanza), *HLSM* i, 330–1.
1911–13 Field-names.
1913–14 Local place-names around Cregneash.
1916–17 Re processing wool.
1918–20 Mutations.
1929–29 Two rhymes: 1) ***Oh, soieym seose ayns uinnag***; 2) ***Shee as fea***, *HLSM* i, 332–3.
1930 Blank.
1931–2 Recording of song ***Shannon Rea***, cf. Cylinder V, vol. II 597–9, *HLSM* i, 334–5.

1939	Stories: **Two fishermen at sea**, *HLSM* i, 334–7; **Old man saved from storm**.
1971	**Lord's Prayer**, *HLSM* i, 336–7.
1999	Consonants: broad *l*.
2000–1	Palatal *l*.
2001–3	/r/.
2004–5	Three quatrains of hymn ***O Yee cur skianyn credjue dou***.
2007	/n/, /n´/.
2008–10	/m/, /s/.
2011	About the ***Tarroo Ushtey***, cf. Cylinder IV, vol. II, 591–3, *HLSM* i, 332–5.
2012–13	The old fisherman, Cylinder V, vol. II, 595–7.
2013	Some lexical items.
2014	Sibilants /s/, /ʃ/.
2015–18	Dentals.
2018–20	Gutturals.
2020	Occlusives.
2021	Recording of hymn ***Cha beeyms ayns aggle geddyn baase***, 2 quatrains, *HLSM* i, 336–7.
2022–5	Some lexical items.
(Five pages blank.)	
2030	Blank.
2032–9	Recording of hymn/carval ***Dagh cretoor ren Jee y chroo***.

Book 3 (of **Thomas Christian**, Ramsey MA).

2040–1	Table of contents of phonetic features.
2042–95	**Phonetic features**:

Vowels:

2042–6	[i:]	2063–5	Blank.	2087	[e:]
2047–50	[e:]	2067–70	[ɔ]	2088–90	Blank.
2049	Blank.	2072–4	[ɔ:]	2091–2	[ɛ]
2051	[ɛ:]	2075–6	[u:]	2093	Blank.
2052	[ø]	2077	[u]	2095	[ə]
2053	[ö]	2078–82	[1]	2096–7	Blank.
2055–8	[æ:]	2079	Blank.	2099–102	[ó]
2059–60	[a:]	2083	[ï]		
2061–2	[a]	2084–86	Blank.		

Diphthongs:

2103–4	[iə]	2113	[ɛu]	2125	[ai]
2105	[ɔu]	2114	[eu], [iu]	2126	[ui]
2106–8	Blank.	2115	[ju:]	2128–32	Blank.
2109	[u:ə]	2116–19	Blank.	2133–3	[e:ɔ]
2110	Blank.	2121–2	[ɛi]	2134–5	Blank.
2111–12	[au]	2123–4	[öi]		

Consonants:

2137–9	[l] lyder [‘sounds’]
2140	[l´]
2142–3	Blank.
2145–6	[r] lyder
2147	[n]
2148	[m]
2148–9	[s] lyder
2150	[ʃ]
2151	Dentals
2153–4	[ʧ], [ʤ] Affricates.
2155	[j]
2156–7	Palatals/gutturals
2158–60	[w]; occlusives and spirants.
2161–9	Blank.
2171–3	Thomas Christian’s English.
2174	Palatal [l´]
2175	Palatal [n´]
2176–7	[dn]
2178–9	[L] (Marstrander’s *ll*) and [l]
2180–95	Additional phonetic notes.

VOLUME IV (MNHL MS 05357 B)

Made up of three exercise books, each measuring *c*. 20cm × 16cm. The first two have a pale green cover, the third a dark blue cover. Their page contents are as follows:

Exercise Book 1: 2208–483 (of **Thomas Taggart**, Grenaby ML).

Exercise Book 2: 2484–537 (of **Edward Kennah**, Port Erin RU), with 45 unnumbered pages blank at the end.

Exercise Book 3: 2542–635 (of **Thomas Crebbin**, Bradda RU, **William Quane**, Peel GE, **Caesar Cashen,** Peel GE, **[Robert] Fayle**, Sulby LE, **‘Quale’** Ballaugh BA,[20] **‘Quale the Gardener’** [Castletown], **John Cain**, Ballamoar JU).

[20] ‘Quale’ [Quayle] Ballaugh does not feature in *Dagbok*, so far as I can see, but first appears in vol. IV of Marstrander’s phonetic recordings (cf. MNHL MS 5357 B, pp. 2618–20), seemingly as a late informant discovered at the last minute. To date it is not known who ‘Quale’ of Ballaugh was.

CONTENTS

Book 1 (of **Thomas Taggart**, Grenaby ML).
The following pages contain general contents: 2235–9, 2243–9, 2251–8, 2351.

2207b	Piece of paper attached before Taggart's book containing notes on phonetic symbols used.
2208	Some biographical details of Thomas Taggart.
2209–11	Examples of Thomas Taggart's English (12 September 1930).
2212–14	Blank.
2215–18	Further examples of Thomas Taggart's English.

(Even numbered pages contain notes on Thomas Taggart's reading and pronunciation.)

2219–21	(Biblical) **St. John's Gospel** I.1–7.
2223–5	Numerals.
2227–31	Parts of the body.
2231–5	Recitation of traditional song ***Mylecharaine***, 6 stanzas.
2240	English translation.
2241–3	Story: **Cheated at the fair**, *HLSM* i, 388–9.
2250	**Lord's Prayer**, *HLSM* i, 388–9.
2259–333	Thomas Taggart's phonetic system.
2271	Days of the week.
2312	Rhyme: ***Tom Jack John***, *HLSM* i, 388–9.
2335–47	(Biblical) **Daniel** IV.1–18; even-numbered pages contain notes on the text.
2348–50	Blank.
2352–470	Phonetic notes on Thomas Taggart.
(2430	Parts of a house).
2473–4	Reads Aesop's Fable, *The lion and the mouse*.
2479	Recitation of traditional song ***Arrane Oie Vie*** (1 stanza; *HLSM* i, 390–1).
2482–3	Recitation of traditional song ***Abram Joan*** (3 stanzas; *HLSM* i, 390–1).

Book 2 (of **Edward Kennah**, Port Erin RU).
The following pages contain general contents: 2501–15, 2520, 2523–4, 2531–7.

2484–5	(**Thomas Taggart**) Recitation of hymn *My Yee, my v'eh ayns graih.*
2487–8	Blank.
2489	Start of **Edward Kennah**.

(Three blank pages unnumbered, two others unnumbered containing scribbles).

2491–3	Sentences.
2494–5	Blank.

2497	Sentences.
2498	A proverb, *HLSM* i, 396–7.
2499	First verse of traditional song ***Coayl ny Baatyn Scaddan***, *HLSM* i, 396–7.
2515–19	Numerals.
2521	Parts of the head.
2522	Rhyme: ***Tom Jack John***, *HLSM* i, 396–7.
2525–9	Some place-names.
2536–41	Blank.

Book 3/1 (of **Thomas Crebbin**, Bradda RU).

2542	Biographical details of Thomas Crebbin in Norwegian.
2543–4	Part of the **Lord's Prayer**; names of fish.
2545	Names of fish continued and of farm animals.
2546–9	Boxing the compass, *HLSM* i, 398–401.
2551–2	Place-names around Bradda.
2553–4	Days of the week, examples of [dn].
2555–6	Minimal pairs.
2557–8	Two rhymes: ***Gubbylyn*** and ***Pins and needles***, *HLSM* i, 400–1.
2559–63	Recitation of hymn: ***Obbyr y Çhiarn sy diunid heese*** (8 stanzas).

Book 3/2 (of **William Quane**, Peel GE).

2564	Some biographical details; Quane did not understand or speak Manx until he was 16. Cashen spoke Manx from the cradle (Carl Marstrander, 24 September 1930).
2564–5	**Lord's Prayer**, *HLSM* i. 322–3.
2565–9	Recitation of hymn (6 st.): ***Tra t'ou my annym er ghoaill baght***.
2569–70	Examples of *l*'s and *t*'s.
2571–5	Reads Aesop's Fable, *The lion and the mouse*.
2575–9	Reads Aesop's Fable, *The wolf and the lamb*.
2579	Examples of [Lɛi] with all meanings: 'ashes, lead, calf, law, forgive'.
2580–99	General.

Book 3/3 (of **Caesar Cashen**, Peel GE).

2600–1	Notes on what is on the phonograph recordings of Caesar Cashen.
2602	[Lɛi], etc.
2603	Some of Quane's English.

(Remaining notes in pencil.)

2604–9	Notes on the phonographic cylinders of Caesar Cashen (9 made).
2610–11	Notes re Quane.
2612	Blank.
2613	Notes re Cashen.

Book 3/4 (of **[Robert] Fayle**, Sulby LE).

2614–17	Notes on the phonograph recording of Robert Fayle (2 cylinders).

Book 3/5 (of **'Quale', Ballaugh** BA, **'Quale the Gardener'** [Castletown]).

2618–19	Biographical notes re 'Quale' in Norwegian; 3 February 1933 ('67 år gammel, 68 år 22 mai').
2619–20	Varia from 'Quale', Ballaugh; notes partly.
2621	'Quale' the Gardener, 25 August 1930, some additional biographical notes; general.
2622	Record no. I (part of series I–XXIX; note in Norwegian re recording of J. J. Kneen, Jan. 1933).
2623	Blank.

Book 3/6 (of **John Cain**, Ballamoar JU).

2624	Notes on the content of 2 cylinders of John Cain. Song-fragment: ***Ta yn 'ferrish' er roshtyn*** (**The 'Manx Fairy'**) (1 stanza), *HLSM* i, 312–3.
2625	Recitation of song ***Hie son Skylley Breeshey*** (2 stanzas + refrain), *HLSM* i, 312–15.
2626–31	(upside down) Notes on Harry Kelly's vowel system.
2632–3	(right way up) Song-fragment ***Arrane er Inneenyn Eirinee*** (1 stanza), *HLSM* i, 312–13; rhyme ***Nane jees, Mylechreest***, *HLSM* i, 312–13.
2635	(upside down) **Lord's Prayer**, *HLSM* i, 314–15.
2635a	Recitation of song-fragment ***Colbagh breck er sthrap***, *HLSM* i, 314–15.
2636–7	Misplaced pages containing individual lexical items.

VOLUME V (MNHL MS 05358 B)

This is made up in box-form measuring some 22.5cm × 16cm and contains the following items:

A. Books, pamphlets and photographs:

1. *Dagbok*, Marstrander's diary in Norwegian of his visits to Man in 1929, 1930 and 1933: Written in a 'Jubilee' exercise book, it contains names of speakers noted and/or visited and runs to 85 pages of script; at the end there are twenty-three blank pages. Notes on the inside back cover relate to some of the (possible) informants; cf. *LDIM* 203–29 (English translation), 229–52 (original Norwegian text).

2. A black-covered notebook measuring some 17.5cm × 19cm and in all containing some twenty-six pages of script (11 at the front and 15 at the back, but mostly empty) made up of notes on Manx phonology.

3. Two photograph folders containing negatives and photographs of Carl Marstrander, Thomas Christian, and J. Q. Killey, as well as negatives of the photographs appearing in the first fifteen pages of Volume I; a photograph of Harry Kelly supplied by Manx field-worker Mark Braide.

4. A reporter's notebook (*c*. 20cm × 12.5cm) contains a copy of some of John Rhŷs's notes on Manx phonology taken from Rhŷs (1895); the notebook is not full.

5. A copy of A. Trampe Bødtker (1929): *Engelsk Lydlære* (Oslo), annotated by Marstrander.

6. A copy of *Cummey Shirveish Ashoonagh* (Doolish, 1930).

7. Four original manuscripts of sermons in Manx Gaelic (first Sunday after Lent, used on several occasions thereafter in various places):

   (i) dated 1751, based on Psalm CXIX.59, 60 (cf. vol. I, 387–411).

   (ii) dated May 1797, a funeral sermon based on Luke XII.40 and Mark XIII.33, used again at a funeral on 4 August 1799 and 4 June 1809.

   (iii) dated 3 May 1801. given at Lonan, based on Luke VIII.18 (cf. vol. I, 351–86).

   (iv) undated, but *c*. 1800, entitled *Er Graih Braaragh*, based on John IV.11.

B. Sundry papers:

1. Phonetic notes on Manx.

2. Phonetic notes on the dialect of Torr, Donegal.

3. Copy of the Lord's Prayer in Manx on a small pamphlet from Mrs. Killip, Sulby.

4. Notes from Harry Kelly about Manx customs, etc., in an envelope marked 'Harry Kelly'.

5. Death notices and description of the funerals of Thomas Christian in *Ramsey Courier and Northern Advertizer* for 21 February 1930 and for J. Q. Killey in the same paper but for 8 January 1932.

6. A letter from J. J. Kneen dated 10 April 1930.

7. A letter from Marstrander to William Cubbon, undated, not sent.

8. Typescript copy (partly faded) of Psalm XCI in Manx.

9. A copy of a song-fragment ***Yn Phynnodderee*** (dealing with Fin mac Cooil) in Marstrander's hand-writing.

10. Sundry short notes containing a short list of informants, addresses, lexical items (all in pencil).

11. A copy of an article by J. J. Kneen on 'The Place-Names Alkest and Cronk yn Howe'.

12. A copy of a song for juniors in the 1927 *Cruinnaght*.

13. Three verses from the Bible in large lettering.

3A. ABBREVIATIONS: MANX PARISHES

AN — Andreas
AR — Arbory
BA — Ballaugh
BN — Braddan
BR — Bride
CO — Conchan
GE — German
JU — Jurby
LE — Lezayre
LO — Lonan
MA — Maughold
MI — Michael
ML — Malew
MR — Marown
PA — Patrick
RU — Rushen
SA — Santan

3B. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

HLSM	*A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (= Broderick 1984–6).
IPA	International Phonetic Association.
LDIM	*Language Death in the Isle of Man* (= Broderick 1999).
MNHL	Manx National Heritage Library (formerly the Manx Museum Library).
PNIM	*Place-names of the Isle of Man* (= Broderick 1994–2005).

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George Broderick

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DONNCHADH Ó CORRÁIN (1942–2017)

Donnchadh Ó Corráin, who died in October of last year following a long illness, was Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at University College Cork. He was acknowledged as the outstanding authority in his generation on early medieval Irish history, a field in which he published widely. A native of Killorglin, Co. Kerry, he received his secondary education in St Brendan's College, Killarney, and after a brief period at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, took a first-class honours BA degree in History and Irish at University College Cork in 1964. This was followed three years later by a first-class honours MA in Early Medieval Irish History. He was awarded a scholarship at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1967–9) where he worked under the direction of Professor D. A. Binchy. Following a brief period in University College Dublin, where he held assistant lectureships in Modern and in Medieval Irish History, he was appointed Statutory Lecturer in Irish History at University College Cork (1972), becoming in turn Associate Professor of Irish History (1979) and Professor of Medieval History (1999), a post he held until his retirement in 2007. He was Visiting Lecturer in Medieval History, Cambridge University (1977), Visiting Professor of Celtic, University of Pennsylvania (1978–9) and Senior Research Fellow, Balliol College, Oxford (1993–94). He was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1982 and was awarded the DLitt. of the National University of Ireland in 1990.

He ranged widely in his field, publishing ground-breaking and seminal articles on early medieval Irish history, canon and vernacular law, the church, social institutions, literature, genealogy and Viking studies. His *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972), which he contributed to the Gill History of Ireland series, remains a standard textbook in the field. In many of his other publications he challenged long-held orthodoxies and inspired many young scholars to look at Early Ireland through a different lens. Far from treating it as an isolated backwater on Europe's western periphery, he demonstrated time and again that Ireland in the early medieval period was fully engaged with mainstream European thought and excelled in the intellectual life of the Continent. Ecclesiastical centres such as Clonmacnoise, Armagh and Bangor were powerhouses of learning, possessing extensive libraries, scriptoria and workshops. Irish scholars and artists, through their writing and artwork, made a substantial contribution to cultural heritage of Europe and they were much sought after as teachers in the royal courts of the Carolingian Empire.

Ó Corráin was very much at home in the vast body of literature in Latin and Early Irish that has been transmitted to us from medieval times. In his extensive research on these sources he had an unfailing ability to contextualise a work and to identify the purpose its author had in mind. When asked shortly before he died how he had become interested in the field of study he was to make his own, he confided that as a schoolboy he had been inspired by P. W. Joyce's *Concise History of Ireland* (1903). The intellectual curiosity this now quaint and outdated book aroused in the young Donnchadh Ó Corráin was to

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remain with him all his life, and those who knew him will recall the infectious enthusiasm with which he would speak about many aspects of a subject he held dear.

An inspiring and engaging lecturer, he could also be highly entertaining, and was much sought after as a plenary or keynote speaker at international conferences. He was the First Carroll Lecturer at Oxford University (1990), and the O'Donnell Lecturer (1996–7), also at Oxford. He was Foundation Lecturer (1993) in Oslo University's Senter for studier i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder, an honour that reflected the high standing in which he was held on the international stage of Viking Studies.

He cared deeply about the study of medieval Ireland and, apart from his own writing and teaching, contributed immensely to the infrastructure of the discipline. He was founder of *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* (1982–), and edited the first 25 volumes in the series. He founded the Irish Conference of Medievalists (1987) and organised its annual conferences from 1987 to 1994. He established *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*, an Internet text-base of Irish historical and literary sources in Irish, Latin, medieval French and English, a resource that has revolutionised the field of study and is testimony to his far-sightedness in seeing at a very early stage the potential which digital technologies held for the humanities. While very proud that medieval Irish learning and literature had been so prolific and profound, he was always mindful of the fact that this primarily formed part of a wider European heritage that it fell to us to preserve and to share with the world. Despite his own many achievements, however, he often expressed his great disappointment at what he saw as the downgrading or total neglect of the study of medieval Ireland in several of our third-level institutions.

When diagnosed with terminal illness three years ago, it would appear that he determined there and then that he would not 'go gentle into that good night'. In the two short years that remained to him he published more than many other scholars would do in a lifetime. Despite failing health and many severe and debilitating courses of treatment, he completed and published his monograph, *The Irish Church, its Reform and the English Invasion* in May of last year. This was followed some weeks later by the publication in three volumes of his monumental *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium*, a work that describes the entire historical and literary output of Irish writers, at home and abroad, throughout the middle ages, from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries. This extensive *opus* of some 2,000 pages will define the study of Early Ireland for generations to come.

Ardscoláire agus togha comhluadair, saoi agus lóchrann léinn a bhí fial flaithiúil lena chuid eolais agus duine ar chás leis go mbeadh tuiscint agus meas ag an bpobal mór ar oidhreacht intleachtúil na hÉireann. Fear é nach ndearna dhá leath dá dhícheall agus é ag iarraidh an tuiscint seo a chur abhaile. Agus má bhí sé fial lena chuid eolais, bhí sé lán chomh fial céanna lena chuid ama, ós beag cuireadh nach nglacfadh sé leis le labhairt le cumainn áitiúla staire agus seanchais i gcéin agus i gcóngar agus é ag iarraidh na tuairimí ba dheireanaí a bhí aige faoi shaíocht na hÉireann anallód a roinnt leis an bpobal

mór. Fear é a spreag spéis daoine san achadh leathan léinn seo. Mairfidh an spreagadh sin ina chuid scríbhinní dóibh siúd a leanfaidh an chonair a rianaigh sé dúinn chomh maith sin ina shaol oibre.

RUAIRÍ Ó HUIGINN

ANDERS AHLQVIST (1945–2018)

WHEN this volume of *Celtica* was at an advanced stage of preparation we received the sad news that Professor Anders Ahlqvist had died quite suddenly at his home in Finland (23 August 2018). Anders Ahlqvist had been Chairman of the Governing Board of the School of Celtic Studies since 2005. He was formerly a scholar in the School (1974–6), before being appointed Statutory Lecturer in Old Irish at University College Galway in 1976, subsequently becoming Associate Professor (1993), and was awarded a personal chair in 2004. Following his retirement from Galway he was appointed Foundation Sir Warwick Fairfax Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Sydney (2008–2013), and since 2014 was honorary Professor in Sydney. In addition to these positions, he held a number of honorary and visiting positions at the Universities of Helsinki and Utrecht.

In the course of his lifetime, Anders Ahlqvist made an immense contribution to the field of Celtic Studies. It is hoped to include a more extensive obituary in the next volume of this journal.

RUAIRÍ Ó HUIGINN

REVIEWS

Kings and Warriors in Early North-West Europe. Edited by Jan Erik Rekdal and Charles Doherty. Four Courts Press. Dublin, 2016. 480 pp. €50/£45/$74.50. ISBN: 978-1-84682-501-9.

Kings and warriors are ubiquitous in early Irish, Welsh, English and Norse literature, as are the interconnected themes of kingship and warfare. From Conchobar mac Nessa and Cú Chulainn to Bran and Efnisien, Hrōðgār and Beowulf to Harald *harfágri* and Egill Skallagrímsson, the relationships between such figures shape many of the most famous early medieval narratives from across north-west Europe. The research project, 'The representation of the warrior in relation to the king in the European Middle Ages (600–1200)', led by Jan Erik Rekdal and sponsored by the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters beginning in 2012, therefore addressed a fundamental concern of medieval literature. This book constitutes the fruits of the labour of the eight participants in the project. Theoretically informed and frequently providing novel insights into familiar sources, the essays collected here — some of them of considerable length — make a substantial contribution to our thinking about various aspects of the subject, both separately and in relation to one another. Furthermore, the collaboration evident, for example, in the discussion of the image of the warrior in the Book of Kells by both Charles Doherty and Rekdal, demonstrates the sorts of insight and progress that can be made through cooperative projects of the kind that led to its publication.

Each of the contributors has taken a different approach to the central theme; while some pursue ideas, images or even individuals across a variety of sources of different dates and genres, others survey clearly defined bodies of material. Ralph O'Connor takes the former approach in his excellent discussion of berserk fury, shapeshifting, and dysfunction in a selection of Irish and Norse texts. He demonstrates the necessity of closely reading the individual texts' descriptions of these phenomena and of considering their development in the context of the narratives within which they appear. Doing so discourages lumping them together as examples of cultural influence or common origins, as has been the case in the past. Marged Haycock takes a different approach in her wonderfully engaging essay on the representation of warfare in Welsh poetry over the course of seven hundred years. Her contribution impresses not only for the magisterial command of her sources she demonstrates, but also for the thoroughness of the discussion, which covers the various motives for warfare, military strategy and preparation, the depiction of success and failure, and more besides.

While Haycock's and O'Connor's essays stand out, there is quality throughout the collection. Charles Doherty's chapter on 'Warrior and king in

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Ireland' draws most explicitly of all the contributions on the work of Georges Dumézil, whose theory regarding the three functions in Indo-European society underpins the theme of the book as a whole. Doherty's discussion raises some intriguing and interesting possibilities about the nature of the *fían* and the changing character of Irish kingship in the early medieval period. Speculative in places, it engages with a broad array of sources and will engender fruitful debate and discussion. Morgan Thomas Davies's consideration of what he calls 'warrior time', that is the treatment of time in *Beowulf* and the *Táin* in light of Heidegger's theory of temporality, is highly stimulating, as is his demonstration that the *Táin* handles time in a manner completely different from that of the Old English text. Rekdal's discussion of conflict between two views of a good death — the Christian ideal of death on a pillow in old age and the warrior's death in battle — in Irish poetry of the eighth through twelfth centuries raises interesting questions about medieval Irish kings' and poets' commemoration of pagan ancestors. Ian Bauermann examines a group of Norse sagas dating from *c*. 1200. He argues that the depiction of the relationship between kings and warriors in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, *Færeyinga saga* and *Orkneyinga saga* was influenced by the violence of the reign of King Sverrir of Norway (d. 1202) and his interaction with the Scandinavian diaspora in Iceland and elsewhere. Stefka Eriksen examines the representation of warriors as complex, self-aware individuals in a selection of fourteenth-century Norse sagas, situating her discussion within the broader debate around the conceptualization of the 'self'. And Jon Gunnas Jorgensen surveys the depictions of Ólafr Haraldsson in a variety of sources. He notes that the surviving poetry composed during Ólafr's reign contrasts starkly with the poetry and the prose composed after his death and elevation to sainthood; earlier sources are silent regarding Ólafr's Christian identity and depict him predominantly as a warrior and a ruler, while the later material promotes the image of him as a man of God and associates him with miracles.

Individually and collectively, these essays make a significant contribution to our understanding of the representation of the warrior and the king in the literary traditions under examination. That is not to say the collection, either in overall conception or in terms of the individual contributions, is problem-free. For a start, the under-representation of Old English — Davies's comparison between *Beowulf* and the *Táin* is the only essay in which an Old English text is discussed at any length — will limit interest in the book among Anglo-Saxonists. This is especially unfortunate because, of all those who study north-west Europe in the medieval period, they are perhaps most in need of encouragement to study these literary traditions side by side.

The reluctance of some Anglo-Saxonists to engage with Irish and Welsh material in particular owes something to the continued influence of long-held perceptions of the Celts and Celtic literature that unfortunately find echoes in certain of the essays collected here. Haycock's brilliant survey of Welsh poetry demonstrates the dynamism of the poetic tradition and leaves the reader in no doubt about the evolution of its imagery over time in response to changing political and cultural circumstances. This approach stands in contrast to that

occasionally utilized by Doherty, however, whose use of medieval Irish textual sources raises some difficulties. For example, he suggests at one point that the appearance of a Roman emissary in the potentially early eighth-century tale about the death of Conchobar mac Nessa might reflect 'Armagh's ecclesiastical contact with Rome in the seventh century' (p. 131). This implicit recognition that vernacular tales were shaped by the contemporary concerns of their Christian authors and audiences stands in contrast to his willingness elsewhere to use medieval Irish texts as repositories of information about the ancient Celts, to be compared with Greek and Roman ethnographies and Gaulish coins. The justification for reading similar sources in such divergent ways is not made clear.

Similar issues emerge from some of Davies's conclusions regarding the different attitudes toward time reflected in the *Táin* and *Beowulf*. He suggests that the *Táin*'s 'temporal slackness' might be explained 'as a consequence of a more primitive, pre-reflective state of cultural or psychological development than we find depicted in *Beowulf*' (p. 286). While he is careful to state that this 'would not necessarily mean that the *Táin* itself is a more primitive work of literature than *Beowulf*' (p. 286), his assertion that 'it remains faithful to an ostensibly pre-Christian, pre-reflective perspective' (p. 286), in contrast to the 'alignment of Christian and heroic conceptions of time found in Old English poetry' (p. 307), seems to be underpinned by old stereotypes about the primitivism and conservatism of early Irish literature. The endurance of such attitudes among some scholars of early Ireland inhibits those outside the discipline from recognizing that medieval Irish scribes and scholars, including those responsible for writing the *Táin* in its surviving recensions, were participants in a vital, European, Christian, learned culture alongside their contemporaries in Anglo-Saxon England and beyond.

The distinctive ways in which Christian influence was enshrined in texts from the different regions of north-west Europe, and blended with older themes and concepts, will only become clear through continued collaboration and inter-disciplinary projects of the kind that led to the publication of this fine volume. Notwithstanding certain drawbacks, it makes a valuable addition to the scholarship on a variety of topics and will be an important addition to the library of researchers in a variety of fields.

Patrick Wadden

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Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin. Edited by Emer Purcell, Paul MacCotter, Julianne Nyhan and John Sheehan. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2015. pp. xxvii + 537. €60.00. ISBN: 978-1-84682-279-7 (hardback).

The sheer size of this Festschrift, comprising forty-four academic contributions in addition to two personal prefatory tributes, is indicative of the vast number of individuals whose own work has been influenced, enriched and challenged

by that of the late Donnchadh Ó Corráin. It could have been twice the size and still would not have exhausted all those who owe an immense personal or professional debt to him. The volume is divided into three disciplinary strands: (1) history; (2) archaeology; and (3) language and literature, each representing a substantial quantity of scholarship. This review will focus on the first and last of these strands, as being of greatest interest to the readers of this journal. As with any Festschrift, the quality of the contributions is variable, ranging from some important and useful pieces through to what can politely be regarded as ephemera.

One particularly stimulating essay is that by Wendy Davies on 'Law and the learned in northern Iberia in the early Middle Ages: some comparisons with Ireland'. One of Professor Ó Corráin's great contributions to scholarship was to show that, far from being a stagnant, inherited relic from the pre-Christian past, the seventh- and eighth-century Irish legal tracts are the conscious compositions of a learned, ecclesiastically-trained juridical class, who borrowed from biblical and canon law in order to create a legal system which upheld strict social hierarchies and benefited clerics above all others. Professor Davies takes as her starting point the problem that, while the surviving legal tracts can tell us a huge amount about how all aspects of early Irish society were supposed to work, we have almost no records of legal proceedings or actual case law: so much so that some scholars have even cast doubt on the extent to which the laws relate to social realities. In the face of this lack of Irish evidence of court procedures and outcomes, Davies turns her attention to the substantial collection of court records surviving from northern Spain and Portugal from the ninth and tenth centuries. Her case studies are fascinating and the points of comparison that she draws out are highly suggestive. She concludes by noting that the Iberian records 'show how many provisions, comparable to those of early Irish law tracts, actually worked in an early medieval context . . . The fact that some parts of western Europe provide plenty of case material for comparable kinds of rule make the Irish corpus easier to understand, and eminently credible as part description of what did happen and part prescription for what should happen' (p. 54). Further comparative work of this sort can only help to shed more light on the pragmatics of the early Irish legal system.

Niamh Whitfield has a short but useful contribution on *lía lógmar* ('precious stone'), which adds to her important body of work on the materiality of medieval Irish culture, from clothing and bodily adornments to precious metals and gems. She concludes that *lía lógmar* was a formulaic phrase, 'ultimately borrowed from classical sources' and, in spite of the extensive knowledge of lapidary scholarship in early medieval Ireland, became a term with a very broad and vague semantic range, denoting 'any bright "gem", whether naturally occurring, man-made or imaginary' (p. 308). Elva Johnston offers a typically elegant and subtle analysis of the intriguing Old Irish narrative *Immacallam Choluim Chille*. Her close reading of the tale bristles with insights. Her elucidation of the tension within the narrative between 'seeing' and 'knowing' is utterly convincing, although her brief attempt to map the narrative onto forms

of scriptural exegesis is perhaps less so. In any case, her study will be an essential item of bibliography for any future studies of the corpus of tales concerning Mongán mac Fíachnai.

David Dumville asks the provocative question, 'Did Ireland exist in the twelfth century?', but in laying out his answer (Ireland existed as *natio* but not a nation-state) he cites very little that has been published in the last fifteen years, relying for his conceptual framework on Benedict Anderson's work on 'imagined communities' from the 1980s and Gerd Althoff's on monarchy and statehood from the 1990s, which is unfortunate given the outpouring of challenging and paradigm-shifting work which has been produced since the turn of the millennium (particularly among Germanophone scholars) on the subjects of early medieval political theory, state-formation and identity. This hints at a long gestation period for his essay, and perhaps for the volume more generally. Similarly, Charles Doherty's contribution on 'The terminology of roads in early Ireland' does not cite the far more careful and stimulating 2012 study by Thomas Charles-Edwards entitled 'Some thoughts on early Irish roads and travel', in Liam Mac Amhlaigh and Brian Ó Curnáin (eds), *Ilteangach, Ilseiftiúil: Féilscríbhinn in Ómós do Nicholas Williams* (Dublin, 2012), 71–95.

John Carey pieces together evidence pertaining to the life and work of the ninth-century poet Mael Muru Othna, author of the important historiographical poem *Can a mbunadus na nGoídel*. Professor Carey shores up the evidence for Mael Muru's authorship of the corpus of poetry associated with him, and then fleshes out Mael Muru's life and career, noting his 'propagandising on behalf of Flann Sinna and his dynasty' (p. 435) and the political context for Mael Muru's poetry. In his opening remarks, Professor Carey offers a tantalising possibility of a future new edition of *Can a mbunadas na nGoídel*, which is certainly an exciting prospect. One can only hope that this appears before too long.

The volume does include some valuable new editions of medieval and early modern Irish and Latin texts: Joseph Flahive offers a useful edition, translation and analysis of the brief note on the status of the chief churches of Munster from Rawlinson B512; Peter J. Smith provides an edition and translation of Gilla Cóemáin's poem *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*; Emma Nic Cárthaigh offers an edition of *Mo cheithre rainn duit, a Dhonnchaidh* by Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha; and Marie Therese Flanagan presents diplomatic editions, and analysis, of eleven charters from a register of St Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, transcribed by William Copinger in 1526.

The editors of *Clerics, Kings and Vikings* are to be congratulated for their handling of such a large and disparate number of contributions, as are Four Courts Press for the high production standards. This weighty tribute to the even weightier legacy of Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin will be a useful addition to library shelves.

Elizabeth Boyle

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The Vikings in Ireland and Beyond: Before and After the Battle of Clontarf. Edited by Howard B. Clarke and Ruth Johnson. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2015. 564 pp. €40. ISBN 978-1-84682-495-1.

Delightfully, this immaculately edited collection of essays on Viking Age Ireland begins with a poem by Seamus Heaney ('Viking Dublin: Trial Pieces') inviting us to 'Come fly [. . .] / come sniff the wind / with the expertise / of the Vikings'. This verse not only gestures towards the subject-matter of one of the most stimulating studies in the volume (Jessica L. McGraw, 'Practice makes perfect? Motif-pieces as tools of communication and the exchange of tacit artistic knowledge in Viking-Age Dublin') but, more generally, offers readers a charming hint of the scholarly enthusiasm and welcoming approach to newcomers to the field which will be encountered throughout the volume. The poem is followed by a warm obituary of Richard Hall by the editors. After the contents pages, there is a foreword by the Chief Executive of Dublin City Council (Owen Keegan), then lists of illustrations, abbreviations, and contributor profiles, before acknowledgements and a preface by present and former presidents of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (Rachel Moss and Charles Doherty). At the end is an impressively full, twenty-eight page index. There are black-and-white images throughout, and sixteen sides of coloured images in the centre. The book is hardbound, and neatly printed on high-quality paper.

The main part of the book has a beautifully clear structure, with three chronologically ordered sections on the periods before, during and after the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, preceded by a further section ('In prospect') containing one essay, and a final section ('In retrospect') consisting of two more.

As suggested by careful reading of the subtitle of the book — *Before and After the Battle of Clontarf* — the section on the period 'During the battle' is in fact the shortest of the chronologically themed sections, containing a single pair of essays, each on an individual associated with this event: one, by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, on 'A man of two faces: Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill in Middle Irish sources' and another, by Howard B. Clarke, on 'King Sitriuc Silkenbeard: a great survivor'. The approaches of the two authors are quite different, however. Whilst Ní Mhaonaigh's study analyses representations of Máel Sechnaill in written sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Clarke's focuses on Sitriuc as an historical figure, participating in the important political and military events of early eleventh-century Ireland. In Clarke's essay, the final part ('Prognostications') is likely to be especially helpful to fresh entrants to the field, by whom a number of very useful — and highly quotable — general comments on the nature of Irish kingship are bound to be appreciated.

The 'Before the battle' section contains twelve essays on the pre-1014 period, ranging from tightly focused studies of particular items or sites to considerations of wider issues such as the nature of 'The first generation in Ireland, 795–812: Viking raids and Viking bases?' (Emer Purcell), 'The

longphort in Viking-Age Ireland: the archaeological evidence' (Eamonn P. Kelly), 'Viking camps and the means of exchange in Britain and Ireland in the ninth century' (Gareth Williams), 'The break-up of Dál Riata and the rise of the Gallgoídil' (Clare Downham), and the difficulty of pinpointing any effects of tenth-century Viking activity in Ireland on the development of Irish art (Ruth Johnson, 'Mind the gap: the supposed hiatus in Irish art of the tenth century'). Most of the 'keyhole' studies also provide starting-points for explorations of broader questions about life in Viking-Age Ireland: to what extent did impulses from southern Scandinavia, specifically, influence developments in Ireland? (John Sheehan, 'Fighting with silver: the Woodstown assemblage'); how did Vikings select locations for their Irish bases, and were their strategies similar in Ireland and Francia? (Colmán Etchingham, 'Vikings at Annagassan: the evidence of the annals and the wider context'); how did 'longbow' use evolve in Ireland during the Middle Ages? (Andy Halpin, 'The Ballinderry bow: an under-appreciated Viking weapon?'). Elsewhere in this section, Linzi Simpson offers a vivid description of one particular young Viking male, and the context in which he was buried ('A Viking warrior grave from Dublin'), and Brian Hodkinson presents a succinct summary of evidence for the geography of 'Viking Limerick and its hinterland'. Signe Horn Fuglesang's article on 'Written sources for pre-Christian sanctuaries in northern Europe' stands out a little in its slightly tangential connection to Viking-Age Ireland, but it does provide a handy summary of this type of evidence which is likely to be of use to any readers interested in considering possible sanctuary-related behaviour by Scandinavian-origin (or Scandinavian-influenced) people in Irish settings during this period.

The section on the period 'After the battle' is equally abundant in information and ideas. A highlight is the article 'Celtic berserkers and feeble steersmen: Hiberno-Scandinavian military culture in Middle Irish literature', in which Catherine Swift argues that examination of such literature shows that 'Scandinavians in Ireland had indeed a profound effect on Irish military, cultural and even linguistic development.' This deliciously rich essay is in part a response to the work of two other contributors: Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who had previously suggested that there was only ever limited linguistic contact between the Irish and Scandinavians, and Andrew (Andy) Halpin, who had proposed that 'the Vikings and their Hiberno-Norse descendants had a profound effect on Irish military and political development.' In this new volume, Fellows-Jensen summarises some of her earlier work on Scandinavian names in England, the Isle of Man and Scotland (including the Isles), and illustrates the difficulties of identifying and interpreting Nordic personal and place-names in Ireland, whilst also offering some interesting solutions to particular problems, such as the relationship between the Irish and Scandinavian bynames of an unfortunate individual apparently known as something like 'Grim Seal-Head' or (possibly worse) 'Grim Bucket-head'. Like Swift, Fellows-Jensen ('Through a glass darkly: some sidelights on Viking influence on personal names and place-names in Ireland') makes valuable links between verbal and

physical evidence for the nature of the shared Hiberno-Norse world, and the ways in which this was perceived by its inhabitants. Also in this section, there are several equally illuminating articles focusing more squarely on material evidence, including 'Costumes and contact: evidence for Scandinavian women in the Irish Sea region' (Christina Lee), 'The environment of Viking-Age settlements: recent evidence from Ireland to Russia' (Eileen Reilly), 'Where are the longhouses? Reviewing Ireland's Viking-Age buildings' (Rebecca Boyd), 'Viking-Age domestic settlement at 26–29 Castle Street, Dublin: a preliminary view based on archaeological excavations' (Martin Byrne), and 'Prelude to the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage: the Castle Street and Werburgh Street hoards' (Andrew Woods).

Art history is well-represented in this section, which contains McGraw's excellent article on motif-pieces, mentioned above. Uaininn O'Meadhra's essay, 'Copies or creations? Some shared elements in Hiberno-Norse and Scandinavian artwork', includes not only meaty case studies for art historians to enjoy chewing over, but also introductions to broader questions and methodological issues which are sure to be stimulating for many non-specialists, too. Griffin Murray's essay on 'The art of politics: the Cross of Cong and the Hiberno-Urnes Style' deftly links art history with ecclesiastical history, and it is excellent to see this reflected in the title, to help steer non-specialists towards this fine work. 'Rathdown slabs revisited' by Christiaan Corlett, meanwhile, is a real treat, exploring an intriguing group of twelfth-century Hiberno-Norse grave-slabs found exclusively in one specific area, just south of Dublin.

As readers might expect, some of the biggest ideas in the volume are tackled in the 'In prospect' and 'In retrospect' sections. In 'Ireland and the Viking Age,' the sole article in the 'In prospect' section, the editors provide a very welcome summary of the history of scholarship on Viking-Age Ireland, and outline recurring discussion-points, including the precise geographical origins of the Scandinavians who came to Ireland, the different forms of periodization employed by historians and archaeologists, and the reasons for the failure of Scandinavians to conquer the whole island at any point. This last topic is taken up again by Donnchadh Ó Corráin in the 'In retrospect' section, where he convincingly challenges claims that Viking activity in Ireland was a complete 'disaster' for its Irish inhabitants, partly by drawing attention to 'continuity in scholarship and education' here during the Viking Age ('Vikings in Ireland: the catastrophe'). Placed immediately before this is an essay by David Griffiths on 'Irish Sea identities and interconnections during the Viking Age' which invites us to consider Viking-Age continuities from different angles: 'continuity and change within existing Irish-British relationships throughout the period of Irish attacks and settlements' along with persistence of 'Scandinavian-derived traits' in the complex, fluid, hybrid culture of the region.

The essays in this collection will appeal to various types of reader. Many have been written with a level of directness and approachability which make them ideal for early-stage undergraduate or even pre-university teaching, as well as for advanced research (for example, Lee, 'Costumes and contact'). This is perhaps especially true of the essays contained in the 'In prospect'

and 'In retrospect' sections, which are well-suited for introducing the topic of Viking Ireland and stimulating big-picture thinking. Others may appeal more to researchers looking for up-to-date interpretations of Viking activity at specific geographical locations (Simpson on Dublin, for instance). Certain essays seem particularly likely to attract readers with existing specialist knowledge and appetites for thought-provoking new contributions (Ní Mhaonaigh, 'A man of two faces', Downham, 'The break-up of Dál Riata') — although, thanks to crystal-clear writing, even these will be accessible enough for keen non-specialists to enjoy. Any readers hoping to use this book as a source of ideas for Viking-related experimentation in the creative arts might well be drawn to O'Sullivan's examination of the glass beads found in mysterious Dunmore cave, or Clarke's suggestion that Sitriuc Silkenbeard could be 'one of those characters in search of an author'.

Overall, it is difficult to imagine how this lovely volume could have been improved, other than by adding a few more maps, here and there (for readers such as myself with limited knowledge of Irish geography), and perhaps also by ensuring that all sources quoted in translation were accompanied by the relevant original-language texts. This is a colourful and authoritative collection which is highly recommended for specialist researchers, university-level students, and other Irish history enthusiasts looking for fresh perspectives and exciting new questions to consider.

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Altirische Erzählkunst. Johan Corthals. Revised edition, CreateSpace, 2016. 123 pp. €9.95. ISBN 978-1530451562.

Johan Corthals's new edition of his book, *Altirische Erzählkunst* (first edition: Forum Celticum. Studien zu keltischen Sprachen und Kulturen 1, Münster, 1996), contains translations of eight tales along with an introductory overview of early Irish, a pronunciation guide, and bibliographical details and suggested reading. The tales translated in the new edition of the book are the same as in the 1996 version: *Organ Denna Ríg*, a section of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, *Scéla Mucce meic Dathó*, *Echtra mac nEchach Mugmedóin*, *Tochmarc Becfola*, *Síaburcharpat Conculaind*, *Immram Snédgusa ocus Mac Riagla* and the beginning of *Acallam na Senórach*. The new edition explicitly states the aim of the book, namely to serve as an introduction to the world of early Irish narratives primarily for those who are not familiar with it ('Dieses kleine Buch möchte in die fremde und fremdartige Welt seines Themas einführen', preface). To my knowledge there are relatively few modern German translations of medieval Irish texts from the original, some of which are by Corthals, and further translations carried out by someone with a scholarly background in the discipline present a noteworthy contribution in attempts to make the material accessible to general readers in German-speaking countries. For this reason alone, the book, in its original edition and in the new edition,

is valuable, and both the old and the new version meet the goal of providing an introduction to the topic. Given the inclusion of background information and bibliographical details, one might imagine that the book will not only be useful to the interested public, but may also provide easier access to the subject for German-speaking students and scholars of other disciplines.

In reviewing this book, I have focussed in particular on the readability and usefulness of the book as an introduction to medieval Irish literature, with particular attention to the differences between this edition and the 1996 version. However, one point of criticism must be mentioned at the outset as it pertains to the 1996 edition and was carried over to the new edition. This is the choice of title, *Altirische Erzählkunst*, for a book which includes translations of texts that post-date the Old Irish period; moreover, this title does not do justice to the much wider scope of the Introduction. While it would obviously not have been possible to change the title at this stage, it is also noticeable that no mention is made of Middle Irish and it appears to be subsumed under the term *altirisch*, although the term *frühirisch* is also used (new edition, p. 11). This is a point that could have been received more attention in the new edition and would have complemented the overall more sensitive approach to matters of textual transmission in the new edition, referred to below.

However, returning to my main focus, it must be noted that, leaving aside changes in wording that are found here and there — the new edition uses the term 'Normannen' instead of 'Wikinger', for example — substantial changes have been made to the structure and content of the Introduction (pp. 7–40 in the new edition; pp. [1]–[26] in the 1996 edition). While Corthals clearly retains the modern concept of cycles in his Introduction (Ulster cycle, Finn cycle, King tales, mythological cycle), he addresses the problems associated with this in both the old (pp. 8–9) and the new edition (p. 16) and proposes organising the texts according to the time at which the events narrated are said to have taken place. Within this overall structure, however, material has been slightly reorganised in the new version, resulting in a different order of sections and in voyage tales no longer being subsumed under the heading 'Erzählungen zur frühen christlichen Zeit'. As part of this overhaul of the Introduction, Corthals has also added a section on translations of classical works, making the Introduction more wide-ranging. Corthals has also removed material: the old edition contained an image of a passage from fol. 269a of Ó Longáin's facsimile of the Book of Leinster with a transcription in order to provide a visual idea of the work involved in accessing medieval texts (p. [26]), which is no longer included in the new edition. While this practical aspect is important, it is a topic that requires more than a sample photograph of a facsimile to do it justice, and it is indeed perhaps best omitted in favour of more information on the main focus of the book: the texts and the culture which produced them.

At the end of the Introduction, Corthals includes a more detailed and useful paragraph than found in the old edition on his approach to translating the texts and to the conventions used to indicate verse and untranslated words. Given the book's aim to introduce the subject to those unfamiliar with early Irish literature, and perhaps medieval literature more generally, a note on issues

of style such as shifts between past and present tenses might also have been beneficial, but this is a minor point and does not take away from the fact that Corthals's Introduction fulfils its aim of giving a first overview that is fleshed out by the translations that follow. Similarly, the section on the pronunciation of Irish names and terms provided at the end of the book (pp. 108–113) is a useful and sensible new addition. The previous edition merely contained some guidance on pronunciation in its brief introductory note on the translations themselves (p. [27]).

With the exception of *Síaburcharpat*, the same editions are used as the basis for Corthals's translations in the new and in the old edition of the book. For *Síaburcharpat*, Corthals now also takes the editions by Meyer (1910) and Ó Béarra (2004) into account. Nevertheless, there are some significant differences between the translations in the old and the new versions of Corthals's book. Each translation is prefaced by a short introduction to the text in question, and some of these introductions have been changed. For example, the introduction to *Echtra mac nEchach* provides more information on the Uí Néill than the old edition without losing itself in details. One of the more immediately obvious changes to the translations themselves is that Corthals's new edition includes footnotes in the text, while the old version does not. These include information such as the localisation of places, additional information regarding characters, general notes on matters relating to medieval scribal practice (for example, on the practice of glossing; see p. 46, n. 2), literal translations of passages rendered more freely in the main text, and other issues of translation. Occasionally the relevance of a note is not entirely clear, and more thorough editing might have been helpful — the note 'Aed war ein häufiger Name' on p. 78 is an example — but the notes are generally a welcome addition to the translations.

The changes to the translations themselves vary greatly in their nature. In some instances errors due to oversight in the original edition are corrected: for example, the old version erroneously translates *Luid iar sin co techta Ulad* (Thurneysen 1935: 5) as 'Darauf ging er zu den Gesandten von Connacht' (p. 46), but this has been corrected in the new edition (p. 58). There are also differences in wording which are superficial in that they do not change the meaning but in some cases make the German text read more easily; examples of this are 'es sei denn, er hätte es gegen Widerstand bekommen' (old edition, p. 62) versus the clearer if less literal 'es sei denn, er hat sich gegen Widerstand durchgesetzt' (new edition, p. 77) for *acht ina gabad co fresabra* (Stokes 1903: 202) and 'Diese Blut war soviel wie Reliquie und Kommunion zusammen' instead of 'Dieses Blut hatte die Substanz einer Kommunion und einer Reliquie' (old edition, p. 80) for *Ba comnai 7 ba cretra in fuil-sin* (Stokes 1888: 20). The reason for some other changes in wording, however, is not as obvious, especially as some less readable phrases have been retained. For example, the translation of the phrase *airchisis Crist doib* (Stokes 1888: 18) in *Immram Snédgusa ocus Mac Riagla* has been changed from the more general and perfectly idiomatic 'erbarmte sich Christus ihrer' (old edition, p. 79) to the more liturgical-sounding 'erbarmte sich Christus über sie' (new edition, p. 97),

but 'Warum verkehren wir nicht miteinander?' (old edition, p. 67; new edition, p. 84) for *Cid ná comraicim* (Bhreathnach 1984: 75) has been left to stand although the most common senses of 'miteinander verkehren' are simply 'to be in regular contact' or 'to interact'. Bhreathnach's (1984: 79) translation, 'Why don't we become lovers?', could have served as a model if the aim was to avoid wording that was felt to be too blunt. There may be reasons for some of the more unusual word choices — the translation 'Frauenzimmer' (old edition, pp. 31–2; new edition, p. 44), for example, which sounds rather old-fashioned, is presumably a way of translating *banscál* in a way that distinguishes it from *ben*; however, as the word is at odds with the style of the translation in general, the more neutral term 'Frau' might have been preferable or a note might have been added clarifying the usage. There are also some other slightly unusual usages: for example, the abbreviation 'nl.' is used, apparently to mean 'nämlich', but to my knowledge, this is not particularly common.

While it is clearly sensible not to overload a text with footnotes and specialist details if it is aimed at an audience who may not have experienced these texts before, there are some examples where footnotes might have had some interest for general readers too. One example is 'Bachbunge' (new edition, p. 106), used to translate Irish *fochlocht* instead of the general 'sonstiges Grünzeug' used in the old edition (p. 86). However, as the entry in *DIL* indicates, the exact identity of *fochlocht* is not clear; thus, while the translation 'Bachbunge' is in line with the translation 'brooklime' that is found in English texts, it is in fact an interpretation of the Irish word. A note explaining this would reflect the amount of lexicographical work, and at times interpretation, that can be involved in translation, which might well be of interest even to a general audience.

There are also more significant changes to the translation, which affect the sense of the text and which justify Corthals's claim to having revised and improved this edition. In *Echtra mac nEchach*, the verses beginning *A ri Temra, is me in flaithius* (Stokes 1903: 200, but only the first couplet cited) have been translated differently in the new edition (p. 75) from the old (pp. 60–1), reflecting a mixture of more superficial changes to increase readability and a revision of some passages. In this particular case, a gloss on the text that was incorporated in brackets in the old edition has been placed in a footnote. This suggests a more nuanced approach to the text, and the reader's attention is directed more strongly towards manuscript variation. A further example of this is the fact that the final sentence in *Síaburcharpat* has been changed to follow the edition in Meyer (1910) rather than the text of *LU*, with a footnote added to draw attention to a potential contradiction in the text. Moreover, Feargal Ó Béarra's as yet unpublished edition of the text has been taken into account, which has presumably also contributed to some of the changes in the translation of this text. In addition, more caution is applied in the translation of some uncertain passages throughout the book, for example, some of Torna Éces's words at the beginning of *Echtra mac nEchach*, translated in their entirety in the old edition (p. 56), but omitted as uncertain in the new edition (p. 69).

The bibliographical section at the end of the book provides further reading on the subjects discussed in the Introduction. It takes the form of a literature overview rather than a list of references, which is a more helpful way of pointing the non-specialist reader towards relevant further resources. Following this, Corthals provides a paragraph on each of the texts, in which he gives details on the editions used as the basis of the translations. Other sources must, however, also have been used, at least in one case and perhaps also in others: only the first couplet is provided in the edition of *A ri Temra, is me in flaithius* from *Echtra mac nEchach*, but Corthals translates several verses. This is not a major problem from the point of view of usability for a novice to the subject, assuming that someone attempting to get a first impression of early Irish literature is unlikely to want to compare Corthals's translation to the edited text. However, it limits the extent to which the book can also be used by more advanced readers, and, for accuracy, this information might have been included.

The 1996 edition also contained this bibliographical section, but in the new edition, Corthals has organised it according to the new structure of the Introduction and has updated the sources cited with some more recent publications; among these are articles from vol. 1 of the *Cambridge History of Irish Literature* (Kelleher and O'Leary 2006), O'Connor's study of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (O'Connor 2013), and Dooley and Roe's (1999) translation of *Acallam na Senórach*. While this section of the book is clearly meant only as a starting point and not a comprehensive literature review, a few other publications that have appeared since 1996 might also have been mentioned, for example, Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin's *An Introduction to Early Irish Literature* (Ní Bhrolcháin 2009) in the paragraph on early Irish literature on p. 115 and Ciaran Carson's translation of the *Táin* (Carson 2007) in the paragraph on the *Táin* on p. 117. In addition to this, there is no mention of online resources, which now play a significant role and for which guidance can be particularly important. Moreover, they have the significant practical benefit of being available to a reader who does not have ready access to an academic library. Examples of useful online resources would have been, amongst others, the CELT website (https://celt.ucc.ie/), the CODECS database (http://vanhamel.nl/codecs/Home), and the electronic version of the Bibliography of Irish Linguistics and Literature published (https://bill.celt.dias.ie/) by the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

With regard to the bibliographical details regarding the translated texts, in the new version of Corthals's book, unlike in the 1996 edition, references to other translations of the text, be they into English or German, are no longer given, except in the case of *Immram Snédgusa*. In addition to this inconsistency, there are some errors and typographical problems that could have been avoided by more thorough proof-reading (for example, Stokes's edition of *Echtra mac nEchach* is from 1903 and not 1905 and Ó Béarra's edition of *Síaburcharpat* is a PhD thesis, not a 'Diplomarbeit'), but most of these do not limit the usefulness of this section.

All of this said, the bibliographical section may overall serve as a good starting point for anyone interested in pursuing the subjects introduced in the book. The same applies to the book as a whole: despite some points of criticism above — not all of which may, after all, be relevant to a reader seeking an introduction as opposed to someone with prior knowledge of the subject — this book is a useful and overall very readable introduction in German to early medieval Irish narrative in general, and it provides access to some of the best known early Irish narratives. While the reasons for some of the revisions are not entirely obvious, the restructuring of the book and the expanded Introduction and revised bibliographical section are beneficial. Given that Celtic studies may sometimes be perceived of as somewhat peripheral, this updated introduction to the subject, which is aimed at bringing the subject matter to a new audience by providing reliable information and translations and which shows the historical, philological and literary research involved in dealing with medieval Irish narratives, is a welcome publication.

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Grammatica, Gramadach *and* Gramadeg*: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales*. Edited by Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell. Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 125. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2016. xvi + 226 pp. €105. ISBN 978-90-272-4616-5. Also available as e-book ISBN 978-90-272-6715-3.

The scope of this collection of essays is much wider than the title might suggest, but only if we limit our idea of what constitutes 'grammar' to its modern core of phonology, morphology and syntax. In medieval usage, however, *grammatica* encompassed everything from the acquisition of basic literacy all the way up to advanced literary interpretation. This broad range, and the centrality of medieval *grammatica* to textual culture, are reflected in the variety of themes discussed in this volume.

Elizabeth Boyle, 'Allegory, the *áes dána* and the liberal arts in medieval Irish literature', examines three texts, the *dindshenchas* of Loch Garman, *Echtra Cormaic* and the Latin poem *Mentis in excessu* attributed to Bishop Patrick (possibly but not certainly the bishop of Dublin who died in 1084). She sets out to show that medieval Irish texts, in the vernacular as well as in Latin, may be read allegorically, and that in some cases at least an allegorical reading was expected. She starts from the well-founded assumption that the authors of medieval Irish literature were literate and had undergone an ecclesiastical education in Latin which would have encompassed the interpretation of literature (*enarratio poetarum*); such *enarratio* gave a prominent place to allegory, as we know from numerous sources, and it served as training for the exegesis of scripture. This leads her to look for evidence for allegory within the texts themselves. The difficulty is, as always with allegory, legitimacy. We are free to read any text allegorically if we so wish. However, for a historically founded reading we want to show that this was a way in which the text was read by its first audience, or at least a way that was familiar and available to that audience. Boyle cuts through the conundrum by choosing texts in which the allegory is explicit: the visions in the Loch Garman *dindshenchas* and the tale of Cormac are explained within the texts, while the Latin poem is heavily glossed. In each case the allegory is self-referential in that it relates to the poetic art and its access to knowledge. Boyle's readings are rich and intriguing. Perhaps the most important point — and likely to be the most controversial — is that the supposedly pagan settings and content of medieval Irish texts should be read as metaphorical, figurative and allegorical ways of exploring the Christian world in which the authors lived, closely comparable to the use of the classical mythological inheritance by other medieval European authors. The implications are serious: if we would not cite the Old French *romans d'Antiquité* in reconstructing Greco-Roman religious thought, should we use Irish texts of a similar date as even indirect sources for pre-Christian belief? A point touched on only briefly (p. 13), but which demands more thought, is the audience of the texts. Would they need to be as trained in *enarratio* as the authors, or was there some lower level at which they were able to enjoy them? More studies

of reception are needed in early Irish studies. Finally: what about texts where the allegory is not explicit?

Deborah Hayden discusses 'Cryptography and the alphabet in the "Book of Ádhamh Ó Cianáin"', i.e. NLI G2–3, of the fourteenth century. Much of the contents of the book are grammatical, and Hayden picks out two small pieces which turn out to have far-reaching implications. The first is a quatrain in a simple cipher, in which dots are substituted for the vowels. Hayden identifies it as part of a poem in *Tochmarc Treblainne*, and has also discovered it, in plain text and in cipher, in two sixteenth-century copies of *Auraicept na nÉces*. She argues (p. 45) that it passed in some way from G3 to these copies; an implication is that it might be worth searching G2–3 for further additions to the *Auraicept* tradition. She also identifies the source of the cipher: the Carolingian *De inventione linguarum*, which, she argues, may also have contributed material to the *Auraicept* tradition. The other item is a rather baffling list of numerical values for the Latin letters — baffling because many of the values are repeated and have no discernible rationale. Again, the source turns out to be Continental, for some manuscripts of the *De inventione linguarum* contain similar lists. In an appendix Hayden edits a Middle Irish poem on the numerical values of the letters which offers a valuable insight into the pronunciation of the letter names in Ireland.

The next two contributions focus on particular technical terms in Irish grammatical discourse. Erich Poppe discusses the concept of the word in medieval Ireland. As is the case elsewhere, it transpires that the concept was complex and variable and worked on more than one level. Poppe is particularly concerned with the *mot phonétique*, that is, the idea of the word as a group of syllables clustered around a main accent. In this paradigm, clitics such as the article, prepositions and the copula form a unit with the stressed word that follows them. There is certainly some evidence for this concept in medieval Irish, not least in the fact that clitics were regularly written continuously with the following stressed word. Poppe shows, moreover, that grammarians were aware of the concept: it can be seen both in their search for 'the longest word in Irish' ([*in*] *focul as mo isan Gaedilc*) and in their terminology. However, his examination of the various terms corresponding to 'word' reveals a more mixed picture, in which the lexical word also had an important place.

Pierre-Yves Lambert explores the various words for 'sense, meaning, signification' in the Old Irish glosses, in particular Milan and St Gall. The main words are *cíall*, *intliucht*, *inne*, but others mentioned are *séns* or *séis* and *folad*. The St Gall glosses are examined separately from the Milan glosses, and some distinctions in usage emerge, reflecting the different kinds of text being glossed, grammatical and exegetical.

Anders Ahlqvist, 'The verbal paradigms in *Auraicept na nÉces*', discusses two examples of the conjugation of Irish verbs from the canonical, Old Irish section of the *Auraicept*. He gives transcriptions and colour images of the manuscript witnesses, all of which are quite late; some of the images are sharp, though a few appear slightly blurred. The verbal paradigms are found embedded in a longer section on *etargaire*, a term which appears to cover all (or at

least multiple) areas of grammar in which distinctions of grammatical category are drawn. It is perhaps not surprising that verbal morphology is less developed in the *Auraicept* tradition than nominal, for the much greater distance between Irish and Latin in the verbal system was likely to pose an obstacle for medieval grammarians, as noted already by Calder (*Auraicept na nÉces: The Scholars' Primer* (Edinburgh, 1917), xxiii). Nevertheless, even this very small piece shows the identification of active and passive and of the three persons and two numbers. It is notable, however, that the passive forms (apart from the distinctive third-person) include *notae augentes*, whereas the active forms, which are already fully marked for person and number, do not — as if the Irish grammarian were seeking as close an analogue as possible to the fully marked passive endings of Latin.

Liam Breatnach, 'The glossing of the Early Irish law tracts', broadens the discussion from grammatical literature in the modern sense to other texts which were analysed in the medieval period using the techniques of *grammatica*. The oldest law texts were provided with glosses and commentary as early as the Old Irish period. Breatnach demonstrates how these genres of metatext derive from the techniques of Latin *grammatica* as applied both to literary works and to scriptural exegesis. He continues with Middle Irish glossing, identifying and discussing various different types of gloss. Of particular note is etymological glossing, and here Breatnach, building on the work of Rolf Baumgarten, provides an important corrective to the dismissal of Isidorian etymologizing so common in earlier scholarship. There is also a valuable discussion of the relationship between text and gloss and of how the glosses themselves were read. This chapter forms an excellent introduction to the evolution of Irish legal literature in the centuries after the composition of the primary tracts.

Chapters 7–10 move from Ireland to Wales. In 'Teaching between the lines: grammar and *grammatica* in the classroom in early medieval Wales', Paul Russell examines three Latin texts glossed in Welsh: the colloquy known as *De raris fabulis*, a copy of Book 1 of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, and the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript. He convincingly shows that the glossing was in each case meant to facilitate a close literal comprehension of the text and that the three could have been used consecutively in learning Latin: the colloquy during the large-scale acquisition of grammatical forms and vocabulary, the Ovid as a first approach to Latin verse, and the Juvencus for advanced study in which the intellectual and spiritual content comes to the fore. Russell's approach vindicates the need to consider vernacular glossing in its full context, taking full account both of the primary Latin text as well as the (much more numerous) Latin glosses that accompany the vernacular ones — an approach illustrated on a bigger scale in his recent monograph, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales*. It is not suggested, of course, that the three texts were so used in any one school, but rather that they represent isolated survivals of the kinds of texts that were used at their respective stages in the learning process. This raises the intriguing, but probably unanswerable, question of just how well-equipped early Welsh churches were with study aids like these. Are the survivors the tip of a very much larger iceberg? A priest might get through the

liturgy with much less knowledge of Latin than these texts would provide, but it is hard to see how genuinely competent users of the language could be generated without such works (or indeed to see that such users would be needed in the absence of libraries of texts for them to study). There are some misprints on pp. 136–7: what were angle brackets in the original edition appear as *á* and *ñ* here.

Thomas Charles-Edwards offers an important and highly technical discussion of 'The Welsh bardic grammars on *Litterae*'. A detailed comparison with the Latin source used to construct this section of the bardic grammars, Donatus' *Ars Maior*, brings out the differences introduced by the Welsh grammarians. Their doctrine was heavily influenced by metrical concerns, especially the classification of diphthongs (which affects rhyme and half-rhyme) and the treatment of epenthetic vowels in syllabification. Charles-Edwards shows how such interests overrode the phonologically based account of Donatus. Why the Welsh texts intrude a discussion of the metrical implications of epenthetic vowels into Donatus' account of the letters is not explained. It is worth noting, however, that Donatus mentions metrical peculiarities in the case of his liquids *l*, *r*, and *s* and *f*, employing the phrase *faciunt communem syllabam*, and this may have inspired a Welsh grammarian to introduce the subject of *toddi* (the ignoring of epenthetic vowels in counting syllables) in the analogous place in his grammar, since it makes a 'common syllable' out of two (of course that is not what Donatus meant by *communis*, but all we are looking for here is a trigger).

Charles-Edwards' discussion of how the Welsh grammarians reinterpreted the *liquidae* is illuminating. As he notes, the result was not entirely coherent. The list of *llythyr tawdd* manages to embrace all relevant sound combinations that generate epenthetic vowels: these are stop + *n*, *l*, *r*; *l* + *m*, *l* + *v*, *r* + *m*, *r* + *v*; *dd* + *v* (assuming that the Grammars' *f* = /v/). However, *s* does not deserve its place, and the failure to distinguish *d* = /d/ from *d* = /ð/ injects further intellectual unclarity. It should be noted that the combination vowel + liquid + liquid is not given just to accommodate *d* (cf. p. 156) but was needed also for such words as *toryf*, *helym*. The term *tawdd* illustrates the difficulty of pinning down the meanings of medieval Welsh grammatical terms. Another difficult word is *talgron*. I am not convinced that *talgron* applied originally only to diphthongs ending in /u/. The Grammars use the term for syllables containing a single vowel, irrespective of how many consonants follow, in contrast to *lleddf* 'tapering' syllables which contain a diphthong whose second element is /i/ or /ɨ/. Note that such distinctions as *gŵyr* / *gwŷr* are also described as *lleddf* and *talgron*, and are equally vital for rhyme, but do not involve /u/-diphthongs. It is thus far from certain that the 'round-endedness' implied by *talgron* refers to lip-rounding. The meaning may rather be 'abruptly cut off', in contrast to the tapering out of a *lleddf* sound. The puzzle is why the /u/ of the /u/-diphthongs was felt to be analogous to a consonant, leading to their classification as *talgron*, whereas the /i/ or /ɨ/ of the *lleddf* diphthongs was felt to taper off gradually. If we accept the Grammars' own definition of *talgron* then they are undoubtedly correct in saying that *mydyr* contained two such

syllables, *my* and *dyr*. Then the monosyllabic pronunciations of such words might be felt to be *lleddf* in that they did not come to a neat conclusion like a *talgron* syllable. The different usages of *lleddf* in the Grammars warn us that aesthetic perceptions were involved as much as intellectual analysis. There are more such aesthetic judgements in the grammatical triads, which speak of 'easily declaimed' and 'hard-to-declaim' diphthongs and of syllables that are 'ugly and harsh to declaim'. The issue recurs below in Parry Owen's chapter.

Finally, Charles-Edwards also offers a highly ingenious explanation of the apparently quixotic decision of the Peniarth 20 grammar to use the symbol *q3* for /ð/. There are far-reaching consequences for the 'prehistory' of the grammar which will need to be further considered; the textual relations of the extant versions seem to me to be far from clear.

Paul Russell on 'The poetic triads in *Gramadegau Penceirddiaid*' is brief but full of insights. He identifies a division between the first part of the grammar, which is based on the Latin grammatical tradition (and chiefly Donatus, as we saw above), and the second, on metres and the role of the poet, and the triads, which is 'specifically Welsh and poetical without any correspondence in the Latin grammatical tradition' (p. 163). The division is structural as well as based on content, since the Latinizing section employs mainly binary divisions, whereas the remainder prefers divisions into three; explicitly so in the triads, but Russell shows that the triadic structure is widespread elsewhere, especially in the subdivisions of poetry and in the section on metres. In contrast, the instructions for the praise of individuals return to the binary, suggesting to Russell that an unknown, Latinate source may have been used (p. 173). This might be suspected too on other grounds, since the section does not seem to be closely based on actual poetic practice as opposed to abstract theorizing, and it would be satisfying to be able to identify a source. It is generally believed that the Peniarth 20 version is a revision of something close to what is preserved in the other early manuscripts. Russell's analysis of the triads provides some support for this in that the Peniarth 20 triads include many additional items and in structure have a stronger pedagogical focus. More detailed discussions of this kind are needed to try to resolve the problem of how the early texts are related to one another. There is a useful section on the place of triads in other spheres of medieval Welsh learning, and also on the term *cainc* 'branch', which Russell argues arose within pedagogical discourse and only subsequently found its most famous application in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. The implication would be that it meant nothing more than 'subdivision of a greater whole'.

Ann Parry Owen, finally, provides a very welcome edition and discussion of *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, an abbreviation and updating of her Welsh article which appeared in *Llên Cymru* for 2010. *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is one of the discoveries of medieval Welsh literature in recent years, a fragment of poetic instruction not textually related to any of the extant grammars. The text (a single bifolium) is difficult to judge since it is evidently a small portion of a much larger whole. Nevertheless, I am doubtful whether it was ever conceived as a grammar as such. The unsystematic presentation suggests that the

writer may never have intended to produce a fair copy. *'Gramadeg' Gwysanau* looks more like a set of notes drawn from various sources over time, perhaps even lecture notes taken down from the lips of a teacher. That would account too for the use of the less formal *anglicana* script rather than book hand, for the reference to the poet Iolo Goch as a contemporary practitioner, and for the lively comparisons between the art of the poet and those of other craftsmen. Some statements echo ones found in the mainstream bardic grammars — such as some of the doctrine regarding the values of individual letters — while much else is unique. If this is true, then *Gramadeg Gwysanau* allows us a rare glimpse into the medieval bardic classroom.

There is much in this text that repays attention. It shows a notable awareness of change in poetic practice over time. Another fascinating topic is the transmission of poetry. *Gramadeg Gwysanau* explicitly refers to learning poems from written copies, but only as a possibility (*os ar lythyr y dysgir hi*). Furthermore, instructions are given on how to write clearly so that the performance of the poem be not impaired. But there is an equally clear reference to learning from oral performance (*y datkanv yn vchel groyw ... val y gallo dynyo[n] hydysc y gwy[b]ot a'e dysgv*). And it reveals a realistic understanding of the abilities of the average audience: 'make sure the last couplet of an *englyn* is good and to the point because that's the bit they remember'.

An important point of orthography is that *Gramadeg Gwysanau* advocates the use of *rr-*, *Rr-* for initial /r^{h}/. It is a spelling common in the fifteenth century, but there are very sporadic examples from the fourteenth alongside the overwhelmingly usual *r-*. The grammarian describes words that begin with this sound as *trwm* 'heavy'. Normally *trwm* applies to double or heavy *-nn*, *-rr* at the end of a syllable, in distinction to single *-n*, *-r*. This seems like a creative extension of its meaning to provide a technical term for the previously unanalysed phonemic distinction between /r^{h}/- and /r/-, rather than a misunderstanding of the application of *trwm*, as argued by Parry Owen. If /r^{h}/ were indeed perceived as a 'heavy' or more powerful sound in comparison to /r/, that might account for the choice of *rr-* to represent it, which has never been explained until now. Admittedly initial /r^{h}/ and final /r:/ were not the same sound, but the *rr-* spelling does suggest that an analogy was drawn between them. Creative application of existing terminology is also seen in the use of *camosodiad* for the use of *cynghanedd lusg* in the last line of an *englyn*. Since *camosodiad* simply means that something is put where it should not be, and indeed later grammars use it for a great variety of other *faux-pas*, it might be better to assume that the author (or his source) was well-versed in the use of the term and saw a valid analogy between this metrical fault and others, rather than that he was an amateur with an incomplete grasp of the subject. He may have been, of course, but even if so, it is evident that Welsh grammatical terminology was highly flexible and adaptable, something we have already seen above in discussing Charles-Edwards's chapter.

This is an excellent collection. It cannot pretend to be comprehensive by any means, but as an illustration of the rich material available in the Irish and Welsh grammatical traditions, it would be hard to better.

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The Poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Translated by Joseph P. Clancy. Brown Dog Books, Bath, 2016. 390 pp. £17.50. ISBN 978-1-78545-089-1.

These literary translations of the complete poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym are the first to be based on the recent new edition which was published online in 2007 and in print in 2010 as *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym*, edited by Johnston et al. However, being the fruit of many years' labour, they understandably also bear witness to the continuing influence of the previous standard edition, Thomas Parry's *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (1952). For those who came to know Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry through Parry's edition it has been no small matter to come to terms with a new text, emotionally as well as intellectually, and it is to Joseph Clancy's credit that he was able to reshape his translation project to take account of the latest scholarship. These translations represent his personal understanding of the poetry, which inevitably reflects both the new and the old editions.

The canon is that of the new edition, including the three newly added poems and excluding those now deemed not to be Dafydd's genuine work, with the exception of one to the song thrush retained by way of comparison with another on the same subject (but I suspect also out of reluctance to lose such a charming nature lyric). The source texts seem to be mostly those of the new edition, but line-order occasionally follows Parry, as do a few lines of dubious authenticity which are retained, most notably four towards the end of the depiction of Morfudd's old age which are a stray passage from the poem about the hare but will, I fear, have a long after-life due to their association with this emotional highpoint in Parry's edition.

In one important sense this collection is independent of both editions of the Welsh texts in that it presents the poems in an entirely new order, building on suggestions by R. Geraint Gruffydd and others to offer a tentative chronological sequence rather than grouping by genre. This is a significant critical interpretation of Dafydd's work, backed up by a thoughtful introductory essay, and it produces some interesting new juxtapositions, such as bringing together all the poems relating to Gwynedd, and those in which the poet is in a position of exile. It makes a big difference that both religious and praise poems are spread throughout the collection and thus much more central to the work than in their usual position as prelude to the larger body of love and nature poetry. Chronological arrangement could result in a naively literal reading, but that danger is countered by emphasis on the various literary personas which the poet adopts. Nevertheless, I would have liked to have seen more acknowledgement of alternative interpretations, such as the possibility that the description

of Morfudd's old age is visionary foresight with the aim of turning the friar's sermon into a dire warning to her on the *carpe diem* theme.

This is an explicitly Christian interpretation of the life experience conveyed by the poetry, drawing out both the celebration of God's grace in the natural world and the awareness of the consequences of sin. Clancy's own Catholic faith is one of his strengths as a translator of medieval poetry, evident in his sympathetic rendering of the *englynion* to the Rood at Carmarthen and of 'The Woodland Mass'. Here is a passage from the latter (pp. 177–8), which should be read in the light of the interesting suggestion made in a note that the elevation of the host may refer to the sunrise:

> Then rose on a hill of ash-trees
> Sacred wafer from good leaf,
> And from the grove's near corner
> The slim sweet-voiced nightingale,
> The vale's songstress, rang sanctus,
> Shrill whistle, to heaven's dome,
> And the offering was lofted
> To the vault above the grove,
> Worship of our Lord the Father,
> A chalice of bliss and love.

We see here Clancy's translation technique, developed over more than fifty years engagement with the *cywydd* metre, beginning with *Medieval Welsh Lyrics*, published in 1965. One of the main aims is to convey a sense of the movement of the verse, using a seven-syllable line as a base from which variation of mostly one syllable either way is permitted, and line-endings alternately stressed and unstressed, reflecting the rhyming pattern of the *cywydd* couplet. Light alliteration and vowel harmonies give occasional hints of the *cynghanedd*, and indeed that last line above is not far off being full *cynghanedd sain*. Given these self-imposed constraints, it is remarkable how much of the sense of the Welsh text is retained. Comparison with the versions of Dafydd ap Gwilym poems published in Clancy's 1965 collection reveals a process of revision bringing the translations closer to the original, not just in sense but also in word-order. The *sangiadau* interrupting the main sentence are generally retained as parentheses in the translations (for instance 'shrill whistle' in the passage above), and although some readers may find this feature disturbing at first, it is an essential part of the strategy of reflecting the movement of the verse, and also facilitates comparison with the original texts. Anyone who does so will find many deft touches to admire, such as the epithets for the girl Dafydd eyes up in Llanbadarn church and the God on whom he turns his back to do so: *coeth* and *gwiwgoeth* are nicely rendered as 'graceful' and 'gracious'.

Joseph Clancy sadly died just a few months after this volume was published. The poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym was the greatest single challenge which he faced as translator of Welsh literature, and this collection constitutes a fitting conclusion to his long and distinguished career.

References

Clancy, Joseph P. (trans.) 1965: *Medieval Welsh Lyrics* (London and New York).

Johnston, Dafydd et al. (eds) 2007: www.dafyddapgwilym.net.

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Parry, Thomas (ed.) 1952: *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Caerdydd). Further editions in 1963 and 1979.

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Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland, vol. 26. Edited by Elva Johnston and Daíbhí Ó Cróinín. 2015. Brepols, Turnhout. 294 pp. €68. ISBN 978-2-503-55100-5. ISSN 0332-1592.

That one learned journal reviews another — especially one where over the years the same scholars have contributed to both — may seem a little incestuous; however, there are good reasons for drawing attention to this volume of *Peritia*. For this journal's first 25 volumes, albeit that some of them were combination volumes, over the past thirty-six years — volume 1 appeared in 1982 — one man was responsible: the late Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin of University College, Cork. He saw that there was a need for a journal that brought the various strands of early medieval studies, with particular reference to Ireland, together in one place: linguists would stand next to historians and archaeologists; those working on Irish texts would sit beside those working on Latin; those working on the history of ideas would rub shoulders with those studying early Irish farming. The mix has proven itself. *Peritia* is one of the few journals that is known and respected across the disciplines. Some time before he died, Ó Corráin handed over the concern to two new editors, both, like himself, primarily historians: Elva Johnston of University College, Dublin, and Daíbhí Ó Cróinín of the National University of Ireland, Galway, and this volume is the first fruits of their editorship. And as befits a well-planned handover, the volume is dedicated to Donnchadh. Brepols, the publisher of *Peritia*, have taken the opportunity to give it a new cover and a fresh typographical look. This is striking and elegant, but will be a curse for librarians who still take the journal in paper format because the new volume is taller and wider than the old one (171×253mm as against 168×239mm). For the reader, however, this new shape and binding make a book that opens better and sits open more easily while one reads it.

So what has one got? First of all, eight major articles of around twenty pages each. For this alone one is thankful because of the increasing tendency to have very strict word-limits, so that arguments in many journals are tailored not to the problem but to the canvas available. These papers — all of them — have that pleasing quality of answering the topic they set, going into the necessary detail, and reflecting the state of scholarship. One cannot put a quart

into a pint glass — and this journal does not seek to impose a fixed size on each paper. Moreover, as befits a journal looking at early medieval topics, one gets real footnotes that carry the auxiliary information that another scholar may need, and the new editors are to be commended for not slipping into the practice that has occurred in other journal 're-launches' of using a Harvard Style reference system. This system works well in many disciplines, and can even work well in books, but in medieval studies — particularly when one has to cite older materials and texts in a variety of languages — it simply occludes the detail that must accompany cutting-edge journal scholarship.

The range of articles is that for which *Peritia* has become well known and reflects the rich complexity of medieval scholarship with reference to Ireland. There are several pieces relating to the Anglo-Saxons — on hagiography, history, and their Irish connections. There is an edition and study of a fragment of Irish biblical exegesis in Latin. And continuing the Latin theme, there are two papers on the Irish and the study of Latin grammar in the first millennium. And on that continental theme, there is a study linking the Irish there, hagiography, and monasticism. One should not judge any journal by the mix it produces in a single issue, but the range in this volume augurs well. I would like to pick out two items for special mention, because in both cases they are monuments to great scholars who have died. When Bernhard Bischoff died in 1991 many Irish scholars were aware of him primarily as the man who first drew to attention the unedited legacy of early Irish exegesis in Latin. While there have been many disputes about his 1954 paper, now invariably referred to as '*Wendepunkte*,' no one doubts its seminal importance. However, the contribution of Bischoff to early medieval scholarship more widely is far less known, and there his influence is very largely connected with his work in collaborating with E. A. Lowe on *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. A few years before his death Bischoff gave a lecture in London on this work and his own links with the earlier generation of palaeographers such as Traube, Beeson, and Ker, and that lecture is an illumination not only of the man but of a generation of industrious scholars in whose debt we still labour. This lecture is printed here (pp. 29–46) and the editors have added an apparatus that makes it a most useful guide to the development of palaeography in the twentieth century. The other paper is an appreciation by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín of Donnchadh Ó Corráin. It is only two pages in length (pp. 11–12) but it captures something of the generosity of Donnchadh as a scholar and his willingness to envisage large, new projects — of which *Peritia* was but one. It now reads — following his death — as a memorial to him.

The second part of this volume is dedicated to short notes — none more than a few pages — and this again continues a tradition of *Peritia*. Given that we often turn up little pieces of new evidence or information of value as a corollary of a major investigation, having a forum such as this where these discoveries can be set before other researchers is a real boon. In this volume there are just three such notes (pp. 201–7), but it would be a welcome development if we as a group of scholars got into the habit of publishing discoveries 'by the way' in such a place as *Peritia*.

The third section comprises a review article of eight pages and then a collection of twenty-four reviews taking up 73 pages. The article by Colin Ireland on Wilfrid — that central player in seventh-century Northumbria — is a most useful piece of work drawing together a complex range of studies and clarifying the *status quaestionis* on the man and his impact. Then, scanning the collection of the book reviews — all done to a high standard of academic reviewing — one wonders if the paper-based book review has had its day. A couple of generations ago the book review section was often the most used part of a journal. Going through the reviews was the way of keeping abreast of developments in a field: it told the reader what was happening outside one's immediate book environment; and, in a time when the volume of academic publishing was far smaller than today, the reviews section of a journal could endeavour to be comprehensive. Today neither of these conditions apply. We are more likely to turn to the web to find out what has been published and have simple methods for observing the publishing scene world-wide, while no journal could hope to embrace but a fraction of its field — and this problem is compounded for a journal like *Peritia* which has a wide perspective. Perhaps the time has come to ask if specialist reviews should be kept for very narrowly focused journals; more general reviews could be located on web-based book review sites, of which there is no shortage; and the space in a journal like this used more creatively by publishing more review articles that help digest the volume of published scholarship and give us an overview of the wood rather than snapshots of individual trees. This journal could have accommodated another main article and half-a-dozen review articles (similar to Colin Ireland's contribution), and I think we would have been better served.

Just before his death Donnchadh Ó Corráin gave an interview to *History Ireland* on his life as a historian and his perception of the state of the discipline, noting that still today 'it is not possible to write "the big tome" because so much is uncertain and there are so many big issues that we haven't even looked at.' That *Peritia* continues to thrive and is renewing itself is part of Donnchadh's scholarly legacy, and its work in teasing out uncertainties and looking at new questions continues.

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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.).
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*.