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AN EDITION OF *TALLAND ÉTAIR*

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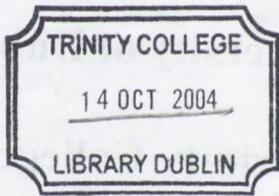
Trinity College

2003

AN EDITION OF TALLEND ET AL.

Kevin O'Donnell

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Thesis
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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kevin O'Donnell". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent loop in the 'O' of "Donnell".

Kevin O'Donnell.

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I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Liam Breatnach, for suggesting that I edit *Talland Étair* in the first instance and for overseeing the project from start to finish, while giving unstintingly of his knowledge, advice and time. I would also like to thank my examiners Dr Jürgen Uhlich and Professor Kim McCone for the many helpful suggests made by them during the examination process. I alone, however, am responsible for any shortcomings in the thesis.

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SUMMARY

The edition is based upon my own readings from the manuscript sources used. This ensures that any previous misreadings are not inherited into the present work and that I alone become responsible for any misreadings which may be found herein. These comments relate primarily to the text in the Book of Leinster (L), as no diplomatic edition of the text in Harleian 5280 (H) has heretofore existed, apart from the 100 or so variant readings cited by Stokes in his 1887 edition entitled 'The Siege of Howth'. This does not, of course, presuppose that the readings of Best and O'Brien's 1956 diplomatic edition of L are inaccurate.

Following the transcription of the texts, it was necessary to note the orthographical variations evident in H, before any comparison of the two texts could be attempted. Much of the early work of the thesis involved analysing the language of the two texts, to assess the evidential value of all of the available material. This analysis allowed the material to be separated into three groups i.e. that which was common to both manuscripts, that which appeared in H but not in L and that which appeared in L but not in H.

The evidence of these three groups was then used to establish the relationship between the manuscripts, whereby the mss. were found to be in very close agreement.

In analysing all of the available material with a view to separating the Old Irish forms from the Middle Irish forms, I drew upon a wide range of work by leading scholars in the fields of early Irish and Celtic. Many of the references to these works, which have been incorporated into both the introduction and the textual notes, were provided by my supervisor Professor Liam Breatnach. I also made extensive use of the standard works of reference such as the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language* and Thurneysen's *Grammar of Old Irish*. The job of identifying the Middle Irish forms in the material was facilitated in the main by Liam Breatnach's chapter on Middle Irish in *Stair na Gaeilge* (ed. K. McCone et al. 1990) and by Kim McCone's *The Early Irish Verb* (1997), as will be noted from the numerous references to these works.

The establishment of a date of composition for *Talland Étair* involved a consideration of both the internal and external evidence. The external evidence suggested that a significant number of the facts of the tale had been conceived and were possibly well known prior to 975 A.D., but that at the very least the tale was composed no later than 1224 A.D. The internal evidence then, showed that the language is by and large that of the Old Irish glosses, due allowance being made for later scribal modernization and innovations.

The restored text, translation and textual notes form the main part of the thesis. The establishment of a date of composition within the Old Irish period then, set the parameters of the restored text. The choice of layout in the textual notes was influenced by Kim McCone's *Echtrae Chonnlai and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland* (2000). Short pieces of restored text are followed by the relevant pieces from each of the two manuscripts. Textual notes then follow, in which the choice of readings in the reconstructed line, along with any difficulties relating to the readings are discussed. This layout has the benefit of allowing easy comparison of the manuscript readings and of having the relevant notes in close proximity to them.

It is hoped that this edition will constitute a significant contribution to the field of early Irish language and literature. It makes available for the first time the full text of *Talland Étair* from H and seeks to improve greatly upon the last edition, that of Whitley Stokes (1887), through the provision of an introduction, which discusses a wide range of issues from interpretation to metre, a restored text which brings together the best readings from the extant manuscript sources, a translation which reflects the advances in early Irish lexicography since Stokes' day, a bibliography which facilitates further investigation of matters arising from the edition and a glossary which makes the Irish text more accessible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

I.	Abbreviations	8
II.	Background to ' <i>Talland Étair</i> '	
	1. Previous editions and commentaries	10
	2. Synopsis	13
	3. Parallels with other texts	16
	4. Literary analysis	18
III.	Manuscripts and editorial policy	
	1. Manuscripts	27
	2. Relationship between the manuscripts	29
	3. Editorial policy	48
IV.	Dating	
	1. External evidence	53
	2. Internal (linguistic) evidence	56
	3. Date of composition	79
V.	Metre	
	1. <i>Súil ind ríg rámat clothach</i>	80
	2. <i>Delg fil i nArd Brestine</i>	82
	3. Rosc passage	84
	Restored text	86
	Translation	98
	Textual notes	111
	Appendices	

I.	Additional material in L	
	1. Text	224
	2. Translation	224
	3. Metre and dating	225
	4. Textual notes	226
II.	Additional material in H	
	1. Text	227
	2. Translation	228
	3. Metre and dating	229
	4. Textual notes	231
III.	List of orthographical variations in H	232
	Bibliography	236
	Glossary	241

I. ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical:

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
attrib.	attributive
augm.	augment, augmented
cl.	clause
cmpd.	compound
compar.	comparative
cond.	conditional
conj.	conjunct
cop.	copula
dat.	dative
(def.) art.	(definite) article
demons.	demonstrative
dep.	deponent
deut.	deuterotonic
emph.	emphasising
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
ipf.	imperfect
indep.	independent
interr.	interrogative
ipv.	imperative
len.	lenition
masc.	masculine
nas.	nasalisation
neg.	negative
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative

obj.	object
part.	particle
pass.	passive
ipf. subj.	imperfect subjunctive
perf.	perfect
poss.	possessive
pred.	predicative
pres. ind.	present indicative
pres. subj.	present subjunctive
prep.	preposition
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
prot.	prototonic
pl.	plural
redup.	reduplicated
rel.	relative
sg.	singular
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
syll.	syllable
unredup.	unreduplicated
vb.	verb
v.n.	verbal noun
voc.	vocative

Others:

EModIr.	Early Modern Irish
MidIr.	Middle Irish
ModIr.	Modern Irish
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
OIr.	Old Irish
<i>TÉ</i>	Talland Étair

Abbreviations of the titles of books referred to can be found in the bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

II. Background to ‘*Talland Étair*’

II.1. Previous editions and commentaries

TE was first edited by Stokes (1887) with text (from L, with just over 100 variant readings from H in footnotes, including the poem at the end of H) accompanied by facing page translation. He omits ll.20-27 (which he says is an interpolation, 47) and ll.123-185 i.e. the passage naming the women of Ulster and the *Rosc* passage. A mere handful of linguistic forms is analysed in the ‘Notes’ (64). The translation adequately provides the gist of the story but the language used is antiquated (even by the norms of the day) and being based on the linguistic knowledge of the day, both are quite out of date by modern standards. A revised and rearranged version of the translation, with further passages omitted, appeared in Hull (1898). Some useful observations are made here (see *ibid.*, 94, notes 1 and 2) such as the comparison between Búan’s death and that of Deirdre in *Longes mac nUislenn* (ed. V. Hull, 1949) and the use of Mess Gegrai’s brain ball in *Aided Chonchobuir* (ed. K. Meyer 1906; see II.3 below). Other comments are made (Hull, 1898, 291-2) which simply draw on O’Curry’s summary (see below).

The second passage omitted in Stokes (1887) was edited with text and translation by Dobbs (1949) under the ModIr. title ‘Agallamh Leborchaim’ (this is an odd choice when the text itself uses *célmaine* ‘prophecy’ in reference to the speech made by Leborcham see ll.123 and 185). The text contains many misreadings e.g. *celmunnu* (for L *celmuiniu*), *Mó timme* (for L *Mó turim*) and *Cheltair maic Uthair* (which should be expanded *Celtchair maic Uthidir* or with later *Uthechair*); this does not bode well for the translation, which is barely related to the text in places and which is made without any discussion of the many textual difficulties in the passage. This edition is clearly only concerned with the names contained therein and is of little other value.

The main discussions of *TE* to date have been those by O’Curry (1861, 265-71), Thurneysen (1921, 505-11), O’Connor (1967, mainly 244-8) and Henry (1978, 56-

60). O'Curry takes great licence with the facts in his chatty synopsis of the story, which he reads from a historical perspective, e.g. 'There lived in Ulster in the time of King Conor Mac Nessa, that is, about A.D. 33, a learned poet, but withal a virulent satirist, named *Aithirné*...' (266). Apart from his digressions into *dindsenchus* etc., he includes in his account events which are not actually contained in *TE*, e.g. 'When the poet's time for departure came at last, he set out from Naas with all his rich presents, his cattle, and his captives, attended by a multitude of the men of Leinster, apparently but to see him safely out of their country. When they came to Dublin, however, they found that the poet's sheep could not cross the river *Lifé* [or Liffey] at the ordinary ford; upon which, a number of the people went into the neighbouring woods, and set to work to cut down trees and branches; so that, in a very short time, they were able to throw a bridge, or causeway, of trees and hurdles across the river, by means of which the poet, his cattle, and train, passed over into the province of Meath...' (269, the interpolation is underlined; it is taken from the prose *dindsenchas* account for Áth Cliath Cualann, see Stokes, 1894, 328-9). This does not form a good basis for a discussion of the literary merits of the story.

O'Connor offers a translation of his favorite part of the story (in which he follows Thurneysen's detailed German synopsis) as well as comments on its authorship and make-up (mostly in response to Thurneysen's theories). His basic contention (2-4) is that the second half of *TE* and the first half of 'The Death of Conchobor' were originally one story, and he argues that a perceived change in style at the point where Mess Gegrai took the nut from the river (restored text l.193 ff.) is evidence for separating the second half from the first; everything up to this is dismissed as 'a rambling bit of folklore'. The translation of this supposed second part appears in the appendix (244-8; see Publisher's Note). He now speaks of the material leading up to the pursuit of Mess Gegrai by Conall, in an even more off-hand manner than before 'On the surface one would say that the story was the work of a story-teller suffering from acute schizophrenia... It describes a horrible Ulster poet, Athirne Ailgesach - Athirne the Exacting - who goes through southern Ireland humiliating everyone by demanding the impossible from local kings: from one a family heirloom that has been lost for generations, from another his right eye, from a third his wife. By the traditions of Irish hospitality his demands have to be met until you manage to get the brute outside your own front door, which, for Leinstermen meant the other side of

O'Connell Bridge. The Ulstermen, who also know the rules of Irish hospitality, come to escort him home, and are besieged at Howth. After a bitter fight the Ulstermen break the siege and the Leinstermen retreat across the river. So far, any responsible teacher of composition would consider himself soft-hearted in merely telling the author that higher education would be wasted on him, but suddenly an astonishing change occurs, and the story breaks into wonderful narrative prose'. Some of his more pertinent arguments are presented as part of his argument for the the existence of a classical school in Kildare, 'In the first half of the ninth century there seems to have been a very good classical school in Kildare, a number of whose students emigrated to the Continent by way of Wales. At the same time there is a group of stories, all produced about this time, all vaguely related to one another and to Leinster, and all with what seem to me slight classical echoes. It is not so much that these still do not represent a primary literature, but that more and more traces of a secondary literature seep in. The best way I can describe this is to show what all of them have in common - a passion for Virgil and a weakness for head-hunting. Two of them also have the classical suicide [i.e. *TÉ* and *Fingal Rónáin*], which is almost unknown in Irish' (49).

Henry focuses mainly on the character of Aithirne and poetic privilege. He provides a synopsis of the story which clearly follows Stokes' translation (see note on **Ó luid di inchaib Lagen** l.82, in the textual notes). He highlights certain motifs such as the bad omen of Aithirne's lefthand-wise circuit (56) and social elements such as the taking of women as booty (60). He makes a curious remark in summation however, 'níl aon amhras ná go bhfuil bruíon Ultach is Laighneach agus oidhe Mhes Gegra ar théamaí chomh hársa is atá sa traidisiún againn. Níl aon trácht fós ar na Gaeil sa scéal seo!' which is curious for the simple reason that they are mentioned (restored text l.41) and he himself includes the reference in his synopsis '...sa tslí nach dtógfaidís a n-aghaidh go deo arís i measc Gael mura gcuirfidís ar fáil dó as an tulach an tseoid ba luachmhaire dá raibh ann' (57).

Other significant references to *TÉ* by a range of scholars can be found in the textual notes.

II.2. Synopsis

Conchobar advises the poet Aithirne to go on a circuit, which he duly does. On his travels the poet uses his poetic privilege to make a series of outrageous demands which are granted to him out of fear that he will satirise those who refuse him, thus depriving them of their honour.

In Southern Connacht he gets the king Echu son of Luchtae's single eye, fresh from his head; in Munster he gets a night in bed with Tigernach Tétbuillech's wife as she is giving birth; in Southern Leinster he gets an eighty ounce brooch of red gold. He then goes to the king of Leinster, Mess Gegraí who grants him a night in bed with his wife Búan, but swears that no single Ulsterman could take her unless he gave her. Aithirne in turn tells him that he won't let up until that very thing happens.

He stays in Leinster for a year, after which he attempts to leave with a booty of one hundred and fifty queens. Aware that the Leinstermen will pursue him once he has left their protection, he sends for an escort of Ulstermen. As soon as he leaves their territory the pursuit begins and the Ulstermen and Leinstermen clash in battle. The Ulstermen are defeated and retreat as far as Howth. Conditions there are dire and while the Ulstermen resort to eating clay and drinking brine, the spiteful Aithirne dumps the milk from his herd of seven hundred cows over the cliff rather than share it. Conchobar himself is only delivered by the regular supply of food brought by Leborcham.

Meanwhile the conflict rages around the fort. The Ulstermen send for reinforcements which arrive by sea. They come too late for Cú Chulainn's foster-son Mess Dead, who having fought the Leinstermen single handedly is killed when a three hundred strong force attacks him.

Cú Chulainn who has been ordered to hold back thus far by Conchobar, leads an onslaught. The battle lines are reformed and the Leinstermen are defeated, but they halt the Ulstermen by raising a red wall against them, something which was taboo for them to cross. The fallen Ulstermen begin to be counted. Leborcham goes north to update the women of Ulster, many of whom are now named.

Conchobar's wife Mugain asks Leborcham who exactly she has seen. Leborcham begins to list them, telling of the sorry state of some and the prowess of others but ultimately she reassures the women of Ulster that the survivors of the battle are on their way back to Emain Machae in triumph.

Conall Cernach, however, has unfinished business. He sets off through Leinster to catch up with Mess Gegraí. Mess Gegraí meanwhile, has been taking a rest. He had the good fortune of fishing a big nut from a river and the bad fortune of having his arm lopped off by his rash charioteer, who wrongly accuses him of having eaten the whole thing himself. The charioteer then commits suicide, leaving Mess Gegraí alone and one-handed.

As Mess Gegraí is heading out of the ford at Clane, he encounters Conall who is on his way into it. Conall begs leave to ask him a question. Mess Gegraí tells him he must seek what is his at all costs. Conall accuses Mess Gegraí of having the heads of his brothers, Mess Dead and Lóegaire. Mess Gegraí denies it but they go on to settle the matter in combat, with Conall binding one of his arms to his side to make it even.

Conall is victorious and he beheads Mess Gegraí. Mess Gegraí, however, fights on after death. On his defeat he invited Conall to place his head upon his own head, thus adding his honour to Conall's. Conall is shrewd enough to place the head upon a stone pillar at the edge of the ford. A corrosive drop comes out of the bottom of the head which burns right through the pillar to the ground. Conall then sets the head upon the pillar, which it drives to the ground.

Conall had until now had the epithet 'Crooked'. He carried his blemish along with Cú Chulainn who was purblind and Cúscraid who had a stammer. Between the three of them, however, they commanded the devotion of all of the women of Ulster, who used to assume the blemish of their own beloved one. Having observed its special properties, Conall puts the head on his on head. The head knocks him backwards and straightens him.

Conall sets off again and meets with Búan, Mess Gegrai's wife who is returning south. He informs her that she has been bequeathed to him. She finds this hard to believe not knowing that her husband is dead. Conall produces Mess Gegrai's head as proof and Búan realises immediately that she has no recourse.

The head starts to act up, turning red then white. Conall is mystified but Búan knows the cause of it. She tells Conall that due to the vow he had made to Aithirne he was in danger of losing face if Búan went with him. Conall orders her into the chariot regardless, but grants her a moment to lament for her husband. Her wail is heard for miles around and she throws herself backwards, dead.

Conall orders his servant away with the head, but the head will not budge. Conall settles for the brain only which he orders to be mixed with lime and made into a ball. He leaves Mess Gegrai's head with his wife, thus satisfying his vow. Conall then returns to Emain having avenged his brothers well. The Ulstermen are jubilant at having killed the king of Leinster.

II.3. Parallels with other texts

1. II.10-27: The story of the naming of the lough is also found in the dindsenchas poem *Loch Dergdeirc* (ed. Gwynn, 1913, 338-347), but as Gwynn notes (539) the importunate poet is named Ferchertne mac Athgló there.
2. II.91-99: The description of Leborcham is believed to have influenced a long passage in *Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairne* (ed. L. Breatnach, 1980; see *ibid.*, 3).
3. II.91-99: The description of Leborcham is also similar to the description of Cú Chulainn during his *ríastrad* (see TBC Rec.I, ed. O’Rahilly, 1976, 51).
4. II.126-38: This list of the women of Ulster appears in a form very similar to this in *Fled Bricreann* (ed. G. Henderson, 1899; see *ibid.*, 34).
5. II.169-71: The nine sons of Carbad are also mentioned in Stokes (1908, 30-2), where only eight are actually listed.
6. II.213-29: The single combat between Mess Gegrai and Conall is very similar to the incident in the Book of Leinster version of *Brislech Mór Maige Murthemni* (Best, R.I. and O’Brien, M.A. (1954 442-457), which sees Conall Cernach on a similar mission of revenge, binding one arm to his side to grant a fair contest to a one-armed opponent whom he eventually beheads.
7. II.232-238: The imitation by the women of Ulster of the blemishes of Conall, Cú Chulainn and Cúscaid is also found in *Serlige Con Culainn* (ed. M. Dillon, 1953; see *ibid.*, II.39-44; Dillon notes the parallel with *TÉ*, *ibid.*, 30).
8. II.263-4: The language used in describing the removal and hardening of Mess Gegrai’s brain into a ball is similar to the description of the practice in Version A of *Aided Chonchobuir* (ed. K. Meyer 1906; see *id.* 4). The brain ball of

Mess Gegrai himself plays a central role in that tale (for a discussion of the extant versions see Corthals, 1989, 41 ff.).

When considering the presence in *TE* of elements found in other texts, the most important criterion in deciding which text influenced which is chronology. *TE* is datable to at least the second half of the OIr. period (see IV below). 3 is the dated earlier than *TE* so it is impossible that *TE* was the source; 1, 4, 7, are roughly linguistically contemporary with *TE*, it is therefore extremely difficult to state for certain which text influenced which; the language of 2, 5, 8 is MidIr. it is therefore impossible that *TE* could have borrowed from them. The incidents in 6 are not contained in *TBC* Rec.I, so it is possible, as the language *TE* is generally older than that of the LL *Táin* that *TE* was the source for this incident in the later recension. An exhaustive evaluation of all of these parallels is, however, beyond the scope of the present work.

II.4. Literary analysis

From O'Curry's (1861, 265-71) reading of it as history, to its treatment as a window on 'a barbarous epoch' in Hull (1898, 86-94) to O'Connor's (1967, 2-4 etc.) attempt to salvage its good bits, *TÉ* has not received proper attention as a literary creation in its own right. The following discussion should serve to highlight its literary value. I finish with some comments on its authorship.

Composition and style:

TÉ contains a good balance of narrative prose, dialogue and set pieces in syllabic rhyming verse and alliterative *roscad*. The style of writing used is typical of early Irish saga narrative. McCone (1990, 50-51) summarises this characteristic make-up as follows '... early Irish narrative, like that of the Old testament, is generally uncluttered and fast moving. In practice, this movement can be achieved either in a staccato or a legato manner, so to speak, or for that matter by virtually endless combinations of the two... In addition to the interplay of these staccato and legato effects, the basic progression of the plot was liable to be articulated by alternations between narrative and dialogue... Whether smooth, abrupt or somewhere in between, both narrative and dialogue tend to be quite plain when primarily intended to advance the plot, but both are susceptible of considerable elaboration in order to slow down or even halt the action at crucial points. In straight narrative this is usually accomplished by detailed catalogues of people or by minute and often pleonastic prose descriptions of persons, places, objects or occasions ornamented in varying degrees by parallelism and alliteration, but in dialogue the rhetorics and rhyming syllabic verse... are the standard devices'.

Thus in *TÉ* we see the basic plot being quickly established with Aithirne's circuit (II.2-7), the tension then being built with his incremental demands, the swelling of this tension leading to the broad focus conflict between the Leinstermen and the Ulstermen which occupies the middle third of the story (II.84-185). This middle third is divided almost evenly between prose with little dialogue and spoken *roscad*. The prose is then further divided into plot-advancing narrative and name lists (II.120-122; 126-138) which gradually bring down the tempo to set the scene for Leborcham's

long prophecy (ll.141-185). This passage is highly ornamented with alliteration and it uses rare words in difficult syntactical patterns.

Those lines for which we can discern a meaning contain vivid and sometimes cryptic descriptions of mostly recognisable Ulstermen. Although a set piece, the tempo in the passage builds gradually from the abstract, individual descriptions, to the re-emergence of the basic plot-line through the mention of previously stated facts, such as the Ulstermen eating clay and drinking brine (ll.176-7) and eventually to the broad references to the battle which we already know to have been won by the Ulstermen (ll.178-184). Having been brought back up to narrative speed, the action moves on with the character of Conall carrying the threads of the story so far, namely: Aithirne brought the Ulstermen and the Leinstermen into conflict (l.76), Conall lost his brothers in that conflict and now he is seeking revenge from the king of Leinster (l.186-7). A lot happens in the final third of the story with the focus now back on individual characters from opposing sides. The narrative is almost evenly composed of prose and dialogue but it is by no means a race to the finish. While the basic plot is played out to a logical conclusion, it is done so in an entertaining fashion with a mixture of conflict both physical and verbal, digression into the absurd (e.g. the passage describing the imitation by the women of Ulster of their beloved's blemishes ll.233-236) and the sublime description of trophy taking (ll.263-265).

As well as being well conceived, *TE* possesses the qualities of any good story; pathos, irony, humour, strong characterisations and an engaging plot. The main factors motivating and driving the storyline are as follows:

1. Rivalry: i.e. between the Ulstermen and just about everybody. This is personified initially in Aithirne and manifested in his contempt for the kings of the other provinces (ll.10, 28-30, 38-43) then brought out fully in the battles between the Ulstermen and the Leinstermen, before finally focusing on the conflict between the two prominent figures of the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach and the Leinster king Mess Gegraí (ll.213-230).

2. Honour: i.e. the abuse of his poetic privilege by Aithirne which exploits a ruler's primary motivation to preserve his *enech*. He also wields it against all of the Southern Leinstermen, who stand to lose face among the whole population (ll.38-43).

3. Revenge: i.e. the outrage caused by Aithirne reaches critical mass in Leinster when he leaves with one hundred and fifty queens (ll.73-5). Once outside the boundary of Leinster he is fair game (ll.81-3) and it is the desire of the Leinstermen not to let him away with their women and the defence of Aithirne by his fellow Ulstermen (ll.83-4) that leads to the battle between the Ulstermen and the Leinstermen (ll.84-5). The desire for revenge for his dead brothers is what drives Conall Cernach in the final third of the story (ll.186-7).

4. Self-fulfilling prophecy: i.e. the boast which Mess Gegrai makes when Aithirne demands to sleep with his wife, in which he contends that no single Ulsterman could take her unless he gave her for the sake of his honour, leads Aithirne to counter that he will not desist from him until a single Ulsterman should do just that having first taken his head off (ll.67-71). Neither party is completely satisfied; what Mess Gegrai claims comes to pass in that his wife is not carried off; what Aithirne claims comes to pass in that Mess Gegrai loses his head but neither the head nor Mess Gegrai's wife are carried off by a single Ulsterman (l.262).

The combination of these factors is what provides the action and events of the story, but what makes *TÉ* good literature is the interplay of events and human emotions. We shall now examine the instances where emotional and sensory triggers are employed to create a connection with the characters.

Pathos

This is used mostly in relation to the people upon whom the Aithirne's importunate demands are made, none more so perhaps than the generous Echu who is forced to blind himself (l.12). In the scene where Conall shows her husband's disembodied head to Búan (l.250), one is touched by the utter despair which she shows when she

realises at once her fate and her abandonment (l.251). Other examples obviously include the description of the Ulstermen dying from want of sustenance and severe wounds in Dún nÉtair (ll.86-90) and the description of the dire condition of some of the men in the *rosc* passage. The effect receives its greatest expression however, in the pathetic description of Cú Chulainn mourning the death of his foster-son Mess Dead, who is killed by a mob of three hundred Leinstermen after single-handedly defending the Ulstermen (ll.113-14).

Outrage

The sense of outrage caused by the base demands of Aithirne goes hand in hand with the use of pathos. It is the very baseness of these demands and the depravity which underlies the desire for them, that does not fail to prick the senses. It is the culmination of this sense of outrage which makes the Leinstermen's actions in pursuing Aithirne and engaging the Ulstermen in battle perfectly understandable. It also seems that the Leinstermen's pursuit of Aithirne is the crystallisation of everyone's desire to get him back for what he has done. The seeming injustice of three hundred men attacking and killing a seven year old boy, leads us to identify with Conall's desire to avenge Mess Dead and his other brother Lóegaire (l.186-7).

Irony

We are told that when the Ulstermen retreated as far as Howth, there was a large number of wounded and starving men within the fort (ll.86-90). We can pity their plight, but what turns the emotional screw is that the man responsible for the battle in the first place is meanwhile dumping milk from his herd of seven hundred cows over the cliff, rather than sharing it. Pathos turns to tragedy in the killing of Mess Dead with the knowledge that the Ulstermen's reinforcements had just arrived at the moment when the Leinstermen made for him to kill him (ll.110-12). Mess Gegrai's good fortune in getting a nut from the river turns to regret when his charioteer, thinking he has been wronged, implies that Mess Gegrai ate it all on his own (ll.193-210). Mess Gegrai obviously knows that he left half of it for the lad but he foolishly decides to tease him by getting him to further explain himself. This unhinges the lad to the point where he lashes out and cuts Mess Gegrai's arm off thus revealing the

nut. As a result, Mess Gegrai has to live with the twin losses of his arm and his servant. The boast made by Mess Gegrai that his wife could not be carried off by a single Ulsterman did come to pass, but this was somewhat invalidated by the fact that as a lifeless corpse she wasn't worth carrying off (l.259-60).

Bathos

The mood is deliberately lightened at certain points. On losing his single eye Echu son of Luchtae goes to a lough to wash his face, on asking his servant whether or not the eye was removed, the servant replies with the humorous pun 'the hole is red from your blood' i.e. meaning both the lough and the eye socket are tinged with blood (l.16-17). Other humorous moments come with the description of Leborcham's shape (ll. 95-6) although a possible benefit of her backward pointing feet to her as a messenger, would be that anybody coming upon her tracks would be led to where she came from, not where she was going). Hyperbole is then used to increase her profile, when it is stated that a small loaf to her would be as big as sixty normal loaves (l.98). The absurd description of how the women of Ulster would divide themselves into three and assume the blemish of either Conall the Crooked, Cú Chulainn the Purlblind or Stammering Cúscraid (ll.233-36), successfully lightens the mood between the scene where Conall has just beheaded Mess Gegrai and the final sequence which begins when he meets Búan (l.240 ff.).

Justice

The wrong done to Echu son of Luchtae by Aithirne, is put right by a cosmic redressing of the balance, when God gives him two new eyes, the most beautiful which there had ever been in Ireland (ll.18-19). Although Mess Gegrai was indirectly responsible for the loss of his arm, he was still entitled to a fair fight and conversely Conall was not so blinded by his grief and desire for revenge that he was unprepared to bind one of his arms to his side to fight the one-handed Mess Gegrai, while also maintaining his warrior's truth (ll.222-5). There is also an obvious parallelism and contrast in the narrative between the one king, Echu's immediate uncomplaining preparedness to surrender his single eye only to be almost immediately compensated by God's gift of the two most beautiful there had ever been in Ireland

and the other king, Mess Gegrai's withholding of half of the nut which earned him the almost immediate loss of arm.

Literary devices

Literary devices are often used to add value to descriptions, to create a situation or provide the prompt for an event.

Imagery

The strongest imagery used is in the words spoken by Cú Chulainn on the death of Mess Dead, where he states that the sound heard is either one of three cataclysms or the roar of his foster-son having unequal combat plied upon him (ll.113-4). In the *rosc* passage when mention is again made of the Ulstermen being reduced to eating clay, we are now told that they did it with all the gusto of a bear licking honey (l.176). Leborcham's small loaf is likened to sixty regular loaves for comic effect (l.98). In case there was any doubt about the size of the nut which Mess Gegrai fished out of the river, we are told that it was as big as a man's head (l.193-4).

The left-hand wise motif

The earliest indication given that Aithirne's circuit will cause trouble comes when we are told that he set off in the cosmic sinister direction (ll.4-5).

The chopped off hand and the 'classical suicide'

As O'Connor (1967, 49-50) has pointed out the chopped off hand and 'falling on one's sword' themes are possibly Latin motifs. That aside, they are used here as literary devices; the former is used to create a situation whereby Conall's 'warrior's truth' is put to the test (l.222); the latter is used to symbolise the end result of a bad judgement on the part of Mess Gegrai (l.208). The loss of limb and the cyclops motifs are prominent in Celtic, Germanic and Indo-European myth as has been shown by McCone (1996b). These are typically associated with young warriors and mythical figures, but here we see both afflictions manifested in two of the main

characters, both kings. So rather than being simple 'Latin motifs' these are common currency in early Irish literature and it is not necessary to posit an external influence to account for their employment here.

The evil vision

The evil vision in which Mess Gegrai's charioteer sees the nut is used as prompt to put Mess Gegrai to the test (ll.195-205).

Characterisation

I offer a brief summary here of the main characters and their portrayal in *TE*.

Aithirne

He is portrayed as a depraved poet who is only concerned with pleasuring himself with other men's wives and with feathering his own nest with booty gained through the abuse of his poetic privilege. He is seen to be so mean that he would rather dump milk over a cliff than share it with the wounded Ulstermen who came to deliver him, at his request, from the Leinstermen. Not even Conchobar, who gave him the mandate for his circuit, was allowed to benefit from his wealth (ll.90-91). Aithirne is the central character in *TE*, the story begins with him and all the main events of the story lead either directly or indirectly back to him. His portrayal here is in line with that of other texts (for a general account of the character as poet and satirist see Henry, 1978, 55-65).

Conchobar

Conchobar can be viewed as the instigator of all the trouble for advising Aithirne to go on the circuit. He is seen to suffer, however, in the aftermath of the battle; firstly when he is at the mercy of Aithirne and is only saved through the service of Leborcham (ll.91-3); and secondly in the *rosc* passage where he is vividly described as being 'in distress of streaming blood' (l.142). He is also seen as a commander in

the battle at Howth, where he has to reign in Cú Chulainn until the reinforcements arrive (ll.104-5).

Conall Cernach

Conall is portrayed in his warrior's role throughout. He gets a glorious description in the *rosc* passage (ll.172-4). As the enmity between the Ulstermen and the Leinstermen continues into the final third of the saga, Conall is the sole representative on the side of the Ulstermen (l.186ff.). He is introduced to this role through the desire to avenge his brothers. He is put to the test by Mess Gegraí, but maintains his 'warrior's truth' by agreeing to bind one of his arms to his side in order to fight on fair terms with Mess Gegraí (ll.223). Once he has taken victory he rightly seeks his spoils (ll.229-30). Not only is he seen as an honourable warrior, but also as a canny one. He doesn't need Mess Gegraí to invite him to take his head off, but when he does he shrewdly places it on a pillar stone first, cheating death (ll.230-232). On observing the special properties of the head, namely, the power to topple a stone pillar, he sees the chance to straighten his neck and takes it (ll.236-8).

Mess Gegraí

The king of Leinster is threatened with loss of face if he does not agree to allow Aithirne to spend the night with his wife (ll.65-6). He acts to preserve his honour but does not let the matter pass without boasting there was not a single Ulsterman who could take her unless he granted her for his honour (ll.67-9). This boast leads Aithirne to boast that he would see to it that he would not only lose his wife but his head also (ll.70-1). In making this boast Mess Gegraí is seen to be exercising poor judgement, as Aithirne is not someone to be spoken back to. His judgement is called into question again when he teases his charioteer by asking him to explain himself when he supposes that the king ate all of the nut himself (l.204). He misjudges the charioteer's humour and ends up losing him and an arm. His posthumous attacks on Conall (ll.230-1) and the reddening of his head before Conall and his wife (l.252), are an indication of the lengths to which he goes to protect his honour.

Authorship

O'Connor (1967, 49) suggests a link with a classical school in Kildare. The high incidence of place-names from the Kildare, Dublin area would support this. O Lochlainn (1940) takes *TE* as source of information on early roadways (468). The route taken by Conall (ll.187-89) follows the *Slige Dhála Meic Umhóir* or *Belach Muige Dála*. O Lochlainn notes that 'This is said to have been one of the boundaries of N.Munster' (471). This indicates that the sequence of places named here is not accidental but probably designed to highlight this boundary, most likely, given the plot of *TE*, by someone whose focus was to the north of the boundary. Monastic authorship is clear from the explicit references to God; the first of these occurs when He gives two eyes to Echu son of Luchtae (he is again mentioned in the verse celebrating this incident); the second occurs when the Southern Leinstermen beseech Him to assist them in fending off Aithirne's verbal insult (ll.44-5). The lesson underlying both references is that God is the only one who can undo the evil work of Aithirne.

On the issue of beheading a defeated enemy, this should be taken in context as an element of the unsavoury business of warfare and not as an example of 'incidents belonging to an age of barbarity' (Hull, 1898, 86). As McCone (1990, 29-30) has said 'there is no reason why a monastic scholar thoroughly familiar... with this savagely sacred material [Old Testament] should have had any ethical or aesthetic qualms about the more ferocious and forthright features of 'native' saga... Evidence that the decapitation of enemies continued to be practised in early Christian Ireland seems more to the point... and there was little reason for clerics and their literary associates to be squeamish about this when, for instance, the regal paragon David had deliberately severed Goliath's head for display'.

III. Manuscripts, editions and editorial policy

III.1. Manuscripts

The edition is based on the following manuscripts.

- L** The Book of Leinster (Trinity College, Dublin. H.2.18). Facsimile II.13292-13549.

Best (1954) notes in the introduction to the diplomatic edition that it was compiled between 1151 and 1224 (xvii). O’Sullivan (1966) identified four main writing styles A, F, T and U. Scribe A has written on p.313 ‘*Aed mac meic Crimthaind ro scrib in leborso ra thinoil a llebraib imdaib*’ (6). The unknown U was responsible for copying our tale (see collation tables *id.*). O’Sullivan (8-9) states ‘U is a more variable style than either A or F and may conceivably contain more hands than one’.

The readings used throughout are my own, checked initially against the electronic version at www.isos.dcu.ie and then against the manuscript itself in the library at Trinity College, Dublin.

- H** Harleian 5280 (British Library, London).

This vellum manuscript was analysed by Flower (1926, 298-323), who writes ‘written in the 16th Cent. by Gilla Riabach Ó Cléirigh son of Tuathal son of Tadhg Cam Ó Cléirigh. The father Tuathal died in 1512, so that the ms. was probably written in the first half of the 16th Cent..’ (298). Flower also notes the occurrences of other hands in the ms. (299-300).

The readings used throughout are my own, transcribed initially from microfilm and checked against the manuscript itself in the British Library.

Context:

In L *TE* forms part of a collection of tales all relating to the Ulster cycle, as a glance at the table of contents (Best and O'Brien, 1956) will show. It also forms part of a collection of material relating to Aithirne. In addition to *TE*, L and H also have in common copies of *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* (ed. R. Thurneysen, 1935; see Flower, 1926, 315-6), *Noínden Ulad* (ed. V. Hull, 1968; see Flower, 1926, 316-7), *Aigidecht Aithirni* (ed. K. Meyer, 1914; see Flower, 1926, 321) and the item referred to as the 'Story of Aithirne Ailgessach mac Ferchertne and Midir of Brí Léith' (see Best and O'Brien, 1956, Bibliography; ed. R. Thurneysen, 1918, 398-9; see Flower, 1926, 321).

III.2. Relationship between the manuscripts

The mss. are in close agreement in representing a basically OIr. text as the linguistic survey below (IV.2) will show. The existence in each ms. of a substantial number of superior readings, apart from the OIr. forms they have in common, shows that the two mss. give independent witness to an OIr. original (against this is the possibility that some artificially Old readings were incorporated later but there are no significant scribal patterns which prove this, the trend is rather towards modernisation in both mss.). The MidIr. forms common to both mss. are standard replacements for earlier linguistic forms and as such their presence in both texts cannot be used to solely justify a common derivation after the point of composition, for that a significant number of indubitable common innovations would be necessary and that is not the case with our mss. Therefore MidIr. forms common to both mss. are assumed to have been added after composition and to have arisen in both independently as no evidence to the contrary exists i.e. these late forms are to be viewed separately along with their own body of MidIr. forms not found in the other.

The superior readings in both mss. are presented below to illustrate the independence of the mss; trivial examples where one ms. has an only marginally better reading are not listed here but are discussed in the textual notes. All of the forms listed are discussed again in their full context in the textual notes. Obviously, by highlighting the reason why a particular reading is superior the development of the variant form is also made clear. A significant number of minor differences exist which are of no great import, as in the use of different words e.g. *immurgu/* son amh (11); the main differences between the mss., apart from the opposing superior readings, are listed below. Major differences between the mss. include the poetry which appears in one ms. but not in the other, these are not listed here but appear in the appendices. A complete list of the MidIr. readings common to both mss. is also given below, the developments responsible for these forms are also considered and references are given to general works on MidIr.

Superior readings in L

fa-des/ ba-dess (7): H has a MidIr. form of the prep. *fa* (see *SnaG*, 327).

In tallad/ IN tala (15): L has a better reading with augm. pret. pass. sg. of *do-alla* which in OIr. is the augm. counterpart of *gataid* ‘takes away, snatches’ (note that both clearly show nom. sg. following the pass.); the H form appears to be a late spelling reflecting a loss lenited final *-d* in the pass. ending.

in rí/ an flaidh (18): in H a masc. form of the def. art. precedes *flaith*, which is fem. in OIr. and later becomes masc.; the L reading as it is most likely that of the original.

adaig/ agaid (30): L has the superior reading with the historical form of the nom. sg. Although H has a contraction it shows MidIr. confusion of *d /ð/* and *g /γ/*.

máige fea/ moighi fea (32): the spelling in H may represent the MidIr. phonetic development *ai > oi*.

do tharcsin/ do thorcaisin (33): the H form appears to be a corrupt form of the dat. sg. of *taircsiu* preserved in L; it may otherwise have arise under the influence of *tarcaisne* ‘contempt, insult’, given the context.

mani/ mona (35): H has a MidIr. form of *mani* with non-palatal *n* (see *SnaG*, 281).

a oínsúil/ a súil (36): in the context of earlier events in the story the L reading would appear to be the better of the two.

Is and trá/ IS and sen tra (39): L has the better reading without MidIr. *sen* which appears in H only.

conna turgebtais/ cona turcebtáis (41): H has a MidIr. ending with a long *i* (see *EIV*, 178-9).

ᵻ nad fitir/ ᵻ na fidir (42): the reading in L is superior, H has MidIr. *na* for *nad* (see *SnaG*, 281; cf. also *GOI*, §§ 865, 866).

do-scuighed/ do-scochad (46): L has the historically regular formation, as Thurneysen observed (*GOI*, 336) the simple verb on which this compound is based is a strong verb but its compounds are inflected as weak *i*-verbs; the H form has the vocalism of the simple verb.

no línged/ Fo-llingiudh (46): both mss. have a 3sg. ipf. ind. form of the verbs *lingid* and *fo-ling*, which both have the meaning ‘leaps, springs’; the L reading is the better of the two as it has the correct OIr. use of *no*.

dond leith/ don leith (49): L has the historical dat. form of the art.

Delg fil/ Dealc frith (54): the L reading is superior; H has a MidIr. form whereby conjunct *frith* is used independently without a preverb (< OIr. *fo-fríth*, see *SnaG*, 306-7).

rop áil dam-sa/ rob álic dam-sa (58): superior reading in L; the late form *álic* has an *étymologie croisée* from *áil* and *adlaic*, both of which share the meaning ‘desirable’.

Mad ar ultaib nocot biad-so falti lim-sa/ Mád ar ultaib nicot bia-sai failti limm-sa (67): L has *ma* + presumably 3sg. ipf. subj. of the copula introducing a doubtful condition (*ar ultaib*), followed by the 3sg. cond. in the subordinate cl. ‘If it were on account of the Ulstermen you could not find welcome with me’; H has *ma* + presumably 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula in the main cl., followed by the 3sg. fut. in the subordinate clause ‘If it be on account of the Ulstermen you will not find welcome with me’. The L reading would therefore be superior in the context best as this is spoken in answer to Aithirne’s threat that the Ulstermen would never stop avenging him, the king dismisses that proposition outright and proceeds in the following line to state the circumstances in which he will give his wife.

Rot bia in ben/ Rob bía in mnai (67): H has a 2pl. infixed pron., the 2sg. in L fits the context better; the L reading with nom. sg. *in ben* is also superior; in MidIr. the acc., as in H, is used with forms of the subst. verb other than *fil* (see *SnaG*, 323).

Ni fail/ Ni fil (68): L has a late reading with MidIr. *fail* (see *SnaG*, 323) and len. after *ní* (see *SnaG*, 278).

fria gilla/ fria a gilla (76): H has *fria* which is found in MidIr. for the simple prep. *fri*.
cen/ gan (86): H has later *gan* for OIr. *cen*.

Secht cét bó/ Secht cet mbo (87): L has the superior reading; *nas.* after *cet* in H shows that the sg. is being used instead of the pl. (see *SnaG*, 262), although *cét* retains its neut. gender.

leborcham is sí do-bered. Mug ⁊ cumal ro batar i tig conchobair. is í gein rucad eturru .i. ind ingen (92-3): this has probably been omitted in H through haplography caused by homoioteleuton i.e. with the scribe having jumped from the first occurrence of **Lebarcham** to the second, omitting everything in between.

a da glún/ a di glun (95): L has the better reading with neut. *s*-stem *glún* (fem. in MidIr.) preceded by the neut. dual. numeral, it does not however show *nas.* after the numeral.

Cech ní do maith ⁊ do saich do-gnithea i n-here/ nac ni di maidh no do saith do-gnithi ann (96-7): L has the better reading; in cases where the indef. pron. *ní* is followed by a defining rel. cl. the subjunctive is used when the sentence is indefinite and the indicative when definite; therefore L has the correct use with ipf. ind. pass. sg. following definite *cech ní* ‘everything’, whereas H has indefinite *nac ní* ‘whatever’ (with later use of masc. *nach* replacing neut. *na*) followed by ipf. ind. pass. sg. and not the subjunctive. L also has the earlier form *saich*; *saith* developed under the influence of *maith* with which it is paired in this phrase.

in dúne/ an lesa (107): L has the better reading; H has a late gen. sg. form of *les* showing *u*-stem flexion (*o*-stem in OIr.).

fo chetóir/ fo ceduir (116): L has the superior reading with *óir* (see *GOI*, 41).

selsus/ selfus (158): i.e. 3sg. fut. of *slaidid* ‘strikes, slays’ + 3pl. suffixed pron.; the H form contains an error with *f* for *s*.

ecrata/ ecraiti (166): L has the better reading here with the historical vocalism in acc. pl. of *eccrae* ‘enemy’; the H form with palatal *t* may be due to the influence of *éccraite* ‘hostility, enmity’.

lighes/ no lligius (176): L has the superior reading; *no* is not expected before the 3sg. pres. ind. rel.

dos-fil/ dus-fic (184): L has the superior reading; the H reading is a late form of *do-ic* with a prosthetic *f*.

mes dead/ mess dedad (187): L has the superior reading here (cf. 1.106 above); the H reading is not a recognised variant form of *Mess Dead* (see *DIL* s.v. *Dead* ‘Different from Mess Dedaid, as Rawl. 158.21 shows: clann Amargin...Mes De’ (i.e. Mess Dead) ‘¬ Mess Dedaid Dían-.’).

co claidiub/ co claidem (206): L has the OIr. form with final *-b*; H has the form which becomes normal in E.Mod.Ir., a result of general confusion between fricatives especially in final position (see *SnaG*, 235).

brathir/ braitri (219): superior reading in L; H has the MidIr. nom. pl. which is based on the acc. pl. (see *SnaG*, 250-1).

Ni fír ngaiscid/ ni fír on (222): L has the superior reading; the phrase *fír ngaiscid* ‘warrior’s truth’ mirrors that of *fír flathemon* ‘ruler’s truth’ (see Mc Cone, 1990, 127-9) which is an abstract concept with tangible implications. The obvious case here is that Mess Gegrai points out to Conall that to fight against a one-handed man would be

in breach of his ‘warrior’s truth’. Conall therefore acts to maintain his ‘warrior’s truth’ by binding one of his arms to his side. H reads ‘That is not just’.

ic cassán chloínta/ i cassan cloénta (229): L has the superior reading with len. following dat. sg. *cassán*.

tríit/ tríd (231): L has the historical hiatus form.

ad-n-aic a cend/ at-conaic a chend (231): L has the better reading with a proleptic masc. infix pron. i.e. *adnaic* = *at-n-aig* referring to the pillar. H has a MidIr. form of *ad-condaire* i.e. 3sg. augm. pret. of *ad-cí* ‘sees’, used in the sense ‘his head saw the pillar’.

cot acallaim /ocod descin (235): H replaces the **ocot acaldaim** with *ocod descin* in the line relating to Conall; this is a late innovation, as indicated by the use of the MidIr. metathesised dat. sg. form of OIr. *déicsiu*.

coin culainn/ cu culainn (235): L has the superior reading with the acc. sg. of *Cú Chulainn*; the use of the nom. in H seems to be due to a misinterpretation of the context, with *cu culainn* as subj. of *ro car* and **A trian** as obj. i.e. ‘the third of them whom Cú Chulainn loved’.

A trian ro charsa, A trian ro charsat, A trian ro charsat / A trian dib ro car, A trian ro carustar, A Trian ro char (234-6): L has a 3pl. referring to the semantically pl. **A trian**; H twice has a 3sg. form *ro c(h)ar* which is in grammatical agreement with **A trian** and a late form *ro carustar* with a MidIr. 3sg. dep. ending in the line relating to Conall; the L reading is better in each of the three lines, although final *-t* has been omitted in the line relating to Cú Chulainn.

conid tarla/ conda tarla (237): the L reading is better, with 3sg. masc. class C infix pron. referring to Conall, ‘so that it (i.e. the head) put him backwards’; H, with 3pl. class C infix pron., reads ‘so that it put them (i.e. the head and Conall) backwards’.

da tabair/ dia tardand (249): the H reading contains an innovation with the new MidIr. 3sg. pres. ind. ending *-and (-ann)* in *do-ratai*; L does have a MidIr. form in *da* (< *dia* i.e. prep. *do* + rel. pron. *a*), but the verbal form i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conjunct, is superior.

a foíd guil/ a faid nguil (259): the L reading is better; H has an erroneous form with nas. following nom. *faid*.

Superior readings in H

ro chunnig/ gaid (3): L has a 3sg. pret. form based on the MidIr. simple vb. *cuinnigid* (<OIr. *con-dieig*); the 3sg. \bar{a} -pret. of *guidid* in H is superior, the \bar{a} -pret. becomes rare in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 304). It is necessary, however, to emend this to the rel. form *gáde*.

no guided/ gaid (3): H again has the \bar{a} -pret.

ma tá / Ma nis fuil (8): H has the better reading but with a MidIr. infix pron -s for -d; in the subst. vb. *fil* is used with *ma* in OIr. and this is replaced by *tá* in MidIr.

út/ ucut (10): H has the superior reading, *út* in L is a later shortened form of *ucut* (see *GOI*, 300).

co tall/ condo (12): H has the superior reading with 3sg. fem. class C infix pron. agreeing with *súil*.

in derc/ a ndercc (16): H has the superior reading with neut. art. used with *derc*, which later becomes fem.

or in rí/ ol-se (16) *ol-se* in H is good OIr. form as opposed to Mlr. *or* with clarification specifying *in rí*; the latter is most likely a later change for more ambiguous *olse*.

da-roni/ do-rigni (18): the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. verbal form which has an active ending added to a passive stem i.e. OIr. perf. pass. sg. *do-rónad*/ 3sg. *do-rigni* > *do-róni* (see *SnaG*, 306; *EIV*, 233-4).

do chind a enig/ dia cinn no dia inchaib (18): the H reading is superior, *dia cinn* 'from his head' is followed by a pun which utilizes the literal meaning of *enech* 'face', and the metaphorical meaning 'honour' to give the ambiguous *no dia inchaib* 'or from his face/ for his honour'; L simply has 'for the sake of his honour', this is most likely an innovation (*DIL* s.v. *enech* states 'as the word is regularly pl. in early Irish the original meaning was evidently *brows* or *cheeks*. In the later lang. it is more usually treated as sg.').

dá súil/ dí suil (19): H has a superior reading with the fem. form of the dual numeral used with *súil*.

tigerna/ tighiurnach (28): H has the better reading; the L form represents a confusion of the personal name *Tigernach* and *tigerna* 'lord, chief'.

ind aidchi/ an aigedh (30): L has a late form with acc. sg. for nom. sg.; H has the better reading, yet it shows MidIr. confusion of lenited *g* and *d* (see *SnaG*, 234-5).

do aenig/ do inchaib (31): H has the better reading with the older dat. pl. use of *enech*.

mani thabairthe/ mona taburtha (35): H has the better reading with historical non-palatal ending in the ipf. subj. pass. of *do-beir*; the later palatal ending in L is due to analogy with the ipf. ind. pass.; the len. following *mani* in L is also a MidIr. feature (see *SnaG*, 178-9); H does, however, have a MidIr. form of *mani* with non-palatal *n* (see *SnaG*, 281).

coro marbtais lagin é/ no conid romarbdais (38-9): L has a MidIr. construction with an indep. obj. pron.; H has MidIr. *nó co* (see *SnaG*, 281) but does have the correct use of the infix pron which is carried by the conjunction *co* meaning that *ro* is behaving as preverb.

.i. nad fácca/ .i. Nat n-aca (40): H has the better reading with nas. rel. cl., in MidIr. these tend to be replaced by leniting rel. clauses as in L, where it is indicated by the lenited MidIr. prosthetic *f*.

ᵐ ro guidetar/ ᵐ ro gadhatar (44): H has the superior reading with *ā*-pret.

ro lad/ ro laadh (45): the H reading with double *a* indicating a hiatus form is superior.

is tilaig/ isan tolaigh (46): the H reading is superior; L has the MidIr. form of prep. *i* + def. art., whereas H has the full form (see *SnaG*, 259).

da díb/ dia dib cruib (47-8): H has the better reading; L has MidIr. *da* for *dia* i.e. prep. *di* + 3sg. masc. poss. pron.

Is é in delg sin/ IS Sed a ndelc sin (58): superior reading in H; L has a MidIr. form with 3sg. masc. indep. pron. agreeing with *in delg* which is treated as a masc. noun.

in delg/ a ndelcc (60): H has the superior reading with neut. art. with historically neut. *delg*.

co mes gegra/ co mes ngegrae (60): H marks nas. after acc. Mess which shows that the name is not being treated as a single unit as happens after the OIr. period.

or athirne/ ol-se (63): L has *or athirne* which is probably an attempt to clarify the more ambiguous *ol-se* of H

acht co rraib im farrad co mmatin/ mad lat mnai fesin do fes liom co matin (63): L also has later *acht co rraib* for expected OIr. *acht ro bé* and the object itself is omitted (the editors of the diplomatic edition suggest that *do ben* be supplied here);

note also the prosthetic *f* in *im fárrad* which of course may have simply crept in during transmission.

nocot/ nicot (67): the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. form of *nícon* with *o* in the first syllable (see *SnaG*, 280).

Ni fail/ Ni fil (68): L has a late reading with MidIr. *fáil* (see *SnaG*, 323) and len. after *ní* (see *SnaG*, 278).

ni anub-sa/ ni ainiub-sa (70): H has the superior reading with historically palatal *n* in the future stem (see *GOI*, 397).

tri coicdu rigan do mnaib flatha/ tri coectu rigno do mnaib na flaithe (74): H has the superior reading with a form showing *ī*-stem flexion in *rígain*; L has a MidIr. form showing *ā*-stem flexion (see *SnaG*, 247); H also has the superior reading with historical palatal *-th-* in fem. i-stem gen. pl. *flaithe*.

a forcarthain Do-llotar dano ulaid co mbótar (79-80): this has been omitted in L through haplography caused by homoioteleuton i.e. the scribe jumped from the first occurrence of **co mbótar** to the second, omitting everything in between.

O thanic do ainiuch lagen/ O lluid di incoib laighen (82): the H reading is superior with *téit* ‘goes’ which does not fit the context rather than *do-ic* ‘comes’ and the older dat. pl. use of *enech* (cf. **co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaib** ll.78-9).

meni esbetar/ mani esbeset (86): the H reading is superior; *ibid* ‘drinks’ has weak pret. flexion in OIr. (see *GOI*, 415) and forms its perf. using the augment *ess*; L has a MidIr. 3pl. ending (see *EIV*, 238-9).

nocon éta úad/ nicon etadh uad (91): H has the superior reading; L has the MidIr. form of *nícon* (see *SnaG*, 280). The H reading with 3sg. ipf. *etadh* fits the context better than 3sg. pres. ind. *éta* in L (unless the L reading itself is due to omission of final *d*).

eter lá ṡ aidchi/ eter de ṡ aidci (100): H has the better reading; L has a contracted form in acc. sg. of *laa*.

ro chlaidsetar/ ro cechlotar (100-1): superior reading in H with the historical augm. redup. pret. of *claidid*; L has a MidIr. form based on the un-reduplicated root *claid-* with a MidIr. 3pl. ending *-setar* (see *EIV*, 238-9).

dún etair/ dun n-etur (101): H has the superior reading with *nas.* following neut. acc. *dún*.

do-choid/ do-coid (105): L shows MidIr. non-historical main-clause len. (see *EIV*, 173).

ar galaib/ ar galaib ainfir (109): H has the standard phrase (see *DIL* s.v. *I gal*).

Combad airsein no imberthea écomlund i tosaig i n-here/ IS se forceta-immabarath écomlonn (109-10): H has the superior reading, with 3sg. masc. independent pron. *é* as antecedent + rel. *fora* (rel. particle drops out) compounded with prefixed *ceta-*, rare in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 263), followed by conj. augm. pret. pass. sg. of *imm-beir* ‘plies’ (cf. similar construction ‘fris-cita-comrici ‘with whom thou dost first meet’ Thes. II. 23,38’ cited *GOI*, 248); an emendation is required in ms. *-imabarath* as *breth* never had a vowel between *b* and *r* (<**imbi-ro-breth*). L has MidIr. pass. sg. cond. *no imberthea*, with *imm-beir* behaving as a simple verb with prefixed *no* and the addition of *i tosaig i n-here* in answer to the *ceta-* of H; L reads ‘so that it would be upon him that unequal combat was first plied in Ireland’.

Co cuala cu chulainn/ Co clos ní cu culainn (112): superior reading in H; Carney (1979, 302-4) has discussed the use of this construction which occurs frequently in TBC, he states that ‘In phrases such as *co cloth ní*, *co n-acca ní* (‘something was heard’, ‘he saw something’) the indefinite pronoun *ní* is used to anticipate something strange, mystic, surprising, or startling.’ also ‘In TBC the formula *co cloth ní*, *Ailill* (*Medb*, etc.) does no more than call attention to the fact that the utterances are in archaic language...’. The present use of the formula is consistent with that in TBC, whereby it is used to introduce a formulaic utterance from the mouth of Cú Chulainn. I use O’Rahilly’s translation of the phrase i.e. ‘x was heard speaking’ (1976, 192). *Co closs* and *co cloth* are both found in OIr., with the latter being the earlier form of the two (see *GOI*, 439). The L form does not reflect the above formula, it is purely narrative i.e. ‘Cú Chulainn heard (it)’.

fo-cheird/ fo-cerd (115): L shows MidIr. main-clause len. in a non-rel. form (see *EIV*, 173).

Ro congaibthe trá/ Con-acabtha tra (117): superior reading in H with the augm. pret. of *con-gaib* formed with infixed *ad* (see *GOI*, 344), the form here is augm. pret. pass. pl.; L has a form based on the MidIr. simplex *congbaid* as shown by the pret. with prefixed *ro*.

múr derg/ mur nderg (118): H has a better reading here with *nas.* following acc. sg. *múr*.

chetumus/ cetamus (120): L has a MidIr. form with lenited initial.

archena/ olcena (122): L has the MidIr. form *archena*.

andro batar/ anru boi (138): superior reading in H with *anru-* (where *an* is the prevocalic form of the neut. art. used in the sense ‘that (which), what’, see *GOI*, 298) followed by 3sg. of the subst. vb., i.e. referring to *degmnaib* (cf. ‘*Moo turim dano an ro bóí do sciathaib and olchena*, Ériu 4, 28.12’ cited *DIL* s.v. *tuirem*). L has a MidIr. hypercorrect spelling with *nd* for *nn* and 3pl. verbal form.

chena/ olcena (138): the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. form showing lenition of the initial of *cenae* (see *SnaG*, 238).

ro selgatar/ rod lelgatar (176): H has the superior reading, with 3pl. augm. pret. rel. of *ligid* ‘licks’; L reads ‘the Ulstermen found clay which they cut’.

a brathar/ a braitri (186): superior reading in H; L has MidIr. gen. pl. (see *SnaG*, 250).

uachtur aird/ úachtar nair (188): H has the superior reading with *nas.* following acc. sg. I have retained *nas.* in the nom. form which appears in the translation as *úachtar* is neut. in OIr.; I take *nair* to be an error for *nArd*, however, it is possible that it contains the personal name *Nár* i.e. *Úachtar Náir*.

fri mess gegra/ fri mes ngegrai (191): H has the superior reading with *nas.* following acc. *Mess*.

conos tuc cuce/ conda tabhairt dó (194): superior reading in H with 3sg. fem. class C infix. pron. used with *co n-* ‘so that’; L has a late form with 3sg. fem. class C + class A infix. pron. (i.e. *condas-*, see *SnaG*, 266)

n̄faccai-seom/Co n-aco-somh (195): L has a MidIr. form with (lenited) prosthetic *f*.

Ro gab/ Gaibid (200): the H reading is superior, with narrative pres. *gaibid*; L has a MidIr. form with augm. pret. *ro gab* as simple past tense replacing pret. *gabais*.

dódais/ deodh-sa (201): the H reading with 2sg. suffixless augm. suppletive pret. of *ithid* ‘eats’ is superior; it is also the only known attestation of this form (cited by Thurneysen, *GOI*, 426 and Schumacher, 1998, 152, 154.). L has a MidIr. form whereby the 2sg. *s*-pret. ending has been adopted (see *SnaG*, 303-4).

do-riacht/ do-lluid (213): H has the superior reading, with the contrasting use of *téit* ‘goes’ and *do-tét* ‘comes’; the L reading is a late 3sg. pret. form of *do-roich* ‘reaches’.

ro cumriged/ con amracht (224): L has a MidIr. form with *con-rig* behaving as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro*. H also has a pass. pret. sg. form of *con-rig* ‘binds’, the normal OIr. form of which is *con-áracht* showing the regular development of *ad > á*

before *r, l, n* (see *GOI*, 496). The *m* in *-amracht* is due to the analogical influence of prot. *-com†racht*.

Ro thúairc/ mus-tuaircet (225): L has a MidIr. form with *do-fúaire* ‘smites, crushes’ behaving as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro*. The H reading is a good OIr. formation where the 3pl. pres. ind. is compounded with *imma* (+ 3pl. class A infix pron.) to give the meaning ‘they mutually smite one another’ (see *GOI*, 517-8).

in cend/ a cend (229): in L the neut. art. has been replaced by the masc. art.

co tarla/ conid tarla (237): H has the better reading here with 3sg. masc. infix pron. and the impersonal use of the 3sg. augm. suppletive pret. of *do-cuirethar* ‘so that it fell’ lit. ‘so that it (the head) put it (the pillar)’.

Ro randsat mna ulad i trí iat/ Ro raindset mna ulad a tri (234): L has a MidIr. obj. indep. pron. *iat*, which supplies an obj. where there is none in H.

Ro char/ ro car (234): L has a MidIr. form with len. following *ro* (see *SnaG*, 278).

Co comrancatar/ co comharnecethar (240): the H reading is better with the OIr. prot. augm. pret. stem of *con-ric* i.e. *comarn(e)c-* (see *EIV*, 54), although it does contain an error in the ending. L has a new MidIr. prot. form *-comrancatar*.

ind ara /and ala (252): L has the MidIr. form *ind ara*, whereas H has the superior reading with OIr. *ind ala*.

ro bánta/ no banta (252): the verbal form in both mss. is ipf. pass. sg. of *bánaid* ‘turns pale’; in L *ro* has been confused for *no* (see *SnaG*, 280).

in fecht aile/ in facht n-ali (252): H has the better reading with nas. following acc. *fecht*.

chucum-sa/ cucum-sa (257): L has a MidIr. form with lenited initial (see *SnaG*, 238, 326).

esti/ essi (259): L has a MidIr. form with a dental (see *SnaG*, 326).

Middle Irish readings common to both mss.

eter na da ath chliath/ eter na dá ath cliath (6): both mss. have a late form of the def. art. with the MidIr. masc. pl. form *na* replacing the dual *in*.

idnacul/ idnocul (7): both mss. show the MidIr. simplification of the consonant group *ndn* to *dn* (see *SnaG*, 234)

sinaind/ sinaind (7): both mss. have hypercorrect final *nd* for *nn*.

eochu/ echaidh (8): both mss. display the MidIr. phonetic development $e > eol$ eu before ch .

tri tonna/ tri tonda (14): both mss. have a late form whereby the masc. numeral is used with a fem. noun (see *SnaG*, 261); I have emended these to the historical form.

IS *sed*/ IS *Sed* (28): both mss. have a MidIr. form of the neut. pron. with initial s (see *SnaG*, 274).

ind rígan/ an rigan (29): both mss. have the later form of *rígain* with \bar{a} -stem flexion.

ra foí/ ro foí (30): both mss. have a MidIr. 3sg. s-pret. which has replaced the OIr. suffixless pret. *fíu*/ *-fíu* i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conj. *-foí* supplies the 3sg. past tense conj.

form *issin tír*/ *isan tír* (34): both mss. have a form of the def. art. which shows either confusion of the acc. and. dat., or that *tír* is being treated as a masc./ fem. noun

Ni fáicfed/ Ni fáicbed (35): both mss. have MidIr. forms from 3sg. cond. *-fáicébad*.

is tulaig/ as tulaig (42): both mss. have the MidIr. form of the prep. i + art. (see *SnaG*, 259).

is tilaig/ as tulaig (42): both mss. have the MidIr. form of the prep. i + art. (see *SnaG*, 259).

cethri fichit/ cetri fichit: both mss. have a MidIr. form of the numeral with the masc. acc. form replacing the nom. (see *SnaG*, 261).

do-ridnacht/ do-rrichnacht (55): both mss. show MidIr. simplification of $ndn > dn$ (see *SnaG*, 234).

com digail-se/ com digail-se (66): both mss. have a MidIr. form with the initial vowel lost (see *SnaG*, 329).

-tabraind/ -tabraind (68): both mss. have a MidIr. form with non-pal. *-br-*.

buan ben mess *gegra*/ buan ben mes *gegrai* (73): the nom. form *Mess* attested in both mss. is due to the later treatment of such constructions as true compounds whereby only the second element was inflected (see *DIL* s.v. *3 mes(s)*).

biaid/ biaidh (77): both mss. have the MidIr. form of 3sg. fut. of *at-tá* with *-a-* for OIr. *bieid*.

acht co nnechur/ acht co ndechur-sa (77): Both mss. also have *acht co*, which is clearly MidIr. if taken at face value; the occurrence of *acht* here may be accounted for by scribal misreading of the compendium for *ocus* τ and that for *acht* \bar{s} , which was subsequently expanded; I restore τ which is here used to connect two sentences whereby the second is not formally dependent on the first (on this construction see

DIL s.v. *2 ocus* 96.70 ff.). Both mss. have *-r* for *-s* in the 1sg. ending of the augm. pres. subj. of *téit*; this likely crept into both through scribal misreading of *r* for *s*, which are easily confused paleographically (note however that the *-ur* ending regularly replaces *-us* in MidIr. suggesting independent scribal innovation (see *EIV*, 219-20).

ní fargaib/ ni farcaib (81): both mss. have a later form with pal. final *b*.

ni thuc/ ni thuc (81): both mss. show MidIr. len. after *ní* (see *SnaG*, 278).

Ocus teigtis/ & tegdis (90): in both mss. the ipf. ind. of *téit* is used without *no*, this use arose through analogy with the uncontracted/ contracted dental forms of *do-ic/ tic* (see *SnaG*, 286).

a da traigid / a da traichid ᵹ *a di glun* (95): both mss. appear to treat *traig* as a neut. noun, were this the general MidIr. form of the dual numeral i.e. *dá* (see *SnaG*, 260), the length mark and/ or len. might be expected in at least one of the mss.; *traig* is fem. in OIr. (*GOI* vaguely states that it is ‘fem. in Mod. Ir.’, 205; note however, the following gloss cited *DIL* s.v. *1 traig* ‘t. a trachtu, uel quasi ter-rig .i. rig terram, ar is̄ benas for lār, Corm. Y’).

inna diaid/ ina diaid (95-6): both mss. display the MidIr. confusion of *diaid* and *degaid*; *degaid* is the expected form here, *DIL* s.v. *degaid* (221, l. 56 ff.) states ‘Often opp. to remi: vi sluaig rempi...vi sluaig na degaid SR 4876. Críst reum Críst im degaid, Thes. ii 357.14.); I therefore emend the ms. forms to *degaid*.

a da escait ᵹ *a dá sáil/ a da hescaid* ᵹ *a dá sail* (96): both mss. use the general MidIr. dual numeral (with length mark written in both mss. in the second ex. only) before *escat* and *sáil* which are both fem.

rempe/ rempi (96): both mss. have the MidIr. form with *-p-* (see *SnaG*, 330).

toichled/ toicliud (96): both mss. have 3sg. ipf. ind. of the simplex *tóichlid* which replaces *do-foichell* ‘traverses, journeys over’ in MidIr.; the preverbal part. *no* is also absent in both mss.

is siat ro chloidsetar dún etair/ is iad ulaid ro cechlotar dun n-etur (100-1): both mss. have a late reading with the new 3pl. indep. pron. which replaced OIr. *é* (see *SnaG*, 273), used with the 3sg. of the copula.

ina ndiaid/ inna ndiaidh (115): the spelling in both mss. reflects the MidIr. confusion of *i ndiad* and *i ndegaid*, or possibly the transition of *dead* to a fem. *ā*-stem.

na curaid 7 na láith gaile/ na curaid 7 na laith gaili (117): both mss. have MidIr. nom. pl. forms of the def. art. which are rarely found in OIr.

na da urgail/ na da urghail (117): both mss. have MidIr. forms of the def. art. and the dual. numeral (see *SnaG*, 260).

forsna feraib/ forsna feruib (124-5): both mss. have a MidIr. form of prep. art. without -b (see *SnaG*, 259).

Findnig/ Finnigi (132): the L reading contains a corrupt spelling *ndn* for the already conservative *nd*.

dlungsius/ dluingsius (154): both mss. have MidIr. *s*-pret. of *dlongid* ‘splits, cuts, rends’ based on the unreduplicated present stem + 3pl. suffixed pron.

mbrogsus/ mbrogsus (155): both mss. have the intermediate spelling between OIr. *mrogaid* and MidIr. *brogaid*.

-sínsetar/- ssinsithir (178): in *sínid* ‘stretches out, spreads’ both mss. have a MidIr. 3pl. ending (see *EIV*, 238-9) for the historical 3pl. ending *-set*.

Do-fairchelsa/ To-faircelset (182): both mss. have late forms of *do-airgella* ‘gives a pledge for’, showing a prosthetic *f*.

colléic/ colleic (191): both mss. have the later form with *o* in the first syllable which becomes the normal spelling in MidIr. (cf. *calléic* Wb.16^a2, Ml.130^a3, Sg.45^b7).

oc descin/ oc descin (193): both mss. have the MidIr. metathesised form of *déicsiu* ‘looking, gazing’.

ar fut na haband/ iarsan abaind (193): while both mss. have a MidIr. hypercorrect spelling with *nd* for *nn* in *aband/ abaind*.

ros teind/ rus teind (194): both mss. have MidIr. 3sg. unredup. pret. of *teinnid* ‘cuts, cracks, breaks’ with *ro* behaving as a simple past tense marker and used to infix an obj. pron.; the earlier 3sg. reduplicated form is *tethainn*, the 3sg. fem. infixed pron. refers to *in chnú*.

fo-racaib/ fo-rácaib (195): both mss. have MidIr. palatal final *b*, a result of the homogenization of root final consonant quality, which begins in *gab-* and its compounds within the OIr. period (see *EIV*, 212).

triana chotlud/ triana cotlud (196): both mss. have a MidIr. form with *n* before the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330).

ro dúsig/ ro dúsic (196): both mss. have a MidIr. form whereby OIr. *do-fíuschi* ‘wakes’ behaves as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro* in the past tense.

triana/ triana (196): both mss. have a MidIr. form with *n* before the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330).

in mbec/ an mbeg (205): in both mss. the neut. art. has been replaced by the masc. form.

Do-naidlend/ To-naidlend (206): both mss. have late form with a MidIr. 3sg. conj. ending (see *SnaG*, 293-4); the historical 3sg. pres. ind. is *do-aidlea*.

Amal at-chonnaire/ Amal at-chondaire (209): both mss. have a MidIr. form with *at* + len. for *ad* + nas. following *amal* (see *GOI*, 316), i.e. len. rel. cl. replacing nas. rel. cl.

triana/ triana (209): both mss. have a MidIr. form with *n* before the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330).

Indlid/ indlid (212): both mss. have the later 3sg. pres. ind. based on the simplex *indlid* from *in-lá* 'yokes (a chariot)' (*indlid* is listed separately from *in-lá* in *DIL*).

Atát/ Atad (219): both mss. have a MidIr. form showing contraction of hiatus.

cumrigfithir/ comrighfidir (223): both mss. have MidIr. form whereby the redup. fut. of *con-rig* 'binds' has been replaced by a new weak simple verb based on the prot. form and with *f*-fut. flexion (see *SnaG*, 314).

aband/ abann (225): both mss. have the later nom. sg. form for OIr. *aub*.

in cend/ a cend (229): both mss. have a hypercorrect spelling with *nd* for *nn*.

No imdergtha/ No immdergta (252): in both mss. *imm-derga* 'reddens' behaves as a simple verb, with *no* placed before the ipf. ind. pass. sg.

in cend/ in cend (252): both mss. use the masc. art. with *cenn*.

Cid dás/ Cid dás (253): both mss. have a form with hiatus contracted.

coro chainiur/ coro cainiur (258): both mss. have a later form, whereby the OIr. 1sg. dep. ending has been adopted in place of the historical *ā*-subj. endingless 1sg. (see *SnaG*, 308-9).

triana/ triana (260): both mss. have a MidIr. form of *trí* with *n* + a 3sg. fem. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330).

in cend/ an cend (262): both mss. have the masc. form of the def. art. with historically neut. *cenn*.

Major differences between the mss.

Incipit Talland Etair (1): H does not have a title.

Aithirne ailgesach de ultaib/ Aithirnde ailgesach a ainm mac-sidhe fercertne di ulltaib (2-3): H records a longer tradition for Aithirne.

Is de sin ro cet: Súil ind rí g rámat clothach... (19): Introduction and poem following in L only.

dia dá súil dósom/ dia dossom dí suil at aldeomh ro bótar a nd-erie (19): H has significant extra material, but there are strong grounds for considering it was in the original; the 3pl. pres. ind. rel. of the cop. *at* (i.e. for OIr. *ata*, final *-a* could easily have been lost by haplography with following *a-*) is accompanied by a superlative adj. used with the sense of the superlative; the short dat. of *Ériu* is also a good reading as this form is lost in Mlr.

Do-cuirid ar int ech fót mór da díb croib. Niro airig duine isind airiucht coní tarla i n-ucht ind rí g .i. fergus a fairge/ Do-cuirithir ant euch foot mor dia dib cruib iartharcoib cusan airiucht conid tarlæ i nn-ucht and rí g .i. fergus a foairce maic nuadat necht (47-9): the mss. are structurally different with L beginning a new line after *croib*. H then records a longer tradition for Fergus Fairce.

Cid fil im ucht-sa or in rí a athirni/ Cid fil am ucht-sa a aithirni on ol in ri. Ata delc and; ol aithirni (51-2): L has the poem following as answer to the king's question whereas H has a direct answer to the question before the poem.

brathair mathar-sa fod-racaib/ brathir máthar dam dot-racaib (58): the ms. readings refer to two different people. L reads 'my father's brother', whereas H has 'a mother's brother of mine'; unfortunately we don't know who either person is.

a mmathair ⁊ a n-athair/ a n-athair ⁊ a mmathair (61): the mss. have different word-order.

manis/ mona (68) the L reading with OIr. *mani* + 3sg. fem. infixed pron., referring to Mess Gegrai's wife is superior; H has MidIr. *mona* (see *SnaG*, 281).

ni anub-sa trá dit-so co rruca oenfer dultaib do chend ⁊ do mnai/ ni ainiub-sa amh dot aimles-sa condu ruca ainfer do ulltaib uait ol aithirne ier mbreth do cind dit (70-71): this line is structurally different in the mss. (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

do mnaib flatha ⁊ dagdoine lagen dia mbreith dia thír leis/ do mnaib na flaithi dia mbreth; leis dia thír (74-5): the mss. have different vocabulary and word order (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

Do-roachtatar *ulaid dano* i n-iarmóracht *athirni*. Do-llostar-*side* dia thessaircain-seom/ Co n-acotur *ulaid* immurgu in n-iarmoracht a ndiaid aithirne Do-llostar-*side* dia tairmiusc-*sum* (83-4): the ms. readings are structurally different and use different vocabulary (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

.i. ba finda óderca (87): this description of Aithirne's cows is in H only.

arna taisceled nech dib *etir* a biad-som do blassacht/ Arna taisceled nech do ulltaib a biad-som do tomuilt *etir* (88-9): the mss. have different word order and vocabulary (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

ní leiced banne ina cend/ ní leicidh-som banna inna cenn (90): L has a pass. verbal form whereas H has an act. form.

Is í tra no bered a chuit do chonchobur ara mmuin otá emuin co hétur/ IS i tra dobered cuid concubair otha eomain macha (99): the mss. readings are structurally different and use some different vocabulary (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

conna rucad a burach immach *etir* .i. co tairsed tóhostul ulad/ cona rucad a burach amach co tóchusul nulad (104-5): the ms. readings are structurally different (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

ar do-choid leborcham do thochostul ulad. Co tístais i curchaib no co tístais ar tír dia cobair/ AR do-coid leuharcam dia tochul-sidhe co tisdais a curchaib tar moir dia cobair (105-6): the ms. readings are structurally different (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

ar ba geis do ultaib dul dar múr nderg (118-9): the *geis* is in L only.

ben loegaire buadaig/ ben loegairi buadaig maic connad buidi maic iliach (129): H records a longer tradition for Lóegaire Búadach (cf. *CGH*, 272).

ben cheltchair/ ben cealtchair maic uthidhir (131): H records the paternity of Celtchar.

ben lugdach riab nderg/ ben lughdach riab ndeurcc maic na tri find emna (129): H records a longer tradition for Lugdach Riab nDerg (see *CGH*, 159).

Ba meti cend fir in chnú/ Ba med cend fir in chnu (193-4): different construction in the mss. (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

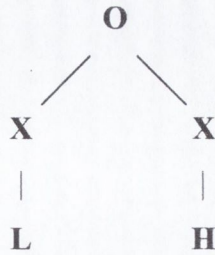
Cid ail and ar mess *gegrai* acht int-í dia ndligi fiachu saig fair cach *cumuńg* rot bé/
nocon fuil on dano acht ant-i dia ndligi fiacha dos-fothlaig fair cach ni rot be ol mess
gegrai (217-8): the mss. have quite different versions of this line (see textual notes for
full discussion of differences).

A trian ro charsa coin *culainn* bátis guill cot *acallaim*. A trian ro charsat conall *cloen*
bátis cloín cot *acallaim*. A trian ro charsat cusraid bátis guit cot *acallaim*/ A trian ro
carustar conoll bátis clæn ocod descin A trian dib ro car cu *culainn* bátis guill cot
acollaimh A Trian ro char *cusraid* bátis menda cot *acallaim* (234-6): the ms. are
structurally different and use some different (see textual notes for full discussion of
differences).

As regards transmission, we can confidently assume that:

- i) Both mss. are derived ultimately from an OIr. original. This is indicated by the high frequency and variety of OIr. forms attested in both mss. and their close agreement especially in respect of such features as the art. and the spelling of unstressed final syllables.
- ii) The lack of any common errors in the MidIr. forms and the fact that these MidIr. forms represent standard developments in the later language, indicates that they have probably arisen independently in both mss.
- iii) That at least one intermediary phase must have existed between the copying of the text into the L and H in which certain forms in the OIr. original underwent scribal modernisation.
- iv) That where one ms. preserves a good OIr. form this represents the original reading which was subsequently modernised in the other ms. after the point of composition.

The following stemma is evident:



Where; **O** = the OIr. Original, **X** = the intermediary phase(s) in the separate lines of descent from the original, **L** and **H** = our extant mss.

The joint evidence of both mss. allows us to more fully reconstruct the text of the OIr. original, than if only one ms. were available to us. The section on dating (**IV.** below) deals more fully with the question of when the original text was composed.

III.4. Editorial policy

Transcription of manuscripts

Standard sigla e.g. those for *con*, *ar*, *us*, *ur* and *m*-stroke, *n*-stroke (where only the *n* or *m* itself is possible) etc. have have been expanded silently. In H \acute{u} (Latin *vero*) has as been expanded throughout as *immurgu* (i.e. fully italicised). The symbol *l-*, where it stands alone has been expanded throughout as *no*. Contractions with more than one possible resolution have been expanded to their Old Irish form e.g. *m̄c* when gen. sg. expanded to *maic*, *īm* expanded to *immurgu*, dat. sg. *do aith-* to *do aithirniu* etc. and the letters supplied are italicised.

Where a contraction consists of a single letter with a dot on either side e.g. *.i.* for *ingen*, these are expanded and italicised in full.

The compendia & and 7 have been printed as they occur in the mss. (see below regarding their representation in the restored text).

The use of length marks is common in both mss. but these are not always accurately placed. Length marks are shown in transcription over the appropriate vowel, in line with modern editorial convention.

The *punctum delens* is reproduced in transcription whenever it occurs over nasals and lenited *s* and *f*. The *punctum delens* is also used to mark lenition of other consonants; this is marked in transcription by the letter *h*. The ‘spiritus asper’ sign is frequently used in both mss. to mark lenition, this is also marked by the letter *h*.

Words have been separated in line with modern convention. Punctuation and capitalisation is that of the mss., apart from the hyphen which is used to separate the preverb in deuterotonic verbs etc.

In certain places it has been necessary to rely on the L readings of the diplomatic edition (Best and O’Brien, 1956), as fading has evidently occurred in the meantime

leaving some letters and words either invisible or completely illegible. I have noted these instances in footnotes within the textual notes, enclosing the letters or words taken from the diplomatic edition in square brackets.

Restored text

A restored text of the original is presented here. This has been reconstructed by selecting the best readings from our extant mss. MidIr. forms common to both mss. are assumed to have been added after composition. Consequently, all such MidIr. forms will be replaced by their corresponding OIr. forms. This is the case for all grammatical categories.

The replacement of MidIr. forms and the selection of readings will be discussed in the notes accompanying each line of restored text. Where both mss. clearly share an OIr. form which requires no normalization or emendation, these are automatically adopted and generally require no comment (the most significant OIr. forms have been highlighted in IV. 2 below).

The line numbers of the restored text are the main reference point for all examples cited in the introduction and in the textual notes. These increase in increments of five in the restored text and twenty in the translation (where the numbers are only a rough guide to aid comparison with the restored text). In the textual notes the restored text has normally been divided according to natural sentence or phrase structure. Each of these units is numbered in relation to the relevant line or lines of the restored text.

Both mss. frequently display later spellings. Those contained in L are typical of MidIr. In H, however, contemporary spelling conventions are accompanied by a peculiar orthography. Many of these spelling variations occur consistently, thus enabling us to isolate late linguistic forms from genuine early forms masked by a peculiar spelling. A list of the main orthographic variations employed in H is presented in Appendix III. H still preserves many OIr. spellings in spite of the unusual character of the ms. and the orthographic variations are not applied uniformly. The spelling in the restored text is normalized to the standards of 9th Cent.

OIr., to reflect how the original text would have appeared had the author used consistent spelling throughout.

Rules for normalization and selection of readings

Spelling is normalized across the restored text and although a selected reading is often changed, this is not intended to detract from its evidential value. Normalization is discussed in the notes only where clarification is deemed necessary.

Vowels and diphthongs are restored to their OIr. value and the accent-mark used to indicate long vowels where they might be expected. Diphthongs are treated in line with modern editorial practice. Where a number of spellings are possible e.g. as in 3sg. pret. of the subst. vb. *baí/ boí*, a single form is used throughout (in this case *boí*). Where this is the case the selection of an agreed form will be discussed in the notes at its first occurrence (if in doubt the first occurrence of a form can be located by checking the glossary). Glide vowels are restored silently throughout, with occasional discussion where it is deemed necessary.

In OIr. an initial double letter is optionally used to mark both nasalisation and to indicate the presence of an unlenited consonant, especially after a vowel e.g. *a mmór* 205; therefore it would be quite artificial to seek to apply these rules uniformly in the restored text as we know it was never the case in reality. I therefore follow the mss. and adopt such spellings where they occur in both. Where they occur in the form which is actually adopted they are retained, but are otherwise not restored.

The *punctum delens* is used to mark lenited *f* and *s*. The use of the *punctum delens* over nasals, found in both mss., is not adopted in the restored text.

The letter *h* is used to mark lenited *c*, *p* and *t*. Where it occurs optionally as an initial mute letter before a vocalic initial it is adopted where attested in both mss. or in the form which is actually adopted, but it is otherwise not restored.

Regarding hiatus forms, the writing of two short vowels is deemed to be sufficient to distinguish them from their possible later contracted forms.

Ocus is written in full where both mss. have either the full form or &; ʒ is used where it occurs in both mss. and also, for the sake of convenience, where the mss. have two different forms. Where the conjunction occurs in one ms. only and where the form is to be adopted the ms. itself is followed. Although *ocus* lenites, lenition following the compendia & and ʒ is frequently absent (see *GOI*, 145); lenition is retained only where it is attested in the mss.

As in the transcription of the mss., where an adopted reading contains an abbreviation these are expanded to their OIr. form, but are not now marked by the use of italics.

Where the mss. disagree in the form of individual words or phrases the older form is generally taken. In doubtful cases where neither reading is clearly superior, the L form is adopted, as L is the older ms. Where the ms. readings differ in respect of word order only, the L reading is adopted unless otherwise stated.

Where individual words or phrases appear in only one of the mss. their adoption into the restored text depends upon their being suitably old in form and on whether or not in the context they help to improve the narrative, the form adopted is argued for on an individual basis.

The following is an example of how a set of forms is normalized: In the simple prep. *di* 'of, from' the spelling *di* is used for the simple prep. (although it may occur in the mss. as *de*, *di* or *do* through confusion with the prep. *do* 'to, for') and *dé* for the 3sg. masc. and neut. prepositional pron. (it has recently been shown, on the basis of metrical evidence, that the vowel in the 3sg. masc. and neut. pronominal form was long in OIr. and MidIr., see Breatnach, 2003, 135-6).

The short form of the art. *na* regularly replaces the longer form *inna* in gen. sg. fem., nom. pl. fem. and neut. and acc. and gen. pl. of all genders in later mss. generally and our mss. are no different. The long form *inna* then is restored throughout.

Orthographically conservative *nd* is restored where it would have occurred historically, this is not necessarily intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr. Orthographically conservative *mb* is restored in ll.102 (mss. *immi/immi*), on the

basis of l.114 (mss. *imbirt/imbirt*) and l.263 (mss. *immir/imbir*) this is neither intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr.

In proper names the index form from *CGH* is often adopted, as the ‘normal’ i.e. OIr. form is generally listed there; problematical forms are discussed in the textual notes.

Textual notes

Where reference is made to ms. readings in the notes, the reading in question is italicised e.g. L has *fer* in the transcription, if I refer directly to this reading in the notes it will take the form of e.g. ‘L has *fer*’. For the sake of clarity, the restored form is occasionally cited in bold type e.g. in referring to a note on two distinct readings the restored word is cited rather than the two ms. readings e.g. [line X] L has *fer*, H has *ben*, the restored text is to have **fer**; when the discussion is referred to the reference will take the form of ‘see note on **fer** l.X’ rather than ‘see note on L *fer*/ H *ben* l.X’ or the like.

Appendices I and II

I have not normalized the spelling in the additional material. I have, however, capitalised the initials of personal names and placenames. The rules of transcription are the same as those set out above.

Glossary

The glossary relates to the restored text.

The symbol ~ indicates that the ex. cited has the same spelling as the headword.

’ following a headword indicates that the form lenites.

n- following a headword indicates that the form nasalizes.

No more than three examples of a form are listed. Only the most frequently occurring proper names and those displaying the widest variation in case forms are listed.

IV. Dating

IV.1. External evidence

A *terminus ante quem* of 1224 is provided by the year in which the compilation of L, which began in 1151, was completed. O'Sullivan (1966, 8-9) states his belief that U, the hand in which *TÉ* is written, was working at the same time as A (identified above, III.1.) and F, whom O'Sullivan thought to be Bishop Find Ua Gormáin, whose death in 1160 is recorded in the Annals of Ulster (ibid. 26). *TÉ* may have been written during the earlier stages of the compilation of L, but as we cannot be sure of this, the final date of 1224 must stand.

Stokes (1887, 47) quoting d'Arbois de Jubainville, draws attention to the fact that the story was known to Cináed úa Artacáin (†975). Carney (1983, 188) states that 'He wrote during the reign of Congalach, son of Mael Mithig (†956) and he had a connection with Amlaíb or Olaf, king of Dublin, who spent much of his time in Meath. Cinaed died in 973 (AFM) and Amlaíb in 980'. Carney continues in a footnote 'Cinaed refers to Congalach in the last quatrain of *10b* [see list of poems below]. In the second last stanza of *10a* he refers to Amlaíb of Áth Cliath from whom he received a gift of a horse; in the last stanza he refers to Colum Cille, whom he clearly regards [sic] as his special patron. He 'signs' *10c* by including a quatrain on the same saint'.

Doherty (1998, 297-8) expands on the relationship between Cináed and the Norse king of Dublin, Amlaíb Cúarán, highlighting their link with the Meath area, 'In the *Metrical Dindsenchas* there is a poem on Achall, that is the Hill of Skreen near Tara, written by Cináed ua hArtacáin for Amlaíb Cúarán... Amlaíb of Ath Cliath the hundred-strong, who gained the kingship in Bend Étair; I bore off from him as price of my song a horse of the horses of Achall'. It was commonplace in verse to associate kings with Tara, whatever their ambition or capacity. The poem introduces kings of southern Brega, the kings of Lagore, the area immediately to the north of the kingdom of Dublin. If the gloss in the Annals of Ulster to the death notice of Cináed, chief poet of Ireland, in 975 is accurate then the poet himself was a member of the Lagore dynasty and he was praising his own people. The poem may also reflect Amlaíb's

ambition to rule this area (particularly following the death of the high-king Congalach Cnogba in 956) since Bend Étair is used as a synonym for the kingship of Brega by Irish kings, and the Dubliners would seem to have had much of the midlands under tax (at least for periods) until their massive defeat alongside Amlaíb's sons in the battle of Tara in 980. Since the gift of the horse was from among the horses of Achall it may be that Amlaíb was already lord of the area in fact, and it was precisely here that he suffered his final defeat'.

On the historical importance of this relationship he states, 'If all the poetry that survives, addressed to Amlaíb, was composed for Amlaíb Cúarán - and I think that this makes best sense - then Amlaíb is the only Norse king that we know of to have had poetry written in his praise. Here we have a recently converted king, intimately associated with the Columban clergy, who harbours an ambition to rule a large area in the manner of an Irish king (ibid. 304-5)'.

Carney (1983, 179) lists the poems attributed to Cinaed (including editions): '(a) *Achall ar acce Temair* (Cinaed), Gwynn, *Met. Dind.* I, 46-53. (b) *Án sin a maig Mic ind Óc* (Cinaed), ibid. II, 10-17. (c) *Déccid ferta níthaig Néill* (Cinaed), ibid. II, 36. (d) *Étar étan re dilind* (Cinaed), ibid. III, 104. (e) *Fianna bátar i nEmain* (Cinaed). Stokes, *RC* 23. 303-48. (f) *Secht o. f. n.* (Cinaed), Lucius Gwynn, *Ériu* 7. 210-38. (g) *A chloch thall for elaid uair* (Cinaed), Meyer, *Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, 18; L III, 633-4.'

Cinaed's familiarity with *TE*, is displayed in items *d* and *e*. Gwynn (1913, 104-9) gives *d* the title 'Bend Etair I'. The first seven verses of 'Bend Étair I are *dindsenchus* relating to Étar and are closed by a *dúnad*. The following elements from *TE* are contained in the second part of the poem (the line nos. are those of Gwynn's edition): i) Aithirne's retreat to Étar with his booty of seven hundred 'white red-eared cows' (ll.53-6); ii) the pursuit of their booty by the Leinstermen (ll.57-8); iii) the arrival of the Ulstermen to dispute the spoil of cattle (ll.61-3); iv) the retreat of the Ulstermen to Étar (ll.67-8). Other elements are related differently, e.g. Mess Dead's presence there and his boyish strength are mentioned as in *TE*, but the poem speaks of his being drowned by Find Fili (not his being beheaded by the Leinstermen) (ll.69-72).

Murphy (1952) discusses the authorship of item *e* in response to Thurneysen's stated belief, on philological grounds, that Cináed could not have been its author. From an examination of the linguistic evidence, Murphy establishes a date of composition compatible with the time when Cináed was writing, he states 'These linguistic considerations, taken in conjunction with the fact that L ascriptions are much more often correct than false, should convince doubters that Cináed úa Artacáin really was the author of *Fíanna bátar i nEmain*, and that Whitley Stokes was right when he wrote in 1902 (RC xxiii. 303) that the poem was 'valuable as proving the existence, in the tenth century, of a mass of traditions respecting the ancient Irish heroes' (ibid. 155).

The following elements from *TE* are contained in item *e* (the line nos. are those of the diplomatic ed. of L): i) the death of Mess Gegrai at the hands of Conall (ll.4071-2); and ii) the slaying of many men by Mess Dead ('*Mes Dé*') in '*cath Etair*' (ll.4075/7).

It is easy to see why a story such as *TE* would have interested Cináed úa Artacáin who, as Doherty has pointed out, we know had a professional interest in promoting the area in and around Étar as this is where his patron sought to establish his powerbase and given that his patron was a Norseman, Cináed's poetry would have an even more important role in writing his patron into the geographical and cultural fabric of North Leinster and the surrounding area. *TE* must have been an important or at least well known tale to have been used so readily as a source of inspirational characters and incidents to a poet of the standing of Cináed úa Artacáin. As it is the case that many of the facts of *TE* appear unchanged in the two poems above and in the prose which has come down to us that the prose elements are at least as old as the material contained in the datable poems. This then places the composition of a significant spread of elements in *TE* before 975, the date of Cináed's death. An examination of the linguistic evidence will give us a clearer idea of the date of composition.

IV.2. Internal (linguistic) evidence

L is a manuscript of the 12th/13th Centuries; it can therefore theoretically contain OIr. and MidIr. forms. H is a manuscript of the 16th Century which can potentially contain OIr., MidIr. and EModIr. forms. As stated above (III.2), the mss. contain a mixture OIr. and MidIr. forms; in order to be certain that we are dealing with the original text only those OIr. forms common to both are considered below. The MidIr. forms common to both are also presented, in order to highlight that they are normal linguistic developments in the later language. A date of composition within the OIr. period can be safely concluded where the language is overwhelmingly consistent with that of the OIr. glosses. In the mss. is attested a surplus of forms which belong to OIr. but which undergo little or no change into MidIr. The following collection of forms, while covering most of the grammatical categories, highlights those OIr. forms which are liable to be lost or changed in MidIr. The H form follows the L form in brackets, only those elements of the reading which are different from L are printed.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

ind: used in genitive singular and nominative plural masculine and nominative singular feminine before vowels and lenited *f,r,l,n*:

OIr. forms.

gen. sg. masc.	ind (and) eich 47, ind usci (and usce) 193, ind fóit (and foid) 49, ind rí (and rig) 48
nom. pl. masc.	ind fir (in fir (H form still significant as it has not been replaced by <i>na</i>)) 89
nom. sg. fem.	ind (and) ingen 92

MidIr. developments

Loss of distinctive nominative plural masculine *ind*:

na láith gaile (laith gaili) 117

dond/ond: used in dative singular masculine and feminine before vowels and lenited *f, l, n, r*:

masc. dond usciu (usce) 14

fem. ond uair sin 237-8

MidIr. developments

Loss of distinctive dative singular forms in *-d/ -t*, used before vowels and lenited *s*:

assin áth (asan ath) 213, riasin sluag (riasan sluag) 123 (these forms may also be due to confusion of acc. and dat.)

a: used in nominative and accusative singular neuter:

nom. A trian 234

acc. a ndelg (ndeulc) 49, a mmór (mmor) 205

Note also the following forms which conform to OIr. usage, but which are also found in MidIr.:

in: used in nominative, accusative and genitive singular masculine, and nominative and accusative singular feminine before unlenited and nasalised consonants and lenited consonants except *f, r, l, n*:

nom. sg. masc. in rí (ri) 13, in fer (an feur) 36, in (an) coll 260

acc. sg. masc. cosin mac (cusan mac) 111, in sluag (an sluag) 115

gen. sg. masc. in chatha (an catha) 120

nom. sg. fem.	in chnú (chnu) 194, in ben 245
acc. sg. fem.	in cnoi 193, in mnai 3, Lasin féli (feli) 18

MidIr. developments

Loss of distinctive nominative plural masculine *in*:

na curaid 117

int: used in nominative and genitive singular masculine and nominative singular feminine before vowels and lenited *s*:

nom. sg. masc.	int ech (ant euch) 47
gen. sg. masc.	int slúaig (ant sluaig) 190
nom. sg. fem.	int súil (suil) 15

don/isin: used in dative singular masculine and feminine:

masc.	don gillu (gilla) 195
fem.	isin chroibrúaid (craepruaidh) 97

na: used in genitive singular feminine and accusative plural masculine and feminine (the form *inna* is not attested):

gen. sg. fem.	na gressi (grese) 45, na ingine (hingini) 95
acc. pl. masc.	na firu (fira) 184
acc. pl. fem.	na riglasra 169

MidIr. developments

Loss of distinctive dative singular forms in *-d/ -t*, used before vowels and lenited *s*:

assin áth (asan ath) 213, riasin sluag (riasan sluag) 123 (these forms may also be due to confusion of acc. and dat.)

Loss of dual article *in* before both masculine and feminine nouns:

masc. *eter na da ath chliath (dá ath cliath)* 6
fem. *na da urgail (urghail)* 117

NOUNS

Syntax of the noun

OIr. forms:

Nominative singular following a passive verbal form:

In tallad int suil as mo chind (IN tala int suil as mo chinn) 15

Nominative plural following a passive verbal form:

do-bertis cuci ind fír athgoeti (do-bertis cuco in fír athgoiti) 89

Gender

OIr. forms:

Nouns

Neuter preserved:

nom. sg. *A trian* 234 (*o*-stem)
acc. sg. *a mmór (mmor)* 205 (*o*-stem)
acc. pl. *ina cend (inna cend)* 90 (*o*-stem)

MidIr. developments

Loss of neuter:

acc. sg. in mbec (an mbeg) 205 (*o*-stem), in cend 252 (*o*-stem)

With numerals

OIr. forms:

Neuter plural with numerals:

Noí trath (noi tradh) 86

tri chét læch (cet læch) 111

Feminine *di* preserved:

dí láim (di laim) 152

MidIr. developments

Masculine *tri* used for feminine *téora*:

tri tonna (tonda) 14

Da used for feminine *di*:

da traigid (traichid) 95

da escait (hescaid) 96

dá sáil (sail) 96

da urgail (urghail) 117

Masculine accusative *cethri* for nominative *cethir*:

I Rrabatar cethri fichit unġa (i rrabatar cetri fichit unġo) 50

o-stems

OIr. forms:

Orthographic distinction between *i* and *iu* in dative singular:

i (a) ndesciurt 32

Distinct accusative and dative forms:

acc. *i* ndorn (a ndornd) 12

dat. durn (durnd) 10

ā-stems

OIr. forms:

All the attested forms appear to conform to OIr. usage, especially in the nominative and accusative singular where the distinction between broad and palatal endings is maintained. There are no examples of the dative singular being used for nominative singular:

nom. sg. túath (tuath) 35, cúal (cual) 103, Sciathgal 180, lám (lam) 206,
gress 44

acc. sg. láim (laim) 13, a šaint (saint) 37, fortacht (fortacht) 45, co
mmatin (matin) 63

dat. sg. co n-oenláim (n-oinlaimh) 222

i-stems

OIr. forms:

The OIr. vocalic genitive plural ending is preserved:

nom. pl.	maíne (maíni) 33
gen. pl.	maíne (maíne) 34

u-stems

OIr. forms.

Several forms are attested though not in the categories which provide diagnostics for OIr. and MidIr.

io/ iā-stems

The spelling of final vowels in *io/ iā*-stems cannot be trusted in later MSS. In the following examples the historical spellings happen to be found where one might expect them in OIr.:

Forms showing historical flexion:

Masc. io

voc. sg.	a gillai (gilli) 199
dat. sg.	dia bailiu 189

Fem. iā

nom. sg.	sochaide (socaide) 122
acc. sg.	Lasin féli (feli) 18,
dat. sg.	i toirsi 124

Confusion/ generalization of final vowels is shown in:

Masc. io

nom. sg. dalta 106, gilla 196, banna 230

acc. sg. gilla 76

Fem. iā

nom. sg. falti (failti) 67,

gen.sg. feli (féli) 19.

No forms supporting MidIr. diagnostics such as adoption of dental stem flexion in the plural are found.

ī-stems

OIr. forms:

Distinct nominative and accusative singular forms are attested (this pattern is also found in MidIr.):

nom. sg. adaig (*agaid*; although a contracted form showing confusion of lenited *d* and *g* it at least does not represent acc. *aidchi*) 30

acc. sg. aidchi (*aidhci*) 29

MidIr. developments

OIr. *rígain* inflected as an *ā-stem*:

nom. sg. rígan (*rigan*) 29.

Consonantal stems

OIr. forms:

Historical flexion retained in:

nom. sg.	cathmil 142.
acc. sg.	suid (súid) 163, fri coicait (coecaid) 240 (i.e. showing no confusion with nom .sg.)

ADJECTIVES

Syntax of the adjective

Significant OIr. forms:

Plural predicative adjective used with plural form of the copula:

i cathbuadaig (IT catbuaduig) *ulaid* 180

Comparison of adjectives

Equative

No examples of an equative adjective occur, note however the following construction:

ba meti (med) cend fir in chnú (chnu) 193-4

Comparative

ba hailliu *cach* (haildiu *cach*) cruth araile (alali) 127 (*araile* (*alali*) is used substantivally; the distinct dat. sg. ending following the compar. is not shown in either MS.)

Mó turim (Mo tuirimh) 138 (with dat .sg. of fem. *ā*-stem *tuirem*)

Superlative

in sét (an set) as dech 42

Note the substantival use of *mór* with noun and adjective following in genitive plural (also found in MidIr.):

tairis rucad mór mbreth cert (tairis ruccad mor mbreth ceurt) 56

The remaining instances where both MSS. agree in the form of an adjective cannot be said to be undoubtedly OIr. or MidIr.

NUMERALS

Syntax of the numeral

Significant OIr. forms:

Used with the plural form of masculine and feminine nouns:

nom.	noí crotha 127
acc.	tri coicdu (coectu) 74
gen.	Turtíne tri fichet mbargen (A turtíni tri fichet mbairgen) 98

Dative *dib* (fem.) used:

da díb croib (dia dib cruib) 47

VERBS: ACTIVE FORMS

Present Indicative

1sg.	For-éimdim (for-émthim) 262
Dep.	Ro-fetar (Ro-fedur) 254
2sg.	(dia) ndligi 217
3sg.	Feraid 62, Foid 73, anaid 73, con-scara 113, Róinti (rointi) 115, Maidid (Maididh) 117, (with 3sg. suffixed proleptic pron.), con-meil (con-mel) 175, im-soí (am-soi) 209, Benaid 229, berid (beraid) 229, Benaid 229, berid (beraid) 229, fos-ceird (Fus-ceird) 259
Dep.	Do-curidar (Do-cuirithir) 47
(rel.)	maidhes (maidhes) 113, thráges (traighius) 113
3pl.	as-berat (as berad) 110

Imperative

2sg.	airg (airc) 76, Gaib 199, Oslaic (Hoslaic) 208, tabair (<i>tabair</i>) 228, Tair 257, an 258, Dot-uc 261, Gat 263, immir (<i>imbir</i>) 263, tuc 263, <i>cummaisc</i> (<i>cumaisc</i>) 263
2pl. Dep.	frithalid (<i>frithailid</i>) 184, Minigid (Minaighid) 204

Imperfect

3sg.	do-scuiched (do-scochad) 46, ní leiced (ni lecidh) 90, ad-féided (at-fededh) 97
3pl.	do-bertis (do-bertis) 89, teigtis (<i>tegdís</i>) 90

s-(Augmented) Preterite

- 3sg. Dális (Dalais) 14, gabais 39, mbrogsus (mbrogsus) (+ 3pl. suff. pron) 155, dergsus (+ 3pl. suff. pron.) 151, Anais (Anus) 189, ruc 185, co tall 207
- 2sg. In (An) farcbais 203, in tucais 247
- 3pl. co turgabsat (co turcabsat) 118
- (rel.) ro fersat (ro fersad) 117

Augmented preterites used with sense of preterite

- 3sg. Nira gaib (Niro gaib) 28, Ro char (ro car) 234, ní fargaib (ní farcaib) 81, fo-racaib (fo-rácaib) 195
- 3pl. Ro randsat (Ro rainsat) 234

t-Preterite

- 3sg. as-bert (es-pert) 53, Do-bert (Do-bert) 231, ro-siacht 163

Suffixless (Augmented) Preterite

- 1sg. at-chonnarc (it-condurc) 142
- 2sg. cia...acca (acco) 140
- 3sg. co rrala (co rrola) 5, Co n-accai (co n-aci) 49, luid 60, do-choid (do-coid) 105, Do-rochair (Do-rocair) 120, cetaro raid (raith) 157, ro ráith (raith) 173, cecha torchair (cecha torchar) 184, doid (doídh) 205, do-lluid (do-luid) 230, co lluid 231
- (rel.) luide (luidi) 4
- 3pl. lotar (Lotur) 82, Do-llotar (Do-llotur) 84, bebárnatar (bebarnatar) 147, selgatar (selgatar) 150, do-bebarnatar (dobebharnatar) 152, fo-fuaratar (fo-fuaratar) 176, ráncatar (Rancatar) 189, co rancatar (co rancatar) 265

Augmented preterites used with sense of preterite

- 3sg. do-rat 12, tuc 38, co tuc 74, co ndechaid 195, co tarat
229
- 3pl. co ndechatar (co ndechatar) 85, do-chotar (do-cótar) 111

ā-Subjunctive: Present

- 2sg. Na conom marba (no conom marbu) 65, con-tola (con-tolu)191,
co rruca (co ruco) 227,

ā-Subjunctive: (Augmented) Imperfect

- 3sg. co tardad (co tartadh) 45, arna taiscelad (arna taiscelad) 88-9

e-Subjunctive: Augmented Present

- 3sg. co nderna (co ndernai) 264

s-Subjunctive: Present

- 3pl. conna hanat (cona hanat) 66

s-Subjunctive: Imperfect

- 3pl. Co tístais (co tisdais) 105

f-Future

- 1sg. Ni anub (ni ainiub) 70, Con-tuiliub 191
- 3pl. ticfat (ticfad) 183

Unreduplicated ā-Future

2sg. -raga (-raghu) 227

ē-Conditional

3sg. nos bérad (nus berad) 68,

3pl. conna turgebtáis (cona turcebtáis) 41

s-Conditional

3sg. no issad (no isad) 205

VERBS: DEPONENT FORMS

Present Indicative

1sg. Ro-fetar (Ro-fedur) 254

Do-curidar (Do-cuirithir) 47

(pass.) Do-gníther (Do-gnither) 265

Imperative

2pl. Dep. frithalid (frithailid) 184, Minigid (Minaighid) 204

Preterite

3sg. (rel.) beogestar 160

VERBS: PASSIVE FORMS

Present Indicative

3sg. Fechair 115, facabar (facabur) 265

Imperfect

3sg. no leicthe (no legthe) 88, do-gnithea (do-gnithi) 97

(Augmented) Preterite

3sg. ro assaited (ro hasaíded) 30, ro lad (ro laadh) 45, co rragbad (co rragbhadh) 85, ro bith 166, Timarnad 244, co clos (co closs) 259

ā-Subjunctive: Augmented Imperfect

3sg. arna ructhae 31

f-future

3sg. lasa mairfide (mmairfide) 35

ē-Future

3sg. Ni gébthar (gebthar) 72

Middle Irish developments

New simple verbs based on the prototonic stem of compounds:

3sg. ipf. ind. toichled (toicliud) 96 (<*do-foichell*) also with omission of the preverbal part. *no*.

3sg. pret. dluingsius (dluingsius) 154 (<*dedlus*) also with *s*-pret. flexion

3sg. pret. ro dúsig (dúsic) 196 (<*do-fiuschi*) also with *s*-pret. flexion

3sg. pres. ind. Indlid (indlid) 212 (<OIr. *in-lá*)

3sg. fut. pass. *cumrigfithir* (*comrighfidir*) 223 (<OIr. *con-rirestar*) also with *f*-fut. flexion

Compound verb behaving as simple verb with preverb *no* in Imperfect Indicative

3sg. pass. *No imdergtha* (*immdergta*) 252

Spread of weak formations:

s-Preterite

3sg. *ra foí* (*ro foí*) 30 (<OIr. *ro fīu*)

3sg. *ros* (*rus*) *teind* 194 (<OIr. *tethaimn*) replacing the historical reduplicated form

f-Conditional

3sg. *Ni faicfed* (*Ni fáicbed*) 35 (<OIr. *-fáicébad*)

New MidIr. personal endings:

Form showing spread of 1sg. dep. ending in s-Subjunctive: Present

1sg. *co nnechur* (*ndechur-sa*) 77 (<OIr. *-dechus*)

Form showing spread of 1sg. dep. ending in endingless ā-Subjunctive: Present

1sg. *coro chainiur* (*cainiur*) 258 (<OIr. *-cain*)

Form showing adoption of general MidIr. 3pl. ending

3pl. pret. *-sínsetar* (*-ssinsithir*) 178 (<OIr. *-sínset*)

Form showings new 3sg. pres. ind. ending -enn/-ann

3sg. pres. ind. Do-naidlend (To-naidlend) (<OIr. *do-aidlea*)

SUBSTANTIVE VERB

Present indicative

2sg. Cid taí (toí) 197
3sg. Atá (Ata) 10,
(rel.) fil 10, Cid fil 51, daas (doass) 256
3pl. atát (atat) 220

Imperfect

3sg. No bíd (bid) 100
3pl. ní bítis (ni bitis) 34

Preterite

3sg. baí (bai) 2, boi 3, co mboi (co mboi) 32
3pl. co mbatar (co mbatar) 79

Augmented preterite

3sg. ro boi (ro bui) 139
3pl. ro batar (ro batar) 124

Augmented preterites used with sense of preterite

3sg. (rel.) i rrabe (i rraibe) 43
3pl. (rel.) I Rrabatar (i rrabatar) 49-50

Present subjunctive

3sg. rot bé (be) 217-8

Future

3sg. rot bia 11, biaid (biaidh) 77
(rel.) bias 223

Conditional

3pl. co mbetis 39

COPULA

Present indicative

1sg. Am 251
3sg. is 3
(+ ce) cia (sét/ set) 42

Preterite

3sg. ba 44, co mbó (co mmo) 225

Augmented preterite

3sg. rop (rob) 58

Present subjunctive

3sg. (+ ma) Mad (Mád) 67
(rel.) bas (bus) 9

Future

3sg. Níba 11, Bid 17

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

There are no common occurrences of independent pronouns used as object pronouns.

Note the following forms:

Neuter pronoun used with a historically neuter noun:

Bid ed a ainm (bid eadh a hainm) 17

Feminine *sí* is only found after the third person singular present indicative of the copula:

Is í (IS Si) 96 (in L initial *s* has coalesced with the final *s* of the verb, this occurs in both MSS. elsewhere; Is í (i) 99)

New third person plural independent pronoun and of the singular form of the copula used with a plural pronoun:

At-berat lagin is siat ro chloidsetar dún etair (as-berat laigin is iad ulaid ro cechlotar dun n-etur) 100-1

INFIXED PRONOUNS

OIr. forms:

1sg. Na conom marba (no conom marbu) 65, nacham bérad
(berad) 255

2sg. rot bia 11, rot bé (be) 217-8 (dative use with subst. vb.), Dot-uc
261

3sg. ros (rus) teind 194 (referring to *cnú*)
 fos (Fus) -ceird 259 (reflexive i.e. 'herself')

MidIr. developments

Use of class A for class C in a rel. cl.:

nos bérad (nus berad) 68 (referring to *Mess Gegrai's* wife)

Redundant neuter pronoun:

at-chonnarc (at-connurc) 198

SUFFIXED PRONOUNS

With third person singular present indicative:

3sg. neut. Roínti (rointi) 115

1pl. sastund (sastand) 177

With third person singular preterite:

3pl. dergsus 151, mbrogsus (mbrogsus) 155

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The neuter demonstrative pronoun *ón* is found as a neuter subject:

Do-gníther ón (Do gnither on) 265

Also with a non-neuter noun:

Bid anim (fem.) ón (bid animh on) 221

The later forms of *sin* i.e. *sein*, *sain*, *sen* are not found in the common ancestor.

CONJUNCTIONS

amal 209 (this begins to be replaced in MidIr. by *mar*).

PREPOSITIONS

The majority of forms conform to OIr. usage. The following MidIr. forms are found:

Initial vowel of *oc* lost before a possessive pronoun:

1sg.	<i>com digail-se</i> 66
2sg.	<i>cot acallaim (acallaim)</i> 235

Occurrence of *-p-* in a pronominal form of *ría*:

3sg. fem.	<i>rempe (rempi)</i> 96
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Occurrence of *-n-* in a form of *tré* with a possessive pronoun:

3sg.	<i>triana</i> 196, 209
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PHONETIC DEVELOPMENTS

The orthography of the common ancestor was conservative, and in many cases the two MSS. have identical spellings. Thus when a particular spelling suggests a phonetic development it may be deemed worthy of consideration. Generally we can only be certain that a form shows a phonetic development when it appears fixed by rhyme (the common ancestor has only one verse ll.54-7). We are limited then in what can be considered in prose.

OIr. forms (in verse):

Hiatus form fixed by syllable count:

chruib (cruib) 55

OIr. forms in prose:

Pre- *e* > *eo* before *ch/* lenited *g*:

co ndechar (co ndechar) 85, echach (echach) 130

Hiatus forms indicated by spelling with two short vowels:

oc soud (sood) 47, do-choid (coid) 105, daas (doass) 256

Pre- *ía* > *á* in an unstressed syllable:

dia (inchaib) 29

MidIr. forms:

Apparent contraction of hiatus:

cona scín (scin) 194, Cid dás (das) 253

Confusion of initial *ai-*, *au-*, *e-*, *i-*, *u-*:

urgail (urghail) 117 (< earlier *airgal*)

e > *eo* before *ch/* lenited *g*:

na eochu (heocha) 199

-ie- > *-ía-* in third person singular future of the substantive verb:

biaid 77 (< earlier *bieid*)

iu > *i* before a broad consonant:

it chind (cind) 10

Metathesised form:

oc descin 193

ml > *bl*:

no blaissed (*blassed*) 88

re > *ra*:

(ni) raga ((na) raghu) 227

Simplification of *-ndn-* > *-dn-*:

idnacul (idnacol) 7

IV.3. Date of composition

It can clearly be seen from the foregoing collection that, although the common material contains a mixture of OIr. and MidIr. forms, given the high number of historical OIr. forms in the various categories, and especially the high level of historical verbal flexion, we can reasonably conclude that our tale was composed at least during the latter half of the OIr. period. None of the indicators which might suggest a date of composition earlier than this are present. The presence of the not insignificant number of MidIr. forms in both mss., can be attributed to scribal innovation and modernisation of forms carried out after the point of composition.

V. Metre

V.1. ll. 20-8

Metre:

Rannaigeacht fota recomarcach (*rannaigeacht bec*: See Murphy 1961, 53).

7²7²7²7²

Rhyme:

There is perfect rhyme between b:d; these also make *úaitne* with a.

1. brethach: nEchach.: clothach
2. mbúadach: slúagach.: n-írach

There is also *aicill* rhyme within the second couplet in both stanzas.

1. túaraid: n-úallaig
2. dúilech: súilech

Perfect line internal rhyme is found in the first couplet of the first stanza.

1. rí: bríg

Alliteration:

- 1a. rí: rámat
- 1b. bríg: brethach
- 1c. sella: sillite
- 1d. n-úallaig: nEchach

- 2a. *Aithirne n-írach*
- 2b. *mballderg mbúadach*
- 2c. *Dia dúilech*
- 2d. *súilech slúagach*

Elision:

- 1b. The vowel of proclitic *do* is elided, this is fixed by syllable count.

Dúnad:

The repetition of the initial consonant *S* at the end of the poem shows that the scribe saw this to be the original extent of it, there is no metrical *dúnad*, however.

Dating:

There is little to suggest that this poem which appears in L only, was not part of the original. The following MidIr. forms occur, but none are fixed by rhyme (the ms. readings and not the restored forms are cited here).

- 1b. *athirne*: the ms. has a schwa spelling for the historical dat. sg. ending in *-iu*.
- 2c. *doringne*: this form has MidIr. *ngn* for *gn* (see *SnaG*, 325).

The occurrence of these forms is more likely due to their being found in a ms. of the MidIr. period rather than to the poem being a MidIr. composition. I have therefore adopted this poem in the restored text along with the introduction to it (see textual notes on restoration of spelling, emendations and translation).

V.2. II. 54-7 (see textual notes on selection of readings and restoration of forms).

Metre:

The metre used in this poem has not to my knowledge been formally classified, although the syllable count in the endwords is irregular it is nonetheless a form of *rannaigecht* with the requisite b:d endrhyme (cf. Thes. II 294.11 f.; 295.14 f. and Carney, 1964, 108 § 4, all early exx. of the metre $7^27^27^17^2$).

$7^37^27^17^2$

Rhyme:

Both mss. have a MidIr. form of **do-rindnacht** showing the phonetic change *ndn* > *dn* (see *SnaG*, 234). According to the rules of Classical Modern Irish rhyme (see Ó Cuív, 1966), *do-ridnacht* (or the historical form *do-rindnacht*) and *dirthacht* do not rhyme with each other, as Ó Cuív points out (*ibid.*, 101), where ‘plosion’, ‘continuance’ or ‘non-voice’ is present in one group it must be present in the second. In *do-ridnacht* the sequence of consonants to be balanced in the second word is d /d/, n /n/ (i.e. voiced plosive class 1, voiced continuant class 3); the sequence of consonants in the second word however is r /r/ and th /θ/ (i.e. voiced continuant class 3, voiceless continuant class 5).

The rules regarding rhyme in groups in OIr. and MidIr. have not been established as yet, so we cannot say for certain that the above pair of words do not rhyme.

Alliteration:

1d. *Maini maic*

Hiatus:

1b. Historical hiatus is retained in (di) *chruib*; this is fixed by syllable count.

Dating:

The fact that both mss. have MidIr. *dn* for *ndn* is not a reliable indicator of the date of composition (see above comments regarding rhyme). There is nothing, then, to suggest that this composition was not in the original.

V.3. II. 140-184 (see textual notes on selection of readings and translation).

This passage is divided into 31 distinct units, 25 of which begin with the formula *atconnarc* (-sa, and). The main metrical feature is alliteration. There is no regularity in the number of syllables per line or in the number of stressed words per line. Each of the 31 lines contains alliterating stressed words with only a few cases of voiced/unvoiced alliteration (found both within the line and in connecting alliteration). 22 lines end in a pair or series of alliterating words, and 6 lines have connecting alliteration with the following line (here the endword alliterates mostly with the next word after the *atconnarc and* introduction). The patterns of alliteration are presented here; the alliterating letters are in bold type with connecting alliterating letters in italic bold type.

- 140 A ingen a lúath, a láeb, a Leborcham, cía Ultu **ána** *acca*?
A bé **find** *forusta*;
At-condarc-sa, cóemchéile **slíasta** i **sním** sruthfóla fua **mboí**, **béo** cathmil
cnebach Conchobar.
At-condarc and **Coin Culainn** certslán ó **chúl** co ulaig, fo-roros a **cháel**.
- 145 At-condarc and **Celtchar** cnechmar fadessin, éissi **derga** **dia** *luid*.
At-condarc and **Lóegaire** Lonnbúadach, fria thairr culpait, **tolla** imma **thoíbu** tlacht, a
dabergin **búada** **bebárnatar**.
At-condarc and, **Briannán**, **brétsatar** fir frisa comarnic *carn*.
At-condarc and, **Gabliol** lesciol léimnech *lug*.
- 150 At-condarc and **Connlae** Cóemthóeb, selgatar fri lathraige **lár**.
At-condarc and **Furbaide** Fer Benn, for **daidbenn**, **dóensus**, **dergsus**, assa **beirn** **buí**.
At-condarc and **Éogan Éo**, **dia** **dergdeiss**, assa dí láim, do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara
fair.
At-chondarc and, **Dubthach** di **doit** **Lugdaig**, léosait **desa**, **ded**/*us*.
- 155 At-condarc and **Lugdaig**, lín a mac mrogsus innonn fri **Durach** **nDerg**.
At-condarc and **Amargein** **Artrúad**, ro lass sair assa **chuthach** cath.
At-condarc and **Fergnae**, fer brígach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib **septaib**
selsus.
At-condarc and **Auchride**, **augestar** fri slúag **sain**, sois fria n-indeg firu **foi** **fó**.

- 160 At-condarc and **Béothaig béogestar** ind ala ór, srethius, **fuili foa ún a selad fri slas.**
 At-condarc and in **tuidbigid tróethas rígrátha, Rochad Rúadbuillech mac Find**
Faithemain fri **sellad slúag.**
 At-condarc and in **suid sulbair soacaldmae, ro-siacht a aurdircinsce ardrígdæ**
úad, ro sáraigsetar fir-Ferchertne filid ind ríg.
- 165 At-condarc and **Fiachraig n-ail, ail** cech ecló saír **clóó.**
 At-condarc and **Conáed Cétguinech** cetaro ráith ecrata, garg a roe **rith, ro bíth mac**
Mornai moíth, in dá thoíb tuill, túaim i timargar ith.
 At-condarc and **Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth fris bruinne ben.**
 Ata-condarc and inna ríglasra; lassait amal óenóebill, **garg a ngaiscid gním gaile; Glaine 7**
 170 **Gormainech, Maine Milscothach 7 Ailill, Scel 7 Toscel, Dures 7 Ret 7**
Bricriu. Bertsait mórgnímu noí maic Carbada uill.
 At-condarc and **Conall Cernach** co **coscraib, co cernaib, co fodbaib, co finnaib, co n-**
étib, co n-ócaib ro ráith bríga; in cur **cathbúadach, cathchoscrach, Conall cóem**
Cernach.
- 175 At-condarc and **Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad con-meil mórgala** asa **eolairg ard.**
 At-chondarc and, fo-**fúaratar Ulaid úir** rod **lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil,**
millsiunn, sástunn sál mara móir tethrag tar cutig.
 At-chondarc and do-**fúargabad úr, imma-sínset fir, imma-tarlaicthea cranna, imma**
-cloiset gaí.
- 180 **Scíathgal, scíath i cath; it cathbúadaig Ulaid íar n-áraib** ecrat, íar fortbiu buiden, íar
 sli^g **úir.**
 Do-**airgellsat gíall** cach **cóicid di chóicedaib Érenn** acht **cóiced Gáilion.**
 Dos-fil, **ticfat, tadbdet, fibait i nEmain** dadaig.
 Ulaid **ollchathaig, fritháilid inna firu dos-fil** far ndochum, acht **cecha torchair díb.**

Dating:

This passage has a mixture of OIr. and MidIr. readings which are common to both texts and which exist separately in the two mss. Forms have been selected from the passage for use in IV.2. above.

Talland Étair

Boí fer amnas étrócar i nÉre .i. Aithirne Áilgesach a ainm, mac-side Ferchertni di Ultaib. Fer gáde a óensúil din cháech ⁊ gáid in mnaí oca lámnad. Is dé boí dossom ón, dia lluid for cúairt a comairli Chonchobair. Is ed luide i tosuch
5 cétamus túaithbiul Érinne co rralae cúairt Connacht. Is ed luide iarum co rí medóin Érenn eter in da Áth Chlíath .i. co Echaig mac Luchtai co rí descirt Connacht. Luid -side dia indnacul ind Aithirni co fíru Muman tar Sinainn fa-des.

‘Conna rucae ar ndimdaí a Aithirni’, ol Echu ‘ma nod fil ocunn di sétaib no mainib ní bas áil duit co rrucae’.

10 ‘A-tá immurgu’, ol Aithirne ‘ind óensúil ucut fil it chiunn do brith dam-sa im durn’.

‘Níba érae immurgu’, ol Echu ‘rot bia’.

Is and do-rat in rí a mér foa súil conda tall assa chiunn ⁊ co tarat i ndorn Aithirni.

‘Gaib mo láim a gillai!’ ol in rí ‘dochum ind uisci do nigí mo aigthe’.

Dálais iarum téora tonna dond uisciu imma agaid.

15 ‘In tallad int súil asmo chiunn a gillai?’ ol in rí.

‘All amae!’ ol in gillae ‘is derg a nderc dot fuil .i. bid ed a ainm co bráth’, ol-se ‘.i. Dergderc’.

Lasin féli móir do-rigni in rí .i. a óensúil do thabairt dia chiunn no dia inchaib, fiurt féle do-rat Dia dossom dí súil ata áildem ro bátar i nÉre. Is dé sin ro cét:

20

Súil ind ríg rámat clothach,
do Aithirniu ba bríg brethach
Sella sillite in túaraid,
ercsait cenn n-úallaig nEchach.

25

Eter Aithirne n-írach
is Echaig mballderg mbúadach
Do-rigéni Día dúilech,
imchoímchlód súilech slúagach. S.

30

Is ed luide Aithirne íar suidiu co rríg Muman .i. co Tigernach Tétbuillech. Níro gab danó ní dia inchaib-side acht ind rígain do feis leis ind aidchi sin, no enech fer Muman do brith co bráth. Ocus ind adaig ro asaítéd in ben is sí adaig ro fíu la Aithirne do inchaib a haithig tige arna ructhae a enech.

35

Is ed luide Aithirne íar sin i Laigniu co mboí i nArd Brestine i ndesciurt Maige Fea. 7 do-lotar Descert Laigen inna agaid do thairesin sét 7 maíne dó arna digsed issa tír, arna fácbad ailchea móra. Ar ní bitis a maíni nach neich fora taibred ammus mani tabarthaé dó. Ní fáicébad danó athgabáil túath no chenél lasa mairfide-sem. Co taibred in fer a mnaí ndó, no co taibred a óensúil assa chiunn, no co taibred a saint di sétaib 7 maínib.

40

Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailchea móra do fácbáil for Laignib conid romarbtais co mbetis Ulaid do grés oca dígail for Laigniu. Is and trá gabais áilgis do Desciurt Laigen i mBrestini. .i. nad n-accae di sétaib no maínib ní no gabad úaidib, acht ail bréthre do fácbáil forru co bráth conna turgébtas a n-aigthea dé la Goidelu. .i. mani tuctais dossom in sét as dech boí isin tulaig 7 nad fitir nech isin tulaig cía sét so no cía baile i rrae.

45

Ba gress 7 ba imdergad mór dont slúag a n-i-sin 7 ro gádatar uili tigerna inna ndúile co tartad fortacht dóib im dingbáil díb inna gresse ro laad forru. Boí trá marcach oc imrimm a eich isin tulaig. Do-scuiched dochum inna airechta, no linged úaidib. Fecht and didiu oc soud ind eich dar colpthu, do-cuirethar int ech fót mór dia dib

cruib íartharchaib cossin n-airecht conid tarlae i n-ucht ind rí .i. Fergusa Fairrce maic Nuadat Necht. Co n-accae-side a ndelg i n-agaid ind fóit dond leith ón talmain, i rrabatar cethair fichit ungae di dergór.

‘Cid fil im ucht-sa’, ol in rí

‘a Aithirni?’

Is and as-bert Aithirne:

Delg fil i nArd Brestine,
di chruib eich do-rindnacht.
Tarais rucad mór mbreth cert,
i mbrutt Maini maic Dirthacht.

‘Is ed a ndelg sin rop áil dam-sa’, ol Aithirne ‘.i. bráthair m’athar-sa fod-rácab 7 do-rat i talmain íar maidm érchatha for Ultu .i. Cath Brestine’.

Is and sin do-ratad dó a ndelg. 7 luid íar sin co Mess nGegrai .i. rí Laigen. Bráthair dó Mess Roída da mac Da Thó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a mmáthair 7 a n-athair. Feraid Mess Gegrai fáilti móir fri Aithirne.

‘Is maith lim-sa ón’, ol-se ‘mad lat mnaí fessin do feis lim co matin’.

‘Cid ara tibérainn?’ ol in rí.

‘Dot inchaib’, ol Aithirne ‘no conom marbae-so co rop ail for Laignib co bráth7 connahant Ulaid ocom dígail-se forru co bráth’.

‘Mad ar ULtaib nícot biad-so fáilte lim-sa a Aithirni’, ol in rí ‘rot bia in ben immurgu dom inchaib-se. Ní fil immurgu la Ultu óenfer noda bérad acht manis taibrinn duit-siu dom inchaib’.

70 ‘Is fír’, ol Aithirne ‘ní ainiub-sa ám dít aimles-so conda ruca oenfer di Ultaib úait’, ol Aithirne ‘íar mbrith do chinn dít’.

‘Ní gébthar indiut’, ol in rí ‘rot bia fáilte’.

Foid in ben leis ind aidchi sin .i. Búan ben Meisse Gegrai. ⁊ anaid Aithirne for cúairt Laigen co cenn mblíadnae, co tuc tri cóecta rígnae di mnáib flaithe ⁊
75 dagdoíne Laigen dia mbrith dia thír leis.

‘Maith trá a gillai’, ol Aithirne fria gillae ‘eirg dam-sa co Ultu co torsat im agaid. Is dóchu bieid imrádud la Laigniu form-sa immin mbrait se ⁊ co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaib’.

Do-lloitar didiu Laigin do chelebrad do Aithirniu co mbáatar i Forcarthain. Do-lloitar
80 danó Ulaid co mbáatar oc Tulchuindi fri Áth Clíath an-túaid. Celebraid dóib íarum int-í Aithirne ⁊ ní fárcab bendachtin ⁊ ní tuc a n-aill. Ba olc immurgu la Laigniu a mná do brith úaidib i mbrait do Ultaib. Ó luid di inchaib Laigen int-í Aithirne, lotar -side do íarmóracht a mbraite. Co n-accatar Ulaid immurgu in n-íarmóracht i ndiad Aithirni. Do-lloitar-side dia tairmusc-som. Fechair cath immi fo chétóir. Maidid for
85 Ultu, co ndechutar la muir sair co rragbad Étar forru.

Noí tráth dóib i nÉtur cen dig cen biad, acht mani eisbesat sál in mora no mani dótar in n-úir. Secht cét bó immurgu la Aithirne .i. baí fínda óderga for lár in dúine ⁊ ní rabae la Ultu mac ná fer no mlaissed bannae dia n-ass acht no léicthe fon all, arna taiseclad nech díb etir a biad-som do mlassacht. Ocus do-bertis cuci ind fír athgoíti
90 ⁊ ní léiced bannae inna cenn co n-epiltis a n-óenur di chráugalur. ⁊ no téigtis maithi Ulad cuci i n-impidi im dig do Chonchobur ⁊ nícon étad úad. Conid ed no ferad Conchobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora muin óthá Emain Machae im thráth nóna beus .i. Lebarcham is sí do-bered.

Mug ⁊ cumal ro báatar i tig Chonchobair is sí gein rucad etarru .i. ind ingen

95 Lebarcham. Ba dochrud danó a delb inna ingine .i. a di thraigid ⁊ a da nglún inna degaid, a di escait ⁊ a di sáil remi. Is sí do-foichled Éirinn i n-óenló. Cech ní di maith ⁊ di saich do-gníthe i nÉre at-féded do Chonchobar isin Chráebrúaid deud laí. A tortíne tri fichet mbairgen ara ciunn i ciunn tened, cenmothá a cuit lasin slúag. Is sí trá do-bered a chuit do Chonchobur fora mmuin óthá Emain co hÉtar.

100 No bíd trá a n-imguin eter dé ⁊ aidchi imma ndún ocus as-berat Laigin it é Ulaid ro chechlatar Dún nÉtair. A-tá bern Chon Culainn and cen íadad. No bíd cách oca gressacht imma imbe.

‘Nathó’, ol-se ‘cúal gaí immus-n-íada lim-sa’.

105 No bíd danó Conchobar oc airbriathrad Chon Culainn, conna rucad a búrach immach etir .i. co tairsed tóchustal Ulad. Ar do-coid Leborcham dia tóchustul-side, co tístais i curchaib tar muir dia cobair. Do-ratad immurgu Mess Dead mac Amairgin daltae do Choin Chulainn, mac secht mblíadnae, for cléith i ndorus in dúine, ⁊ nónbor cecha úaire issind ló do marbad dó. Ocus géill Ulad do thabairt immach cech laa do Laignib fo thrí ⁊ a mbrith innonn do Mess Dead fo thrí ar galaib óenfir. Is é forceta-
110 immarbrath éccomlonn. Is ed as-berat-som in tan trá ro ngabsat curaig Ulad i tír issind Étur anair, is and do-cótar tri chét láech cossin mac forsín chléith dia marbad. At-recht a búiriud ass íarum oc béim a chinn dé. Co closs ní Cú Chulainn.

‘Is nem maides no is muir thráiges no talam con-scara no búiriud mo daltaí-sa oc imbirt éccomloinn fair’.

115 La sodain fo-ceird Cú Chulainn bedg immach. Roínti in slúag inna ndiad. Fechair cath and fo chétóir. Trom immurgu in gress ro lásat. Cródae conid apbad, amnas a mbúrach ro fersat in churaid ⁊ ind láith gaile. Con-acabtha trá in di urgail ó theirt co nónai. Maidid íarum for Laigniu co turgabsat múr nderg fri Ultu. Ar ba geis do Ultaib dul dar múr nderg. Ba fé illé ⁊ ba fé innonn immurgu in comrac. Do
120 -rochratar sochaide mór and di Ultaib i frecur in chatha. Do-rochair and cétamus Mess Dead mac Amargin ⁊ Briannán Brethach ⁊ Connláe ⁊ Béothach ⁊ Conáed mac Mornai ⁊ sochaide olchenae.

Is and sin trá luid Leborcham fo-thúaid riasint slúag co célmairiu do mnáib Ulad.
Ar ro bátar-side i ngúais ⁊ gábud ⁊ i toirsi móir ónd úair ro gabad Étar forsnaib
125 feraib:

.i. Mugain Aittenchaithrech ben Chonchobair maic Nessa an-túaid.

Feidelm Noíchrothach danó ingen Chonchobair .i. noí crotha furre ⁊ ba háildiu
cach cruth alailiu.

Feidelm Foltcháin and danó ben Lógairi Búadaig maic Connad Buidi maic Iliach.

130 Findbec ingen Echach ben Chethirn maic Fintain.

Bríg Brethach ben Cheltchair maic Uthidir.

Findige ingen Echach ben Éogain maic Durthacht.

Findchóem ingen Chathbad ben Amargin Íargiunnaig.

Derb Förgaill ingen ríge Lochlainne ben Lugdach Ríab nDerg maic inna tri Find Emna.

135 Emer Foltcháin ingen Förgaill Manach ben Chon Culainn maic Súaltaim.

Lendabair ingen Éogain maic Dirthacht ben Chonaill maic Amargin.

Niab ingen Cheltchair maic Uthidir ben Chormaic Conn Longas maic Conchobair.

Mó tuirim anru boí di dagmnáib and olchenae.

Mugain trá ro boí oca acaldaim-si inna hechlaige. Conid and as-bert-si:

140 A ingen a lúath, a láeb, a Leborcham, cía Ultu ána acca?

A bé find fforusta;

At-condarc-sa, cóemchéile slíasta i sním sruthfola fua mboí, béo cathmíl
cneadach Conchobor.

At-condarc and Coin Culainn certslán ó chúl co ulaig, fo-roros a cháel.

145 At-condarc and Celtchar cneadmar fadessin, éissi derga dia luid.

At-condarc and Lógairi Lonnbúadach, fria thairr culpait, tolla imma thoíbu tlacht, a
dabergin búada bebárnatar.

At-condarc and Briannán, brétsatar fir frisa comarnic carn.

At-condarc and Gabliol lesciol léimnech lug.

150 At-condarc and Connlae Cóemthóeb, selgatar fri lathraige lár.

At-condarc and Furbaide Fer Benn, for daidbenn, dóensus, dergsus, assa beirn buí.

At-condarc and Éogan Éo, dia dergdeiss, assa dí láim, do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara
fair.

- At-condarc and, Dubthach di doit Lugdach, léosait dessa, dedlus.
- 155 At-condarc and Lugdaig, lín a mac mrogsus innonn fri Durach nDerg.
 At-condarc and Amargein Artrúad, ro lass sair assa chuthach cath.
 At-condarc and Fergnae, fer brígach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib sehtaib selsus.
 At-condarc and Auchride, augestar fri slúag sain, sois fria n-indeg firu foi fó.
- 160 At-condarc and Béothaig béogestar ind ala ór, srethius fuili foa ún a selad fri slas.
 At-condarc and in tuidbigid tróethas rígrátha, Rochad Rúadbuillech mac Find Faithemain fri sellad slúag.
 At-condarc and in suid sulbair soacaldmae, ro-siacht a aurdircinsce ardrígdæ uad, ro sáraigsetar fir-Ferchertne filid ind ríg.
- 165 At-condarc and Fiachraig n-ail, ail cech ecló saír clóó.
 At-condarc and Conáed Cétguinech cetaro ráith eccrata, garg a roe rith, ro bíth mac Mornai moíth, in da thoíb tuill, túaim i timargar ith.
 At-condarc and Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth fris bruinne ben.
 Ata-condarc and inna ríglasra; lassait amal óenóebill, garg a ngaiscid gním gaile; Glaine 7
- 170 Gormainech, Maine Milscothach 7 Ailill, Scel 7 Toscel, Dures 7 Ret 7 Bricriu. Bertsait mórgnímu noí maic Carbada uill.
 At-condarc and Conall Cernach co coscraib, co cernaib, co fodbaib, co finnaib, co n-étib, co n-ócaib, ro ráith bríga; in cur cathbúadach, cathchoscrach, Conall cóem Cernach.
- 175 At-condarc and Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad con-meil mórgala asa eolairg ard.
 At-chondarc and, fo-fúaratar Ulaid úir rod lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil, millsium, sástunn sál mora móir tethrag tar cutig.
 At-chondarc and do-fúargabad úr, imma-sínset fir, imma-tarlaicthea cranna, imma -cloíset gaí.
- 180 Scíathgal, scíath i cath; it cathbúadaig Ulaid íar n-áraib eccrat, íar fortbiu buiden, íar sligi áir.
 Do-airgellsat gíall cach cóicid di chóicedaib Érenn acht cóiced Gáilion.
 Dos-fil, ticfat, taidbdet, fibait i nEmain dadaig.
 Ulaid ollchathaig, fritháilid inna firu dos-fil far ndochum, acht cecha torchar díb.
- 185 Is ed célmáine in sin ruc Leborcham do mnáib Ulad.

Luid danó Conall Cernach a óenur i n-íarmóracht Laigen do dagdígail a bráithre do
-rochratar isin chath .i. Mess Dead ⁊ Lóegaire. Is ed luide for Áth Clíath sech
Drummanach for Auu Gabla i Forcarthain, sech Úachtar nAird, sech Nás do Chlóenud.
Ó ráncatar didiu Laigin a tír, luid cách úaidib dia bailiu. Anais immurgu Mess Gegrai
190 for Cassán Chlóenta a óenur ⁊ a arae dar éissi int slúraig.

‘Con-tuiliub-sa calléic’, ol int arae fri Mess nGegrai ‘⁊ con-tolae-so íarum’.

‘Maith lim’ ol in rí.

A mboí Mess Gegrai oc déicsin ind uisci co n-accae in cnoí íarsind abainn. Ba méite
cenn fir in chnú. Luid síis fadessin conda tubart dó ⁊ nos tethainn cona sciin ⁊
195 fo-rácab leth ind eitni don gillu. Co n-accae-som in ngillae, da-n-aurbad din talmain
tría chotlud. Ocus do-ríusaig in gillae íar sin assa chotlud.

‘Cid taí a gillai?’ ol in rí.

‘Drochaislinge ad-condarc’ ol in gillae.

‘Gaib inna echu a gillai!’ ol in rí.

200 Gaibid in gillae inna echu.

‘Ind cnú deod-so?’, ol in gillae

‘Dóich’ ol in rí.

‘In farcbais a lleth dam-sa?’ ol in gillae.

‘Mínigid cétaimus!’ ol in rí.

205 ‘In ferán doid a mbec sechom-sa’, ol in gillae ‘no íssad a mmór’.

Ro boí a lám ind ríg fria agaid co lleith ind eitni. Da-n-aidlea in gillae co claidiub co tall a láim dé.

‘Olc sin a gillai’ ol in rí. ‘Oslaic mo dorn a-tá leth ind eitni and!’.

210 Amal ad-condairc in gillae a n-í-sin, im-soí in claideb fris fessin co ndechuid tría druimm síar.

‘Fé amae a gillai!’ ol in rí.

In-lá fessin int-í Mess Gegrai a charpat 7 do-beir a lám ind ara bélaib.

In tan didiu luide assind áth síar, is and do-lluid Conall Cernach issin n-áth anair.

‘Amein a Mess Gegrai!’ ol Conall.

215 ‘At-taam and’ ol Mess Gegrae.

‘Ceist íarum’ ol Conall.

‘Cid fil and’ ol Mess Gegrai ‘acht int-í dia ndligi fiachu, saig fair cach ní rot bé!’.

‘At-taat mo bráthair lat-so’ ol Conall.

220 ‘Ní’m chriss at-taat’ ol Mess Gegrai.

‘Bid ainem ón’ ol Conall.

‘Ní fir ngaiscid’, ol Mess Gegrai ‘comrac frim-sa co n-óenláim’.

‘Is fair bia-sa’, ol Conall ‘con-rirestar mo lám-sa dom thoib’.

.i. co fo thrí con-áracht lám Chonaill dia thoib do chomruc fri óenlámaid. Is íarum
225 con-áracht lám Chonaill. Ocus íar sin immus-túaircet combo derg ind aub díb.
Fortressa a chluichi in Chonaill Chernaig.

‘Maith trá a Chonaill!’ ol Mess Gegrai. ‘Ro-fetar-sa ní regae-so co rucae mo chenn-sa
lat 7 tabair mo chenn fort chenn 7 m’orddan fort horddan’.

Benaid Conall a chenn dé oc Cassán Chlóenta ocus beirid Conall a cenn co tarat forin
230 liic for brú ind átha. Do-luid bannae a méidiu in chinn co ndechuid i cenn in choirthi co
lluid triit co talmain. Do-bert danó a cenn forin coirthi 7 at-n-aig a cenn in coirthi co
talmain conid tarlae fora béolu dochum inna habann. Conall Clóen a ainm-sem co sin.

Ar ro bátar téora ainmea la Ultu .i. Conall Clóen 7 Cú Chulainn Goll 7 Cúscaid
Mend. Ro rannsat mná Ulad i tri. Ro car cech trian díb a fer din triur sin. A trian ro
235 charsat Conall batis clóin ocot acaldaim. A trian ro charsat Coin Chulainn batis guill
ocot acaldaim. A trian ro charsat Cúscaid batis mind ocot acaldaim. Do-bert
immurgu Conall a chenn-som fora chenn conid tarlae dara ais combo díriuch ónd úair
sin.

Luid didiu Conall inna charpat a óenur 7 int arae i carpat Meisse Gegrai. Nos mrogat
240 dó íarum i nÚachtar Fine, co comarnectar fri cócait mban and sin .i. Búan ben Mess
Gegrai cona bantrecht, oc tuidecht assin choicrích an-túaid.

‘Cía oca taí a ben?’ ol Conall.

‘Ben Meisse Gegrai rí?’

‘Timarnad duit techt lim-sa’ ol Conall.

245 ‘Cía dom-imarnae?’ ol in ben.

‘Mess Gegrai’ ol Conall.

‘In tucais comardae lat?’ ol in ben.

‘A charpat ⁊ a eich sund’ ol Conall.

‘Sochaide dia tabair séutu’ ol in ben.

250 ‘A chenn suno danó’ ol Conall.

‘Am díles-sa úad-som in fecht-so’ ol-sí.

Imm-dergthae a cenn ind ala fecht ⁊ no bántae in fecht n-aili.

‘Cid daas in fer, a ben?’ ol Conall.

‘Ro-fetar-sa ón immurgu’, ol in ben ‘immarbág do-ralae etarru ⁊ Aithirne.

255 As-rubart-som nacham bérad-sa óenfer di Ultaib. Comrac imma bréithir íarum, is ed daas in fer’.

‘Tair-siu cuccum-sa’, ol Conall ‘issin carpat’.

‘An frim’, ol-sí ‘coro chain mo chéile’.

At-recht íarum a faid guil eissi, co closs co Temraig ⁊ co Ailinn ⁊ fos-ceird

260 dara cenn os-sí marb. Atá a fert forsint sligi .i. Coll Búaine, in coll ro ás tría fert.

‘Dot-uc ass a gillai!’ ol Conall.

‘Fo-réimdim a cenn do brith lim’ ol in gillae.

‘Gat a inchinn ass’, ol Conall ‘⁊ imbir claideb fair ⁊ tuc a inchinn lat ⁊ cummaisc áel fair co ndernae líathróit dé’.

265 Do-gníther ón ⁊ fácabar a cenn ocon mnaí ocus lotar-som co ráncatar Emain. Ba moídmach immurgu la Ultu rí Laigen do marbad dóib.

Is dé sin trá a-tá Cúairt Aithirni ⁊ Marbad Meisse Gegrai do Chonall Chernach
⁊ Cath Étair.

Talland Étair (also known as 'The Siege of Howth').

There was a cruel, unmerciful man in Ireland, namely Aithirne Áilgesach, he was the son of Ferchertne of Ulster. He was a man who demanded his only eye from the one-eyed man and the woman as she was giving birth. Thus it came about for him, when he went on the advice of Conchobar on a circuit. This is where he went at first, left-hand wise around Ireland until he had made the circuit of Connacht. This is where he went afterwards, to the king of the midland kingdom of Ireland between the two Áth Cliaths, namely, to Echu son of Luchtae, to the king southern Connacht. He went to convey Aithirne southwards over the Shannon to the men of Munster.

'Lest we incur your displeasure Aithirne', said Echu 'if we have whatever you should desire of chattels or treasures you should take them'.

'There is indeed', said Aithirne 'that single eye which is in your head is to be carried away by me in my fist'.

'It will not be a refusal, indeed', said Echu 'you shall have it'.

It was then that the king inserted his finger under his eye so that he removed it from his head and gave it into Aithirne's fist.

'Lead me to the water lad!', said the king 'that I may wash my face'.

Then he splashed three waves of the water about his face.

'Was the eye removed from my head lad?' asked the king.

'Indeed!' said the lad 'the hole is red from your blood, that is, it will be its name forever', said he 'namely Dergderc'.

On account of the great act of generosity which the king had performed, that is, giving his only eye from his head or from his face/ for his honour, by a miracle of generosity God gave him two eyes that are the most beautiful which had been in Ireland.

Hence was sung:

[20-39] (The giving of) the king's eye, a renowned highroad,
To Aithirne it was a matter for trial,
Eyes which gaze at the poet,
They reddened the head of proud Echu.

Between wrathful Aithirne,
And victorious, red-limbed Echu,
God the Creator has made
An abundant ocular exchange.

This is where Aithirne went after that, to the king of Munster, namely, to Tigernach Tétbuillech. He took nothing from his honour then, but that the queen should sleep with him that night, or the honour of the Munstermen would be erased forever. And that night in which the woman was in labour, was the night that she had slept with Aithirne for her husband's honour, that his honour might not be erased.

This is where Aithirne went after that, into Leinster until he was in Ard Brestine in the south of Mag Fea. And the Southern Leinstermen came before him to offer him chattels and treasures so that he might not enter the land, so that he would not leave great insults. For the wealth of no one on whom he used to make an attack used remain, unless something was given to him. The people or race by whom he should be killed would have no quarter, so that the man should give his wife to him, or the only eye from his head, or he should give him whatever he desired of chattels and treasures.

[40-59] This is what he determined to do, to leave great insults upon the Leinstermen so that they should kill him, so that the Ulstermen might perpetually be avenging him upon the Leinstermen. It was then that he made a demand of the Southern Leinstermen in Brestine, namely, that he did not see of chattels or treasures something which he might take from them, save to leave a verbal insult upon them forever so that they could not lift their faces among the Irish as a result of it, that is, unless they

gave him the best jewel which was in the hill and that no one on the hill knew which jewel this was nor in which place it was.

That was an attack upon the honour of and a great insult to the host and they all prayed to the Lord of Creation that he should give them help in order to fend off the insult that had been inflicted upon them.

There was a horseman then, riding his horse around on the hill. It was moving towards the assembly, it was jumping away from them. On one occasion then, when he was wheeling the horse around, the horse cast a large sod from its two hind hooves towards the assembly, so that it landed in the king's lap, namely, Fergus Fairrce son of Nuadu Necht. He saw the brooch in the face of the sod on the clayey side, in which there were eighty ounces of red gold.

'What is in my lap Aithirne?' asked the king.

It was then Aithirne said:

The brooch which is in Ard Brestine,
By a horse's hooves it has been delivered.
Many just judgements have been passed over it,
In the mantle of Maine son of Durthacht.

'That is the brooch which I have desired', said Aithirne 'that is, it was my father's brother who left it and buried it in the ground after the Ulstermen were defeated in a great battle, namely, the Battle of Brestine'.

[60-79] It was then that the brooch was given to him. And he went after that to Mess Gegrai, namely, the king of Leinster. A brother of his was Mess Róida, they were the two sons of Two Mutes, that is, their mother and father were deaf and dumb. Mess Gegrai gives Aithirne a great welcome.

'I would like this', said he 'if your wife were to sleep with me till morning'.

‘Why would I give her?’ asked the king.

‘For your honour’, said Aithirne ‘alternatively, may you kill me so that it may be a blemish on the Leinstermen forever and so that the Ulstermen may never cease from avenging me upon them’.

‘If it were on account of the Ulstermen you could not find welcome with me Aithirne’, said the king ‘you will have the woman, however, for my honour. There is not among the Ulstermen, moreover, a single man who could take her unless I gave her to you for my honour’.

‘It is true’, said Aithirne ‘I will not desist from harming you indeed, until a single Ulsterman should take her from you’, said Aithirne ‘having taken your head off you’.

‘You will not be assailed’, said the king ‘you will be welcome’.

The woman sleeps with him that night, namely, Búan Mess Gegrai’s wife. And Aithirne remains on the circuit of Leinster for a year, so that he took one hundred and fifty queens from the wives of the chiefs and noblemen of Leinster, in order to bring them with him to his own land.

‘Right then lad’, said Aithirne to his servant ‘go to the Ulstermen for me, so that they should come to meet me. The Leinstermen will likely be plotting over me concerning this booty as soon as I should pass from their protection’.

The Leinstermen came then to bid farewell to Aithirne until they were in Forcarthu. The Ulstermen came moreover, until they were at Tulchuide to the north of Áth [80-99] Clíath. He, Aithirne, bids farewell to them then and he left no blessing and he took no other. The Leinstermen were vexed, however, that their women were being taken from them in captivity to Ulster.

When he, Aithirne, passed from the protection of the Leinstermen, they went to retrieve their booty. The Ulstermen, however, saw the pursuit after Aithirne. They

came to hinder them. A battle is fought over him at once. The Ulstermen are defeated, so that they went eastwards by sea until they had landed at Étar.

They were nine days at Étar without drink, without food, unless they had drunk the brine of the sea or unless they had eaten the clay. Aithirne had, moreover, seven hundred cows, namely white red-eared cows, in the middle of the fort. And there was not amongst the Ulstermen boy nor man who tasted a drop of their milk, rather it used to be dumped over the cliff, so that none of them at all would discover the taste of his food. And the severely wounded men were brought to him and not a drop was let into their heads, so that they used to die alone from bloody sickness. And the noblemen of Ulster used to go to him asking for a drink for Conchobar and he used not get it from him. So that what used to supply Conchobar was what the girl used to bring on her back from Emain Machae in the evening regularly, namely Lebarcham, it is she who used to bring it.

A slave and a slavewoman who were in Conchobar's house, she is the child who was born to them, namely, the girl Lebarcham. The girl's figure was misshapen, moreover, that is her two feet and her two knees were behind her, her two haunches and her two heels were before her. It is she who used to travel around Ireland in one day. Everything of good or evil that was done in Ireland, she used to relate it to Conchobar in the Cráebrúad at the end of the day. Her little loaf which was as big as sixty loaves, was before her at the end of the fire, as well as her share with the host. It is she then, who used to bring Conchobar's share to him upon her back from Emain to Étar.

[100- The conflict went on both by day and by night about the fort and the Leinstermen say
120] it is the Ulstermen who had built Dún nÉtair. Cú Chulainn's gap is there unclosed. Everybody was urging him to fence it.
'No!', said he 'a bundle of spears closes it for me'.

Conchobar, moreover, was ordering Cú Chulainn not to vent his rage at all, that is, until the mustering of the Ulstermen should be complete. For Leborcham had gone to muster them, so that they should come in boats by sea to help them. Mess Dead son of Amargein, foster-son of Cú Chulainn, a boy of seven years was put on a palisade in

front of the fort and nine men were killed by him every hour of the day. And Ulster's hostages were brought out three times every day by the Leinstermen and they were brought back three times by Mess Dead in single combat. It is he, upon whom unequal combat was first plied. So that what they say, then, is when Ulster's boats had landed at Howth from the east, it was then that three hundred warriors made for the boy on the palisade to kill him. He roared thereafter, as his head was being cut off. Cú Chulainn was heard speaking:

'It is the sky that cracks, or it is the sea that ebbs, or it is the earth that splits, or it is the roaring of my foster-son having unequal combat plied upon him'.

With that Cú Chulainn springs forth. He routs the host from behind them. A battle is fought there at once. Severe indeed was the attack they had waged. Bloody until it ended, cruel was the rage which the heroes and the warriors gave forth. The two lines of battle were maintained, then, from terce to nones. The Leinstermen are defeated, so that they raised a red wall against the Ulstermen. For it was taboo for the Ulstermen to go across a red wall. The battle, moreover, was a slaughter to one

[120- side and a slaughter to the other. A great number of Ulstermen fell accordingly, in the
139] contesting of the fight. There fell accordingly there first: Mess Dead son of Amargein and Briannán Brethach and Connlac and Béothach and Conáed son of Mornae and a multitude besides.

It was then, therefore, that Leborcham went northwards before the host with a prophecy for the women of Ulster. For they had been in danger and peril and in great distress from the time the men had landed at Étar.

Namely, Mugain Aittenchaithrech from the north, wife of Conchobar son of Ness. Fedelm Noíchruthach also, Conchobar's daughter, that is, she had nine appearances and each appearance was more beautiful than the other.

Fedelm Foltcháin wife of Lóegaire Búadach son of Connae Buide son of Iliach was there then.

Findbec daughter of Echu wife of Cethern son of Fintan.

Bríg Brethach wife of Celtchar son of Uthider.

Findige daughter of Echu wife of Éogan son of Durthacht.

Findchóem daughter of Cathub wife of Amargein Íargiunnach.

Derb Förgaill wife of Lugaid Ríab nDerg son of the three Find Emna.

Emer Foltcháin daughter of Forgall Manach wife of Cú Chulainn son of Sualtam.

Lendabair daughter of Éogan son of Durthacht wife of Conall son of Amargein.

Niab daughter of Celtchar son of Uthider wife of Cormac Conn Longas son of Conchobar.

More than can be numbered, that which was there of noblewomen besides.

Mugain, then, had been conversing with the messenger. So that she then said:

[140-59] ‘O girl, o swift one, o crooked one, o Leborcham, who are the glorious Ulstermen you have seen?’

‘O fair, dignified woman;

I have seen him, a beloved consort in distress of streaming blood under which he was, alive is the wounded warrior Conchobar.

I have seen him there, Cú Chulainn, straight and whole from head to foot, his neck has been reddened.

I have seen him there, wounded Celtchar himself, red tracks from which he went.

I have seen him there, Lóegaire Lonnbúadach, ..., about his pierced sides a garment,

...

I have seen him there, Bríannán, men with whom he met broke a cairn in pieces.

I have seen him there, Gabliol ..., a leaping warrior.

I have seen him there, Connlac Cómthóeb, whom they struck down by the middle of a muddy pool.

I have seen him there, Furbaide Fer Benn in pursuit, he subjected them, he reddened them, from his gap ...

I have seen him there, Éogan Éo, at his ruddy right-hand side, ... two hands, gushing effusions of blood flowed over him.

I have seen him there, Dubthach by the side of Lugaid, they hacked off right hands, he cut them.

I have seen him there, Lugaid, the full complement of his sons he moved them forward against Durach Derg.

I have seen him there, Amargein Artrúad, battle has blazed forth from his rage.

I have seen him there, Fergnae, a powerful man, a man who ran first before every other warrior, by his two... he will slay them.

I have seen him there, Auchride, who listened to a peculiar host, he turned men against their ranks...

[160- I have seen him there, Béothach who revived a second time, he scatters them...
against slaughter.

179] I have seen him there, the destroyer who subdued royal forts, Rochad Rúadbuillech son of Find Fáithemain, engaged in looking at hosts.

I have seen him there, the eloquent, affable sage, his renowned, noble speech extended from him; they have insulted veracious Ferchertne, the king's *fili*.

I have seen him there, Fiachra the rock, ...

I have seen him there, Conáed Cétguinech, who ran first (towards) enemies, rough his course of battle, the son of tender Mornae has been struck, the two sides are pierced,

...
I have seen him there, Coirpre, a man's head against him,... which strikes against a chest.

I have seen them there, the royal flames; they blaze as a single flame, fierce their valorous activity of arms; Glaine and Gormainech, Maine Milscothach and Ailill, Scel and Toscel, Dures and Ret and Bricriu. The nine sons of great Carbad brandished great actions.

I have seen him there, Conall Cernach; with victories, with triumphs, with spoils, with fleeces, with cattle, with warriors, he has run to...; fair Conall Cernach the battle-victorious, battle-triumphant warrior.

I have seen him there, Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad...

I have seen there, that the Ulstermen had found clay which they had licked, like a honey-desirer licks honey; the brine of the great sea satisfies us, (but) it destroyed us,...

I have seen there, that clay had been raised up, around which men stretched, around which javelins were thrown, around which they repelled a spear.

[180- Shield valour, shield in battle; the Ulstermen are victorious after slaughters of
199] enemies, after the massacre of troops, after a slaughterous cutting down.

They gave a pledge for a hostage for every province in Ireland, except the province of the Gáiliain.

They are coming, they will return, they appear, they will sleep in Emain that night. The Great warlike Ulstermen, let you receive the men, they are coming to you, except for those of them who have fallen’.

That is the prophecy which Leborcham had brought to the women of Ulster.

Conall Cernach then, went alone in pursuit of the Leinstermen to avenge well his brothers who had fallen in the battle, namely, Mess Dead and Lóegaire. The way that he went was, over Áth Clíath, past Drummanach, over Auí Gabla to Forcarthu, past Úachtar nAird, past Nás to Clóenad. When the Leinstermen had reached their territory then, every one of them went to his home. Mess Gegrai, however, remained alone on Cassán Clóenta with his charioteer after the host had departed.

‘I will sleep now’, said the charioteer to Mess Gegrai ‘and you may sleep afterwards’.

‘Good enough’ said the king.

While Mess Gegrai was gazing at the water he saw a nut coming along the river. The nut was as big as a man’s head. He himself went down so that he collected it and he cracked it with his knife and left half of the kernel for the lad. He observed the lad, he kept lifting himself up in his sleep. And the lad awoke from his sleep after that.

‘What ails you lad?’ asked the king.

‘It is a bad vision I have seen’ said the lad.

‘Take hold of the horses lad!’ said the king.

[200- The lad takes hold of the horses.

219]

‘Is it a nut which you have eaten?’ asked the lad.

‘It is likely’ said the king.

'Have you left half of it for me?' asked the lad.

'Explain first!' said the king.

'The small man who ate the little on me', said the lad 'would eat the much'.

The king's hand with half the kernel had been against his face. The lad attacks him with a sword so that he cut his arm off.

'That is bad my lad' said the king. 'Open my hand, half the kernel is there!'.

When the lad had seen that, he turns the sword against himself, so that it went out through his back.

'Woe indeed lad!' said the king.

He, Mess Gegrai, yokes his chariot himself and puts his hand into it before him. When, then, he went westwards out of the ford, it was then that Conall came into the ford from the east.

'So Mess Gegrai!' said conall.

'We are here' said Mess Gegrai.

'A question then' said Conall.

'What is there' said Mess Gegrai 'but the one from whom you are owed debts, claim them from him with all the strength you may have!'.

'My brothers are with you' said Conall.

[220- 'They are not in my belt' said Mess Gegrai.

239]

'That will be a blemish' said Conall.

‘It is not a warrior’s truth’, said Mess Gegrai ‘to fight against me and I one-handed’.

‘Upon it I shall be’, said Conall ‘my hand will be bound to my side’.

That is, Conall’s hand was bound three times against his side in order to fight against the one-handed man. It was then that Conall’s hand was bound. And after that they mutually smite one another until the river was red from them. Conall Cernach’s feats at arms were mightier.

‘Well then Conall!’ Said Mess Gegrai. ‘I know you will not go until you take my head with you, so place my head upon your head and my dignity upon your dignity!’.

Conall cuts his head off at Cassán Clóenta and Conall takes the head so that he placed it upon the pillar-stone at the edge of the ford. A drop came from the bottom of the head so that it went into the top of the pillar and so that it went through it to the ground. He then put the head on the pillar and the head drives the pillar to the ground so that it fell face down towards the river. Conall Clóen was his name till then.

For the Ulstermen had three blemished ones, namely, Conall the Crooked and Cú Chulainn the Purblind and Stammering Cúscraid. The women of Ulster had separated into three. Each third of them loved their own man of those three. The third that loved Conall were crooked when talking to you. The third that loved Cú Chulainn were purblind when talking to you. The third that loved Cúscraid stammered when talking to you. Conall, then, put his head upon his own head so that it put him backwards, so that he was straight from that time.

Conall goes alone then into his chariot and the charioteer into Mess Gegrai’s chariot.

[240- They move them forward then, into Úachtar Fine until they met with fifty
259] women there, namely, Búan the wife of Mess Gegrai with her company of women, coming from the territory to the north.

‘Who are you with woman?’ asked Conall.

‘I am the wife of Mess Gegrai, the king’.

‘It has been commanded to you to come with me’ said Conall.

‘Who has commanded to me?’ asked the woman.

‘Mess Gegrai’ said Conall.

‘Have you brought a sign with you?’ asked the woman.

‘His chariot and his horses are here’ said Conall.

‘There are many to whom he gives chattels’ said the woman.

‘His head is here, moreover’ said Conall.

‘I am forfeited by him this once’ said the woman.

The head was now being turned red and then being turned pale.

‘What vexes the man, woman?’ asked Conall.

‘I know that, indeed’, said the woman ‘a dispute which arose between him and Aithirne. He had said that no single Ulsterman could carry me off. A contest concerning his word, that is what vexes the man’.

‘Come you to me!’, said Conall ‘into the chariot’.

‘Wait for me!’ said she ‘so that I may lament for my husband’.

[260-] She wailed then, so that it was heard as far as Temair and Ailenn and she throws herself backwards and she dead. Her grave is on the road, namely, Coll Búaine, the hazel which had grown through her grave.

‘Take yourself off lad!’ said Conall.

'I am unable to take the head with me' said the lad.

'Remove his brain from it' said Conall 'and use a sword on it, and take his brain with you and mix it together with lime so that you may make a ball of it!'

That is done and the head is left with the woman and they went then until they had reached Emain. It was a cause of boasting for the Ulstermen, then, the king of Leinster to have been killed by them.

Hence, then, the Circuit of Aithirne and the Killing of Mess Gegrai by Conall Cernach and the Battle of Étar are named.

Textual notes.

Talland Étair

[1] L Incipit Talland Etair

H has no title, Flower (1926, 317) points out that it is ‘...entitled in *L.L.* p.114b "Talland Etair," in the A list of tales "Forbais Etair" and elsewhere (e.g. in the poem attributed to Cináed hua hArtacáin, Eg.1782, art.35, and in *Cath Maige Rath*, ed. O’Donovan, p.210) Cath Étair. The colophon here reads, "Is do sin roboe quairt Aithirne ⁊ marbad Mesgegrae do Conall" and *L.L.* adds "⁊ cath Etair.".

Stokes’ edition (1887, 47) is simply entitled ‘The Siege Of Howth’. He makes no comment on the title and although he prints the ms. title it is not clear whether or not ‘The Siege of Howth’ is a translation of it. In his short introduction he mentions O’Curry’s analysis of the story (1861). Here O’Curry refers to it as ‘*Forbais Edair*, or Siege of Howth’ (ibid., 265). At this point Stokes may have simply deemed *talland* to be synonymous with *forbais*, which is well attested with the meaning ‘siege’.

DIL s.v. 2 *tallann* ‘a holding of land’ has ‘Talland Étair ‘*Siege of Howth*’ (Forbais É.). *RC* viii 47 ff.’ No other examples are listed of *tallann* meaning ‘siege’. It would appear that this definition has been arrived at solely on the basis of the title of Stokes’ edition and supported by citing the variant title *Forbais Étair*.

A corrupt form of the title *Talland Etair* occurs in the first prose dindsenchas account of how *Áth Cliath Cúalann* was named; this account is based on *TE*. Stokes (1894, 328-9) translates it as follows ‘Hurdles of wattling the Leinstermen made in the reign of Mes-Gegra under the feet of the sheep of Athirne the Importunate when delivering them to Dún Étair at the place in which Allaind (?) Étair was taken from the Ulaid’s warriors, where also Mes-dedad son of Amargen fell by the hand of Mes-gegra king of Leinster. So from those hurdles Áth Cliath << the Ford of Hurdles >> was named’. Even if the meaning of *allaind* is unclear, the line ‘airm i rragbad allaind Étair for occaib Ulad’ should rather be translated ‘where *allaind Étair* was inflicted upon

Ulster's warriors'; in this context it seems that *allaind* (for *talland*) has the sense siege or attack 'i.e. where the siege of Étar was inflicted upon Ulster's warriors'. Stokes refers here to his own edition of *TÉ*, but apparently does not make any link between *Talland Étair* and *allaind Étair*.

The use of *talland* may be an innovation in L, with MidIr. final *nd* for *nn*, possibly meaning either 'The Division of Étar' i.e. a mere geographical reference (see *DIL* s.v. *1 tallann*), or 'The Disgrace of Étar' i.e. referring to the killing of Mess Dead or perhaps the avoidable hunger and thirst inflicted on the Ulstermen by Aithirne (see *DIL* s.v. *3 tallann*). The form *talland* may otherwise be a rare word, with a meaning similar to *cath* or *forbais*, as indicated by the context in the prose dindsenchas account above. There is insufficient evidence available to arrive at a reliable translation of the form.

The text itself, in the above mentioned colophon, may testify to the original title, whereby in short (as supported by the secondary references) it may have been entitled 'Cath Étair' or 'Forbais Étair'. I feel it is best in the present circumstances to adopt the title which we have, assuming that it is most likely a word with a similar meaning to *cath* or *forbais*. I have given the translated text the title '**Talland Étair** (also known as 'The Siege of Howth')'.

[2-3] **Boí fer amnas étrócar i nÉre .i. Aithirne Áilgesach a ainm, mac-side Ferchertni di Ultaib.**

L BAí fer amnas étrocar i n-here .i. Aithirne ailgesach de ultaib.

H Bai fer amnus ettrocar i n-eri Aithirnde ailgesach a ainm mac-sidhe fercertne di ulltaib.

i nÉre: H has the better reading with the older short dat. written in full; I have expanded the L form to the short dat. sg. here *et passim*. **.i. Aithirne Áilgesach a ainm, mac-side Ferchertni di Ultaib:** the note on the paternity of Aithirne in H is adopted as it is of interest and as there is nothing linguistically to suggest that it

belongs to a later tradition (cf. *CIH* 2224.37 ‘Sencha fachtna fercertne aithre aithirne’).

[3] **Fer gáde a óensúil din cháech ⁊ gáid in mnaí oca lámnad.**

L Fer ro chunnig a oensúil ón chaech. & no guided in mnai oc lamnad.

H Fer gaid a oensuil don coech ⁊ gaid in mnai occa lamnat.

gáde: L has a 3sg. pret. form based on the MidIr. simple vb. *cuinnigid* (< OIr. *con-dieig*); the 3sg. *ā*-pret. of *guidid* in H is superior, the *ā*-pret. becomes rare in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 304). It is necessary, however, to emend this to the rel. form *gáde*. **din:** the H reading with prep. *do* (for *di*) + def. art. is to be adopted here as it forms part of the construction *guidid di* whereby the preposition introduces the person from whom an object is sought. **gáid:** the H reading with pret. rather than ipf. makes better sense in the context of the story i.e. these two things refer to specific incidents which are subsequently detailed in full; no emendation to the verbal form is required here (on the use of a non-relative form in the second of two parallel constructions see *GOI*, 320). **oca lámnad:** the H form with 3sg. fem. poss. pron. is the *lectio difficilior*.

[3-4] **Is dé boí dossom ón, dia lluid for cúairt a comairli Chonchobair.**

L IS de boi dosom dia lluid for cúaird a comairli chonchobair.

H IS de boi dossom on. Die luid-som for cuairt hacomairli concobair.

ón: the H reading with the neut. pron. *ón* is the *lectio difficilior*. **dia lluid:** it is impossible to say which of the two readings is the original; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. **cúairt:** both ms. spellings are found in OIr. to represent historical final /rd/ (on spelling see *GOI*, 22; on historical phonology of this word see O’Rahilly, 1942a, 126); I have adopted the *-rt* spelling in the restored text, it is attested in both mss. in the line immediately following. **Chonchobair:** the name is never written in full in either ms. with the final syllable and often the vowel of the

second syllable contracted; nom./ acc. *Conchobar*, gen. *Conchobair* and dat. *Conchobur* will be used throughout.

[4-5] **Is ed luide i tosuch céta^mus túaithbiul É^rinn co rralae cúairt Connacht.**

L IS *ed* luide i tosuch chetumus túathbel Herinn co rrala cuairt connacht

H IS *Sed* luidi a tosaig *cetamus* Tuaithbiulchuart erenn co rrola cuairt connacht.

i tosuch: L has the expected *o*-stem dat. sg. form. The H form with dat. sg. in final *aig* seems to be the result of analogy with neut. *s*-stems e.g. *tech* dat. sg. *tig/ taig*.
túaithbiul: regarding the H reading, *DIL* s.v. *túaithbel* lists only one possible late ex. of this compd. ‘a mbáidh ar dtuathal cuairt (? *leg.* dtuathalchuart) re cneastacht chaoín... Ó Bruad. ii 22.12’; the L form would seem to represent adverbial *túaithbiul* rather than prep. + gen. *túaithbel* which would have nas. following (cf. ‘túathbel nÉrenn dar Áth Lúain Met. Dinds. iv. 46.2.’ cited *DIL* s.v. *túaithbel*); as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading and restored the glide before *th*; I have also expanded the contraction *Her-* to acc. *Érinn*. **co rralae:** I have restored the historical spelling. **cúairt:** the mss. agree in their representation of final /rd/ (see note on ll.3-4 above).

[5-6] **Is ed luide iarum co rí^g medóin É^renn eter in da Áth Chlíath**

L IS *ed* luide iarum co rrí^g medóin Herenn eter na da ath chliath

H is *sed* luidi ierum co righ medoin erenn. eter na dá ath cliath

eter in da Áth Chlíath: both mss. have a late form of the def. art. with the MidÍr. masc. pl. form *na* replacing the dual *in*; I have emended this to the historical form *in*; in L the lenited initial in *ath chliath* is caused by the dual *ath*. Stokes (1887, 49 note 1) identifies the *da Áth Chliath* as ‘*Ath Cliath Medraidhe* (Clarín’s bridge, Galway) and *Ath Cliath Dublinne* (Dublin)’.

[6] **.i. co Echaig mac Luchtai co rríg descirt Connacht.**

L .i. co echaig mac luchtai co rríg descirt connacht.

H .i. Co heochaid mac luchta a ndesciurt connocht

.i. co Echaig mac Luchtai: the H form displays the MidIr. phonetic development *e > eo* before *ch* (see *SnaG*, 232-3) and also shows confusion between lenited *d* and lenited *g* (see *SnaG*, 234). **co rríg deiscirt Connacht:** neither reading is clearly superior, in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading; note however that H preserves the distinctive dat. sg. spelling in *a ndesciurt*.

[6-7] **Luid-side dia indnacul ind Aithirni co firu Muman tar Sinainn fa-des.**

L Luid-side dia idnacul ind athirni co firu *muman* dar sinaind fa-des.

H Luid-side die idnocul an aithirni co firu *muman tar* sinaind ba-dess;

indnacul: both mss. show the MidIr. simplification of the consonant group *ndn* to *dn* (see *SnaG*, 234); **indnacul** is here reconstructed on the basis of the related form *tindnacul* (cf. ‘*thindnacul* Sg. 209^b24, *gs. tindnacuil* Wb 33^a8’ cited *DIL* s.v. *tindnacul*, also ‘*adnacul* .i. *indnacul n-Adae* O’Mulc. 24’, cited *DIL* s.v. *idnacul*).

tar: *dar* and *tar* are used side by side in OIr., although *tar* is historically earlier (as observed by Thurneysen, *GOI*, 111); I have therefore adopted the H reading.

Sinainn: both mss. have hypercorrect final *nd* for *nn*. **fa-des:** L has the historical OIr. form (see *GOI*, 305), the H form differing in having a MidIr. form of the prep. *fa* (see *SnaG*, 327).

[8] **‘Conna rucae ar ndimdai a Aithirni’, ol Echu**

L Conna ruca ar ndimda a athirni or eochu

H Gona rucoi ar ndimdi-*nne* a aithirne ol euchaidh

Conna rucae: H Shows the MidIr. phonetic development of initial *c* > *g* in unstressed words (see *SnaG*, 235); both mss. have schwa spellings in the final syllable; I have restored the historical spelling. **ar ndimdai:** it is difficult to say which is the original reading, that of H with the 1pl. emphasizing pron. or that of L without it; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. This line literally reads ‘so that you may not take displeasure from us’. **ol:** *ol* is the form predominantly used in H and *or* in L; the older form *ol* will be used throughout. **Echu:** both mss. display the MidIr. phonetic development *e* > *eo/ eu* before *ch*; H has a contracted form which must end in a lenited consonant i.e. *euchaidh*, showing confusion between the names *Echu* and *Echaid*.

[8-9] **ma nod fil ocunn di sétaib no mainib ní bas áil duit co rrucae.**

L ma tá ocaind do sétaib no mainib ní bas áil duit co rruca.

H Ma nis fuil ocaind do setaib no mainib ni bus ail det nus berai.

ma nod fil: H has the better reading but with a MidIr. infix pron *-s* for *-d*; in the subst. vb. *fil* is used with *ma* in OIr. and this is replaced by *tá* in MidIr. (see *DIL* s.v. *má* (2, 1.49 ff.)); **ocunn:** both mss. have a MidIr. *ocaind* (see *SnaG*, 329); I have restored the historical form. **di:** both mss. use the prepp. *di* and *do* interchangeably; where ‘to’ and ‘from’; these prepp. are confused by the time of Wb. however it is normally clear which is intended; therefore where ‘to, for’ is intended I restore **do** and where ‘from, of’ is clearly intended I restore **di** (see also editorial policy); the same applies to pronominal forms; as this interchange in forms is so common I apply the stated restorations henceforth without further comment on individual cases unless it is deemed necessary. **ní:** the neut. pron. is to be translated here as ‘something (which)’ i.e. ‘if we have (lit. if they are with us) whatever you should desire of chattels or treasures...’. **co rrucae:** 2sg. augm. pres. subj. of *beirid* which has the sense ‘may you take (them)’, is likely the original reading as it echoes the use of this verbal form in the previous line; also H has a late reading with MidIr. use of orig. class. A fem. infix pron where a neut. pron. is expected (in agreement with *ní*); I have restored the historical spelling in final *-ae*.

[10] 'Atá immurgu', ol Aithirne 'ind óensúil ucut fil it chiunn do brith dam-sa im durn'.

L Atá *immurgu* or *athirne* ind oensúil út fil it chind do brith dam-sa im durn.

H Ata *immurgu* ol *athirne* an oensuil ucut fil it cind-sa do breth dam-sa im durnd.

ucut: H has the superior reading, *út* is a later shortened form of *ucut* (see *GOI*, 300).

it chiunn: I have adopted the L form without the 1sg. emph. pron.; I have restored the unambiguous dat. sg. spelling. **brith:** L has the historical dat. sg. form (the OIr. paradigm of this fem. *ā*-stem is nom. *breth*, acc. sg. *brith* gen.sg. *brithe* and dat. sg. *brith*, see Breatnach, 1997, 56), but even as early as the Wb. glosses *e* is found in the dat. (see *ibid.*, 54); I normalize nom. *breth* and dat. and acc. *brith* throughout (cf. II.30, 82 where both mss. have dat. *brith* and I.262 where both mss. have dat. *breith*).

[11] 'Níba érae immurgu', ol Echu 'rot bia'.

L Níba éra *immurgu* or *eocheu*. rot bia.

H níba héra son amh ol *eocheidh* rot bia.

immurgu: neither reading is clearly superior; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. **Echu:** (see note 1.6 above).

[12] Is and do-rat in rí a mér foa súil conda tall assa chiunn 7 co tarat i ndorn Aithirni.

L Is and do-rat in rí a mér fo súil co tall assa chind 7 co tarat i ndorn aitherne.

H IS ann do-rat an ri fesin a mer fóa suil conda tall assa cind 7 con tarad a ndornd aithirni

foa: *fó* and *foa* (i.e. prep. *fo* + 3sg. masc. poss. pron.) are parallel forms in OIr., with the *foa* spelling indicating an originally disyllabic form later contracted to *fó(a)*; the L form may represent the later form with length mark absent or the earlier form with the poss. pron. omitted; I have restored the earlier form *foa* (cf. *foa* Wb. 32^o13). **conda tall:** H has the superior reading with 3sg. fem. class C infixed pron. agreeing with *súil*. **assa chiunn:** I have restored the unambiguous dat. sg. spelling. **co tarat:** regarding the appearance of *con* in H rather than the expected *co*, as in L, it is to be noted that, as Professor McCone has suggested to me, in the OIr. glosses *con* also appears where the *n* can hardly have been pronounced and that this may have been a way of indicating nasalisation of what followed. Alternatively, the H form may be a scribal error with the compendium for *con/co* having been expanded to *con* rather than *co*.

[13] ‘Gaib mo láim a gillai!’ ol in rí ‘dochum ind uisci do nigí mo aigthe’.

L Geib mo láim a gillai or in rí dochum ind usci do nigí mo aigthe.

H Gaib mo laim a gildi ol in ri dochum an uscie do nigí maigthe assan usce;

Gaib: H preserves the historical spelling. **a gillai:** the historical *io*-stem voc. sg. spelling is preserved in L and in H also but with the non-palatal glide omitted and with hypercorrect *ld* for *ll*. **mo aigthe:** it is impossible to say whether or not the poss. pron. was written in full in the original. The substitution of the full form with the form showing elision of the vowel before the vocalic initial of the following word or *vice versa* would be a trivial innovation in any case; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. The palatal glide is omitted in the gen. sg. of *agad* in L; this may be regarded as an early gen. sg. ex. of *agad* (see *DIL* s.v. *agad* and Binchy’s comments on this entry, 1966, 55-6). The H reading continues with *assan usce*; the inclusion of this reading would add little to the narrative and its omission would not detract from the basic meaning provided by the L reading; it could justifiably be regarded as being a later addition on the grounds that it does not have the OIr. dat. sg. masc. form of the art. (cf. *dond usciu/ dond usce* l.14 below), but H neither preserves the OIr. masc. gen. sg. form of the art. earlier in this sentence, which L does. In this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading.

[14] **Dálais iarum téora tonna dond uisciu imma agaid.**

L Dális iarum tri tonna dond usciu imma agid.

H Dalais ierum tri tonda dond usce imma gnuis

Dálais: the *l* here remained non-palatal post-first palatalisation, the *ā* impeded palatalisation of a following consonant by an *i/ī* at this point and later forms showing a palatal stem-final consonant (as with the *DIL* headword *dáilid*) are due to the spread of such from the syncopated forms (see McCone 1996a, 117). **téora tonna:** both mss. have a late form whereby the masc. numeral is used with a fem. noun (see *SnaG*, 261); I have emended these to the historical form. **agaid:** it is difficult to say which form was in the original; I have adopted the L reading in line with the use of *agad* in both mss. in the previous line.

[15] **‘In tallad int súil asmo chiunn a gillai?’ ol in rí.**

L In tallad int súil asmo chind a gillai or in rí.

H IN tala int suil asmo chinn a gilla or in ri

In tallad: L has a better reading with augm. pret. pass. sg. of *do-alla* which in OIr. is the augm. counterpart of *gataid* ‘takes away, snatches’ (note that both clearly show nom. sg. following the pass.); the H form appears to be a late spelling reflecting a loss lenited final *-d* in the pass. ending.

[16-17] ‘All amae!’ ol in gillae ‘is derg a nderc dot fuil .i. bid ed a ainm co bráth’, ol-se
‘.i. Dergderc’.

L All amae or in gilla. is *derg* in derc dot fuil. Bid ed a ainm co bráth or in rí .i.
Dergderc.

H All amai ol in gilde is derg a ndercc dot fuil .i. bid eadh a hainm co brath dano
ol-se .i. dergderc

a nderc: H has the superior reading with neut. art. used with *derc*, which later becomes fem. There is a pun here which utilizes the two meanings of *derc* ‘hole’ and ‘cavity/ socket’ i.e. it refers at once to the lough and to Echu’s eye socket being red from the blood. **.i. bid:** L begins a new sentence after *dot fuil* as indicated by the full stop and capital letter of *Bid* and the change in speaker as indicted by *or in rí*; H with *.i.* preceding *bid* has this as a continuation of the lad’s exclamations. **ol-se:** *ol-se* in H is good OIr. form as opposed to MIr. *or* with clarification specifying *in rí*; the latter is most likely a later change for more ambiguous *olse*; the H reading with *.i.* (and to a lesser extent lower case *b* in *bid*) is the *lectio difficilior* as is *olse*. **a ainm:** *h* prefixed to *ainm* in H may be a scribal attempt to reflect the later fem. gender of *derc* to which the poss. pron. *a* refers; at any rate, *h* is generally meaningless in OIr. and MIr. spelling.

[18] **Lasin féli móir do-rigni in rí .i. a óensúil do thabairt dia chiunn no dia inchaib,**

L Lasin féli dano da-roni in rí .i. a oensúil do thabairt do chind a enig.

H Lasin feli moir do-rigni an flaidh .i. a oensuil do thabairt dia cinn no dia
inchaib

féli móir: the H reading with attributive *moir* fits the context well and the narrative would seem to require its inclusion here given the scale of the bestowal which would be made in return for this ‘great act of generosity’; I have therefore adopted the H reading. **do-rigni:** the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. verbal form which has an

active ending added to a passive stem i.e. OIr. perf. pass. sg. *do-rónad/* 3sg. *do-rigni* > *do-róni* (see *SnaG*, 306; *EIV*, 233-4). **in rí:** in H a masc. form of the def. art. precedes *flaith*, which is fem. in OIr. and later becomes masc.; I have therefore adopted the L reading as it is most likely the original reading. **dia chiunn no dia inchaib:** the H reading is superior, *dia cinn* ‘from his head’ is followed by a pun which utilizes the literal meaning of *enech* ‘face’, and the metaphorical meaning ‘honour’ to give the ambiguous *no dia inchaib* ‘or from his face/ for his honour’; L simply has ‘for the sake of his honour’, this is most likely an innovation (*DIL* s.v. *enech* states ‘as the word is regularly pl. in early Irish the original meaning was evidently *brows* or *cheeks*. In the later lang. it is more usually treated as sg.’).

[18-19] **fiurt féle do-rat Dia dossom dí súil ata áildem ro bátar i nÉre. Is dé sin ro cét:**

L Firt feli dano do-rat dia dá súil dósom. Is de sin ro cet.

H Firt féli do-rigne dia dossom dí suil at aldeomh ro bótar a nd-erie

fiurt: I have restored the historical spelling. **féle:** I have restored the historical *iā*-stem gen. sg. spelling in *-e*. **do-rat:** L has 3sg. perf. of *do-beir* whereas H has 3sg. perf. of *do-gní*; there is nothing linguistically in either form to mark it out as an innovation and both make equally good sense in the context; I have therefore adopted the L reading as with other doubtful cases. **dossom:** I have adopted the H reading including its position in the line; the emphatic form of the 3sg. masc. prepositional pron. of *do* historically has a short *o* unlike the L form (see *GOI*, 284-5). **dí súil:** H has a superior reading with the fem. form of the dual numeral used with *súil*. **ata áildem ro bátar i nÉre:** there are strong grounds for considering that this material, which appears in H only, was in the original; the 3pl. pres. ind. rel. of the cop. *at* (i.e. for OIr. *ata*, final *-a* could easily have been lost by haplography with following *a*-) is accompanied by a superlative adj. used with the sense of the superlative; the short dat. of *Ériu* is also a good reading as this form is lost in MIr. I have therefore adopted the H reading, restoring the rel. form of the copula. **Is dé sin ro cét:** this introduction and the following poem appears in L only (see Introduction V.1 on its inclusion here).

[20-7] **Súil ind rí^g rámat clothach,
do Aithirniu ba brí^g brethach
Sella sillite in túaraid,
ercsait cenn n-úallaig nEchach.**

**Eter Aithirne n-írach
is Echaig mballderg mbúadach
Do-rigéni Día dúilech,
imchoímchlód súilech slúagach. S.**

L Suil ind rí^g ramot clothach do athirne ba brig brethach;
sella sillit an tuaraid ercsait cend uallaig n-echach.

Eter Athirne n-irach is echaig mbalderg mbuadach
do-ríngne dia dúlech imchloichmod súlech sluagach. S.

do Aithirniu: I have restored the historical dat. sg. ending in *-iu*. **brí^g brethach:** *DIL* cites this ex. s.v. *brethach*. **sillite:** the 3pl. rel. is expected here; in ms. *sillit* the final *-e* could easily have been omitted and its restoration would not affect the syllable count as it can be elided through normal metrical elision. **n-úallaig:** this is a preposed gen. adj. i.e. ‘of proud Echu’; I have restored nasalisation following acc. sg. neut. **cenn** which is already marked in **nEchach**. **do-rigéni:** L has a MidIr. form here (see *SnaG*, 325); I have emended this to the historical form *do-rigéni* rather than the parallel form *do-rigni* as it neatly supplies the requisite syllable count; we would otherwise have to read ms. *dia* (*Día* ‘God’) with poetic hyper-hiatus. **imchoímchlód:** according to *DIL* s.v. *imchláechlód* is a compound of *imm-* and *cláe(m)chlód* and as can be seen there and s.v. *coímchlóud*, there is a wide variety of forms and spellings. I have restored what would have been the most likely OIr. spelling on the basis of the earliest attestations of the uncompounded form ‘*coimchloda* ... *MI. 63^{d3}*, *coimchlud canone*, *78^{d12}*’ etc. cited *DIL* s.v. *coímchlóud*. **slúagach:** this adjectival form of *slóg* is not well attested; it is used here to qualify **imchoímchlód** apparently in the sense ‘abundant, multitudinous’, i.e. referring to the doubling of the king’s eyes.

[28] **Is ed luide Aithirne iar suidiu co rriġ Muman .i. co Tigernach Tétbuillech.**

L IS *sed* do-lluid aithirne iar suide co rriġ *muman* .i. co *tigerna* tétbuillech.

H IS *Sed* luidi aithirne ier sin co ricch *muman* .i. Co tighiurnach tetbuilleach

Is ed: both mss. have a MidIr. form of the neut. pron. with initial *s* (see *SnaG*, 274); I emend these to the historical form without *s* here *et passim*. **luide:** I have adopted the H reading with the special 3sg. rel. form; this is rare even in early MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 305). **iar suidiu:** both ms. readings make good sense in the present context, it is therefore difficult to say which of them is the original reading; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading, restoring the historical dat. ending. **Tigernach:** H has the better reading; the L form represents a confusion of the personal name *Tigernach* and *tigerna* ‘lord, chief’.

[28-9] **Níro gab danó ní dia inchaib-side acht ind rígain do feis leis ind aidchi sin,**

L Nira gaib *dano* ní dia inchaib-*side* acht ind rígan do feis leis ind aidchi sin.

H Niro gaib ni dia inchaib-side acht an rigan de feis lais an aidhci sin

Níro: L shows MidIr. confusion of *-o* and *-a* in *ro* (see *SnaG*, 278). **gab:** both mss. have a MidIr. variant form with a palatal final (see *SnaG*, 300); I have restored the historical non-palatal final. **danó:** in L only; it is impossible to say whether or not this appeared in the original; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. Recent research has shown that the final vowel was long in OIr. and MidIr. rather than short as previously thought (see Breatnach, 2003, 139); I restore a long *o* here *et passim*. **dia inchaib-side:** there is an intentional pun here based as in l. 18 on the literal and metaphorical meanings of *enech*; the line reads ‘he took nothing then from his (the king’s) honour’ at once stating that on this occasion he had not physically removed anything from the king’s face, unlike the previous king and that the ‘only’ attack on this king’s honour would be to sleep with his wife that night. **ind**

rígain: both mss. have the later form of *rígain* with *ā*-stem flexion; I have emended these to the historical form with *ī*-stem flexion.

[29-30] **no enech fer Muman do brith co bráth.**

L nó einoch fer *muman* do brith co bráth.

H no enioch fer *muman* do brith co brath

do brith: lit. ‘to be taken away’, I translate this in the context as ‘would be erased’; both mss. have the older dat. sg. (see note 1.10 above).

[30-1] **Ocus ind adaig ro asaíted in ben is sí adaig ro fíu la Aithirne do inchaib a aithig tige arna ructhae a enech.**

L Ocus ind aidchi sin ro assaíted in ben is í adaig ra foí la *athirne* do aenig a fir arna ructha a enech.

H Ocus an aigedh ro hasaíted an banscál is hí *agaid* in sein ro foí la *hathirne* do inchaib a hathigh tighi arna ructha a enech

ind adaig: L has a late form with acc. sg. for nom. sg.; H has the better reading, yet it shows MidIr. confusion of lenited *g* and *d* (see *SnaG*, 234-5); I have emended this to the historical form. **ro asaíted:** lit. ‘was brought to bed’, I translate this as ‘was in labour’. **in ben:** the word *banscál*, as Ní Dhonnchadha (1999) has shown, means ‘laywoman’, compared with *ben* which means ‘woman’ in general; in the present context neither form is clearly superior; in this case as with other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. **adaig:** L has the superior reading in this case with the historical nom. sg. **ro fíu:** both mss. have a MidIr. 3sg. s-pret. which has replaced the OIr. suffixless pret. *fíul* *-fíu* i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conj. *-foí* supplies the 3sg. past tense conj. form; the lenited *f* in L is caused by *ra* which has been confused with *ro*; I have restored OIr. *ro-fíu*. **do inchaib:** H has the better reading with the older dat. pl. use of *enech*. **a aithig tige:** the H reading with the phrase *aithech tigi* ‘master of house,

husband', is the *lectio difficilior*; L has *a fir* '(of) her husband'; I have restored the stem gen. sg. ending in final *-e*. **arna ructhae a enech:** lit. 'so that his honour might not be taken away', I translate this 'so that his honour might not be erased' (cf. *do brith* in the previous line); the 3sg. pass. ipf. subj. suggests that *enech* is intentionally taken as singular here.

[32] **Is ed luide Aithirne iar sin i Laigniu co mboí i nArd Brestine i ndesciurt Maige Fea.**

L IS *sed* luide athirne iar sin co llaighniu co mboí i n-ard brestine i ndesciurt máige fea.

H IS *Sed* luid aithirne iar sen a laghniu co mboi a n-aird brestine a ndesciurt moighi fea

luide: L has the superior reading with the special 3sg. rel. form. **sin:** H has the MidIr. form of *sin* (see *SnaG*, 275-6). **i Laigniu:** both mss. have the acc. pl. of *Laigin* and differ only in the prep. used with *co* 'to' in L and *i* 'into' in H; neither reading is clearly superior, I have therefore adopted the L reading as with other doubtful cases. **i nArd Brestine:** Hogan (1910) cites only the present ex. **Maige:** the spelling in H may represent the MidIr. phonetic development *ai > oi*.

[33-4] **ᵿ do-lotar Descert Laigen inna agaid do thaircsin sét ᵿ maíne dó arna digsed issa tír, arna fácbad ailchea móra.**

L & tancatar descert lagen ina agaid do tharcsin sét ᵿ maíne dó arna digsed issin tír. dáig na facbad ailche.

H Ocus di-llotar descirt *lagen* ara cind do thorcaisin set ᵿ maine do arna dechsadh isan tír. Arna facbad ailche mora.

do-lotar: the H reading with *do-tét* is more likely the original reading, *DIL* s.v. *do-tét* 380.9 ff. notes 'In later Mid.Ir. superseded by *do-icc*, which replaces it in later versions of early texts (e.g. TBC 95, 1583, 2706 St.), and somet. glosses it:

dodeachaid .i. tainicc'. **Descert:** L has the historical nom. sg. spelling, it is to be taken as a proper noun with *Laigen* (see O'Rahilly 1946, 23). **inna agaid:** L has *ina agaid* 'towards him' (with verb of motion 'to meet him'), whereas H has *ara cind* which could either be read as dat. i.e. 'before him' or perhaps more suitably as it is used with a verb of motion as acc. *ara chenn* i.e. 'to meet him'; although the H construction with *cenn* is well attested in the OIr. glosses (see *DIL* s.v. *cenn* 122.38 ff.); both readings are equally good making it difficult to decide which of them is the original reading; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. **do thairesin:** the H form appears to be a corrupt form of the dat. sg. of *taircsiu*; it may otherwise have arisen under the influence of *tarcaisne* 'contempt, insult', given the context. **arna digsed:** these are parallel 3sg. ipf. subj. forms in OIr.; neither reading is clearly superior, I have therefore adopted the L reading as with other doubtful cases. **issa tír:** both mss. have a form of the def. art. which shows either confusion of the acc. and. dat., or that *tír* is being treated as a masc./ fem. noun; I have restored the acc. sg. neut. form of the def. art. **arna fácbad:** the H form appears to fit the context better here, as the repeated use of *arna* reinforces the first. **ailchea:** *DIL* s.v. *ailech* cites the present ex. and that at l.38. A definition 'insult, reproach' (rather than 'satire, invective') is supported by the gloss '*ailche .i. aithissi ina agaid, 472 (H.3.18, 247)*', exx. of *aithis* in this sense are well attested (see *DIL* s.v. *aithis*). Numerous exx. are listed s.v. 2 *ail* of *ail* either glossed by *aithis* or paired with it. Furthermore, exx. of pl. forms are limited to the dat. pl., e.g. 'mó alib (mou álib, LB) imdergad Emnae, Corm. Tr. 110.7.'. The exx. cited in *DIL* s.v. *ailech* i.e. acc. sg. *ailig* and acc. pl. *ailche/ ailchi*, do not prove \bar{a} -stem flexion and are compatible with lenited guttural flexion like *ail* 'rock' (cf. *sail* 'a willow' acc. sg. *sailig*, acc. pl. *sailgi*). Nom. sg. *ailech* is unsupported and it would seem that these exx. do not warrant a separate entry but should be listed s.v. 2 *ail*, where it is even suggested that it is 'Prob. same word as 1 *ail*'. It is at least reasonable to assume that if not the same word, then they are too similar not to expect analogical exx. of guttural flexion in *ail* 'reproach', especially as exx. in the oblique cases showing non-guttural flexion are so few. I have restored the OIr. consonantal acc. pl. ending in *-ea*. The acc. pl. adj. *mora* appears in H only; it is impossible to say whether it was a later addition in H or whether it was omitted in L; I have adopted it on the grounds that it appears in both mss. in l.38 below.

[34-5] **Ar ní bítis a maíni nach neich fora taibred ammus mani tabarthaé dó.**

L Ar ní bítis a maíne nach neich *fora* tabrad ammus mani thabairthe dó.

H Arni bitis a maíni nach¹ neich *fora* tabred ammus mona taburtha dho.

fora taibred: I take this as 3sg. ipf. ind. in the sense ‘on whom he used to make an attack’. **mani tabarthaé:** H has the better reading with historical non-palatal ending in the ipf. subj. pass. of *do-beir*; the later palatal ending in L is due to analogy with the ipf. ind. pass.; the len. following *mani* in L is also a MidIr. feature (see *SnaG*, 178-9); H has a MidIr. form of *mani* with non-palatal *n* (see *SnaG*, 281). This is translated ‘unless something was given’.

[35] **Ní fáicébad danó athgabáil túath no chenél lasa mairfide-sem.**

L Ni fáicfed *dano* athgabáil túath no cheneil lasa mairfide-som.

H Ni fáicbed *dano* athgabail tuath na cenel lasa mmairfide-seomh.

Ní fáicébad: both mss. have MidIr. forms from 3sg. cond. *-fáicébad*; I have emended these to the historical form. **athgabáil:** *DIL* s.v. *athgabáil* cites this line from L as an ex. of the phrase *fo-ácaib a*. ‘leaves, gives pledge, surety (in compensation), leaves possessions’; the present ex. is idiomatically translated there as ‘would die destitute’, but a something along the lines of ‘would have no quarter’ would be more suitable. **chenél:** len. following *no*, as shown in L is expected in OIr. (see *GOI*, 551). **lasa mairfide-sem:** both mss. have a form of the verb without *b* in the stem; this was written optionally in OIr. to clearly show the original stem (see *SnaG*, 159, also McCone 1996a, 128 on the development and orthographical representation of post apocope sequences of non-nasal voiced consonant plus unvoiced fricative).

¹ with suprascript dot or mark on ms. above n.

[36-7] **Co taibred in fer a mnaí ndó, no co taibred a óensúil assa chiunn, no co taibred a saint di sétaib ⁊ maínib.**

L Co tabrad in fer a mnaí dó. no co tabrad a óinsúil asa chind. no co tabrad a saint do sétaib ⁊ maínib.

H Co dabreth an feur a mnaí ndo no co tabred a suil assa cind no co taibred a saint do setaib ⁊ maínib

Co taibred: all three exx. of this form in this sentence are to be taken as 3sg. ipf. subj. of *do-beir*, as in the present context they deal with a supposition rather than describing actual events; as for the various spellings/ forms, L has *-tabrad* throughout, while not historically regular this form with non-palatal *-br-* does occur in OIr. by analogy; the first ex. in H has orthographical *d* for voiced *t /d/* following *co n-* and *th* for *dh /ð/*; H has palatal *-br-* in the first ex. (with pal. on-glide omitted), the second ex. is unclear as it is a contraction (but without pal. on-glide at any rate) and the third apparently has the historically regular form with pal. on-glide but a contracted ending. I have restored the historically regular form *-taibred* in each case, generally in line with H. **ndó:** the H reading is the *lectio difficilior* with (non obligatory) nas. following acc. *mnaí* (cf. ‘*ba fial ndó*’, Strachan, 1944, 35). **óensúil:** in the context of earlier events in the story the L reading would appear to be the better of the two. **assa chiunn:** both mss. have hypercorrect *nd* for *nn*; I have restored the unambiguous dat. sg. spelling.

[38-9] **Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailchea móra do fácbáil for Laignib conid romarbtais co mbetis Ulaid do grés oca dígail for Laigniu.**

L Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailchi móra dacbáil for Laigniu coro marbtais lakin é co mbetis ulaid do grés oca dígail for laigniu.

H IS Sed immurgu tuc-som ina menmain² ailci mora de facbail for laigneib no conid romarbdais co mbetis ulaid do gress oca digail for laigne

² added to end of line.

ailchea: see note on l.34 above. **do fácbáil:** L has a MidIr. form with the vowel of the prep. elided (see *SnaG*, 236), it also shows orthographical omission of initial lenited *f*. **for Laignib:** as McCone has pointed out (*SnaG*, 210) the acc. and dat. were used indifferently in OIr. following *for* and *ar*; in the first ex. L has a contracted form (which I have expanded to acc. on the basis of the second), whereas H clearly has the dat.; in acknowledgement of the variation which existed following *for* in OIr. I have adopted the unambiguous H reading in the first case and use the acc. form (i.e. with schwa spelling in H but clearly not dat.) attested in both mss. in the second. **conid romarbtais:** L has a MidIr. construction with an indep. obj. pron.; H has MidIr. *nó co* (see *SnaG*, 281) but the reading is stylistically better than the tautological construction in L where the *Laigin* are mentioned three times in a relatively short sentence; H also has the correct use of the infix pron which is carried by the conjunction *co* which means that *ro* is behaving as preverb; I have adopted the H reading removing *no*.

[39-40] **Is and trá gabais áilgis do Desciurt Laigen i mBrestini.**

L Is and trá gabais áilgis do descirt Lagen i mBrestine

H IS and sen tra gabais algius do descirt laigen i mbrestini

and: I have adopted the L reading without MidIr. *sen* which appears in H only. **i mBrestini:** the attestations of this placename in both mss. are as follows: (1) L *i nard brestine* H *a naird brestine* (1.32), (2) L *i mbrestine* H *i mbrestini* (1.40), (3) L *i nard brestini* H *a nard brestine* (1.54) (4) L *Cath brestini* H *cath mbrestine* (1.59); the spelling of final unstressed vowels in late mss. cannot be trusted but it is to be noted that in H has gen. in *-e* (1,3 and 4) and in dat. in *-i* (2) which is consistent with *iā*-stem flexion. In the absence of any other evidence and to answer the immediate need to restore distinct gen. and dat. spellings I have adopted the H readings in each case which are at least consistent.

[40] **.i. nad n-accae di sétaib no maínib ní no gabad úaidib,**

L .i. nad facca do sétaib no maínib ní no gabad uadib.

H .i. Nat n-aca do setaib no mainibh ní no gabad uadhib

.i. nád n-accae: H has the better reading with nas. rel. cl., in MidIr. these tend to be replaced by leniting rel. clauses as in L, where it is indicated by the lenited MidIr. prosthetic *f*; **úaidib:** on the normalization of this form see note on l.46 below.

[41] **acht ail bréthre do fácbáil forru co bráth conná turgébtáis a n-aigthea dé la Goídelu.**

L acht ail brethri do fácbáil forru co bráth conná turgébtáis a n-aigthe la goedelu.

H acht ail bretri do facbail forra co brath cona turcebtáis a n-aigthe de la gaidhela

ail bréthre: i.e. ‘verbal insult’ (see note on l.34 above). **conná turgébtáis:** H has a MidIr. ending with a long *i* (see *EIV*, 178-9). **a n-aigthea:** I have restored the historical *ā*-stem acc. pl. ending in *-ea*. **dé:** the H reading with 3sg. prepositional pron. in H is the *lectio difficilior*; it seems to refer back to *ail bretri* (in semantic rather than grammatical agreement) i.e. ‘so that they could not lift their faces from it/ as a result of it’; I have restored *é* here (on which see Breatnach, 2003, 135).

[42] **.i. mani tuctais dossom in sét as dech boí isin tulaig**

L mani thucdais dósom in sét as dech boí is tulaig

H .i. Mani tabradis dosom an set as dech bui as tulaig

.i. mani tuctais: both mss. have a form of *do-beir*, L has 3sg. augmented ipf. subj. ‘unless they had given’, whereas H has 3sg. ipf. subj. (showing analogical depalatalisation) ‘unless they gave’; L has MidIr. len. following *mani* (see *SnaG*, 178-

9); as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **dossom:** see note on l.19 above. **isin:** both mss. have the MidIr. form of the prep. *i* + art. (see *SnaG*, 259); I have restored the OIr. form (note that it is preserved in H in l.46 below). **tulaig:** the vowel of the first syllable is spelt variously in OIr. with *au/ ail/ e* (see *GOI*, 52); the L form *tilaig* in the next line is another variant spelling with *i*; I follow the pattern nom. sg. *tulach*, dat. sg. *tulaig* in the restored text.

[42-3] 7 **nad fitir nech isin tulaig cia sét so no cia baile i rrae.**

L 7 *nad fitir nech is tilaig cia sét so no cia bale i rrae.*

H 7 *na fidir neuch as tulaig cia set cie bali i rraibe*

nad fitir: the reading in L is superior, H has MidIr. *na* for *nad* (see *SnaG*, 281; cf. also, however, *GOI*, §§ 865, 866). **isin:** see note on previous line.

[44] **Ba gress 7 ba imdergad mór dont slúag a n-í sin**

L *Ba gress 7 ba imdergad mór dont slúag a n-í sin.*

H *Ba gress 7 ba himdergad mor dent sluag a nn-í sin*

[44-5] 7 **ro gádatar uili tigerna inna ndúile co tartad fortacht dóib im dingbáil díb inna gresse ro laad forru.**

L 7 *ro guidetar uile tigerna na ndúl co tardad fortacht dóib im dingbáil díb na gressi ro lad forro.*

H 7 *ro gadhatar uili in coimdig co tartadh fortacht doib im dingbail dib na grese ro laadh forro*

ro gádatar: H has the superior reading with *ā*-pret. (cf. **gáde** l.3 above). **uili:** the lack of agreement in how the final unstressed vowel is to be represented is typical of later mss.; the OIr. nom. pl. form is *uili*, that this is the spelling used in H can at best be

regarded as a coincidence. **tigerna inna ndúile:** the H reading shows MidIr. confusion of lenited *d* and *g* (see *SnaG*, 234-5); L has MidIr. gen. pl. *na ndúl* (< OIr. *dúile*); both readings would require emendation here, as such I have adopted the L reading as neither reading is clearly superior and restored the OIr. gen. pl. form *dúile*. **díb:** both mss. have a contracted form, which is found alongside the hiatus form in OIr. (see *GOI*, 274). **ro laad:** the H reading with double *a* indicating a hiatus form is superior.

[45-6] **Boí trá marcach oc imrimm a eich isin tulaig.**

L Baí tra marcach ic airimrim a eich is tulaig.

H Bui marcach oc imrim eich isan tolaigh.

trá: this occurs in L only; I have adopted it as there is nothing objectional about the form itself and as it is impossible to say that it was not in the original. **oc imrimm:** *DIL* s.v. *airimrim* cites only the present ex. from L, a definition ‘riding’ is given; I have adopted the better attested H form. L has a MidIr. spelling for the prep. *oc* (see *SnaG*, 329). **a eich:** the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. is in L only; both readings are acceptable but as it is difficult to say which is the original reading I have adopted L reading. **isin tulaig:** the H reading is superior; L has the MidIr. form of prep. *i* + def. art., whereas H has the full form (see *SnaG*, 259).

[46] **Do-scuiched dochum inna airechta, no linged úaidib.**

L do-scuiched dochum na hairechta. no linged uadib.

H do-scohad docom na hairechta Fo-llingiudh uaidib

no linged: both mss. have a 3sg. ipf. ind. form of the verbs *lingid* and *fo-ling*, which both have the meaning ‘leaps, springs’; the L reading is the better of the two as it has the correct OIr. use of *no*. **Do-scuiched:** L has the historically regular formation, as Thurneysen observed (*GOI*, 336) the simple verb on which this compound is based is a strong verb but its compounds are inflected as weak *i*-verbs; the H form has the

vocalism of the simple verb. **úaidib:** the H form with clearly palatal *-d-* is attested several times in the Wb. glosses (27^d1, 31^d18, 32^d10 etc.) as well as the ambiguous spelling attested in L (*úadib* 2^d14, 4^o2), which could either represent non-palatal *d* with the non-palatal off-glide omitted or palatal *d* with the palatal on-glide omitted; either way, the joint evidence of both mss. suggests restoring *úaidib* with pal. *d*.

[47] **Fecht and didiu oc soud ind eich dar colpthu,**

L Fecht and *didiu* oc soud ind eich dar colptha.

H facht and oc sood and eich *thar* colbta.

didiu: in L only; I have adopted it. **oc soud:** this word historically had hiatus; the spelling in both mss. indicates a hiatus form, in H this is shown by a double letter (cf. however, *foot* in the next line, where the double letter represents a long vowel, we know this because the form never had hiatus). **dar:** H has a MidIr. form showing initial lenition; I have adopted the L reading. **colpthu:** I have restored the acc. pl. ending (masc. *io*-stem); the construction *oc soud dar colpthu* lit. ‘turning over shanks’ is taken here to mean ‘turning/ wheeling (the horse) around’.

[47-9] **do-cuirethar int ech fót mór dia dib cruib íartharchaib cossin n-airecht conid tarlae i n-ucht ind rí .i. Fergusa Fairree maic Nuadat Necht.**

L Do-curidar int ech fót mór da díb croib. Niro airig duine isind airiucht conid tarla i n-ucht ind rí .i. fergusa fairge.

H Do-cuirithir ant euch foot mor dia dib cruib iartharcoib cusan airiucht conid tarlæ i nn-ucht and rig .i. fergussa foairce maic nuadat necht

fót: see note on **oc soud** in previous line. **dia:** H has the better reading; L has MidIr. *da* for *dia* i.e. prep. *di* + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. **dib cruib:** both mss. have the dat. dual, this is a hiatus form (cf. **di chruib** l.55 below, where the disyllabic form is fixed by syllable count; see also Greene, 1983, 2-3). **íartharchaib:** this form, which is in H only, is a good OIr. reading i.e. dat. pl. adj. of *íartharach* ‘back, hind’ qualifying

cruib; I have therefore adopted it. **coffin n-airecht**: in H the flow of the narrative is maintained, whereas L starts a new line with a MidIr. 3sg. pret. form *niro airig* (< OIr. dep. form *-airigestar*); I have adopted the H reading, clearly marking nas. following acc. **coffin. conid tarlae**: in L the *-d* of the infix pron. has coalesced to the initial of *tarla*. **Fergusa Fairrce maic Nuadat Necht**: only H records the paternity of Fergus Fairrce; I have adopted it here as it does not detract from the narrative and as there is nothing linguistically to suggest that this is a later addition.

[49-50] **Co n-accae-side a ndelg i n-agaid ind fóit dond leith ón talmain, i rrabatar cethair fichit ungae di dergór.**

L Co n-accai-side a ndelg i n-agaid ind fóit dond leith on talmain. I Rrabatar cethri fichit unga do dergór.

H co n-aci-side a ndeulc a n-agaid and foid. don leith on talmain. i rrabatar cetri fichit ungo di deurgor

delg: in OIr. there is constant fluctuation between the spellings *lg* and *lc*, which both represent voiced /g/ (see *GOI*, 22); I have adopted the L reading and use this form throughout. **dond**: L has the historical dat. form of the art. **talmain**: L has the long dat. sg. form written in full; I have expanded the H reading in line with L here (only once does H have this word written in full (ll.230-1 below), where it has the short form *talamh* in acc. sg. (cf. short acc. sg. form *talam* in *Fél Prol.* 216, cited *GOI*, 211). **cethair fichit**: both mss. have a MidIr. form of the numeral with the masc. acc. form replacing the nom. (see *SnaG*, 261); I have emended these to the historical form. H uses the contraction .xx. here. **ungae**: I have restored the historical spelling in final *-ae* (gen. pl.).

[51-2] **‘Cid fil im ucht-sa’ ol in rí ‘a Aithirni?’.**

L Cid fil im ucht-sa or in rí a athirni.

H Cid fil am ucht-sa a aithirni on ol in ri. Ata delc and; ol aithirni.

ol in rí ‘a Aithirni?’: H has slightly different word order from L and *ón* placed after *voc. aithirni* appears to be used as a mere expletive i.e. ‘indeed, then’ (this use becomes common in later MidIr. poetry, for exx. see *DIL* s.v. *ón* 144.85ff.). The direct answer to the king’s question *Ata delc and; ol aithirni* which is in H only could well be taken here as a later attempt to deliberately improve on the L reading which has the poem as an answer to the king’s question. In light of this possibility, I have adopted the L reading.

[53-7] **Is and as-bert Aithirne:**

**Delg fil i nArd Brestine,
di chruib eich do-rindnacht.
Tarais rucad mór mbreth cert,
i mbrutt Maini maic Dirthacht.**

L IS and as-bert athirni. Delg fil i n-ard brestini do chruib eich do-ridnacht.
taris rucad mór mbreth cert i mbrutt mani maic durthacht.

H Es and es-pert aithirne Dealc frith a n-ard brestine. di cruib eich do-
richnacht. tairis ruccad mor mbreth ceurt. a mbrutt mainie maic dirthacht.

Delg fil: the L reading is superior; H has a MidIr. form whereby conjunct *frith* is used independently without a preverb (< OIr. *fo-frith*, see *SnaG*, 306-7). This is a *nominativus pendens* construction ‘the brooch which is in Ard Brestine’ (for an analysis of this construction see Mac Cana, 1973, 95-99). **chruib:** see note on l.48 above. **do-rindnacht:** H also shows confusion of lenited *d* and *g*, which is written *ch*; I have restored the historical form (this does not affect the rhyme as far as we know, see V.2 above). Note that the usual OIr. augm. pret. pass. of *do-indnaig* is *do-écomnacht* (with *cum* augment), however, an ex. such as this where prevocalic *ro* has replaced *cum* is found in the OIr. glosses *do:rr-ind-nacht* Wb.20^d15 (see *EIV* 150, *GOI* 344-5). **Dirthacht:** the reading in H with *dir-* utilizes an acceptable variant form in order to make rhyme with *do-ridnacht* (on variation of *au-/i-* etc. see *SnaG*, 231); this rhyming form in H is therefore to be adopted.

[58] **‘Is ed a ndelg sin rop áil dam-sa’, ol Aithirne ‘.i. bráthair m’athar-sa fod-rácab**

L Is é in delg sin rop áil dam-sa or aithirne .i. brathair mathar-sa fod-racaib

H IS *Sed* a ndelc sin rob álic dam-sa .i. brathir máthar dam dot-racaib

Is ed a ndelg sin: superior reading in H; L has a MidIr. form with 3sg. masc. indep. pron. agreeing with *in delg* which is treated as a masc. noun. **áil:** superior reading in L; the late form *álic* has an *étymologie croisée* from *áil* and *adlaic*, both of which share the meaning ‘desirable’. **ol Aithirne:** in L only, its omission or inclusion is of no great import; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **bráthair m’athar-sa:** L reads ‘my father’s brother’, whereas H has ‘a mother’s brother of mine’; both readings make good sense in themselves but neither is clearly superior; in this case as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading. **fod-rácab:** H shows confusion in the preverbal particles *do* and *fo* and has *t* for *d* in the 3sg. neut. class C infixed pron., which agrees with **delg**; both forms however, follow the normal pattern of infixing for *fo-ácaib* (see *EIV*, 148); I have adopted the L reading, restoring historical non-palatal final *b* (both mss. have a later form with analogically pal. final *b*).

[59] **ᵿ do-rat i talmain iar maidm érchatha for Ultu .i. Cath Brestine’.**

L ᵿ do-rat i *talmain* iar maidm áirchatha for ulto .i. Cath Brestini.

H ᵿ do-rat i *talmain* ier maidm foáircatha for ulltu .i. cath mbrestine

do-rat: there is no infixed pron. in either ms. as the object is deemed to be obvious. **talmain:** both mss. have a contraction which I expand as the acc. sg. (cf. ll.230-1 below where H has the short form written in full in acc. sg.; this is attested in *Fél Prol.* 216, cited *GOI*, 211). **érchatha:** *áir/(fo)áir* of the mss. may represent a variant of the intensive prefix *ér-/ éir-* (possibly through analogy with the preverb variously written *air/ er/ ir* (see *GOI*, 497) prefixed here to *cath* rendering ‘great battle’; the H form seemingly has the further complication of a prefixed prosthetic *f* and orthographical *oá* for *á*, or possible the prep. *fo* ‘under’. An early ex. of *maidm*

followed directly by *cath* in gen. sg. is ‘.i. amal bid iarmaidm chatha forru...’ MI. 84c9. The presence of an intensive prefix, used in the sense ‘great battle’ would fit the present context, I therefore restore *érchatha*. Another possibility is that the ms. forms are a variant of the personal name *Aurchath* (cf. AU 945.4 Aurchath m. Murcadha, ri iarthair Connacht (Aurchath son of Murchad, king of the west of Connacht [died] n. § king of Uí Briuin AI; ‘hUamnachán m. Aurchada’ CGH 153^a38); and see GOI, 497 on the various forms of the prep. *air*), although the initial *á* would be difficult to account for. **Cath Brestine:** the nas. in H is unusual.

[60] **Is and sin do-ratad dó a ndelg. ⁊ luid iar sin co Mess nGegrai .i. rí Laigen.**

L Is and sin do-ratad dó in delg. Ocus luid iar sin co mes gegra .i. rí lagen.

H IS and sen do-rratad dó a ndelcc & luid ier sen co mes ngegrae .i. airdri laigen-side

sin: H has a MidIr. form (see *SnaG*, 275-6). **a ndelg** H has the superior reading with neut. art. **Mess nGegrai:** I have adopted the H reading which marks nas. after the acc. sg. *Mess* governed by *co*. In both mss. the spelling of the gen. sg. ending of the second element varies, due to the confusion in writing of final unstressed vowels in MidIr. H generally has *-ae* or *-ai*, (while these spellings occasionally represent historical final *-a* they do not always represent it, nor are they standard schwa spellings) and L mostly has *-a*. The available evidence suggests either *io* or *iā*-stem flexion, but there are no known exx. of the independent use of the personal name forming the second element in the name, therefore we don’t even know if it is a male or female name. For the purposes of providing a form for the restored text I arbitrarily restore *io*-stem flexion, assuming nom. *Gegrae* gen. *Mess Gegrai*, this form will be used throughout although this is admittedly an entirely unsatisfactory solution. **rí Laigen:** it is difficult to say which reading belonged to the original; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases.

[61-2] **Bráthair dó Mess Roída da mac Da Thó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a mmáthair
ᵹ a n-athair.**

L brathair dó mes roídia .i. dá mac da tho in sin. buidir amlabair a mmathair ᵹ a
n-athair.

H bratir do mes roída. Dá mac da tó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a n-athair ᵹ a
mmathair

da mac Da Thó: the abbreviation **.i.** is more logically placed in H before the explanation of **Da Thó**; I therefore follow H and place it before **buidir** rather than before **Da Thó** as in L. Lenition after the num. *da* not marked in H; this is an explanation of the name *Dathó*, I have therefore capitalised the initials. O’Rahilly (1946, 485) refers to this ex. in his analysis of the name; the name usually has a lenited *t* i.e. whether this etymology is correct or not *tó* (< *tóe*) is to be treated as a masc. *io*-stem and *da* therefore is assumed to be the masc. dual. numeral. The length mark is used before *mac* in both mss. and is absent in both mss. before *tó*; historically we would expect the numeral to be short in proclisis (see *SnaG*, 202), I therefore restore short *a* in the first ex. **a mmáthair ᵹ a n-athair:** I have adopted the word order in L in line with the stated policy on cases where the readings differ in respect of word order only.

[62] **Feraid Mess Gegrai fáilti móir fri Aithirne.**

L Feraid mess gegra falti móir fri aithirne.

H Feraid mes gegrae foailti fri haithirne

fáilti móir: It is impossible to say whether or not the attributive adj. which appears in L only was in the original; in this as in other doubtful cases I have adopted the L reading.

[63] 'Is maith lim-sa ón', ol-se 'mad lat mnaí fessin do feis lim co matin'.

L Is maith lim-sa trá or athirne acht co rraib im farrad co mmatin.

H IS maidh lium-sa on ol-se mad lat mnaí fesin do fes liom co matin

ón: L reads 'I would like, then', H reads 'I would like this'; in the context the H reading is better as an introduction to the request which follows. **mad lat mnaí fessin do feis lim:** the H reading is superior, it reads lit. 'If it be with your own wife for sleeping with me till morning' (cf. 'a-tá ingen chóem la hEchthaig', Greene, 1955, 3). L has *or athirne* which is probably an attempt to clarify the more ambiguous *ol-se* of H; L also has later *acht co rraib* for expected OIr. *acht ro bé* and the object itself is omitted (the editors of the diplomatic edition suggest that *do ben* be supplied here); note also the prosthetic *f* in *im farrad* which of course may have simply crept in during transmission.

[64] 'Cid ara tibérainn?' ol in rí.

L Cid ara tibrind mo mnaí duit ar in rí.

H Cid ara tibér or in rí.

tibérainn: the L reading with a 1sg. cond. form is better in the context (on the omission of *é* see *GOI*, 405). H has a 1sg. fut. form; I have adopted the L reading and restored the normal historical spelling. The obj. of the verb is explicit in L, which reads 'Why would I give my wife to you?'; in H the obj. is understood i.e. 'Why will I (give her)?'; the L reading is more likely to be the later of the two, being a deliberate attempt at clarification.

[65-6] ‘Dot inchaib’, ol Aithirne ‘no conom marbae-so co rop ail for Laignib co bráth

L Dot inchaib ol athirne. Na conom marba-sa co rop ail do laignib co bráth.

H Dot inchaib ol aithirne no conom marbu-sa co rab ail for laicnib co brath

no: L has MidIr. *ná* which arose through confusion of *ná* ‘nor’ with *no* ‘or’. **marbae-so:** I have normalized the spelling in the 2sg. emph. pron. and restored the historical 2sg. pres. subj. ending in *-ae*. **for Laignib:** *for* is the prep. normally used with *ail* (cf. **ail bréthre do fácbáil forru** 1.38 above, with the acc. use).

[65-6] † conna hanat Ulaid ocom dígail-se forru co bráth’.

L † conna hanat ulaid com digail-se forro co bráth.

H † cona hanat ulaid com digail-se forra co brath

ocom: both mss. have a MidIr. form with the initial vowel lost (see *SnaG*, 329); I have emended these to the historical form.

[67] ‘Mad ar Ultaib nícot biad-so fáilte lim-sa a Aithirni’, ol in rí

L Mad ar ultaib nocot biad-so falti lim-sa a athirni.

H Mád ar ultaib nicot bía-sai failti limm-sa a aiterne ol in ri.

nícot: the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. form of *nícon* with *o* in the first syllable (see *SnaG*, 280). **biad-so:** L has *ma* + presumably 3sg. ipf. subj. of the copula introducing a doubtful condition (*ar ultaib*), followed by the 3sg. cond. in the subordinate cl. ‘If it were on account of the Ulstermen you could not find welcome with me’; H has *ma* + presumably 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula in the main cl., followed by the 3sg. fut. in the subordinate clause ‘If it be on account of the Ulstermen you will not find welcome with me’. The L reading fits the context best as

this is spoken in answer to Aithirne's threat that the Ulstermen would never stop avenging him, the king dismisses that proposition outright and proceeds in the following line to state the circumstances in which he will give his wife. **fáilte**: i.e. nom. sg.; both mss. have a spelling which reflects the later confusion in writing of final unstressed vowels. **ol in ri**: I have adopted this reading which is in H only, as it adds to the dramatic effect of the narrative by creating a pause between the apparent defiance of what precedes it and the submissiveness of what follows it.

[67-8] **'rot bia in ben immurgu dom inchaib-se.**

L Rot bia in ben *immurgu* dom inchaib-se.

H Rob bía in mnai immurgu dom incaib-se.

rot bia: the L reading is preferable as H has a 2pl. infix pron. **in ben**: the L reading with nom. sg. *in ben* is superior; in MidIr. the acc., as in H, is used with forms of the subst. verb other than *fil* (see *SnaG*, 323).

[68-9] **Ní fil immurgu la Ultu óenfer noda bérad acht manis taibrinn duit-siu dom inchaib'.**

L Ni fáil *immurgu* la ulto oenfer nos bérad acht manis tabraind duit-siu dom inchaib.

H Ni fil *dano* la hulta oinfer nus *berad acht* mona tabraind det-se dom inchaib.

Ní fil: L has a late reading with MidIr. *fáil* (see *SnaG*, 323) and len. after *ní* (see *SnaG*, 278). **immurgu**: L has *immurgu* 'however' whereas H has *dano* 'then, moreover'; in the present context it would be difficult to say which is the original reading; I have therefore adopted the L reading as in other doubtful cases. **óenfer noda bérad**: both mss. show MidIr. replacement of 3sg. fem. class C infix pron. with class A in rel. cl. (see *EIV*, 170); I have restored the OIr. class C infix pron. **manis taibrinn**: the L reading with OIr. *mani* + 3sg. fem. infix pron., referring to

Mess Gegrai's wife is superior; H has MidIr. *mona* (see *SnaG*, 281); I have restored OIr. *taibrinn*. **duit-siu**: both of the ms. 2sg. prepositional pron. forms of *do* are found in OIr. (see *GOI*, 274); in the restored text I use the spelling which is here attested in L.

[70-1] **'Is fír', ol Aithirne 'ní ainiub-sa ám dít aimles-so conda ruca oenfer di Ultaib úait', ol Aithirne 'íar mbrith do chinn dít'.**

L IS fír ol Athirne. ní anub-sa trá dit-so co rruca oenfer dultaib do chend ⁊ do mnai.

H IS fír ol aithirne. ní ainiub-sa amh dot aimles-sa condu ruca ainfer do ulltaib uait ol aithirne ier mbreth do cind dit.

ní ainiub-sa: H has the superior reading with historically palatal n in the future stem (see *GOI*, 397). **ám dít aimles-so**: in H *aimles* 'harm' is used as a vn. i.e. '(I will not desist) from harming you' (see *DIL* s.v. *aimles*); L simply reads 'I will not desist from you then'; I have adopted the superior H reading. **conda ruca oenfer di Ultaib úait', ol Aithirne 'íar mbrith do chinn dít**: both readings refer to the future beheading of Mess Gegrai and the taking of his wife by a single Ulsterman (i.e. Conall Cernach); I have adopted the H reading which is stylistically superior, note also the 3sg. fem. class C infixed. pron. referring to Mess Gegrai's wife; the second occurrence of *ol aithirne* has a stylistic function here, creating a pause before the narrative climax regarding the king's head. On normalized *brith* see note on l.10 above.

[72] **'Ní gébthar indiut', ol in rí 'rot bia fáilte'.**

L Ni gébthar inniut or in rí. Rot bia falti.

H Ni gebthar indiud ol in ri ro burbia fálti.

gébthar indiut: *DIL* cites the present L reading as an ex. of the construction *gaibid i* 'assails'. I have restored the conservative spelling in which is not intended here to

reflect the phonetic reality (the assimilation of stressed *nd* > *nn* was completed c. 800, see *GOI*, 93). **rot bia:** L has a 2sg. class A infixed pron. and H has a 2pl. class A infixed pron., with MidIr. *bur* for *b* (see *SnaG*, 267; H has the OIr. use in l.67 above); the pron. in both cases refers to Aithirne, I have adopted the L reading.

[73] **Foid in ben leis ind aidchi sin .i. Búan ben Meisse Gegraí.**

L Foid in ben leis .i. buan ben mess gegra.

H Foid an ben les an aidchi sin .i. buan ben mes *gegrai*

ind aidchi sin: this ex. of the temporal dat. meaning ‘that night’ is found in H only; I have adopted this reading as it suits the context better, when taken to mean that the woman slept with him right away, i.e. on the night following the day he requested her. I have restored the spelling in the fem. form of the def. art. (on this construction see *GOI*, 161-2, the exx. cited are of the short dat., see *id.*, 185-6). **Búan:** this personal name is a substantive of the o/ā adj. *búan* ‘lasting, constant’; I have restored the length mark here *et passim*. **Meisse:** I have restored the OIr. gen. sg. of *mess* ‘fosterling’ here *et passim*; the nom. form attested in both mss. is due to the later treatment of such constructions as true compounds whereby only the second element was inflected (see *DIL* s.v. 3 *mes(s)*).

[73-4] **ᵿ anaid Aithirne for cúairt Laigen co cenn mbliadnae,**

L Ocus anaid athirne for cúaird lagen co cend mbliadnae

H & anaid aithirne for cuaird laigen co cenn mbliadna

for cúairt: the mss. agree in their representation of OIr. *-rd*; this spelling is found in OIr. alongside *-rt*, I have normalized the spelling here in line with that in l.4 above (see note).

[74-5] **co tuc tri cóecta rígnae di mnáib flaithe ⁊ dagdoíne Laigen dia mbrith dia thír leis.**

L co tuc tri coicdu rigan do mnaib flatha ⁊ dagdoine lagen dia mbreith dia thír leis.

H ⁊ co tuc tri coectu rigno do mnaib na flaithi dia mbreth; leis dia thír

The H reading begins with ⁊; I have not adopted it. **cóecta:** the mss. agree in their representation of the OIr. acc. pl. ending as *-u*, thus reflecting the typical confusion shown in late mss. with regard to the spelling of final unstressed syllables (see *SnaG*, 249); I have restored the historical spelling in *-a*. **rígnae:** H has the superior reading with a form showing *ī*-stem flexion in *rígain*; L has a MidIr. form showing *ā*-stem flexion (see *SnaG*, 247); I have restored the historical spelling of the OIr. gen. pl. ending. **flaithe ⁊ dagdoíne Laigen:** H has the superior reading in **flaithe** with historical palatal *-th-*; it would be difficult to say for sure whether or not the article preceding **flaithe** and **⁊ dagdoíne Laigen** which appear in L only, were in the original but L notably has earlier *dag-* prefix rather than *deg-*; although the H reading serves the narrative equally well here I have adopted the L reading as with other doubtful cases. **dia mbrith dia thír:** the mss. show different word order here; this is of no consequence, therefore the L reading is adopted as with all such cases; on normalization of *brith* see note on l.10 above.

[76] **‘Maith trá a gillai’, ol Aithirne fria gillae ‘eirg dam-sa co Ultu co torsat im agaid.**

L Maith tra a gillai ol aithirne fria gilla airg dam-sa co ulto co tísat imm agid.

H Maith a gilla tran ol aithirne fria a gilla airc dam-sa co hulta co torsad ar mo cend

Maith trá a gillai: I have adopted the L reading; H has the form *tran*, *DIL* s.v. *trán* suggests that it is ‘perh. a synonym of *trá*’, in the present ex. it appears to be used either for *trá*, or at least in the same sense as it. **fria gillae:** I have adopted the L

reading; H has *fria* which is found in MidIr. for the simple prep. *fri*. **eirg:** although Thurneysen (*GOI*, 53-4) cites *eirg(g)/airg(g)* as an ex. of the regular interchange of *e* and *a*, there are no early attestations of *airg*; it therefore seems best to restore actually attested *eirg*. **co torsat:** H has the *lectio difficilior* with the unusual but regular neutral syncope group *-rs-* in 3pl. ipf. subj. (with final *d* for *t* in 3pl. ending) of *do-ic*; L has 3pl. pres. subj. of ‘comes to’ in a construction which also conforms to OIr. usage i.e. with an obj. (*imm agaid*) denoting the place to which the subj. is coming (see *DIL* s.v. *do-icc* I(b)). **im agaid:** both mss. have constructions meaning ‘before me’; as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading as with all such doubtful cases.

[77-8] **Is dóchu bieid imrádud la Laigniu form-sa immin mbrait se ⁊ co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaib’.**

L IS dochu biaid imrádud la laigniu form-sa immon mbrait se acht co nnechur dia n-inchaib.

H IS docha biaidh imradad form-sa imon mbraid si acht co ndechur-sa dia n-inchaib

bieid: both mss. have MidIr. *biaid(h)*; I have restored the historical form. **la Laigniu:** in L only; I have adopted it as it provides a contrast with the previous line in which the Ulstermen are sent for to help him as he expects trouble from the Leinstermen. **⁊ co ndechus-sa:** Both mss. also have *acht co*, which is clearly MidIr. if taken at face value; the occurrence of *acht* here may be accounted for by scribal misreading of the compendium for *ocus* ⁊ and that for *acht* \bar{s} , which was subsequently expanded; I restore ⁊ which is here used to connect two sentences whereby the second is not formally dependent on the first (on this construction see *DIL* s.v. *2 ocus* 96.70 ff.). Both mss. have *-r* for *-s* in the 1sg. ending of the augm. pres. subj. of *téit*; this likely crept into both through scribal misreading of *r* for *s*, which are easily confused paleographically (note however that the *-ur* ending regularly replaces *-us* in MidIr. (see *EIV*, 219-20); the ms. readings therefore, may also be due to independent scribal innovation). I have retained the 1sg. emph. pron. which appears in H only, as the stress which is placed on *Aithirne* here is significant inasmuch as it further isolates

him as an individual troublemaker whose sole departure would rectify the bad situation in which he finds himself. This line is to be translated ‘until I should pass from their protection’ (cf. **luid di inchaib** (incl. note) l.82 below).

[79-80] **Do-llotar didiu Laigin do chelebrad do Aithirniu co mbáatar i Forcarthain.**

Do-llotar danó Ulaid co mbáatar oc Tulchuindi fri Áth Clíath an-túaid.

L Do-llotar didiu laigin do chelebrad do aithirniu co mbatar oc telchuine fri ath cliath atúaid.

H Do-llotar didiu laigin do celiubrad do aithirniu co mbatar a forcarthain Do -llotar dano ulaid co mbáatar oc telcuinde fri ath cliat antuaid

i Forcarthain. Do-llotar danó Ulaid co mbáatar: this has been omitted in L through haplography caused by homoioteleuton i.e. the scribe jumped from the first occurrence of **co mbáatar** to the second, omitting everything in between.

Forcarthain: Hogan (1910) s.v. *forcarthain* (dat.) gives its location as in the present text (the ex. at l.188 below is the one cited); Stokes (1887, 57) simply uses

Forcarthain in his translation, the nom. form is likely *Forcarthu*, as suggested by

Hogan. **Tulchuindi:** Hogan cites exx. relating to the river Tolka s.vv. *talcainde*, *telchaind* (the present ex. from L is misquoted here as *telcuinde*, probably reading the H form from Stokes' ed. instead of the L form), *tolcaidh* and *tulcha*. No exx. of a

nom. sg. are cited; there are exx. of acc. *talcainde*, dat. *telchuine/ telcuinde* which suggest vocalic stem flexion (*io-*, *iā-* or *ī-*) and acc. *telchaind*, dat. *tulcaind* which

suggest *n*-stem flexion. In the absence of attested exx. of the nom. sg. I have restored dat. sg. in final *i*, which at least is possible for the *iā-* and *ī-* stems (*-e* is impossible in

the dat. sg. of any class. N.B. in Mod. Ir. this name has nom. *Tulcha*, gen. *Tulchann*);

I have adopted the orthographically conservative H form with *nd* (which is not

intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th cent. OIr.); I have normalized the

spelling in the first syllable (cf. **tulaig** (incl. note) l.42 above). Stokes (1887, 52)

reads *Telchume* with *m* for *in*. Knott (1949, 56) does not question Stokes' reading.

an-túaid: H has the superior reading with OIr. *antuaid*; L has the later form (for exx. see *DIL* s.v. *atúaid*).

[80-1] **Celebraid dóib iarum int-í Aithirne ⁊ ní fárcab bendachtin ⁊ ní thuc a n-aill.**

L Celebraid dóib iarum int-i athirne ⁊ ní fargaib bennachtain. ⁊ ni thuc a n-aill.

H Celiubraid doib iarum ant-i aithirne ⁊ ni farcaib bendachtin ⁊ ni thuc
alali

ni thuc both mss. show MidIr. len. after *ní* (see *SnaG*, 278). **ní fárcab**: I have restored final non-palatal *b* which is expected here in OIr. **a n-aill**: the H reading is good insofar as it has acc. sg. fem. *alali* agreeing with *bendacht*; the neut. sg. form in L accompanied by the neut. art. meaning (with **ní thuc**) ‘nothing else’ is more likely the original reading as this form is more prone to be lost in MidIr. and therefore would unlikely have been inserted to replace *alaile*.

[81-2] **Ba olc immurgu la Laigniu a mná do brith úaidib i mbrait do Ultaib.**

L Ba olc immurgu la lagnib a mnaa do brith uadib i mbrait do ultaib:

H Ba scith immurgu la laigniu a mná do brith huaidibh a mbraid do ulltaib

olc: it is difficult to say which reading might have been in the original; I have adopted the L reading. **la Laigniu** : H has the superior reading with acc. pl. following *la*. **a mná**: L uses a double letter to indicate the long vowel, this occurs occasionally in OIr. (see *GOI*, 20) and MidIr. where it may be a hypercorrect spelling after hiatus has been contracted (see *SnaG*, 229). **úaidib**: on normalization see note on l.46 above.

[82-3] **Ó luid di inchaib Laigen int-í Aithirne, lotar-side do íarmóracht a mbraite.**

L O thanic do ainiuch lagen int-i athirne lotar lugin do iarmoracht a mbraiti.

H O lluid di incoib laighen ant-i aithirne. Lotur-side do iarmoracht a mbrati

Ó luid di inchaib: as Knott (1949, 57) has pointed out, Stokes misinterpreted the L reading *ainiuch Lagen* as a placename, she re-interprets and translates the line as ‘As soon as A. had come from the honor of the L.,’ *i.e.* had passed the limit up to which they as his hosts had the duty of protecting him’. Henry (1978, 58) repeats Stokes’ error ‘Níor thúisce cos Athirne thar teorainn ag Ainech Laighean ná gur thosaigh an tiomáint’. The H reading is superior in any case, with *téit* ‘goes’ rather than *do-ic* ‘comes’ and the older dat. pl. use of *enech* (cf. **co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaib** ll.78-9 above). **lotar-side:** the H reading is most likely the original reading as the use of *lugin* in L appears to be an attempt to clarify the ambiguous *-side* in H. **do íarmóracht:** I read *íarmóracht* here in the sense ‘pursuing with intent to retrieve’.

[83-4] **Co n-accatar Ulaid immurgu in n-íarmóracht i ndiad Aithirni. Do-lloatar-side dia tairmiusc-som.**

L Do-roachtatar *ulaid dano* i n-íarmóracht *athirni*. Do-lloatar-*side* dia thessaircain-seom.

H Co n-acotur *ulaid* immurgu in n-íarmoracht a ndiaid aithirne Do-lloatur-*side* dia tairmiusc-*sum*

Co n-accatar Ulaid immurgu: I have adopted the H reading as it makes better sense in the context; L reads ‘The Ulstermen came then in pursuit of Aithirne’. **i ndiad:** *i.e.* acc. sg. lit ‘into the end of’; the spelling in H with palatal final *d* is due to the confusion of in MidIr. of *i ndiad* and *i ndegaid* or the later *ā*-stem flexion.

tairmiusc-som: I have adopted the H reading as it is a continuation of **Co n-accatar...** *i.e.* ‘The Ulstermen saw the pursuit after Aithirne. They came to hinder them (*i.e.* the Leinstermen)’; the L reading in turn fits its own context *i.e.* ‘The Ulstermen came the in search of Aithirne. They came to protect him’. H has the historical dat. sg. spelling in *tairmiusc*; this is at best coincidental.

[84-5] **Fechair cath immi fo chétóir. Maidid for Ultu, co ndechutar la muir sair co rragbad Étar forru.**

L Fechair cath immi fo chétoir. Maidid for Ultu. co ndechatar la muir sair co rragbad Etar forru.

H Fechair cath etorra Maididh for ullto co ndechatar la muir sair co rragbhadh étur forro

imbi fo chétóir: neither reading is clearly superior and both fit the context equally well with L reading being slightly more dramatic in style; I have adopted the L reading as with all such doubtful cases. **co rragbad Étur forru:** Stokes (1887, 55) translates this as ‘until they were shut up (?) in Howth’. From the present context and that in which another ex. **ónd úair ro gabad Étar forsnaib feraib** at l.124-5 below is used, it must be taken here to mean ‘until they had reached Étar’. The use of acc. pl. **forru** here and dat. pl. **forsnaib feraib** below can be accounted for by the fact that the acc. and dat. are used interchangeably after *for* and *ar* in OIr. (see *SnaG*, 210).

[86-7] **Noí tráth dóib i nÉtur cen dig cen biad, acht mani eisbesat sál in mora no mani dótar in n-úir.**

L Noí trath dóib i n-etur cen dig cen biad. acht meni esbetar sál in mara. no mani dotar in n-uir.

H noi tradh doib a n-etor cen dig gan biad achd mani esbeset sal moiri ⁊ mani deútar andúr

tráth: this is used here in the sense ‘day’ (*DIL* s.v. *tráth*). **cen:** H has later *gan* for *cen*. **mani eisbesat:** the H reading is superior; *ibid* ‘drinks’ has weak pret. flexion in OIr. (see *GOI*, 415) and forms its perf. using the augment *ess* (see *GOI*, 471. cf. *-ragbaiset* (*EIV*, 130), the augmented prot. 3pl. of *gaibid* which has the same syncope pattern); I have restored historical palatal *sb* in the stem and the broad 3pl. ending. L has MidIr. *meni* with *e* for *a* in the first syll. (see *SnaG*, 281) and a later 3pl. form

which has adopted a MidIr. 3pl. ending (see *EIV*, 238-9). **sál in mora:** neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted L reading with the def. art., restoring the earlier spelling in the first syllable. I have not adopted the len. of the obj. which is optional in OIr. and MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 237-8) and have restored the historical spelling in respect of the vowel of the first syllable. **no:** the L reading is stylistically better, with the disjunctive *no* providing a separate contrast between thirst and drinking brine and starvation and eating clay. **mani dótar:** the OIr. 3pl. augm. suppletive pret. prot. form of *ithid* is *-dótar/ -dúatar* (see *GOI*, 426); Schumacher (1998, 151 ff.) cites both ms. readings from the present line and those from l.201 in his discussion of the possible link between the pret. forms of *ithid* and the verb *foaid*. He considers the possibility that the H form *deutar* (recte *deútar*, length mark clearly visible in ms.) and *deodhsa* are forms of a compound of *foaid* from the root **h₂ ues-* but cautions that ‘Both semantically and formally, this etymology is very tempting. However, it must remain at best a possibility, since the one manuscript containing most of these forms, Harleian 5280, has such a peculiar orthographical system that one can hardly draw firm conclusions from the spelling of individual forms in it’; with this in mind it seems best to adopt the L reading here and leave the H reading as it stands until it may be considered further. **in n-úir:** H has orthographical *nd* for *nn* i.e. acc. sg. of the def. art. + nas.

[87-8] **Secht cét bó immurgu la Aithirne .i. baí finda óderga for lár in dúine ⁊ ní rabae la Ultu mac ná fer no mlaissed bannae dia n-ass acht no léicthe fon all,**

L Secht cét bó immurgu la Athirne for lár in dúni & ní rabi la ulto mac na fer no blaissed a loimm acht no leicthe fon aill a mblegon.

H Secht cet mbo immurgu la aithirne .i. ba finda óderca for lar an duini ⁊ ní raba la hulto mac no fer no blassed banna dia nass acht no legthe fon all.

Secht cét bó: L has the superior reading; nas. after *cet* in H shows that the sg. is being used instead of the pl. (see *SnaG*, 262), although *cét* retains its neut. gender.

.i. ba finda óderca: I have adopted this reading which is in H only; it highlights Aithirne’s wealth as these are a choice breed of cattle which are incidentally not thought to have been merely a fictional breed (see Bergin, 1946; Kelly, 1988, 33-4).

in dúine: both mss. show s-stem flexion in *dúin*; this had occurred by the end of the eighth century (see *GOI*, 178-9) which leaves this flexion quite normal for the suggested date of composition of *TÉ*. **ná:** either *ná* ‘nor’ or *no* ‘or’ can be used in the present context (see *GOI*, 540); I have followed L as reading as neither reading is clearly superior. **no mlaised:** both mss. write *bl-* for *ml-*, which reflects the MidIr. phonetic change of initial *ml* > *bl* (see *SnaG*, 234); I have restored the historical OIr. spelling. **bannae dia n-ass:** the H reading is preferable; it uses *as(s)*, the specific OIr. word for milk, rather than the general term *loim(m)* ‘a drink’ hence ‘a drink of milk’; that H has the original reading is also suggested by the use of *bannae* in both mss. at 1.90. **fon all:** *DIL* s.v. *I all* states ‘form and inflexion variable’, in the context it seems preferable to continue with the H reading, which has non-palatal *all* (perh. an *o*-stem, acc. sg.) the line then reads ‘rather it used to be dumped over the cliff’. The L reading *a mblegon* again shows MidIr. *bl-* for *ml-*, at least in spelling.

[88-9] **arna taiscélad nech díb etir a biad-som do mlassacht.**

L arna taiscelad nech dib *etir* a biad-som do blassacht.

H Arna taisceled nech do ulltaib a biad-som do tomuilt *etir*

díb: it would be difficult to say which reading belongs to the original; I have adopted the L reading (cf. **díb** 1.45 above, where both mss. have the monosyllabic form). **etir:** I have adopted the word-order in L. **a biad-som:** the long vowel in H is a feature of hiatus words in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 231); the spelling here may also represent a form in which contraction > *ía* had been completed. **do mlassacht:** both mss. have a vn. construction; L reads ‘so that none of them at all would discover the taste of his food’ (lit. his food for tasting), H reads ‘so that none of the Ulstermen would discover (i.e. experience) the consuming of his food’ (lit. his food for consuming); apart from the trivial *bl-* for *ml-* in L there is nothing to indicate which reading may be the original; I have therefore adopted the L reading as with all such doubtful cases.

[89-90] **Ocus do-bertis cuci ind fir athgoíti ⁊ ní léiced bannae inna cenn co n-epiltis a n-óenur di chráugalur.**

L & do-bertis cuci ind fir athgoeti ⁊ ní leiced banne ina cend co n-aplaitis a noínur do chrógalar.

H & do-bertis cuco in fir athgoiti ocus ni lecidh-som banna inna cenn co n-epiltis a ænur do crogalar

ní leiced: L has 3sg. ipf. ind. pass. of *léicid* i.e. ‘not a drop was let into their heads’; H has 3sg. ipf. ind. with a 3sg. emph. pron. i.e. ‘he did not let a drop into their heads’; L would appear to have the original reading with the change in subject in H possibly being a later attempt to highlight the 3sg. ipf. ind. over the pass. pret. sg. as in L. **inna cenn:** although L has hypercorrect *nd* for *nn*, both mss. have the neut. acc. pl. form. **co n-epiltis:** H has the better reading of 3pl. ipf. of *at-baill*; neither ms. has the neut. pron. (cf. *arna-epiltis* (Ml. 121^a16), cited *GOI*, 267). **a n-óenur:** both mss. have the dat. of apposition (see *GOI*, 160); L however, has the superior reading with *nas* following the 3pl. poss. pron. **di chráugalur:** the H form is better than L, in that L has the later compositional form *cró-* whereas the H reading allows for the possibility that it has earlier *cro-* with short *o*; both, however, are later forms from OIr. *cráu-* (see *GOI*, 197; Greene (1983) has discussed the incorrect listing of certain forms of *cról/crú* in *DIL*, the present ex. (from L), however, is correctly listed under *crú* ‘gore, blood’. *Crógalar* is to be taken here to mean ‘bloody sickness’ i.e. a sickness with visible wounds.

[90-1] **⁊ no téigtis maithi Ulad cuci i n-impidi im dig do Chonchobur ⁊ nícon étad úad.**

L Ocus teigtis mathe ulad cuce i n-impide im dig do chonchobur ocus nocon éta úad.

H & tegdis mathi ulad cuci i n-impidi im digh dar cridi concobair ⁊ nicon etadh uad

no téigtis: in both mss. the ipf. ind. of *téit* is used without *no*, this use arose through analogy with the uncontracted/ contracted dental forms of *do-ic/ tic* (see *SnaG*, 286); I have restored the preverbal part. **maithi:** H has the historical *i*-stem nom. pl. in final *i* (in a late ms. the evidential value of this is at best coincidental); the L form in final *-e* is due to the later confusion over the representation of final unstressed vowels. **i n-impidi:** H has the historical dat. sg. spelling (the evidential value of this is at best coincidental. **nícon étad:** H has the superior reading; L has the MidIr. form of *nícon* (see *SnaG*, 280). The H reading with 3sg. ipf. *etadh* fits the context better than 3sg. pres. ind. *éta* in L (unless the L reading itself is due to omission of final *d*).

[91-5] **Conid ed no f̄erad Conchobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora muin óthá Emain Machae im thráth nóna beus .i. Lebarcham is sí do-bered. Mug ⁊ cumal ro bátar i tig Chonchobair is sí gein rucad etarru .i. ind ingen Lebarcham.**

L Conid ed no f̄urad chonchobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora mmuin otá emuin macha im thráth nóna béus .i. leborcham is sí do-bered. Mug ⁊ cumal ro batar i tig chonchobair. is í gein rucad eturru .i. ind ingen leborcham.

H Conad eadh ro feurud concupar a ndo-bered and ingen fora muin ota eomain macha im trath nona beus .i. lepurcham

Conid ed: L has the better spelling. **no f̄erad:** Both mss. have the 3sg. ipf. ind. with MidIr. variants of the stem (see *DIL* s.v. *feraid*); H displays MidIr. hypercorrect use of *ro* for *no* (see *SnaG*, 280). I have adopted the L reading with *no* including rel. len. as shown there. **beus:** the long vowel in L is a feature of hiatus words, in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 231), it could also indicate that contraction has occurred; it is to be read here with **a ndo-bered** in the sense ‘regularly’. **Lebarcham is sí do-bered. Mug ⁊ cumal ro bátar i tig Chonchobair is sí gein rucad etarru .i. ind ingen Lebarcham:** this has probably been omitted in H through haplography caused by homoioteleuton i.e. with the scribe having jumped from the first occurrence of **Lebarcham** to the second, omitting everything in between; *gein* is used in the concrete sense i.e. ‘that which is born’.

[95-6] **Ba dochrud danó a delb inna ingine .i. a di thraigid ⁊ a da nglún inna degaid,**

L Ba dochraid *dano* a delb na ingine .i. a da traigid ⁊ a da glún inna diaid.

H Ba dochrud tran a fuath na hingini a da traichid ⁊ a di glun ina diaid.

dochrud: L has a form showing *i*-stem flexion, this is attested in OIr. ‘*pl. doc[h]raidi gl. indecora*, Ml. 68^{d2}’ cited *DIL* s.v. *dochraid*; H has a contracted form, which I expand to the normal OIr. form with *u*-stem flexion; I have restored the classical OIr. form as the L reading here is in all probability a MidIr. form as *i*-stem flexion became standard in MidIr.; the early attestation cited above is clearly a slip from a lower register of language in which the forms with *i*-stem flexion were already in use.

danó: neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted the L reading. **a delb:** the L reading is better as *fuath* in H has a MidIr. prosthetic *f* (although this may have simply crept in in transmission). **.i.:** in L only; I have adopted it as it improves the narrative by introducing the specific description of Leborcham’s misshapeness. **a di thraigid:** both mss. appear to treat *traig* as a neut. noun, were this the general MidIr. form of the dual numeral i.e. *dá* (see *SnaG*, 260), the length mark and/ or len. might be expected in at least one of the mss.; *traig* is fem. in OIr. (*GOI* vaguely states that it is ‘fem. in Mod. Ir.’, 205; note however, the following gloss cited *DIL* s.v. *1 traig* ‘t. a trachtu, uel quasi ter-rig .i. rig terram, ar isī benas for lār, Corm. Y’); I therefore emend to the historical form of the dual numeral (with short *i* in proclisis). **da glún:** L has the better reading with neut. *s*-stem *glún* (fem. in MidIr.) preceded by the neut. dual numeral, it does not however show *nas.* after the numeral; I have adopted the L reading restoring *nas.* **inna degaid:** both mss. display the MidIr. confusion of *diaid* and *degaid*; *degaid* is the expected form here, *DIL* s.v. *degaid* (221, l. 56 ff.) states ‘Often opp. to remi: vi sluaig rempi...vi sluaig na degaid SR 4876. Crist reum Crist im degaid, Thes. ii 357.14.); I therefore emend the ms. forms to *degaid*.

[96] a di *escait* ⁊ a di *śáil remi*. Is sí do-foichled Érinn i n-óenló.

L a da *escait* ⁊ a dá *śáil rempe*. Is í toichled herinn i n-oenló.

H a da hescaid ⁊ a dá sail *rempi*. IS Si toicliud erinn i nd-oenlo.

a di *escait* ⁊ a di *śáil*: both mss. use the general MidIr. dual numeral (with length mark written in both mss. in the second ex. only) before *escait* and *śáil* which are both fem. I restore the historical form of the dual numeral (with short *i* in proclisis, see *SnaG*, 202) in both cases. **remi**: both mss. have the MidIr. form with *-p-* (see *SnaG*, 330); I have restored the historical form. **do-foichled**: both mss. have 3sg. ipf. ind. of the simplex *tóichlid* which replaces *do-foichell* ‘traverses, journeys over’ in MidIr.; the preverbal part. *no* is also absent in both mss.; I have restored the OIr. compound verb including rel. len.

[96-7] Cech ní di maith ⁊ di śaich do-gníthe i nÉre at-féded do Chonchobar isin Chráebrúaid deud laí.

L Cech ní do maith ⁊ do śaich do-gnithea i n-here. ad-féided do chonchobar isin chroibrúaid deod laí.

H nac ni di maidh no do śaith do-gnithi ann at-fededh de concobar isin craepruaidh deuidh laí

Cech ní: L has the better reading; in cases where the indef. pron. *ní* is followed by a defining rel. cl. the subjunctive is used when the sentence is indefinite and the indicative when definite; therefore L has the correct use with ipf. ind. pass. sg. following definite *cech ní* ‘everything’, whereas H has indefinite *nac ní* ‘whatever’ (with later use of masc. *nach* replacing neut. *na*) followed by ipf. ind. pass. sg. and not the subjunctive; I have therefore adopted the L reading. **di śaich**: L has the earlier form; *saith* developed under the influence of *maith* with which it is paired in this phrase. **i nÉre**: the L reading is preferable; I have expanded this to the short dat. form in lne with the selected reading in 1.2 above. **at-féded**: H has the superior reading

with 3sg. neut. class B infixed pron. agreeing with *ní*. **deud laí:** both mss. have a form of the temporal dat. of *diad* (see *GOI*, 125, 161), L, however, has the superior reading as H shows later fem. *ā*-stem flexion; I have restored the historical spelling.

[98] **A tortíne tri fichet mbairgen ara ciunn i ciunn tened, cenmothá a cuít lasin slúag.**

L Turtíne tri fichet mbargen ara cind i cind tened. Cenmotha a cuít lasin slúag.

H A turtíni tri fichet mbairgen ara cind a cinn tened cenmotha a cuid lasan³ sluag

A tortíne tri fichet mbairgen: The H reading with 3sg. fem. poss. pron is preferable; both mss. have *u* in the first syllable, I have emended this to *o* (cf. ‘torténi .i. bairgenēni, Corm. Y’ cited *DIL* s.v. *tortín(e)*). This appears to be a hyperbolic statement i.e. that her small loaf was as big as sixty loaves. **ara ciunn i ciunn:** I have restored the unambiguous OIr. dat. sg. spelling in both cases (note the misdivided L reading ‘ic ind tened’, cited *DIL* s.v. *tortín(e)*).

[99] **Is sí trá do-bered a chuit do Chonchobur fora mmuin óthá Emain co hÉtar.**

L Is í tra no bered a chuit do chonchobur ara mmuin otá emuin co hétur.

H IS i tra do-bered cuid concubair otha eomain macha.

do-bered: I have adopted the H reading; *do-beir* with the nuance ‘brings’ is preferable to *beirid* ‘carries’ (cf. **a ndo-bered** 1.92 above, where both mss. have 3sg. ipf. of *do-beir*). **a chuit do Chonchobur:** both mss. readings work equally well in the context, L has a proleptic poss. pron. and uses the prep. *do* to introduce the recipient; H treats the whole as the obj. of *do-bered*; as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading. **fora mmuin:** this reading appears in L only; apart from making good sense in the present context its inclusion here is supported by the occurrence of the phrase in both mss. at 1.92 above; the prep. *ar* has been

³ with suprascript dot or mark on ms. above s.

substituted for the expected *for* (this occurs in MidIr. due to confusion of the two prepp. in MidIr. arising out of the lenition of the initial of *for* (see *SnaG*, 326); I have therefore included the phrase restoring *fora*. **óthá Emain co hÉtar**: in MidIr. *óthá* is used as a prep. with following dat., the L reading with *emuin* may be a dat. form proper but it may also simply be a late confused spelling for nom. *Emain*, the same also applies to seeming dat. *co hétur* for acc. *co hÉtar*; on the whole L has a good construction with *óthá* in its historical usage with complementary limit introduced by *co* (for other exx. see *DIL* s.v. *óthá*); I have therefore adopted the construction in L restoring the acc. spelling in both placenames. As regards *macha* in H, this may have been in the original but as we cannot be certain of this I have followed L.

[100] **No bíd trá a n-imguin eter dé ⁊ aidchi imma ndún**

L No bíd tra ind imguin eter lá ⁊ aidchi immo ndún.

H No bíd tra andimgoin eter de ⁊ aidci immo ndun

No bíd: both mss. have 3sg. ipf. ind. of the subst. vb. in final *-d*, this occurs again in both texts at l.101 and l.104; the readings in both mss. must go back to a OIr. variant of the more established form in final *th* (cf. ‘-bid, MI.33^{a5}’, cited *DIL* s.v. *attá* (468, l.12)). Of course in MidIr. *d* can be written for *th* (see *SnaG*, 229), but this would hardly account for both mss. having final *-d* in every possible occurrence of the form. **a n-imguin**: *imguin* is a neut. *i*-stem in OIr., L treats it as a fem. noun, whereas in H there is the strong possibility that the neut. art. is present, with the nas. following it spelt *nd-* (cf. H *i nd-oenlo* l.96 above), I have transcribed the H form as it appears in the ms. in order to highlight this point. I have restored neut. art. + nas. **eter dé**: H has the better reading; L has a contracted form in acc. sg. of *laa*. In this construction *eter* is used with *ocus* to render the meaning ‘both’ (see *GOI*, 550).

[100-1] **ocus as-berat Laigin it é Ulaid ro chechlatar Dún nÉtair.**

L At-berat laigin is siat ro chloidsetar dún etair.

H & as-berat laigin is iad ulaid ro cechlotar dun n-etur.

ocus as-berat: H has the better reading; L has *at-* with the petrified neut. infixed pron. for *ad-* (see *SnaG*, 284); alternatively it may be used proleptically here in general reference to the statement which follows. **it é Ulaid:** both mss. have a late reading with the new 3pl. indep. pron. which replaced OIr. *é* (see *SnaG*, 273), used with the 3sg. of the copula; I have emended these to the historical forms and adopted the H reading with *ulaid*, which makes much better sense in the context. **ro chechlatar:** superior reading in H with the historical augm. redup. pret. of *claidid*; L has a MidIr. form based on the un-reduplicated root *claid-* with a MidIr. 3pl. ending *-setar* (see *EIV*, 238-9). **Dún nÉtair:** H has the superior reading with nas. following neut. acc. *dún*.

[101-2] **A-tá bern Chon Culainn and cen iadad. No bíd cách oca gressacht imma imbe.**

L Atá bern chon culainn and cen iadad. No bíd cách ica gressacht imma immi.

H Ata bernd con culainn ann no bid cach oca gresacht-som imma immi.

Chon Culainn: lenition, as shown in L is expected after fem. *bern*. **cen iadad:** this appears in L only; I have adopted it as it fits the context well and as there is nothing linguistically to suggest that it is a later addition. **No bíd:** see note 1.100 above. **oca:** L has a MidIr. spelling with *i* for *o* (see *SnaG*, 329). **gressacht:** H has an emph. pron. which here emphasizes the poss. pron. relating to Cú Chulainn; it is impossible to say which is the original reading; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **imbe:** both mss. have a reading which shows confusion in the representation of final unstressed syllables; I have restored the historical spelling of the neut. *io-*stem. acc. sg. in final *-e*; I have restored the orthographically conservative spelling *imbe* in line with attested forms at ll. 113-4 and 263-4 (this is not intended to reflect the

phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr.; *mb>mm* had occurred by 800 A.D. see *GOI*, 238, and editorial policy).

[103-4] **‘Nathó’, ol-se ‘cúal gai immus-n-íada lim-sa’. No bíd danó Conchobar oc airbríathrad Chon Culainn,**

L Nithó ar-se cúal gai immus-n-íada lem-sa. No bíd dano conchobar oc airbriathrad con culainn

H noto ol-se cual gai imus-iadha lim-sa. No bíd concobar dano oc airbriathradh con coulainn

Nathó: the H reading is closer to the historical form (see *GOI*, 541). **cúal gai:** this is a *nominativus pendens* construction; **cúal gai** is the subject of the non-rel. verbal form, the object of which is expressed by a class A infixed pron. **immus-n-íada:** the L reading displays the nas. which is optional after a 3sg. fem. and 3pl. class A infixed pron. (see *GOI*, 149) which agrees with *bern* of the preceding line; as it cannot therefore be said which reading is likely to be that of the original I have followed L as in similar doubtful cases. **No bíd:** see note 1.100 above. **airbríathrad:** *DIL* s.v. *airbriathrad* cites only this ex. from Stokes (1887); the definition is provided by Stokes’ translation i.e. ‘*C. used to advise Cuchulainn*’; a dep. vb. *bríathraigid* ‘utters words, speaks’, with vn. *bríathrad* are attested (see *DIL* s.vv.); taking *airbriathrad* as a modified form of *bríathraigid*/ *bríathrad* a stronger definition such as ‘enjoining, ordering’, as suggested by the context, would be more suitable (cf. *gairid* ‘calls, invites’ > *ar-gair* ‘forbids, hinders, prevents’). The line then reads ‘Conchobar, moreover, was ordering Cú Chulainn not to vent his rage (lit. so that he should not vent his rage) at all, that is until a muster of Ulstermen should come’.

[104-5] **conna rucad a búrach immach etir .i. co tairsed tóchustal Ulad.**

L connarucad a burach immach etir .i. co tairsed tóhostul ulad.

H cona ruccad a burach amach co tóchusul nulad

conna rucad a búrach immach: I take the construction *beirid búrach immach* to mean ‘bring forth i.e. vent rage’. **etir .i. co tairsed tóchustal Ulad:** the L reading with 3sg. ipf. subj. of *do-airicc* makes better sense i.e. ‘(...at all, that is,) until the mustering of the Ulstermen should be complete’; H simply reads ... ‘until the mustering of the Ulstermen’ with nas. following acc. *tóchusul* (a variant form of *tóchustal*). The spelling in both mss. with *u* in the final syllable may be due to the dat. sg. forms in the next line.

[105-6] **Ar do-coid Leborcham dia tóchustul-side, co tístais i curchaib tar muir dia cobair.**

L ar do-choid leborcham do thochostul ulad. Co tístais i curchaib no co tístais ar tír dia cobair.

H AR do-coid leuharcam dia tochul-sidhe co tisdais a curchaib tar moir dia cobair

do-coid: L shows MidIr. non-historical main-clause len. (see *EIV*, 173). **dia tóchustul-side:** H most likely has the original reading here (although *tochul* is corrupt) as the use of *ulad* in L is arguably an attempt to clarify the seemingly ambiguous H reading where the object of the verbal noun is expressed by a poss. pron. + anaphoric pron. ‘For Leborcham had gone to muster them (lit. for their mustering); I have restored *tóchustul*, which is the form adopted in the previous line; L reads ‘For Leborcham had gone to muster the Ulstermen (lit. for the mustering of the Ulstermen). **tar muir:** the H reading makes better sense in the context i.e. that those Ulstermen who were already at Étar were cut off and could only be reached by sea.

[106-8] **Do-ratad immurgu Mess Dead mac Amairgin daltae do Choin Chulainn, mac secht mbliadnae, for cléith i ndorus in dúine, ⁊ nónbor cecha úaire issind ló do marbad dó.**

L Do-ratad immurgu mess dead mac amargin dalta do choin culainn mac secht mbliadnae ar cléith ar dorus in dúine. & nonbor cecha uaire isind ló do marbad dó.

H Do-ratad immurgu mes deadh mac aimirgin dalta do coin culainn mac seucht mbliadnae for cleth a ndorus an lesa ⁊ nonbor cech tratha isan lo do marbad dó.

mbliadnae: both mss. have a contraction; I have expanded these to the OIr. gen. pl. **for cléith:** L has a tendency to substitute *ar* for *for* (the two prepp. were confused in MidIr. due to the lenition of the initial of *for* (see *SnaG*, 326), (cf. *ara mmuin* 1.99 above, *ar tír* 1.105-6 above and *ar bruach* 1.230 below); I have restored the glide vowel in the dat. sg. of *clíath* which is omitted in H. **i ndorus in dúine:** L has the better reading; H has a late gen. sg. form of *les* showing *u*-stem flexion (*o*-stem in OIr.). **cecha úaire:** both mss. have a gen. of time construction (see *GOI*, 159); as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading, as in similar doubtful cases.

[108-9] **Ocus géill Ulad do thabairt immach cech laa do Laignib fo thrí ⁊ a mbrith innonn do Mess Dead fo thrí ar galaib óenfir.**

L & geill ulad do thabairt immach cech lá do lagnib fó thrí. ⁊ a mbreith innund do mes dead fo thrí ar galaib.

H & geill ulad do tabairt amac fri lamha lagen fo tri ⁊ a mbrith anonn do mes deadh fo tri ar galaib ainfir

cech laa do Laignib: the L reading is clearer; *DIL* s.v. *fri* and *lám* cites no exx. of the construction in H *fri* + *láma* (acc. pl) + gen.; from the context I take it to mean 'by the

Leinstermen'; I have restored the historical hiatus form in *laa*. **ar galaib óenfir:** H has the standard phrase (see *DIL* s.v. *1 gal*). **a mbrith:** on normalization of *brith* see note on l.10 above. **innonn:** H has the historical vocalism in the second syllable (see note on ll.119-20 below)

[109-
10] **Is é forceta-immarbrath écomlonn.**

L Combad airsein no imberthea écomlund i tosaig i n-here.

H IS se forceta-immarbarath écomlonn

Is é forceta-immarbrath écomlonn: H has the superior reading, with 3sg. masc. independent pron. *é* as antecedent + rel. *fora* (rel. particle drops out) compounded with prefixed *ceta-*, rare in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 263), followed by conj. augm. pret. pass. sg. of *imm-beir* 'plies' (cf. similar construction 'fris-cita-comrici 'with whom thou dost first meet' Thes. II. 23,38' cited *GOI*, 248); an emendation is required in ms. *-immarbarath* as *breth* never had a vowel between *b* and *r* (<**imbi-ro-breth*). L has MidIr. pass. sg. cond. *no imberthea*, with *imm-beir* behaving as a simple verb with prefixed *no* and the addition of *i tosaig i n-here* in answer to the *ceta-* of H; L reads 'so that it would be upon him that unequal combat was first plied in Ireland'.

[110-
11] **Is ed as-berat-som in tan trá ro ngabsat curaig Ulad i tír issind Étur anair,**

L IS *sed* trá as-berat-som in tan roḡgabsat ulaid i tír issind etur anair.

H IS *Sed* as-berad-somh an tan tra con-gauhsat curaig ulad i tír isan étar anair.

Iss ed as-berat som in tan trá: I follow the word order in L. **ro ngabsat:** L has the better reading with the construction *gaibid i tír* 'comes to land', due allowance being made for the confused spelling *rodḡgabsat* for expected 3pl. augm. pret. *ro ngabsat* with relative nas.; H has 3pl. pret. of *con-gaib* 'founds, sets up an establishment, settles' (see s.v. *con-gaib* 439.56) which does not fit well with the present context.

curaig Ulad: the mention of boats in H adds to the narrative in that it echoes l.106 above, where it is stated that this should be the Ulstermen's means of arrival (the contracted form *cur*⁻ could also plausibly be expanded as *curaid* i.e. 'Ulster's warriors' (cf. **in churaid** l.117 below, written fully in both mss.).

[111] **is and do-cótar tri chét láech cossin mac forsin chléith dia marbad.**

L IS and do-chotar tri chét læch cosin mac forsin chléith dia marbad.

H is and do-cótar tri cet læch cusan mac forsan cleth dia marbad.

do-cótar... cossin: lit. 'went towards'; I translate this as 'made for'; H has the better reading with *do-cótar* as L treats the adverbial cleft here as a len. rel. cl.

[112] **At-recht a búiriud ass iarum oc béim a chinn dé. Co closs ní Cú Chulainn.**

L Do-rat a búriud ass iarum oc beim a chind de. Co cuala cu chulainn.

H At-racht a buiridh ass ierum oc beim a cinn de Co clos ní cu culainn

At-recht a búiriud ass: L has an augm. pret. in place of a pret. form, which in the context renders a fairly weak sense 'he gave his roaring from him' in comparison to H; H literally reads 'his roaring arose from him', it is to be translated here as 'he roared' (cf. **At-recht iarum a faid guil eissi** l.259 below); I have restored *re-* for MidIr. *ra-* (see *SnaG*, 233). **Co closs ní:** superior reading in H; Carney (1979, 302-4) has discussed the use of this construction which occurs frequently in TBC, he states that 'In phrases such as *co cloth ní*, *co n-acca ní* ('something was heard', 'he saw something') the indefinite pronoun *ní* is used to anticipate something strange, mystic, surprising, or startling.' also 'In TBC the formula *co cloth ní*, *Ailill (Medb, etc.)* does no more than call attention to the fact that the utterances are in archaic language...'. The present use of the formula is consistent with that in TBC, whereby it is used to introduce a formulaic utterance from the mouth of Cú Chulainn. I use O'Rahilly's translation of the phrase i.e. 'x was heard speaking' (1976, 192). *Co closs* and *co cloth* are both found in OIr., with the latter being the earlier form of the two (see *GOI*,

439). The L form does not reflect the above formula, it is purely narrative i.e. ‘Cú Chulainn heard (it)’.

[113-4] **‘Is nem maides no is muir thráiges no talam con-scara no búriud mo daltai-sa oc imbirt éccomloinn fair’.**

L Is nem maides no is muir thráiges no talam con-scara no búriud mo daltai-se oc imbirt ecomluind fair.

H is *nem* maidhes no moir traighius no *talam* con-scara no burid mo daltu-sai oc imbirt ecomlainn foair

Is nem maides no is muir thráiges no talam con-scara no búriud mo daltai-sa: In discussing a similar passage in TBC Rec. I, O’Rahilly (1976, 288-9) states that this is ‘A common motif. The speaker first asks if any of two or three cataclysms is taking place and finally asks the question to which the answer is affirmative’. Citing the present ex. she points out that it differs in having ‘statements, not questions’.

imbirt: both mss. have an orthographically conservative spelling (the retention of this spelling is not intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr.; *mb*>*mm* had occurred by 800 A.D. see *GOI*, 238, and editorial policy).

[115] **La sodain fo-ceird Cú Chulainn bedg immach. Roínti in slúag inna ndiad.**

L La sodain fo-cheird cu *chulainn* bedg immach. Roínti in sluag ina ndiaid.

H La sodain fo-cerd cu *culainn* bedg ammach roínti an sluag inna ndiaidh

fo-ceird: L shows MidIr. main-clause len. in a non-rel. form (see *EIV*, 173). **Roínti:** *DIL* s.v. *roínid* cites this ex. from Stokes (1887, 56), incl. his translation of the line as ‘the host was cleft in twain’, where his misinterpretation of *roínti* as *roinnti* (i.e. < *rannaid* ‘divides’) is pointed out. The form is 3sg. pres. ind. *roínid* ‘routs, overthrows’ + proleptic 3sg. masc. suffixed pron. *-i* which refers to *slúag* i.e. ‘he routs (it) the host behind them’, which must mean that he attacked the host from the rear. **inna ndiad:** the spelling in both mss. reflects the MidIr. confusion of *i ndiad*

and *ndegaid*, or possibly the transition of *dead* to a fem. *ā*-stem; I have restored the historical form.

[115-6] **Fechair cath and fo chétóir. Trom immurgu in gress ro lásat.**

L Fechair cath and fo chetóir. Trom immurgu in gress ro lasat.

H Fechair cath ann fo ceduir Tromm immurgu an gress ro lassad

fo chétóir: L has the superior reading with *óir* (see *GOI*, 41). **ro-lásat:** *fo-ceird* is used here in the sense ‘performs, wages’.

[116-7] **Cródae conid apbad, amnas a mbúrach ro fersat in churaid ⁊ ind láith gaile.**

L Cróda ind imthócbail⁴ amnas a mbúrach ro fersat na curaid ⁊ na láith gaile.

H Crodha co n-apbad Amnus a mburuch ro fersad na curaid ⁊ na laith gaili

Cródae conid apbad: H is the *lectio difficilior* with *co n-* ‘until’ + 3sg. of *at-bath* (the 3sg. neut. infixed pron. *id* which should normally accompany this verb has been omitted; Thurneysen (*GOI*, 267) notes that this occurs in later sources). It is apparently used metaphorically here of the ending of the battle i.e. ‘it was bloody until it ended (lit. ‘until it died/perished’). L reads ‘bloody the mutual uplifting’ (see *DIL* s.v. *imthócbál*). **in churaid ⁊ ind láith gaile:** both mss. have MidIr. nom. pl. forms of the def. art. which are rarely found in OIr. I have restored the historical forms.

[117-8] **Con-acabtha trá in di urgail ó theirt co nónai.**

L Ro congaibthe trá na da urgail ó theirt co nónai.

H Con-acabtha tra na da urghail o tert co nona

⁴ [im]thócbail.

Con-acabtha: superior reading in H with the augm. pret. of *con-gaib* formed with infixed *ad* (see *GOI*, 344), the form here is augm. pret. pass. pl.; L has a form based on the MidIr. simplex *congbaid* as shown by the pret. with prefixed *ro*; the H form is a good ex. of the resultative use (see *EIV*, 93 ff.) of an augment i.e. the augmented verb relates an event which has already occurred and indicates a still current state of affairs ‘the lines of battle were drawn’ *ergo* ‘they are drawn’, which here sets the scene for subsequent events. **in di urgail:** both mss. have MidIr. forms of the def. art. and the dual. numeral (see *SnaG*, 260); I have restored the historical forms. **co nóinai:** the declension of *nóin* varies (for exx. see *DIL* s.v. *nóin*) but whenever the acc. sg. has a vocalic ending it should be restored as \bar{i} -stem.

[118-9] **Maidid iarum for Laigniu co turgabsat múr nderg fri Ultu. Ar ba geis do Ultaib dul dar múr nderg.**

L Maidid iarum for lagniu co turgabsat múr derg fri ulto. ar ba geis do ultaib dul dar múr nderg.

H Maidid ierum for laighniu co turcabsat mur nderg fri hulto

co turgabsat múr nderg: H has a better reading here with nas. following acc. sg. *múr*. **Ar ba geis do Ultaib dul dar múr nderg:** O’Leary (1990, 89²¹) has described this as ‘...the most significant inexplicable *geis* in the early literature, since it imposes an extraordinary restraint on a group of warriors engaged in precisely the sort of activity in which they should be engaged’, what it involves here remains unclear to myself also; I have adopted this reading as there is nothing linguistically to suggest that it is a later addition in L and because it is the unique example of this particular *geis*.

[119- Ba fé illé ⁊ ba fé innonn immurgu in comrac. Do-rochratar sochaide mór and
20] di Ultaib i frecur in chatha.

L Ba fe ille ⁊ ba fe innund *immurgu* in comrac. Do-rochratar sochaide mór and do ultaib i frecur in chatha.

H Ba fe ille ⁊ innonn *immurgu* in comruc. Do-rocratar sochaidii mor and do *ultaib* i frecor an catha

Ba fé illé ⁊ ba fé innonn: *DIL* s.v. *I fé* states ‘a word of doubtful meaning, expressing woe, calamity, ill omen’. The present ex. is translated ‘the conflict was disastrous on both sides (?)’. Shaw (1947) has discussed the expression ‘*fé ille (ocus) fé innund*’ citing the present ex. among others. He concludes that ‘the phrase is not the more general ‘disaster or woe to one side or the other’, but more specifically ‘death or slaughter to one side or the other’, (80); I have adopted the L reading (restoring historical *-nn* for hypercorrect *-nd* in *innund*); the shorter version in H would likely have the same meaning. The final vowel in *ille* was generally thought to have been short in OIr. It has recently been shown that it was in fact long (see Breatnach, 2003, 137); H has the earlier form in *innonn* (cf. *Wb.* 12^o4, 21^b7 etc.) **i frecur:** *DIL* s.v. *frecor* cites the present ex. among others, offering only ‘in mutual combat’? as a possible definition; however, there is no sense of mutuality inherent in the verb *fris-cuirethar* which usually means ‘puts towards, applies to’ or ‘opposes’, the verbal noun here simply means ‘in the opposing (in a martial sense ‘contesting’) of the fight’. **Do-rochratar:** : the augm. suppletive pret. of *do-tuit* ‘falls’ is often used as here in reference to the fallen in battle/ combat (cf. the following exx. from the *LU Táin*, ed. O’Rahilly, 1976, 3sg. ‘Benaid Cú Chulainn in fót baí fó chossaib co torchair ina lige ⁊ a fót fora t[h]airr.’ (42) trans. ‘*Cú Chulainn struck the sod beneath his feet and he fell prostrate with the sod on his belly*’ (162); ‘Iss ed dorochair leiss ar galaib óenfir isin magin sin .i. dá Roth...’ (48) trans. ‘*In that place there fell by him in single combat two men called Roth...*’ (168); 3pl. ‘It é seo immorro anmand na fer dorochratar and..’ (59) trans. ‘*These are the names of those that fell there*’ (178); also), where the sense is evidently not along along the lines of a ‘have’ perfect, with the augment rather in the resultative use (see *EIV*, 93 ff.) as this verb describes the

aftermath of an action, as in the present ex. Its meaning is therefore to be taken as ‘there fell there *accordingly*’, which would also fit the context in the 3sg. ex. in the line following and in the exx. cited above.

[120-2] **Do-rochair and cétamus Mess Dead mac Amargin ʔ Briannán Brethach ʔ Connlae ʔ Béothach ʔ Conáed mac Mornai ʔ sochaide olchenae.**

L Do-rochair and chetumus mess dead *mac amargin*. ʔ briannán brethach. ʔ condla. ʔ beothach ʔ conæd *mac mornai* ʔ sochaide archena.

H Do-rocair and cetamus mes dead *mac aimirgin* ocus briannán ʔ condla ʔ beuthach ʔ conæd *mac morne* ʔ socaide olcena.

Do-rochair: see note on 1.120-2 above. **cétamus:** L has a MidIr. form with lenited initial. **Briannán Brethach:** the epithet is found in L only, it is difficult to say whether or not it was in the original; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **olchenae:** H has the better reading; L has the MidIr. form *archena*.

[123] **Is and sin trá luid Leborcham fo-thúaid riasint slúag co célmairniu do mnáib Ulad.**

L Is and sin tra luid Leborcham fo-thuaid riasin sluag co celmuiniu do mnaib Ulad

H IS ann sen tra luid leborchum fo-tuaid riasan sluag co celmaini de mnaib ulad

riasint: *GOI*, 527 states that the pretonic forms of the prep. *re/ri* before a dependent case are ‘Generally **re** ...less frequently **ri**, in later sources also **ría**’; the ex. cited from a ‘later source’ is ‘**ría cách** ... ‘before everybody’ *Thes.* II 240, 19 (Arm.)’, which is easily early enough for the ms. readings *riasin/ riasan* to be considered as OIr. forms; I therefore only emend to the historical form of the def. art. + len. **do:** H shows confusion of the prepp. *di* and *do*. **co célmairniu:** L has the historical dat. sg. spelling but in prose texts preserved in late mss. the evidential value of this is at best coincidental.

[124-5] **Ar ro bátar-side i ngúais ⁊ gábud ⁊ i toirsi móir ónd úair ro gabad Étar forsnaib feraib.**

L ar ro batar-side i ngúais ⁊ gábud ⁊ i toirsi móir ond uair ro gabad etar forsna feraib

H ar ro batar-sidi i ngabad ⁊ guais ⁊ i toirsi móir on uair ro gabad étur forsna feruib

ro gabad Étar forsnaib feraib: this phrase also occurs at l.85 above; in MidIr. the usual form of the pl. art. when combined with a prep. governing the dat. case is the one without final *b* (see *SnaG*, 259), *forsna* in both mss. then, would therefore have been a fairly normal emendation for a scribe to make during transmission; I have restored dat. pl. *forsnaib* (on use of dat. here see note on l.85 above).

[126] **.i. Mugain Aittenchaithrech ben Chonchobair maic Nessa an-túaid.**

L .i. Mugain aittenchaithrech ben chonchobair maic nesa andtuaid.

H .i. Mugain aitencaithrech anntuaid ben concobair maic nessa

All of the women mentioned here appear in the 'Ban-senchas' poem *Ádam Óenathair Na nDóene* (ed. M. Dobbs, 1930). **an-túaid:** L has hypercorrect *nd* for *n*. I have adopted the word-order in L, the adv. relates to *Mugain* in both cases.

[127-8] **Feidelm Noíchrothach danó ingen Chonchobair .i. noí crotha furre ⁊ ba háildiu cach cruth alailiu.**

L Feidelm noichruthach dano ingen chonchobair .i. noí crotha furri ⁊ ba hailliu cach cruth araile.

H Fedilm nocrothach and ingen concobair .i. noí crotha fuirri & ba haildiu cach cruth alali

Noíchrothach: the L reading is better in respect of the diphthong, whereas H better represents the historical vocalism in the adj. *crothach*. **danó:** neither reading is clearly superior; I have therefore adopted the L reading as with all such doubtful cases. **crotha:** this is best rendered ‘appearance’ here. **furre:** both mss. appear to have the (fem.) acc. prepositional pron. of *for* as indicated by the spelling with *-rr-* (see *GOI*, 275). **ba háildiu:** superior reading in H; L shows MidIr. assimilation of *ld* > *ll* (see *SnaG*, 234). **alailiu:** both forms, with and without dissimilation are attested in OIr. (see *GOI*, 307); I have adopted the H reading (cf. 1.81 above), restoring the historical dat. sg. ending (i.e. following the compar.).

[129] **Feidelm Foltcháin and danó ben Lógairi Búadaig maic Connad Buidi maic Iliach.**

L Feidelm foltcháin and *dano* ben loegaire buadaig.

H Feidilm foltcain and ben loegairi buadaig maic connad buidi maic iliach

danó: In L only; it is impossible to say whether or not this was in the original; I have therefore followed L here as in similar doubtful cases. **and danó ben Lógairi Búadaig maic Connad Buidi maic Iliach:** H records a longer tradition for Lóegaire Búadach (cf. *CGH*, 272); I have included it here as there is nothing to suggest that it is a later addition and because there is the possibility that it was omitted in L.

[130] **Findbec ingen Echach ben Chethirn maic Fintain.**

L Findbec ingen echach ben chethirn maic fintain.

H Finbeg ingen echach ben cethirnn maic findtain

[131] **Bríg Brethach ben Cheltchair maic Uthidir.**

L Brig brethach ben cheltchair.

H Brig bretach .i. ben cealtchair maic uthidhir

ben Cheltchair maic Uthidir: H has the superior reading, containing the historical form of the name *Uthidir* (cf. H *celtchoir maic utidhir*, l.137 below); Thurneysen (1921, 94) established that the later ending as in the frequently occurring form *Uthechair* is due to the influence of *Celtchair*. The form *C(l)uthechair* (cf. ‘Celtchair m. Cuithechair’ *CGH*, 116), also occurs frequently, with initial *c* being due to its consistent use with *mac(c)*. The gen. form **Uthidir** points to *o*-stem flexion; I therefore use nom. *Uthider* in the translation.

[132] **Findige ingen Echach ben Éogain maic Durthacht.**

L Findnige ingen echach ben eogain maic durthacht.

H Finnigi ingen ethach⁵ ben eogain mec dirtacht

Findige: the L reading contains a corrupt spelling *ndn* for the already conservative *nd* (cf. L *Findigi* l.16761; the reference is to the diplomatic ed. of L, this ex. occurs in the poem ‘*Ádam Óenathair Na nDóene*’, ed. Dobbs, 1930). **Echach:** H has orthographical *th* for *ch*. **Durthacht:** H has *i* in the first syllable throughout cf. ll.57,136; in l.57 it was justified as it made rhyme *do-rindnacht*; the spelling *Durthacht* is to be found in the LU *Táin* (see O’Rahilly, 1976, 12, 15), although *Derthacht* also occurs (*ibid.*, 15); given H’s tendency towards peculiar spellings it seems best to restore the L spelling especially given the other early occurrences cited above.

⁵ added to end of line.

[133] **Findchóem ingen Chathbad ben Amargin Íargiunnaig.**

L Findchæm ingen chathbad ben amairgin iarngiunnaig.

H Findcoem *ingen* catbaid ben amirgin iergiundaig

ingen Chathbad: the H form is gen. of the later nom. form *Cathbad* (earlier *Cathub*, gen. *Cathboth/ Cathbad*, See McManus, 1991, 102, 103). I use the earlier gen. form *Cathbad* in the restored text, and nom. *Cathub* in the translation.

[134] **Derb Förgaill ingen ríg Lochlainne ben Lugdach Ríab nDerg maic inna tri Find Emna.**

L Derb förgaill ben lugdach riab nderg.

H Derb forcaill *ingen* ríg lochlainni ben lughduch riab ndeurcc maic na tri find emna.

Derb Förgaill: the tradition recorded in H is found elsewhere (see *CGH*, 121); I have included it here as there is nothing to suggest that it is a later addition and because there is the possibility that it was omitted in L. **ben Lugdach Riab nDerg:** the longer tradition recorded in H is found elsewhere (*CGH*, 159); I have included it here as there is nothing to suggest that it is a later addition and because there is the possibility that it was omitted in L (on the non-marking of nas. after gen. pl. *find* see *GOI*, 148).

[135] **Emer Foltchaín ingen Förgaill Manach ben Chon Culainn maic Súaltaim.**

L Emer foltchain ingen forgaill manach ben con culainn maic súaltaim.

H Emher foltcain ingen forcaill manach ben con culainn maic sualtim

Manach: H has a good reading, clearly showing gen. pl. *manach* (see O’Rahilly, 1950, 31-2).

[136] **Lendabair ingen Éogain maic Dirthacht ben Chonaill maic Amargin.**

L Lendabair ingen eogain maic durthacht ben chonaill maic amairgin.

H Lennabair ingen eogain maic dirtacht ben conaill cernaig mec aimhirgin

Lendabair: I have restored the conservative L spelling with *nd* which is not intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr. (see editorial policy). **maic**

Durthacht: I have adopted the L reading (see note l.132 above).

[137] **Níab ingen Cheltchair maic Uthidir ben Chormaic Conn Longas maic Conchobair.**

L Niab ingen cheltchair maic uthidir ben chormaic con longes maic conchobuir.

H Niab ingen⁶ celtchoir maic utidhir ben cormaic con longes maic concobair

maic Uthidir: see note l.131 above.

[138] **Mó tuirim anru boí di dagmnáib and olchena.**

L Mó turim andro batar do degmnaib and chena.

H Mo tuirimh anru boi do degmnaib ann olcena

anru boí: superior reading in H with *anru-* (where *an* is the prevocalic form of the neut. art. used in the sense ‘that (which), what’, see *GOI*, 298) followed by 3sg. of the subst. vb., i.e. referring to *degmnaib* (cf. ‘*Moo turim dano an ro bóí do sciathaib and olchena*, Ériu 4, 28.12’ cited *DIL* s.v. *tuirem*). L has a MidIr. hypercorrect spelling with *nd* for *nn*. **dagmnáib:** both mss. have the later spelling *deg-*; I have normalized

⁶ added above the line.

this to *dag-* in line with **dagdoíne** 1.75 above. **olchenae:** the H reading is superior; L has a MidIr. form showing lenition of the initial of *cenae* (see *SnaG*, 238).

[139] **Mugain trá ro boí oca acaldaim-si inna hechlaige. Conid and as-bert-si:**

L Mugain tra ro boí oca hacallaim-si na leborchaimmi. Conid and as-bert-si *mugain*.

H Mugain tra ro bui oc acolluim na hechlaigi. IS and es-peurt an *mugain*.

oca acaldaim-si na echlaige: the H reading with gen. sg. of *echlach* ‘messenger, courier’ is preferable as it adds more to the narrative by stating Leborcham’s occupation rather than the simple mention of her name; the construction in L with proleptic pron., anticipating a following gen. is common in OIr. (see *GOI*, 279) and is also found in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 264), L has a 3sg. fem. emph. pron. emphasizing the poss. pron; the H reading is also acceptable, it is therefore difficult to say which is more likely the original reading; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **Conid and as-bert-si:** L has reference marks which link *si* with the first occurrence of *Mugain*, i.e. making it clear that it is she and not Leborcham who is speaking, the contracted form at the end of the sentence is an unnecessary elaboration. H reads ‘Mugain, then, had been conversing with the messenger. It was then that Mugain said’.

[140] **A ingen a lúath, a láeb, a Leborcham, cía Ultu ána acca?**

L A ingen a luath a lebarcham cia ulto ána acca.

H A ingen a luath a læph a leborchum cia hullto ana acco a inghen

lúath: i.e. substantival use of *o/ā*-stem adj. ‘quick, swift’ i.e. ‘swift one’. **a láeb:** i.e. substantival use (with *ā*-stem flexion) of the adj. *láeb* ‘crooked’ i.e. ‘crooked one’; I have adopted this reading which is in H only (cf. *láebchosach*, also used of Leborcham, Breatnach, 1980, 7). **cía Ultu ána acca:** this is an ex. of “Tmesis III” (on this classification, see Greene, 1977) with the conj. part. *cía* (+ copula) at the head of

the sentence and the conjunct form of *ad-cí* (2sg. perf.) at the end of the sentence, rather than simply an ex. of Bergin's Law (cited by Bergin, 1938a, 206); the line reads 'Which glorious Ulstermen have you seen?'. I have not adopted the additional *a ingen* in H as it is not in keeping with the succinct style of this passage.

[141] **A bé find forusta;**

L A bé find forusta

H A be find forusta

forusta: adj. meaning 'firm, steady', used here of a person to mean 'dignified'.

[142-3] **At-condarc-sa, cóemchéile slíasta i sním sruthfola fua mboí, béo cathmil cnedach Conchobar.**

L at-chonnarc-sa caimchele sliasta i snim sruthfola. fua mbui beo cathmil conchobar.

H it-condurc-sa caine le lin sliasta i ssnim srut fola fuai mboi beo cathmil cnedach concobar

At-condarc-sa: in this passage the formulaic response to the opening question 'in what condition have you seen the glorious Ulstermen?', usually follows the pattern: 1sg. perf. of *ad-cí* + 3sg. masc. class B infixed pron. (used proleptically, see *GOI*, 266), + optional adv. *and*, followed by a named Ulsterman in the acc. and a description of how he appeared or some such, i.e. 'I have seen him (there), X'; in this line and the next L has len. following *at-*, which is likely due to the misinterpretation of the pron. as a neut. form. **cóemchéile slíasta:** I have adopted the L reading as the H reading appears corrupt; *DIL* cites this ex. s.v. *slíasait* 'the thigh', with the meaning 'consort' (lit. 'thigh companion'; cf. 'cairdes slíasta sexual intercourse', *id.*). **i sním sruthfola:** the compound *sruthfuil* on which this form is based, must have the sense 'streaming blood' (cf. *sruthaicén* 'streaming ocean', *sruthlinn* 'eddying pool', cited

DIL s.v. *sruth*); the line reads ‘in distress of streaming blood’. **beo cathmíl cnedach**

Conchobor: I take this as a sub-clause, with the copula omitted; it reads ‘alive is the wounded warrior Conchobor’. **cnedach:** I have adopted this reading which appears in H only; it alliterates with *cathmíl* and *conchobar*, while fitting the context well.

[144] **At-condarc and Coin Culainn certslán ó chúl co ulaig, fo-roros a cháel.**

L At-chonnarc and coin culainn certlain o chúl co ulaig fo-ruras a chel.

H At-condarc con coulainn certslain ó cúl co hulaich fo-ruruss a cel

and: in L only; I have adopted it in line with other entries. **certslán:** a compound of *cert* and *slán*; I take it to mean ‘straight and whole’. **ó chúl:** i.e. masc. *o*-stem *cúl* ‘back, rear, neck, back of head’, used here in the sense ‘from the back of (his) head’. **co ulaig:** this appears to be acc. sg. of *ulach* ‘foot’; this ex. is cited *DIL* s.v. *3 ulach*, with the definition being provided by a gloss on the following citation ‘*Rop-sa chrib mo dá ulaig* (.i. mo dá choiss), Ériu 1 72 § 2’, Meyer (1904, 73) translates it here ‘Swift was I on my feet’. **fo-roros:** I take the ms. readings to be augm. pret. pass. sg. of *fo-roind* ‘darkens, reddens’ (cf. ‘...ba cosmail a dath ri brat ro ros... its colour was like (that of) the cloak which had been dyed red...ZCP viii 330.3’ cited *DIL* s.v. *rondid*). **a cháel:** the ms. readings probably represent *cáel* ‘thin, slender’, which when used substantivally frequently refers to the slender parts of the body i.e. ‘wrists, neck etc.’ (cf. ‘cor gerrastar coel in cuirp *the neck*, Cog. 194.15, ra ceñglait da n-id im chailaib choss *ankles*, TBC 1923’ cited *DIL* s.v. *cáel*); the singular form here would most likely refer to the neck, i.e. ‘his neck has been reddened’.

[145] **At-condarc and Celtchar cnedmar fadessin, éissi derga dia luid.**

L At-connarc and celtchair cnedmar fadessin essi derga dia luid.

H At-connarc and cealtchar cnedmar fodessin ésse dercca dia luidh

éissi derga dia luid: i.e. ‘(it is) red tracks from which he went’, meaning he left a trail of blood behind him after having been wounded.

[146-7] **At-condarc and Lóegaire Lonnbúadach, fria thairr culpait, tolla imma thoíbu tlacht, a dabergin búada bebárnatar.**

L At-connarc loegaire lonbuadach fria thair culpait tolla imma thoíbu. tlacht a dabergin buada bebárnatar.

H At-condarc and lægairre lonbuadach culpaic tolla immo toeba tlacht a daberghin buada bebarnatar

and: in H only; I have adopted it. **Lonnbúadach:** the normal epithet of **Lóegaire** is *Búadach* (cf. l. 129 above); in this case *búadach* is compounded with the adj. *lonn* to mean ‘fierce and victorious’; it now alliterates with **Lóegaire**. **fria thairr:** this reading which is in L only, seems to represent *tarr/ tairr* ‘stomach, belly’, it appears that it should be taken with *culpait* i.e. ‘a hood against his belly’?; I have adopted the L reading as the syntax requires it, but have not included this conjectural translation in the main translation. **tolla imma thoíbu tlacht:** this is an ex. of unusual word order, for which I have unfortunately been unable to find parallels, with the acc. pl. adj. **tolla** ‘pierced’ coming before acc. pl. **thoíbu** ‘sides’; it reads ‘about his pierced sides a garment’. **a dabergin búada bebárnatar:** *DIL* cites this line s.v. *?bergin* from Dobbs’ edition of the passage (1949, 158). She silently expands and divides L’s *dab̄gin* as *brog in* in spite of the available H variant and against paleographical convention and then does not account for *in*, translating only *a da brog* as ‘his two shoes’ in what is an altogether impossible translation ‘wounds in his side welled out in victory over his two shoes’, which is oblivious of sense *imma* = ‘in his’ and number *thoíbu* (pl.) = ‘side’, also *bruinnid* is unexplainedly stretched in meaning from ‘springs forth’ to ‘wells out over’ and *tlacht* is ignored altogether. The form *a dabergin* has resisted all attempts at analysis including a variety of redivisions, but the syntax suggests that it may be a preposed gen. governed by nom. pl. *búada* the subject of *bebárnatar* meaning ‘victories/ virtues of ... sprang forth/ rushed’. Alternatively, *dabergin* may be a dat. form with prep. *a* ‘out of/ from’ i.e. ‘out of ... victories/ virtues sprang forth/ rushed’. In any case, this an ex. of Bergin’s Law (i.e. non-rel. conj. form coming after its subj. and standing at the end of its clause). I have not included either of these conjectural translations in the main translation.

[148] **At-condarc and Briannán, brétsatar fir frisa comarnic carn.**

L At-connarc and brianan bretsatar fir frisa comarnaic carn.

H At-connarc and briannan bretsatar sir fri comarnic carnd

brétsatar: *DIL* cites this line s.v. *brétaid* ‘breaks in pieces, hacks’, however, given that this verb is poorly attested, there is no reason why we should assume that *bretsatar* in both mss. has a MidIr. 3pl. ending (see *EIV*, 238), rather it is more likely that *bretsatar* is the regular 3pl. rel. *s*-pret. of a deponent verb *brétaithir* with similar meanings to *brétaid*. **fir:** the L reading is better, it makes sense when taken as subj. of **brétsatar** i.e. ‘men broke in pieces’; the H form may represent the adv. *síar* ‘backwards’. **frisa comarnic:** i.e. rel. *frisa* followed by conj. 3sg. pret. of *con-ricc* ‘meets, encounters’; the line reads ‘men with whom he met broke a cairn in pieces’.

[149] **At-condarc and Gabliol lesciol léimnech lug.**

L At-connarc and gabliol lesciol lemnach lug.

H At-condarc and gabliol lesciol lemnech lug

Gabliol: I have been unable to find any other occurrence of this name. **lesciol:** I have been unable to arrive at a definition for this form, which is apparently an attributive adj. qualifying **Gabliol**; it may contain the element *lesc* ‘lazy, sluggish’. **léimnech:** I take the ms. readings to be the adj. *léimnech* ‘leaping, jumping’. **lug:** this would appear to be *lug* ‘a lynx’, used here in transferred sense as ‘warrior’ (acc. sg.) i.e. ‘Gabliol... a leaping warrior’.

[150] **At-condarc and Connlae Cóemthóeb, selgatar fri lathraige lár.**

L At-connarc and conla cáem toib selgatar fri lathraige lár.

H At-connarc and conla cain selgatar fri lathraidhe lar

Connlae Cóemthóeb: there is nothing to distinguish between *cáem* in L and *cain* in H, with both alliterating with **Connlae** and sharing the meaning ‘fair’; as regards *toib*, which appears in L only, it is difficult to say whether or not it was in the original; I have therefore adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases; *cáem* and *toib* are to be read together as an epithet of **Connlae** i.e. ‘fair-sided’; H reads ‘fair Connlae’.

selgatar: i.e. 3pl. pret. rel. of *sligid* ‘strikes down’. **fri lathraige lár:** the L reading is cited in *DIL* s.v. *lathrach* ‘puddle, muddy pool’; **lathraige** is a preposed gen. sg., dependent on **lár** ‘middle’.

[151] **At-condarc and Furbaide Fer Benn, for daidbenn, dóensus, dergsus, assa beirn buí.**

L At-connarc and furbaide fer bend for daidben doensus dergsus asa beirn buí.

H At-condarc and furbaide for benn for daidhben doensus dergsus assa bernd boi

daidbenn: I take the ms. readings to be equivalent to *daithfenn* ‘hunting, pursuing’ (see Meyer, 1918, 440); I take **for daidbenn** to mean ‘in pursuit’. **dóensus:** this appears to be a 3sg. *s*-pret. + 3sg. suffixed pron. of *doénaid* meaning ‘he subjected them’ (cf. ‘Nuadu...fiabraib derggaib dagríg[a] domuin doénsius, Rawl. 115^a45 (‘macht er die tapferen Könige der Welt zu Vasallen’ Ält. Ir. Dicht. I 40’ cited *DIL* s.v. ? *doénaid*)). **dergsus:** i.e. 3sg. pret. of *dergaid* ‘reddens’ + 3pl. suffixed pron. **assa beirn buí:** *buí/ boi* may be gen. sg. of *bú* ‘death’ (cf. ‘...baa ⊃ bú ⊃ cel...de nomina mortis’ cited *DIL* s.v. *bath*), it would render a translation ‘from his gap of death’ (this may of course be a mere glossary word).

[152-3] **At-condarc and Éogan Éo, dia dergdeiss, assa dí láim, do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara fair.**

L At-connarc and eogan eo dia dergdeiss. assa dí láim do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara fair.

H At-condarc and eogan éo dia dergdes asa di laim do-bebharnatar fuli folcmara fair

dia dergdeiss: i.e. dat. sg. of *dess* ‘right hand’ compounded with *derg* ‘red, ruddy’.

assa: the ms. forms cannot represent the prep. *a* ‘from’ (+ 3sg. masc. poss. pron.) i.e. as dat. *lámaib* would be expected; I have simply adopted the L form in the restored text.

do-bebarnatar: i.e. 3pl. pret. of *do-bruinn* ‘trickles, flows’.

fuili: i.e. nom. pl. of *fuil* ‘blood’ used here in the sense ‘an effusion of blood’.

folcmara: i.e. nom. pl. of *o/ā*-stem adj. *folcmar* ‘flowing, gushing’.

[154] **At-condarc and, Dubthach di doit Lugdach, léosait dessa, dedlus.**

L At-connarc and dubthach di dóit lugdaig, leosait dessa, dlunsius.

H At-condarc and dubthach dí dhoid lughdach leusad dessa dluingsius

di doit: i.e. dat. sg. of *doe* ‘arm’ meaning ‘by the side of (lit. arm of)’.

léosait: i.e. 3pl. pret. of *léoaid* ‘cuts (off), hacks (off)’.

dessa: i.e. acc. pl. of *dess* ‘right hand’ (*ā*-stem as subst.).

dedlus: both mss. have Midlr. *s*-pret. of *dlongid* ‘splits, cuts, rends’ based on the unreduplicated present stem + 3pl. suffixed pron. i.e. ‘he (Dubthach) cut them’; I have restored the historical 3sg. reduplicated pret. + 3pl. suffixed pron.

[155] **At-condarc and Lugdaig, lín a mac mbrogsus innonn fri Durach nDerg.**

L At-connarc and lugdaig lín a mac mbrogsus innind fri durach nderg.

H AT-condarc and lughdaig lín a mac mbrogsus ininn fri duruch nderg

lín a mac: this is a *nominativus pendens* construction, with the obj. preceding the verbal form and an anaphoric suffixed pron. **mrogsus:** i.e. 3sg. pret. of *mrogaid* ‘moves forward’ + 3pl. suffixed pron.; both mss. have the intermediate spelling between OIr. *mrogaid* and MidIr. *brogaid* (cf. *mblas* GOI, 76); I have restored the historical form. **innonn:** the mss. readings most likely represent this adverbial form; taken with the preceding verbal form it reads ‘he moved them forward’. **Durach Derg:** I take this to be a personal name i.e. ‘Bloody Durach’; *DIL* lists only a fem. proper name *Durach*.

[156] **At-condarc and Amargein Artrúad, ro lass sair assa chuthach cath.**

L At-connarc and amairgin artrud ro las sair assa chuthchath cath.

H At-condarc ann aimirgin artrudh ro lass sair asa cauthcuath cath

Artrúad: I take this as an epithet of **Amargein**, possibly with *art* (i.e. *ard*) ‘noble’ + *riúad* (in figurative sense) ‘strong, mighty’. **ro lass:** i.e. 3sg. augm. pret. of *lassaid* ‘takes fire, blazes’. **sair:** possibly the adv. *sair* ‘forwards, to the front’. **cuthchath cath:** this ex. from L is cited in *DIL* s.v. *cuthchath*, no definition is given; both ms. readings have resisted all attempts at analysis; a plausible solution here would be to emend them to *cuthach* ‘rage, fury’ which would give good sense i.e. ‘battle has blazed forth from his rage’; I have made this emendation given that the ms. forms offer no sense whatever.

[157-8] **At-condarc and Fergnae, fer brígach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib septaib selsus.**

L At-connarc and fergna fer brígach fer cetaro raid ria cach coraid foa dib septaib selsus

H AT-condarc ann fergna fer mbrígach cetaro raith ria cach corith fofa dib septaib selfus

cetaro ráith: i.e. 3sg. augm. pret. rel. of *reithid* ‘runs’; H has a better reading here.
curaid: i.e. dat. sg. of *caur/ cur* ‘warrior’ (cf. nom. pl. **in churaid** l.117 above; on *o* for *au*, as in the first syllable here, see *GOI*, 51; however, see also *DIL* s.v. *cora(i)d* ‘sinner’ some exx. of this are forms of *cuar*, due to the influence of *cuär, cör-*). **foa dib:** I take this as prep. *fo* + 3sg. (masc.) poss. pron. followed by the dat. dual numeral; the H reading appears to show a doubling of the prep. **sebtaib:** *DIL* cites this line from L s.v. *sebtaib* ?; I have been unable to arrive at a suitable definition for this form. **selsus:** i.e. 3sg. fut. of *slaidid* ‘strikes, slays’ + 3pl. suffixed pron.; the H form contains an error with *f* for *s*.

[159] **At-condarc and Auchride, augestar fri slúag sain, sois fria n-indeg firu foi fó.**

L At-connarc and auchride augestar fri slúag sain sóis fria n-indeg firu foi fó.

H AT-*condarc* ann auchridi augestar fri sluag sain sois fria n-inneg fira foe fo

augestar: this line is cited in *DIL* s.v. *auchaide*; the forms analysed there i.e. 2sg. ipv. *auchaide*, 1sg. pres. subj. *auc[h]ar*, along with our apparent 3sg. pret. rel. *augestar* (with *g* for the more common *ch*), all point as suggested to a dep. vb., i.e. an *-(a)ig-*denominative (see *GOI*, 337-8 and *EIV*, 74) with similar meanings to *ro-cluinethar* ‘hears, listens’; both mss. have the same reading; I have adopted this as it stands.

sain: I take this to be the *i*-stem adj. *sain* meaning ‘different, distinct’; used here in the sense ‘peculiar, special’; the lenited initial in L is erroneous. **sois:** i.e. 3sg. pret. of *soid* ‘turns’, used here with *fri* in the sense ‘turns towards’; the long vowel in L is a feature of hiatus forms in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 231), or it may indicate here that contraction has already occurred; the lenited initial in L is unusual. **fria:** I take this to be prep. *fri* + 3pl. poss. pron. (+ nas.). **indeg:** this may be acc. sg. of *indech* ‘weft’ used here in a metaphorical sense as ‘mass, ranks, throng’ i.e. ‘a blanket of men’.

firu: I take this to be acc. pl. of *fer* ‘man’ and object of **sois** i.e. ‘he turned men against their ranks’; have this in the main translation as it is quite plausible. **foi fó:** I have no suitable suggestions to make regarding the possible form and meaning of the mss. readings; I have adopted the L reading in the restored text in line with stated editorial policy.

[160] **At-condarc and Béothaig béogestar ind ala ór, srethius fuili foa ún a selad fri slas.**

L At-connarc and beothaig beogestar dara óir srethius. fuli foa ún a selad fri slas.

H AT-condarc and beothaig beogestar dara óair srethius fuili foa un a selaidh ar slais

béogestar: i.e. 3sg. pret. rel. of *béoaigidir* ‘makes alive, vivifies’. **ind ala ór:** *DIL* s.v. *béoaigidir* suggests the following translation ‘[Beothach] who was alive for the second time’, although this involves omission of the art. and MidIr. *dara* for OIr. *ind ala* this is a plausible suggestion; I have restored OIr. *ind ala* and translate as ‘Beothach who revived a second time’; *dara* may alternatively represent prep. *dar* ‘over, across’ + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. i.e. ‘over his’. **srethius:** i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. of *sreid* ‘scatters’ + 3pl. suffixed pron. i.e. ‘he scatters them’. **fuili foa ún a selad:** I have been unable to establish how the individual forms here may be related to each other and hence how this part of the line is to be translated. I make some suggestions here as to what some of the forms may represent; I have simply adopted the L reading in the restored text. **fuili:** this is most likely nom. pl. of *fuil* ‘blood’ used in the sense ‘an effusion of blood’ as in l.152 above. **foa:** this seems to be prep. *fo* ‘under’ + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. i.e. ‘under his’. **ún:** *DIL* cites this ex. from L s.v. *ún*; no definition is given. **a selad:** *DIL* cites this ex. from L s.v. 2 *selad*, no definition is given. **fri slas:** *DIL* cites the present ex. s.v. *slas* ‘strife, slaughter’; no translation for the line is offered but it must mean at its most basic (with *fri* of L) ‘against slaughter’; I have adopted the L reading with *fri* as this makes more sense than *ar slas* in H.

[161-2] **At-condarc and in tuidbigid tróethas rígrátha, Rochad Rúadbullech mac Find
 Fáithemain fri sellad slúag.**

L At-connarc in tudbigid troethas rigrátha rochad rúadbullech mac find
 fatheman fri sellad slúag.

H AT-condarc ann and tuidbigid troethus rigratha rochad ruadbullech mac find
 faithemain fri selladh sluagh

and: in H only I have adopted it in line with the regular use of this construction in this passage. **tuidbigid:** *DIL* gives the meaning of this word as ‘destroyer’, this is consistent with the present context. **tróethas:** i.e. 3sg. pret. (or possibly pres. ind.) rel. of *tróethaid* ‘subdues, overwhelms’. **Rúadbullech:** I take this as an adjectival epithet from *rúadbuille* ‘a strong blow’ i.e. ‘of the strong blow’. **Find Fáithemain:** the name *Faithemain* is preceded in this ex. by the epithet *find* ‘fair’ (see Thurneysen, 1921, 106). **fri:** used here with a vn. in the sense ‘at, engaged in’. **sellad:** i.e. ‘act of looking’.

[163-4] **At-condarc and in suid sulbair soacaldmae, ro-siacht a aurdircinsce ardrígdae
 úad, ro sáraigsetar fír-Férechertne filid ind ríg.**

L At-connarc and in suid sulbair soacallma ro-siacht a ardinsci ardrígda úad ro
 sáraigsetar fír-fercherdne file ind ríg.

H AT-condarc ann an súid soagallma ro-siacht a aurdircinsci airdriga uadh ra
 saraiter fír-fercertne fili and righ

sulbair: in L only; the alliteration here suggests that this is not a later addition, I have adopted it. **aurdircinsce:** it is difficult to say which form was in the original, the L form with *ard-* may be due to the influence of *ardrígda*; I have adopted the H reading as the *lectio difficilior* with *airdirc* ‘renowned’ prefixed to *insce* ‘speech’. **ro sáraigsetar:** the L reading is clearer; the form is 3pl. perf. of *sáraigidir* ‘insults’ (this must refer to the Leinstermen insulting Ferchertne); the H reading appears corrupt. **fír:** I take this to be the adj. *fír* ‘veracious, just, true’ i.e. ‘veracious Ferchertne’.

[165] **At-condarc and Fiachraig n-ail, ail cech ecló saír clóó.**

L At-connarc and fiachraig n-ail ail *cech* ecló saír clóó.

H AT-*condarc* ann fiacraig n-ail ail *gach* a heclo fer dianad sair cloao

n-ail: I take this to be acc. sg. of *ail* ‘boulder, rock’, showing *i*-stem flexion.

ail cech ecló saír clóó: the remainder of this line is particularly cryptic, I can only suggest here what some of the forms may represent; I have simply adopted the L reading in the restored text, a translation of the line is not possible at present. **ail:** this may be a second occurrence of *ail* ‘boulder, rock’ or it may be *ail* ‘disgrace, reproach’ (see *DIL* s.v. 2 *ail*). **cech ecló:** H has a late abbreviated form of *cach/ cech* ‘every’. *DIL* has no listing for *eclól/ ecló*; in H it is apparently preceded by a 3rd person poss. pron. or alternatively, the prep. *a* ‘out of’. **saír clóó:** the H reading with *fer dianad*, whereby *dianad* is probably rel. *dia* + cop. i.e. ‘a man who has (lit. a man to whom is)’ is possibly a later attempt at clarification; *saír/ sair* may represent *saer* ‘free’, which taken with the H reading might mean ‘a man who has a free *cloao*; I have no suitable suggestion as to what *clóól/ cloao* may be.

[166-7] **At-condarc and Conáed Cétguinech cetaro ráith ecrata, garg a roe rith, ro bíth mac Mornai móith, in da thoib tuill, túaim i timargar ith.**

L At-connarc and conæd cetguinech cetaro ráid ecrata garg a roe-rith ro bith mac mornai moid no da thoib tuill túaim i timargar ith.

H AT-*condarc* ann conoeth cetguinech *mac* morna cetaro raith ecrati garg a réo-rith ro bith *mac* morna moid na da tæib tuill tuaim a timargur ith

Cétguinech: this is an adjectival epithet from *cét nguín* ‘a hundred wounds’ i.e. ‘of the hundred wounds’. **cetaro ráith:** this form as in l.157 above. **ecrata:** L has the better reading here with the historical vocalism in acc. pl. of *eccrae* ‘enemy’; the H form with palatal *t* may be due to the influence of *éccraite* ‘hostility, enmity’. **roe -rith:** the L reading is clearer; *roē* (used here in its extended meaning ‘battle’) is a preposed gen. dependent on *rith* i.e. ‘course of battle’; I have restored the historical

gen. sg. hiatus form (see *DIL* s.v. *róe*). The H form is likely a corruption of **roe**. **ro bíth**: i.e. augm. pret. pass. sg. of *benaid* ‘strikes’. **moíth**: I take the ms. forms *moid* to be the *o/ā*-stem adj. **moíth** ‘tender’, used attributively here of gen. sg. **Mornai**. **in da**: both mss. have a MidIr. form with the later pl. form of the def. art.; I have restored the OIr. nom. dual. art. **tuill**: i.e. masc. nom. pl. of the *o/ā*-stem adj. *toll* ‘pierced’, used predicatively here. **túaim**: *DIL* cites the present ex. from L s.v. *túaim*, no translation is offered. It would seem to mean ‘mound (or lump?)’ in the present context, where it is to be read as antecedent of the following rel. construction. **i timargar**: i.e. pres. ind. pass. sg. of *do-immoirg* ‘gathers, collects’. **ith**: this may represent *íth* ‘fat, grease’; taken as subj. of **timargar** it would mean ‘a mound (or lump?) in which fat is gathered’, i.e. it may refer to a boil or lump on the body of **Conáed**; it may alternatively be taken as *ith* ‘corn, grain’ i.e. ‘a mound in which corn is gathered’. The mss. are in close agreement, I have adopted the spellings in L for convenience; I have not included either of these conjectural translations in the main translation.

[168] **At-condarc and Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth fris bruinne ben.**

L At-connarc and corpre cend fir fris tnúid fris brunniu ben.

H AT-*condarc* ann coirpri cend fir fris tnuth fris mbruinde ben

cenn fir fris: both mss. have the same reading, which apparently means ‘a man’s head against him/ it’. **tnúth**: the mss. readings point to *tnúth/ tnúd* ‘jealousy, envy’, but this makes little sense in the context. **fris bruinne ben**: this appears to be an ex. of tmesis with *bruinne* ‘chest’ inserted into the verb *fris-ben* ‘strikes against’ (this verb is not well attested, see *DIL* s.v. *2 fris-ben*); L has a len. rel. clause with **tnúth** evidently as subject antecedent i.e. ‘which strikes against a chest’; H has prep. rel. (with elision of rel. part. similar to that which can occur before forms of the substantive verb with initial *b*, see *GOI*, 312) i.e. ‘against which a chest strikes’; as it remains unclear what **tnúth** actually means here it is difficult to say which reading of the remainder of the line is most suitable; I have therefore adopted the L reading for the time being, restoring the acc. sg. spelling in **bruinne**.

[169- 71] **Ata-condarc** and na ríglasra; lassait amal óenóebill, garg a ngaiscid gním gaile;
Glaine ⁊ **Gormainech**, **Maine Milscothach** ⁊ **Ailill**, **Scel** ⁊ **Toscel**, **Dures** ⁊ **Ret** ⁊
Bricriu. **Bertsait** mórgnímu nóí maic Carbada uill.

L At-connarc and na riglasra lassait amal oínaibill. garg a ngaiscid gním gaile
 glaine. ⁊ gormainech mane milscothach ⁊ ailil scel ⁊ toscel dures ⁊ ret ⁊
 bricriu bertsait mórgnímu nóí maic carbada uill.

H AT-condarc ann na riglasra lassaid amail oenoibill gairg a ngaisced gním
 glaini ⁊ gormainech maine milscothach ⁊ ailill scel⁷ ⁊ toscel dúrus ⁊ red ⁊
 bricne Bertsaid morgnimai noi meic arbatha uill

Ata-condarc: I make an emendation in the preverb here to reflect the pl. obj. The 3sg. form *at-* could easily have replaced the 3pl. form as this is the only instance where it would have been required. **amal:** the H form resembles archaic *amail* with palatal final which disappears even before Wb. (see *GOI*, 105) it can hardly account for the H form, the spelling of which could even be due to the influence of the word following and at any rate the final is palatal again in E.Mod.Ir. **a ngaiscid gním gaile:** **gaiscid** is a preposed dependent on **gním** i.e. ‘activity of arms’; *gaile* appears in L only, I take it to be gen. sg. of *gal* ‘fury, valour’ relating to **gním** i.e. ‘valorous activity of arms’; as it alliterates and makes good sense in the context I have adopted it. **Glaine ... Bricriu:** the sons names are simply listed in the nom. (cf. *CGH*, 272-3 where the ‘seven’ sons of *Carbad* are spoken of (i.e. as above except for **Scel** and **Toscel**); some of the names listed there differ in form from those above). **Bertsait:** i.e. 3pl. pret. of *bertaid* ‘brandishes’. **maic Carbada:** in H the initial of this personal name has been assimilated to the final of **maic**. **nóí maic Carbada uill:** I take this as subj. of **bertsait**. **uill:** i.e. gen. sg. of the *o/ā*-stem adj. *oll* ‘great, ample’.

⁷ with suprascript dot or mark on ms. above s.

[172-4] **At-condarc and Conall Cernach co coscraib, co cernaib, co fodbaib, co finnaib, co n-étib, co n-ócaib, ro ráith bríga; in cur cathbúadach, cathchoscrach, Conall cóem Cernach.**

L *At-connarc and conall cernach co coscraib co fodbaib co finnib co n-étib co n-ócaib ro ráith bríga in cathmílid cathbúadach cathchoscrach conall cáem cernach.*

H *AT-condarc ann Conall cernach co coscraib co cernaib co fodbaib co findnib co n-etib co n-ocaib ro raith briga in cur catbuaduch catcoscrach conall coem cernach*

co coscraib: i.e. dat. pl. of *coscar* ‘victory, triumph’. **co cernaib:** i.e. dat. pl. of *cern* ‘victory, triumph’; in H only, I have adopted it (cf. ‘caín tintaí chucum co cernaib co cennaib (of C. Cernach), 8310 (FB 23, rhet.)’ cited *DIL* s.v. 3 *cern*). **co fodbaib:** i.e. dat. pl. of *fodb* (a collective form) ‘spoils’. **co finnaib:** i.e. dat. pl. of *finnae* ‘hair’ used as a collective in the sense ‘fur, fleece’ (see *DIL* s.v. *finna*). **co n-étib:** i.e. dat. pl. of *éit* ‘cattle, a herd of cattle’. **co n-ócaib:** i.e. dat. pl. of *oac* ‘young man, warrior’. **ro ráith:** i.e. of 3sg. augm. pret. of *réithid* ‘runs’, used transitively in the sense ‘runs to’. **bríga:** both mss. appear to have acc. pl. of *bríg* ‘power, virtue’, but how this relates to the verbal form preceding it or what the exact meaning is is unclear. **in cur:** I have adopted the H reading (cf. **in churaid** l.117 above); L has a late form based on the Midlr. nom. sg. *mílid* (see *DIL* s.v. 2 *míl*; cf. earlier **cathmíl** l.142 above).

[175] **At-condarc and Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad con-meil mórgala asa eolairg ard.**

L At-connarc and uarathach⁸ cethern claidebrúad con-meil morgala. asa eolairg ard.

H AT-condarc ann huaraitiuch ceteirn cloidimrúaid con-mel morgairg assa eolairg aird

Claidebrúad: I take this to be an epithet meaning ‘(of the) red sword’. **con-meil:** i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. (rel.?) ‘grinds, consumes, attacks’; it is difficult to say which translation is appropriate in this case as the meaning of the apparent object *morgala/morgairg* is obscure. **mórgala:** *DIL* cites this ex. from L s.v. *con-meil*, offering the translation ‘performs great feats of valour’, which takes *morgala* as consisting of *mór* ‘big, great’ + acc. pl. of *gal* ‘valour’ which makes good sense (although some licence is taken with the meaning of *con-meil*). The H form *morgairg* could be dat. sg. of *mór* + *garg* ‘rough’ used adverbially (without the def. art.) in the sense ‘attacks with great roughness’. **assa:** i.e. prep. *a* ‘from’ + 3sg. masc. poss. pron., used in the sense ‘by means of his’. **eolairg ard:** *eolairg* may be a compound of *éo* ‘a point, sharp end’ and *lorg* ‘staff, stick’ i.e. ‘tall pointed stick’; it could also be a placename *Eolairg Ard* (see Hogan 1910, s.v. *ard Eolairg* ‘... Carn Eolairg, Carrac Eolairg; a terr. in c. Derry, near Loch Foyle’), although in the present context I think this unlikely. Taking the H reading and choosing not to read *eolairg ard* as a placename the following possible translation emerges ‘Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad who attacks with great roughness by means of his tall pointed stick’; this itself is a highly conjectural translation (which I have not included in the main translation) and other combinations of the suggested definitions above would be no less so; I have adopted the L reading in the restored text (restoring *ó* in *mórgala* the form of which we can be fairly certain).

⁸ uar[atha]ch.

[176-7] **At-chondarc and, fo-fúaratar Ulaid úir rod lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil, millsium, sástunn sál mora móir tethrag tar cutig.**

L At-connarc and fo-fuaratar ulaid úir ro selgatar amal lighes⁹ milchobur mil millsium sastund sál mara móir tethrag tar cutig.

H AT-condarc and fo-fuaratar ulaid úir rod lelgatar amal no lligius milcobar mil millsium sastand sal mara móir mor tetragh tur

At-chondarc: this line and the next fall out of the normal pattern in that the obj. infixed pron. refers to a situation and not a person; I therefore read a neut. infixed pron. in both cases and emend the readings to include len. following *at-*. This then reads ‘I have seen it (i.e. this) there’; a rel. verbal form follows in both cases.

fo-fúaratar: i.e. 3pl. augm. pret. rel. of *fo-gaib* ‘finds, gets’; H has the better reading with nas. rel. cl.; L displays MidIr. preverbal lenition. **úir:** i.e. ‘earth, clay’ (cf. **mani dótar in n-úir** ll.86-7 above). **rod lelgatar:** H has the superior reading, with 3pl. augm. pret. rel. of *ligid* ‘licks’; L reads ‘the Ulstermen found clay which they cut’; the H form also has a neut. rel. pron. as a relative marker, this occurs most frequently in OIr. in *dod-esta* and *fod-era* but is also found with other verbs (see *GOI*, 268); this infixed *d* continues to be used as a rel. marker in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 288). **liges:** L has the superior reading; *no* is not expected before the 3sg. pres. ind. rel. **milchobar:** this word was identified by Watkins (1962, 114-6) as a noa for *art* ‘bear’; it literally means ‘honey-desirer’. **millsium:** i.e. 3sg. pret. of *millid* ‘spoils, destroys’ + 1pl. suffixed pron. **sástunn:** i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. of *sásaid* ‘satisfies’ + 1pl. suffixed pron. **mora:** I have normalized the spelling in the first syllable in line with the previous ex. in l.86 above. **tethrag tar cutig:** *DIL* lists this form s.v. *tethraigid*, no definiton for the verb is given; a word resembling this is cited s.v. 3 *tethra* from O’Davoren’s Glossary (1562, ed. Stokes, 1904) ‘Tethrach [v.l. teachrach] .i. traigh, ut est ro fine tonn tethrach .i. ro traighi [v.l. ro traighed] tonn taitnemach na fine amail é’ which Stokes translates as ‘*tethrach*, i.e. a strand, ut est ‘the wave of the family has ebbed’, i.e. the beautiful wave of the family has ebbed like him’. Stokes then states in a note ‘Obscure. *tethrach* (from **te-thrág*) seems redupl. pret. of *trágim*, whence *tráges*

⁹ The ms. has a ‘spiritus asper’ sign above the *g*; see editor’s note.

‘quod refluit’, Rev. celt. VIII, p.56, l.6... The tmesis in the quotation, *ro fine tonn tethrach* for *ro tethrach tonn fine* is noteworthy’ (Wagner, 1967, interested in the tmesis cites this ex.(298); it is ironic that Stokes should have quoted the above regular 3sg. rel. of *traigid* from his own ed. of *TÉ* and passed over the present ex. in this passage (one of the very few), even though he did not edit the passage he had to have been aware of this form). There is an equally plausible link between *tethrag/ tetragh* = *tethrach* ‘strand’ (the meaning of which is clear from its equation with *traigh*) and *tethrag/ tetragh* = *(ro) tethrach* ‘(has) ebbed’ (the meaning of which is clear from the glossed legal quotation) and the prior mention of *sál mora móir* ‘the brine of the great sea’ (i.e. an event directly from the narrative l.86). A translation is not possible due to the lack of a definition for *cutig* which appears in L only; *tar/tur* may represent the prep. *tar* ‘over, across’. I have therefore adopted the L reading in the restored text as it stands.

[178-9] **At-chondarc and do-fúargabad úr, imma-sínset fir, imma-tarlaicthea cranna, imma-cloiset gai.**

L At-connarc and do-fuargaib úr immon sínsetar fir. immo-tarlaicthe cranna imma-cloiset gai.

H AT-condarc and To-fuarcabath ur immo ssinsithir fir imma-irlaicther slega imma-cloiset gaie;

do-fúargabad: I have adopted the H reading with augm. pret. pass. rel. sg. of *do-fócaib* ‘raises, sets up’ i.e. ‘that clay was raised up’; this makes better sense in the context than the L 3sg. active form which also shows MidIr. preverbal len. **imma-:** In this series prepositional rel. *imma n-* is used with a following verb and antecedent *úr* i.e. a ditch was raised around which the ensuing activities took place. **-sínset:** in *sínid* ‘stretches out, spreads’ both mss. have a MidIr. 3pl. ending (see *EIV*, 238-9); I have restored the historical 3pl. ending *-set*. **-tarlaicthea:** L has 3pl. augm. pret. pass. of *do-léici* ‘casts, throws’; H has pres. ind. pass. pl. of *ar-léici* ‘lets go, releases’, again with a later lenited *t* (i.e. the ending resembles that of the 3sg., but the following pl. noun demands a pl. verbal form); I have adopted the L reading. **cranna:** both ms.

forms mean ‘spears’ here; it is more likely that *slega* in H would have been substituted for the L form with OIr. long. neut. *o*-stem nom. pl. than *vice versa*; I have therefore adopted the L reading. **-cloíset:** i.e. *imma* + 3pl. pret. of *cloid* ‘turns back, repels’.

[180-1] **Sciathgal, sciath i cath; it cathbúadaig Ulaid iar n-áraib eccrat, iar fortbiu buiden, iar sligi áir.**

L Sciathgal sciath i cath. i cathbuadaig *ulaid* iar n-araib ecrat iar fortbiu buiden¹⁰ iar slige air.

H Sciathgal scieth i cath IT catbuaduig *ulaid* iar n-araib ecrat ier fortbe buidin iar slighi áir

Sciathgal: *sciath* ‘shield’ prefixed to *gal* ‘valour’ has determinative force here, rendering the sense ‘shield-valour’. **it:** H has the better reading; the *t* of the copula has been omitted in L. **eccrat:** i.e. gen. pl. of *eccrae* ‘enemy’ (cf. **eccrata** (acc. pl.) l. 166 above). **slige áir:** *ár* ‘slaughter’ is an attrib. gen. qualifying *slige* ‘cutting down, smiting’ i.e. ‘a slaughterous cutting down’.

[182] **Do-airgellsat gíall each cóicid di chóicedaib Érenn acht cóiced Gáilion.**

L Do-fairchelsa gíall *cech* coicid de choicedaib *herenn* acht coiced galion

H To-faircelset gíall *cech* coicir do coicedaib *erenn* acht coicet coirpri

Do-airgellsat: I take the ms. readings to be late forms of *do-airgella* ‘gives a pledge for’, with both mss. showing a prosthetic *f*; the final *t* of the 3pl. pret. ending has been omitted in L. **cóicid:** the H form *coicir* is probably an erroneous use of *cóicer* ‘five persons’. **cóiced Gáilion:** it is difficult to say which of the ms. readings was in the original, both are terms for the province of the *Laigin* (cf. ‘ar roptar íat da cóiced ro techtsat cland Heremoin .i. cóiced nGáleoín .i. coiced Laigen & coiced Ól nÉcmacht.’

¹⁰ buid[en] only the top of what must be a tall *e* is visible.

LU 4078-9 (*Senchas na relec*); ‘Cairpre Nia Fer trá mc Rosa Ruaid a quo Cóiced Cairpri dicitur’ (Genealogies from Rawlinson B 502, 118^a43 (*Mínugud senchusa Laigin*), *CGH*, 23); I have adopted the L reading as in other doubtful cases.

[183] **Dos-fil, ticfat, taidbdet, fibait i nEmain dadaig.**

L do-fil ticfat tadbát fibait i n-emain dadaig.

H Dus-fil ticfad taidebad fibad a n-emain dadaig

Dos-fil: H has the superior reading here; the 3pl. infix. pron. renders the impersonal vb. *do-fil* ‘is coming’ into a 3pl. active form. **ticfat:** i.e. 3pl. fut. of *do-ic* ‘comes to, returns’ (form with contracted dental). **taidbdet:** the L form is 3sg. pres. ind. (with contracted dental) of *do-adbat* ‘shows, appears’; this form stands out, as the other verbs in the series are in 3pl.); H appears to have an innovatory *ē*-fut form; given the late formation in H and the unsuitability of the 3sg. L form it seems best to emend to 3pl. pres. ind. *taidbdet* (cf. ‘nochis dun-aidbdet’ *MI*. 138^d12) noting the historical palatal vocalism in the verbal stem in H. **fibait:** i.e. 3pl. fut. of *foid* ‘sleeps, spends the night’.

[184] **Ulaid ollchathaig, fritháilid na firu dos-fil far ndochum, acht cecha torchar díb.**

L Ulaid ollchathaig frithalid na firu dos-fil far ndochum acht cecha torchair díb

H hulaid ollcathaib frithailid na fira dus-fic for ndochum acht cecha torchar dib.

Ulaid ollchathaig: **ollchathaig** is nom. pl. of *ollchathach*, a compd. of *oll* ‘great’ and *cathach* ‘bellicose, warlike’. **fritháilid:** i.e. 2pl. ipv. of *fris-áilethar* ‘expects, receives’. **dos-fil:** L has the superior reading; the H reading is a late form of *do-ic* with a prosthetic *f*. **cecha torchar:** L has a late conjunct form with palatal final; H has ambiguous ms. *tor c̄*; I have restored the historical non-pal. final.

[185] **Is ed célmaine in sin ruc Leborcham do mnáib Ulad.**

L IS sed celmaini in sein ruc leborcham do mnaib Ulad¹¹.

H IS *Sed* celmaine in sin ruc lepurcaum do mnaib *ulad*

[186-7] **Luid danó Conall Cernach a óenur i n-farmóracht Laigen do dagdígail a bráithre do-rochratar isin chath .i. Mess Dead ⁊ Lóegaire.**

L Luid conall *cernach* a oenur i n-iarmoracht lagen do dígail a brathar do rochratar sin chath .i. mes dead. ⁊ loegaire.

H LUID DANO conall cernuch a oenar a nd-iarmoracht laigen do degdigail a braitri do rocratar isan cat .i. mess dedad ⁊ læguiri

a óenur: L has the historical dat. sg. spelling (i.e. dat. of apposition, see *GOI*, 244).
danó: in H only; I have adopted it. **do dagdígail:** H is the *lectio difficilior* with *deg-* prefixed in the sense ‘to avenge well’; I have normalized the spelling in *dag* in line with that in **dagdoíne** l.75 above. **a bráithre:** superior reading in H; L has MidIr. gen. pl. (see *SnaG*, 250). **isin:** the L form displays the MidIr. phonetic development whereby the first syllable in unstressed words is lost (see *SnaG*, 236). **Mess Dead:** L has the superior reading here (cf. l.106 above); the H reading is not a recognised variant form of *Mess Dead* (see *DIL* s.v. *Dead* ‘Different from Mess Dedaid, as Rawl. 158.21 shows: clann Amargin...Mes De’ (i.e. Mess Dead) ‘¬ Mess Dedaid Dían-.’).

¹¹ [Ulad].

[187-8] **Is ed luide for Áth Clíath sech Drummanach for Auu Gabla i Forcarthain, sech Úachtar nAird, sech Nás do Chlóenud.**

L IS *sed* luide for áth cliath sech drummainech for uib gabla. i forcarthain. sech uachtur aird. sech nás. do chloínud.

H IS *Sed* luide for ath cliath sech druimmanuch for hu gabla i forcarthain Sech úachtar nair sech nás do cláeinad

Drummanach: i.e. ‘Drimnagh (Co. Dublin)’; (see Hogan (1910) s.v. *Druimanach*).

for Auu Gabla: H has the superior reading with acc. pl. of *ó/úa* following *for*; Hogan s.v. *Uí Gabla* gives its location as in the present text i.e. between ‘Drimnagh’ and ‘Oughterard’ (cf. add. & corr. s.v. *Ráith Cúil*: ‘r. *Úa nGabla*’, i.e. Rathcoole in west Co. Dublin); I have emended the late acc. pl. form *(h)u* to the historical form.

Forcarthain: this placename is the same as that at 1.89 above (see note); the present

form is acc. sg. **Úachtar nAird:** i.e. ‘Oughterard’ (also cited by Hogan s.v. *Uí Gabla*); H has the superior reading with *nas.* following acc. sg. I have retained *nas.* in the nom. form which appears in the translation as *úachtar* is neut. in OIr.; I take *nair* to be an error for *nArd*, however, it is possible that it contains the personal name *Nár* i.e. *Úachtar Náir*. **Chlóenud:** i.e. ‘Clane (Co. Kildare)’; Hogan s.v. *Cloenad* cites the pres. ex. from L and also uses the present text to supply the gen. and dat. sg. forms.

[189] **Ó ráncatar didiu Laigin a tír, luid cách úaidib dia bailiu.**

L O ráncatar didiu laigin a tír luid cách úadib dia bailiu.

H O Rancatar didiu laigin dia tír Luid cach huaidib dia bailiu

Ó ráncatar... a tír: both mss. have 3pl. augm. pret. of *ro-ic* ‘reaches’; in L it takes the direct acc. *tír*, whereas in H this is preceded by a prep., both forms are possible in OIr.; I have adopted the L reading. **úaidib:** on normalization see note on 1.46 above.

[189-90] **Anais immurgu Mess Gegrai for Cassán Chlóenta a óenur ⁊ a arae dar éissi int slúraig.**

L Anais immurgu mess gegra for cassán chloínta a oínur. ⁊ a ara dar éssi int slúraig

H Anus immurgu mes gegrae for cassan clænta ⁊ a arai dar eís ant sluaig

Chlóenta: the L reading shows len. following dat. sg. *cassán*. **a óenur:** in L only, its use here as dat. of apposition is consistent with OIr. (see *GOI*, 244); I have adopted it. **dar éissi:** OIr. had the forms *di éis* ‘(to remain on) after (s.o.)’ and *tar éssi* (acc. sg.) ‘for, in place of’ (see *GOI*, 537); I have adopted the L reading which is apparently used with the sense of *di éis* ‘remaining after (s.o.)’. It is clear that confusion between *di éis* and *tar éssi* both in form and meaning occurred within the OIr. period (see *DIL* s.v. *éis* where there are numerous exx. of confusion between the forms and their once distinct meanings).

[191-2] **‘Con-tuiliub-sa calléic’, ol int arae fri Mess nGegrai ‘⁊ con-tolae-so iarum’.**
‘Maith lim’ ol in rí.

L Con-tuiliub-sa colléic ar int ara fri mess gegra. ⁊ con-tola-su iarum. Maith lim ar in rí.

H Con-tuiliub-sa colleic ol int ara fri mes ngegrai & con-tolu-sa iarum mait lim ol ind ri

calléic: both mss. have the later form with *o* in the first syllable which becomes the normal spelling in MidIr.; I have restored the historical form (cf. *calléic* Wb.16^a2, Ml.130^a3, Sg.45^b7). **fri Mess nGegrai:** H has the superior reading with nas. following acc. **Mess. con-tolae-so:** in both mss. the intended form is undoubtedly 2sg. pres. subj.; I have restored the historical 2sg. *ā*-subj. ending.

[193] **A mboí Mess Gegrai oc déicsin ind uisci co n-accae in cnoí íarsind abainn.**

L A mbuí mess gegra oc descin ind usci co n-acca in cnoi ar fut na haband chuce.

H A mboi mes gegrae oc descin and usce co n-aco in cnoi iarsan abaind

oc déicsin: both mss. have the MidIr. metathesised form of *déicsiu* ‘looking, gazing’; I have emended these to the historical form. **farsind abainn:** H has the better reading; while both mss. have a MidIr. hypercorrect spelling with *nd* for *nn* in *aband/abaind*, L also has MidIr. *ar fut* < *iar fut* (see *SnaG*, 328) and *chuce* with lenited initial (see *SnaG*, 326), suggesting that the form was substituted for that in H.

[193-5] **Ba méite cenn fir in chnú. Luid síis fadessin conda tubart dó 7 nos tethainn cona sciin 7 fo-rácab leth ind eitni don gillu.**

L Ba meti cend fir in chnú. Luid síis fadessin conos tuc cuce 7 ros teind cona scín. & fo-racaib leth ind eitne don gillu.

H Ba med cend fir in chnu Luid sis bodesin conda tabhairt dó 7 rus teind cona scin 7 fo-rácaib leth ind airne don gilla

Ba méite: in this construction L has the predicative gen. form i.e. ‘of the amount (i.e. as big as)’ whereas H has the nom. form i.e. ‘as big as’; in both cases *cend fir* follows in the acc. I have adopted the better attested L reading. This construction has been analysed by Bergin (1926-8, 190-3) who cites this ex. from L (192). The phrase also developed the meaning ‘It is likely’ in OIr. **fadessin:** H has a late form. **conda tubart:** superior reading in H with 3sg. fem. class C infix. pron. used with *co n-* ‘so that’; L has a late form with 3sg. fem. class C + class A infix. pron. (i.e. *condas-*, see *SnaG*, 266). I have restored the historical spelling in the 3sg. pret. of *do-beir* ‘gives, brings’, which is used here with *dó* in the sense ‘brings to himself, gathers, collects’. **nos tethainn:** both mss. have MidIr. 3sg. unredup. pret. of *teinnid* ‘cuts, cracks, breaks’ with *ro* behaving as a simple past tense marker and used to infix an obj. pron.; the earlier 3sg. reduplicated form is *tethainn*, the 3sg. fem. infixed pron. refers to *in*

chnú; I have restored the OIr. redup. pret. including the 3sg. fem. class A infixed pron. **fo-rácab**: both mss. have MidIr. palatal final *b*, a result of the homogenization of root final consonant quality, which begins in *gab-* and its compounds within the OIr. period (see *EIV*, 212); I have restored the historical non-pal. final. **eitni**: it is difficult to say which word was used in the original; both mean ‘a kernel’ and both are used consistently in each ms.; I have adopted the L reading here and at l.208 below where the same choice presents itself, as neither reading is clearly superior.

[195-6] **Co n-accae-som in ngillae, da-n-aurbad din talmain tría chotlud.**

L Co nfaccai-scom in ngilla do-furbad ón talmain triana chotlud.

H Co n-aco-somh an gilla do-n-aurbad don talmain triana cotlud

Co n-accae-som: L has a MidIr. form with (lenited) prosthetic *f*. **da-n-aurbad**: both mss. have a form of 3sg. ipf. ind. of *do-furgaib* ‘lifts’; H is superior, however, with reflexive 3sg. masc. class A infixed pron. i.e. ‘he kept lifting himself’, indicating that the lad was having a troubled sleep; *da-* is to be read for ms. *do-*. Len. following *do* in L may be due to MidIr. main clause len. (see *EIV*, 173). **tría**: both mss. have a MidIr. form with *n* before the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330). I have emended these to the historical form.

[196-7] **Ocus do-ríusaig in gillae iar sin assa chotlud.**

‘Cid taí a gillai?’ ol in rí.

L & ro dúsig in gilla iar sin assa chotlud. Cid taí a gillai ol in rí.

H & ro dúsic ier suidhe an gilla assa cotlud Cid toi a ghilla ol in ri

do-ríusaig: both mss. have a MidIr. form whereby OIr. *do-fíuschi* ‘wakes’ behaves as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro* in the pret.; I have restored the historical 3sg. pret. is *do-ríusaig*. **in gillae iar sin**: I have adopted the word order in L, as well as the reading *iar sin*.

[198- 'Drochaislinge ad-condarc' ol in gillae.

200] 'Gaib inna echu a gillai!' ol in rí.

Gaibid in gillae inna echu.

L Drochaslingi at-chonnarc ar in gilla. Gaib na eochu a gillai ol in rí. Ro gab in gilla na eochu.

H drochaslingi at-connarc ol in gillo Gaib na heocha a gilli ol in rí Gaibid in gilla na heocha

Drochaislinge: *DIL* s.v. *aislinge* suggests that this is an *io*-stem; I have restored acc. sg. in final *e* (i.e. object of following verb in the cleft sentence here). **ad-condarc:** both mss. have a MidIr. preverb with *at* for *ad* (see *SnaG*, 284); the len. in L may be due to the preverb or because L has a leniting rel. cl. here as opposed to the nas. rel. cl. in H. I have restored the historical form of the preverb + nas. rel. cl. as in H as, although both can be used where the antecedent is felt to be the object, the len. rel. cl. gradually displaces the nas. rel. cl. in MidIr. (see *EIV*, 180). **Gaibid:** the H reading is superior, with narrative pres. *gaibid*; L has a MidIr. form with augm. pret. *ro gab* as simple past tense replacing pret. *gabais*.

[201-3] 'Ind cnú deod-so?', ol in gillae

'Dóich' ol in rí.

'In farcbais a lleth dam-sa?' ol in gillae.

L In chnú dódais ar in gilla. is *sed* or in rí. IN farcbais a lleth dam-sa or in gilla.

H An cnu deodh-sa ol in gilla Doich ol an rí An farcbais a lleth dam-sa ol an gillo

Ind cnú: in L *in* appears to be the def. art. (i.e. a noun-initial sentence followed by a rel. verbal form), it reads 'the nut which you have eaten'; the king's *is sed* would then seem to be merely an interjection 'yea!' i.e. 'what of it?'. The H reading is better in the context; *an* (without following len.) can be taken as the interrog. part. + cop., i.e. 'Is it a nut which you have eaten?'; I have restored the *-d* of the conj. 3sg. of the

copula which would be expected here in OIr. (see *GOI*, 486). **deod-so:** the H reading with 2sg. suffixless augm. suppletive pret. of *ithid* ‘eats’ is superior; it is also the only known attestation of this form (cited by Thurneysen, *GOI*, 426 and Schumacher, 1998, 152, 154.). L has a MidIr. form whereby the 2sg. *s*-pret. ending has been adopted (see *SnaG*, 303-4). **Dóich:** the H reading is the *lectio difficilior*; the L response to the question is clearly an attempt to provide a more precise response to the question as opposed to the blunt and semantically ambiguous response in H.

[204-5] ‘**Mínigid cétamus!**’ ol in rí.

‘**In ferán doid a mbec sechom-sa**’, ol in gillae ‘**no íssad a mmór**’.

L Minigid lim chetus or in rí. In fer doid in mbec sechom-sa ar in gilla no íssad a mmór.

H Minaighid cetamus ol in rí An ferán doídh an mbeg sechom-sa no ísad a mmór

Minigid: both mss. have 2pl. ipv. of *mínigidir* ‘explains’. **cétamus:** L has a later lenited form *chetus*; I have adopted the H reading. **In ferán:** H has diminutive form of *fer*, probably used figuratively i.e. ‘small/ petty man’; this would then provide a better reading in the context. I have also adopted the remainder of the line from H (i.e. without *ar in gilla*). **a mbec:** in both mss. the neut. art. has been replaced by the masc. form; I have emended these to include the neut. art. (cf. *a mmór* at the end of the line in both mss.). **ol in gillae:** in L only; I have adopted it as it appears to fit the context well, as a stylistic feature it serves to create a pause between the premise set out by the lad and the conclusion drawn.

[206] **Ro boí a lám ind ríg fria agaid co lleith ind eitni.**

L Ro boí a lám in ríg fria agid ind ríg co lleith ind eitni.

H Ro boi ha lam and rich frie aigid co lleith and airne

fria agaid: H have adopted the H reading without the second occurrence of *ind ríg* which in L appears to be a deliberate case of repetition in order to clarify against

whose face the king's hand was. **co lleith:** the palatal glide in the dat. sg. form is omitted in H. **eitni:** see note on ll.193-5 above.

[206-8] **Da-n-aidlea in gillae co claidiub co tall a láim dé.**

'Olc sin a gillai' ol in rí.

L Do-naidlend in gilla co claidiub co tall a láim de. Olc sin a gillai ol in rí.

H To-naidlend an gilla co claidem co tall a laimh de Olc sen a gilla or¹² an rí

Da-n-aidlea: both mss. have late form with a MidIr. 3sg. conj. ending (see *SnaG*, 293-4); the historical 3sg. pres. ind. is *do-aidlea*. The mss. also have *do-/ to-* for *da* i.e. *do* + 3sg. masc. class A infixed pron., as shown by the nas. on *-aidlend*; I have restored the historical 3sg. form + infixed pron. **co claidiub:** L has the OIr. form with final *-b*; H has the form which becomes normal in E.Mod.Ir., a result of general confusion between fricatives especially in final position (see *SnaG*, 235). **sin:** H has a MidIr. form (see *SnaG*, 275-6).

[208] **'Oslaic mo dorn a-tá leth ind eitni and!'**

L Oslaic mo dorn a-tá leth ind eitni and.

H Hoslaic mo dornn A-ta leth ind airne ann

ind eitni: see note on l.195 above.

¹² added above the line.

[209-11] **Amal ad-condaire in gillae a n-í-sin, im-soí in claideb fris fessin co ndechuid tría druimm síar.**

‘Fé amae a gillai!’ ol in rí.

L *Amal at-chonnaire in gilla a n-í sin im-soí in claideb friss fessin co ndechaid triana druim síar. Fe amae a gillai or in rí.*

H *Amal at-chondaire an gilla són am-soi fris an cloidemh co ndechaid triana druim siar Fe amai a gillai ol in ri. Dercaintech*

ad-condaire: both mss. have a MidIr. form with *at* + len. for *ad* + nas. following *amal* (see *GOI*, 316). **a n-í-sin:** either one of the ms. forms may have been in the original; as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **im-soí in claideb fris fessin:** I have adopted the word order in L, as well as the reading *fessin*. **tría:** see note on l.196 above. *Dercaintech* in H, would seem to belong at the end of this line i.e. as an attrib. adj. pertaining to *in rí*. The line would then read ‘said the sorrowful king’. This involves ignoring the ms. punctuation after *rí* and the capitalisation in *Dercaintech*. At any rate, this word cannot be made to fit into the line following; I have not adopted it.

[212] **In-lá fessin int-í Mess Gegrai a charpat ⁊ do-beir a láim ind ara bélaib.**

L *Indlid¹³ fessin int-i mess gegrai a charput ⁊ do-beir a laim ind ara belaib.*

H *indlid fesin an carpat ant-i mess gegrai ⁊ do-phir a láim ind ara belaib.*

In-lá: both mss. have the later simple 3sg. pres. ind. of *in-lá* ‘yokes (a chariot)’ (*indlid* is listed separately from *in-lá* in *DIL*); I have restored the historical form. **charpat:** I have adopted the word order in L, as well as the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. preceeding *carpat*. **ind:** both mss. show the historical use of the acc. 3sg. masc. prepositional pron. of *i* ‘into’; the distinction between this and dat. *and* is lost in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 328).

¹³ Ind[li]d; the *fac.* reading *indud* is doubtful (cf. H).

[213] **In tan didiu luide assind áth síar, is and do-lluid Conall Cernach issin n-áth anair.**

L In tan *didiu* luid assinn áth síar. Is and do-riacht conall issin áth anair.

H An tan *iarum* luid asan ath síar is and do-lluid conall cernach issan ath anair.

didiu: either form may have been in the original; I have adopted the L reading. **luide:** neither ms. preserves the rel. form *luide* which would be expected here in OIr. after in tan (see *GOI*, 316); the most likely explanation is that it was omitted in transmission which could easily have occurred especially before the vocalic initial of a following word; I have restored the rel. form in final *-e*. **do-lluid:** H has the superior reading, with the contrasting use of *tét* ‘goes’ and *do-tét* ‘comes’; the L reading is a late 3sg. pret. form of *do-roich* ‘reaches’. **Conall:** it is impossible to say whether Conall’s epithet was omitted L or added in H; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **issin n-áth:** in both mss. the nasalising cons. following acc. **issin** has been assimilated to the final n of the art.; I have restored the distinct nasalizing cons.

[214-6] **‘Amein a Mess Gegraí!’ ol Conall.**

‘At-taam and’ ol Mess Gegrae.

‘Ceist iarum’ ol Conall.

L Amlaid sin a mess gegra ar conall. Ató sund ar mess gegra. *Ceist iarum* ar conall.

H Amein a mes gegrae ar conall cernach Ataam and ar mes gegrae *Ceist iarum* or conull.

Amein: the H form is used here as elsewhere in the early literature as a greeting (cf. ‘*Ameind,*’ or *Ailill*. ‘*Amne dano,*’ or *Cuillius*’, O’Rahilly, 1976, 33) and is identical in form with other early occurrences (as an interjection introducing a sentence, cf. ‘*amein, ol in gillae oc saigid dit acallma Senchāin*’, *Corm.Y* 1059; + other exx. cited *DIL* s.v. *amein*); L on the other hand, has MidIr. *amlaid* < OIr. *samlaid* (a result of the reinterpretation of its use with the 3sg. pres. ind. of the copula *is samlaid*, see *SnaG*,

235); furthermore, *DIL* s.v. *I amlaid* cites the present L reading as an ex. of the adverbial phrase ‘*a. sin*’ which replaces OIr. *amail* + demonstr.; I have therefore adopted the H reading. **Conall:** as in l.213 above, it is impossible to say whether Conall’s epithet was omitted L or added in H; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **At-taam and:** the H reading is better in the context as it apparently refers to both characters and implicit in that is the idea that they were predestined to meet (cf. ll.70-71 above).

[217-8] ‘**Cid fil and**’ ol Mess Gegrai ‘acht int-í dia ndligi fiachu, saig fair cach ní rot bé!’.

L Cid ail and ar mess *gegrai* acht int-í dia ndligi fiachu saig fair *cach cumung* rot bé.

H nocon fuil on *dano* acht ant-í dia ndligi fiacha dos-fothlaig fair cach ní rot be ol mess *gegrai*

Cid fil and: I take *ail* in L to represent *fail*, i.e. the late OIr. form of *fil* with loss of the initial and *cid* as the interrogative ‘what?’ i.e. ‘What is there?’ (i.e. ‘what other question can there be?’). H with MidIr. *nocon* (see *SnaG*, 280) reads, ‘That is nothing, moreover’, which makes less sense in the context compared to L; I have therefore adopted the L reading. **ol Mess Gegrai:** in L only; I have adopted it here as it improves the narrative by providing a pause before the delivery of Mess Gegrai’s proverbial phrase. **acht int-í dia ndligi fiachu:** This phrase has been analysed by Bergin (1950, 185). He identifies the verbal form as conj. 2sg. pres. ind. of *dligid* (with *de*) ‘is owed, entitled to (from)’; the present ex. reads ‘but the one from whom you are owed debts’. **saig:** Bergin cites another ex. upon which he claims, the present one was modelled. This ex. (from *Brisleach Mór Maige Murthemni* L ll.14134-5) in fact shares a late verbal form with H i.e. *dos-fothlaig* (2sg. ipv.), a back-formation from the MidIr. simple vb. *tothlaigid* (< OIr. *do-tluchethar* ‘beseeches, asks’, see *DIL* s.v. *do-fothlaig*). L clearly has the earlier form with 2sg. ipv. of *saigid* ‘sues for, claims’ (also more suitable in the present legal context with *dligid* than *do-tluchethar* ‘beseeches, asks’. **cach ní rot bé:** Stokes (1887, 59) translates the L reading as ‘with

all the might you mayest have'; (evidently taking *cumung* is an indep. dat. sg. i.e. 'with all the might'); the H reading with 'everything which may be yours' suits the context better here as Mess Gegrai's speech pre-empts Conall's question and although Mess Gegrai may have anticipated that Conall would seek to avenge his brothers, his speech would reasonably invite Conall to demand the heads of his brothers but not invite an assault by mentioning might, especially as the fight develops later in the dialogue. The L reading *cumung* may alternatively be a legal phrase cf. *DIL* s.v. *cumung* '? gabur raith do c. 7 aithe do raith ... 'a competent surety' (?), Laws i 120.2', however, in the absence of more concrete exx. of this rare subst. use of the adj. *cumung* 'narrow' and in light of the unsuitability of Stokes' interpretation it is preferable to adopt the H reading.

[219- **'At-taat mo bráthair lat-so' ol Conall.**

221] **'Ní'm chriss at-taat' ol Mess Gegrai.**

'Bid ainem ón' ol Conall.

L Atát mo brathir lat-su ar conall. Nim chriss atát ar mess *gegrai*. Bid anim ón ar conall.

H Atad mo braitri lat-sa ol conull. nim chris atat ol mes *gegrai* bid animh on or conall.

At-taat: both mss. have a MidIr. form showing contraction of hiatus; I have emended these to the historical 3pl. form. **bráithir:** superior reading in L; H has the MidIr. nom. pl. which is based on the acc. pl. (see *SnaG*, 250-1). **Ní'm:** in both mss. the initial of *im* (< *i mo*) has been elided. **Bid ainem ón:** 'That will be a blemish'; I take this to mean that Conall does not believe Mess Gegrai and that his lie will cause him shame. Both mss. omit the palatal glide before *n*.

[222-4] ‘Ní **fír ngaiscid**’, ol Mess Gegrai ‘comrac frim-sa co n-óenláim’.

‘Is fair bia-sa’, ol Conall ‘con-rirestar mo lám-sa dom thoib’.

L Ni fír ngaiscid ar mes *gegrai*. comrac frim-sa co n-oenláim. Is fair bias ar conall. *cumrigfithir* mo lám dom thaib-se ar conall.

H ni fír on ol mes *gegrai* comruc rim-sa co n-oinlaimh. IS air bias ol *conall* comrighfidir mo lam-sa domb thaib

fír ngaiscid: L has the superior reading; the phrase *fír ngaiscid* ‘warrior’s truth’ mirrors that of *fír flathemon* ‘ruler’s truth’ (see Mc Cone, 1990, 127-9) which is an abstract concept with tangible implications. The obvious case here is that Mess Gegrai points out to Conall that to fight against a one-handed man would be in breach of his ‘warrior’s truth’. Conall therefore acts to maintain his ‘warrior’s truth’ by binding one of his arms to his side. H reads ‘That is not just’. **frim-sa:** H has a MidIr. form whereby initial *f* has been lost through lenition (see *SnaG*, 326). **fair:** i.e. 3sg. masc. prepositional pron. of *for* ‘upon it’; the ‘it’ refers to *fír ngaiscid* i.e. Conall announces that they will proceed on the basis of his ‘warrior’s truth’. The 3sg. masc. form *air* in H reflects the falling together in MidIr. of the prepp. *for* and *ar* (see *SnaG*, 326). **bia-sa:** the form in both mss. may represent MidIr. use of the rel. after clefted prepositional phrases (see *EIV*, 180-1) or possibly the use in both of 1sg. *bia* + 1sg. emph. pron. showing elision of the vowel of the emph. pron.; the ms. readings are quite serviceable taking the latter suggestion (the first would require *bieid* to be restored), I have restored the final vowel of the emph. pron. **Comrigfithir:** both mss. have MidIr. form whereby the redup. fut. of *con-rig* ‘binds’ has been replaced by a new weak simple verb based on the prot. form and with *f*-fut. flexion (see *SnaG*, 314). I have restored the historical pass. sg. redup. fut. *con-rirestar*. **mo lám-sa dom thoib:** L has an emph. pron. appended to *thaib* and *ar conall* at the end of the line where there is no doubt who is speaking; the H reading is better with emph. pron. appended to *lam* which properly places the emphasis on the arm (in direct comparison with Mess Gegrai’s missing arm) and without the superfluous *ar conall* (or indeed with earlier *ol*) at the end of the line.

[224-5] **.i. co fo thrí con-áracht lám Chonaill dia thoib do chomruc fri óenlámaid. Is iarum con-áracht lám Chonaill.**

L Co bo thrí ro cumriged lám chonaill *chernai*g dia thoib.

H .i. co bo tri con amracht lamh conuill fria a thoib do comrac fria
hoínlamaidh IS *iarum* con amracht lam conaill

fo thrí: both mss. have a MidIr. form of *fo* with a voiced initial (see *SnaG*, 327).
con-áracht: L has a MidIr. form with *con-rig* behaving as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro*. H also has a pass. pret. sg. form of *con-rig* ‘binds’, the normal OIr. form of which is *con-áracht* showing the regular development of *ad* > *á* before *r, l, n* (see *GOI*, 496). The *m* in *-amracht* is due to the analogical influence of prot. *-com†racht*; I have adopted the H reading restoring regular OIr. *con-áracht*. **dia:** *do* is the prep. normally used here (see *DIL* s.v. *con-rig*); H has *fria* for the simple prep. *fri*, this occurs again in the line and elsewhere in H (see l.76 above). **óenlámaid:** i.e. *óenlám* + agent suffix *-id* (see *GOI*, 170) ‘one-handed one’. **do chomruc fri óenlámaid. Is iarum con-amracht lám Chonaill:** this has no equivalent in L; I have adopted it as there is nothing to suggest that it was not part of the original, and because it fits the context well.

[225] **Ocus iar sin immus-túaircet combo derg ind aub díb.**

L Ro thúairc cach a chéile combó *derg* ind aband díb.

H & iar sin mus-tuaircet commo derc an abann dibh

Ocus iar sin immus-túaircet: L has a MidIr. form with *do-fúairc* ‘smites, crushes’ behaving as a simple vb. with prefixed *ro*. The H reading is a good OIr. formation where the 3pl. pres. ind. is compounded with *imma* (+ 3pl. class A infixed pron.) to give the meaning ‘they mutually smite one another’ (see *GOI*, 517-8). I have also adopted the H reading of the beginning of the line. **ind aub:** both mss. have the later nom. sg. form; I have restored the earlier nom. sg. form (cf. gen. sg. **abann** l.232 below).

[226-7] **Fortressa a chluichi in Chonaill Chernaig.**

‘Maith trá a Chonaill!’ ol Mess Gegrai.

L *Fortressiu iarum a chluchi in chonaill. Maith trá a chonaill ar mes gegrai.*

H *Fortressa cluighi an conoill cernaig Maith tra a conaill or mes gegrai*

Fortressa: L has the MidIr. general compar. spelling *-iu* (see *SnaG*, 256); H has the historical irregular compar. spelling of *fortrén* ‘very strong, mighty’, but neither form could be relied upon for dating purposes given the confusion in the representation of final unstressed vowels in late mss. **a chluichi in Chonaill Chernaig:** I have continued with the H reading here and I include a proleptic 3sg. masc. poss. pron. which appears in L but evidently coalesced with the final vowel of *Fortressa* in H. **cluichi:** the nom. pl. form is used here in the sense ‘feats of strength, feats at arms’ (*DIL* cites this ex. from L s.v. *cluiche*). This construction has been analysed by Ó Gealbháin (1991), it falls into his Type E category i.e. genitive pron. + head noun + art. + noun modifying head noun (see *ibid.* 137 ff.)

[227-8] **Ro-fetar-sa ní regae-so co rucae mo chenn-sa lat 7 tabair mo chenn fort chenn 7 m’orddan fort horddan.**

L *Ro-fetar-sa ní raga-su co rruca mo chend-sa lett. 7 tabair mo chend fort chend 7 morddan fort horddan.*

H *ro-fetur-so na raghu-sa co ruco mo cend-so lat 7 tabair mo cend fort cend 7 mordan fort hordan*

Ro-fetar-sa ní regae-so: H has a rel. clause following 1sg. of *ro-fitir* ‘knows, knew’ (see *GOI*, 318 on the optional use of nasalizing rel. clauses after verbs of saying and thinking etc.), where *ná* has replaced the historical form *nád* (see *SnaG*, 281). L has a non-rel. clause with *ní*; I have adopted the L reading. Both mss. have a MidIr. form in 2sg. fut. of *téit* ‘goes’, showing the phonetic change *re > ra* (see *SnaG*, 233). I have restored the historical form. **co rucae:** both mss. have 2sg. augm. pres. subj. of *beirid* ‘takes’; I have restored the historical spelling in final *-ae*. **lat:** I have adopted the H

reading. The vocalism in the L form is attested for all persons except 2sg. and 2pl. (see *GOI*, 272-3), the present form was probably acceptable in OIr. also.

[229-30] **Benaid Conall a chenn dé oc Cassán Chlóenta ocus beirid Conall a cenn co tarat forin liic for brú ind átha.**

L Benaid conall a chend de ic cassán chloínta. & berid conall in cend co tarat forin liic ar bruach¹⁴ átha.

H Benaid conall a cenn de i cassan cloénta & beraid conall a cend co tarat foran liic for bru an átha.

a chenn: *a* in H is to be taken as 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (with len. omitted), as in L. **oc:** the spelling of the vowel in *oc* varies in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 329); both mss. have a late form and in H *-c* has been assimilated to the initial of *cassan*. **Cassán Chlóenta:** L has the superior reading with len. following dat. sg. *cassán*. **a cenn:** in L the neut. art. has been replaced; I have adopted the H reading. **forin:** forms with and without *s* occur alongside each other in the glosses (see *GOI*, 293; cf. **forsin chléith** l.111 above). **liic:** both mss. have the disyllabic acc. sg. of *lie*, *lia* ‘standing stone, pillar-stone’ (i.e. not of *lecc* ‘flagstone’; Bergin (1938b, 217-8) has discussed the confusion of these words; that *lie*, *lia* is the form in question here, is also confirmed by the switch to *coirthe* ‘rock, pillar, standing-stone’). **for:** L has a later form with *ar* replacing *for* (see note on l.). **brú ind átha:** L is badly faded between *bru* and *atha*; in the transcription of L I have relied on the diplomatic ed. to supply *ach* but even here the editors note that the *a* is indistinct; there remains a strong possibility then that L had *brú* + art. here as in H, needless to say the H reading with the art. is good (due allowance being made for the later form without *-d*); I have therefore restored *brú* + art. with H and possibly with L.

¹⁴ bru[ach].

[230-1] **Do-lluid bannae a méidiu in chinn co ndechuid i cenn in choirthi co lluid triit co talmain.**

L do-lluid banna a mmediu in chind co ndechaid i cend in chorthi co lluid triit co *talmain*.¹⁵

H Do-luid banna a meidhe in cind co ndechuid a cend an coirthie co lluid trid co talamh.

a méidiu: I have restored dat. *méidiu* following the prep. *a* ‘out of’; the mss. show typical confusion over the representation of final unstressed vowels, with L at least coincidentally at least, genuinely at best, having the historical spelling. **triit:** L has the superior reading with the historical hiatus form. Conall thwarts Mess Gegrai’s plan to kill him by placing the head on a pillar-stone and allowing the corrosive drop which comes from the neck, to burn into the pillar instead of his head. **co talmain:** acc. sg *talmain* is restored here (see note on l.59 above).

[231-2] **Do-bert danó a cenn forin coirthe ⁊ at-n-aig a cenn in coirthe co talmain conid tarlae fora béolu dochum inna habann.**

L Do-bert dano a chend *forsa* corthe. ⁊ ad-n-aic a cend in corthe co *talmain* co tarla fora beolu docum na haband.¹⁶

H Do-bert dano a cend *foran* coirthi ⁊ at-conaic a chend an coirthi conid tarla fora beula *dochum* na habhann.

a cenn: I have adopted the H reading with neut. art. **forin coirthe:** in the L form *forsa* the *n* of the def. art. is missing; it may otherwise be *for* + neut. art., erroneously treating **coirthe** as a neut. noun; I have adopted the H reading (same basic form preserved in both mss. l.230 above; see also note l.229-30). **at-n-aig:** L has the better reading with a proleptic masc. infixed pron. i.e. *adnaic* = *at-n-aig* referring to the pillar. H has a Midlr. form of *ad-condairc* i.e. 3sg. perf. of *ad-cí* ‘sees’, used in the

¹⁵ [do] lluid, co n[dechaid i], [co l]luid; see editor’s note.

¹⁶ [corthe], ad[n]aic, do[com].

sense ‘his head saw the pillar’; the head was of course still animated at this point. I have adopted the L reading restoring the *t* of the infix pron. which makes it necessary to also adopt the complimentary *co talmain* (which is absent in H and appropriately so, as it would not fit with the above analysis of *at-conaic*); it is to be understood that the head enters the pillar, thus driving it to the ground. **a cenn:** the L reading with neut. art. is adopted here. **conid tarlae:** H has the better reading here with 3sg. masc. infix pron. and the impersonal use of the 3sg. augm. suppletive pret. of *do-cuirethar* ‘so that it fell’ lit. ‘so that it (the head) put it (the pillar)’.

[232-4] **Conall Clóen a ainm-sem co sin. Ar ro bátar téora ainmea la Ultu .i. Conall Clóen ⁊ Cú Chulainn Goll ⁊ Cúscraid Mend.**

L Conall cloen a ainm seom co sain. ar ro batar tri ainmi la ulto .i. conall clóen. ⁊ cu chulainn goll. ⁊ cuscraid mend.¹⁷

H Conull cloen a ainm siomh co sein Ar Ro batar tri hanmonna la hulto .i. conall clæn ⁊ cu culainn goll ⁊ cuscraid mend

co sin: both mss. have a MidIr. form of *sin* (see *SnaG*, 275-6). **téora:** both mss. have a late form whereby the masc. numeral is used with a fem. noun (see *SnaG*, 261); I have restored the historical form (cf. **téora tonna** l.14 above where the same emendation is made). **ainmea:** I have adopted the L reading with nom. pl. of *ainem* ‘blemish’, used here in the sense ‘blemished ones’ (this ex. cited in *DIL* s.v. *ainim* (i.e. MidIr. nom. sg.); see also O’Brien, 1958, 99); I have restored the historical spelling including the *ā*-stem nom. pl. ending (cf. **ainem** (nom. sg.) l.221 above). The H reading appears to be the MidIr. nom. pl. of *ainmm* ‘name’ (see *SnaG*, 248), or it may also be nom. pl. of *anmandae* ‘living ones’. **Conall Clóen:** i.e. ‘Conall the Crooked’; Stokes (1887, 61) takes this to mean ‘cross-eyed’; it actually refers to Conall’s crooked neck (cf. ‘Conall Claenbhraigdech Cernach, Cóir Anm. 251’ cited *DIL* s.v. *cláen*). **Cú Chulainn Goll:** i.e. ‘Cú Chulainn the Purlblind’. **Cúscraid Mend:** i.e. ‘Stammering Cúscraid’.

¹⁷ ro [ba]tar, cus[craid].

[234] **Ro rannsát mná Ulad i trí. Ro car cech trian díb a fer din triur sin.**

L Ro randsat mna ulad i trí iat. Ro char cach a fer don triur sin.

H Ro randsat mna ulad a trí ro car cech trian díb a fer din triur sin

Ro rannsát: L has a MidIr. obj. indep. pron. *iat*, which supplies an obj. i.e. the three Ulstermen just mentioned; I have adopted the H reading, which is basically the same as L but without the indep. pron. **Ro car:** L has a MidIr. form with len. following *ro* (see *SnaG*, 278). The H reading of the remainder of the line is clearer, and notably has the historical use of the prep. *di* in *din triur*. L reads lit. ‘everyone loved his man of those three’ (with the poss. pron. in grammatical agreement with *cach*). **cech trian:** in H only; it is to be adopted here as it establishes the term, by which the women are exclusively referred to in the passage following, immediately after the stated separation of the women.

[234-6] **A trian ro charsat Conall batis clóin ocot acaldaim. A trian ro charsat Coin Chulainn batis guill ocot acaldaim. A trian ro charsat Cúscraid batis mind ocot acaldaim.**

L A trian ro charsa coin culainn batis guill cot acallaim. A trian¹⁸ ro charsat conall cloen batis cloin cot acallaim. A trian ro charsat cusraid batis guit cot acallaim.

H A trian ro carustar conoll bátis clæn ocod descin A trian díb ro car cu culainn bátis guill cot acollaimh A Trian ro char cusraid batis menda cot acallaim

The L reading of this passage is generally superior to H, although the order in which the characters appear has been changed (cf. **.i. Conall Clóen ⁊ Cú Chulainn Goll ⁊ Cúscraid Mend.** 11.233-4 above); H maintains the original order, which I follow here. **ro charsat:** L has a 3pl. referring to the semantically pl. **A trian;** H twice has a 3sg. form *ro c(h)ar* which is in grammatical agreement with **A trian** and a late form

¹⁸ [g]uill; cot acall[aim] i.e. suspension stroke not visible, A t[ri]an.

ro carustar with a MidIr. 3sg. dep. ending in the line relating to Conall; I have adopted the L reading in each of the three lines, although final *-t* has been omitted in the line relating to Cú Chulainn. **Conall:** the use of the epithet in L is out of place when compared to the other two lines in the series; H has the better reading in this case. **batis:** the various ms. spellings (all same form apart from of length marks randomly placed) are to be taken as 3pl. ipf. ind. of the cop., which is to be translated ‘they were..(when...)’. O’Brien (1958, 99) suggests that the form is 3pl. cond., but this does not suit the context. **clóin:** nom. pl. fem. attributive adj. relating to the women of Ulster and in agreement with the 3pl. verbal form and might be expected here; the ms. forms *cloín/ clæn* must then represent a generalized nom. pl. masc. form especially at such a remove from *mná Ulad*. **guill:** i.e. nom. pl. masc. (see previous note). **mind:** In the line relating to Cúscraid L has another apparently nom. pl. masc. form *guit* (i.e. *got* ‘stammering, lisping’); the use of *mend* as in H rather than *got* is expected (cf. **Cúscraid Mend** ll.233-4 above); I have therefore adopted the H reading, however I emend this to **mind**, i.e. nom. pl. masc. in line with the construction in the other two lines. **ocot acaldaim:** O’Brien (*id.*, 98-9) has identified in this phrase the impersonal use of *oc* + 2sg. pron.; it is to be translated here as ‘when talking to you (i.e. anybody)’; the loss of the initial vowel is a MidIr. feature (see *SnaG*, 329); H replaces the **ocot acaldaim** with *ocod descin* in the line relating to Conall; this is a late innovation, as indicated by the use of the MidIr. metathesised dat. sg. form of OIr. *déicsiu*. **Coin Culainn:** L has the superior reading with the acc. sg. of *Cú Chulainn*; the use of the nom. in H seems to be due to a misinterpretation of the context, with *cu culainn* as subj. of *ro car* and **A trian** as obj. i.e. ‘the third of them whom Cú Chulainn loved’.

[236-8] **Do-bert immurgu Conall a chenn-som fora chenn conid tarlae dara ais combo díriuch ónd úair sin.**

L Do-bert immurgu conall a chend-som fora chend conid tarla dara¹⁹ ais co mbo diriuch ond uair sin.

H Do-berd dano conall a cend-sam fora cend conda tarla dara ais ⁊ co mbo direch ond uair sin ammach

immurgu: neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **conid tarlae:** the L reading is better, with 3sg. masc. class C infixed pron. referring to Conall, ‘so that it (i.e. the head) put him backwards’; H, with 3pl. class C infixed pron., reads ‘so that it put them (i.e. the head and Conall) backwards’. **díriuch:** L has the historical spelling. **ónd úair sin:** neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases.

[239-40] **Luid didiu Conall inna charpat a óenur ⁊ int arae i carpat Meisse Gegrai. Nos mrogat dó iarum i nÚachtar Fine,**

L Luid didiu conall ina charpat a oinur ⁊ int ara i carpat mes gegrai. Nos brogat dó iarum i n-uachtur fine.

H Luid didiu conall ina carbad a oenur ⁊ ant ara a carbad mes gegra nus mbruoghad dó iarum i nd-uachtar fine

int arae: I have restored the historical nom. sg. spelling in final *-(a)e* (cf. ‘Aire ⁊ arae .i. ab auriga (.i. ō odaig), quia scindit auras amail remetet ara choimdid [ms. coimdig] remetet aire arbar’, Stokes 1898, 137). **Nos mrogat dó:** both mss. have a 3pl. pres. ind. form of the verb *mrogaid* ‘moves forward’. L has a MidIr. spelling *brogat* which reflects the phonetic change *mr > br* and H has the intermediate spelling *mbruoghad*, (cf. **mbrogsus** l. 157 above, where both mss. have the intermediate spelling) and final *d* for *t* in the 3pl. ending. The 3pl. class A infixed pron. refers to the chariots and with

¹⁹ [d]ara.

dó ‘thither’ (i.e. pronominal *dó* with force of adverb, cf. *lotar dó iarom*, Henderson, 1899, 84.9; see also *DIL* s.v. 2 *dó*) the line reads ‘they move them forward then into *Úachtar Fine*’. **i nÚachtar Fine:** i.e. ‘Oughteranny, Co. Kildare’; Hogan (1910) cites the present ex. from L s.v. *Uachtar Fine*.

[240-1] **co comarnectar fri cócait mban and sin .i. Búan ben Mess Gegrai cona bantrocht, oc tuidecht assin choicrích an-túaid.**

L Co comrancatar fri coicait mban and sin .i. buan ben mes *gegrai* cona bantrocht oc tuidecht assin choicrich atúaid

H co comharnecethar fri coecaid mban and im mnai mes *gegrae* oc toidecht assan coicrich atuaidh

Co comarnectar: the H reading is better with the OIr. prot. augm. pret. stem of *conric* i.e. *comarn(e)c-* (see *EIV*, 54), although it does contain an error in the ending. L has a new MidIr. prot. form *-comrancatar*. I have adopted the H reading and restored the historical ending. **and sin .i. Búan ben Mess Gegrai cona bantrocht:** It would be difficult to say which reading was in the original; I have, as in other doubtful cases, adopted the L reading, where *Búan* is named. This will require the L reading to be adopted again at l.260 below (see note). **an-túaid:** both mss. have the later form; I have restored OIr. *an-túaid* (see note l.126 above).

[242-4] **‘Cía oca taí a ben?’ ol Conall.**

‘Ben Meisse Gegrai rí’.

‘Timarnad duit techt lim-sa’ ol Conall.

L Cía cá taí a ben ar Conall. ben mess *gegrai* rí. Timarnad duit techt lim-sa ar²⁰ Conall.

H Co taai a ben ol conall Ben mes *gegrai* .i. ri laigen ol an ben. Timarnad duid teacht lim-sa ol conall

²⁰ [ar].

Cía oca tai: L has *cía (o)ca* (with loss of the initial after a preceding vowel) *-tai* i.e. ‘Who are you with?’ i.e. ‘to whom do you belong?’. In H *co* ‘how’ is apparently used in the sense of *cía* i.e. ‘who?’; the 2sg. form *-taai* is a hypercorrect hiatus spelling; it is difficult to say which is the original reading; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **ríg:** neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. **Timarnad:** both mss. have augm. pret. pass. sg. of *do-imna* ‘enjoins, commands’ (the use of the form with contracted dental here is possible in OIr., see *EIV*, 3).

[245-7] ‘Cía dom-imarnae?’ ol in ben.

‘Mess Gegrai’ ol Conall.

‘In tucais comardae lat?’ ol in ben.

L Cía do thimarnae or in ben. mess *gegrai* ar conall. In tucais chomarthá latt or in ben.

H Cía dom timarna ol in ben Mess ol conall in tucais comarta lat ol in ben.

Cía dom-imarnae: in both mss. the preverb of *do-imnai* has been doubled (the form in both mss. is pret. pass. sg.); L reads ‘who has commanded it?’; H with residual 1sg. dat. infix pron. (see *GOI*, 255 n.) i.e. ‘who has commanded to me?’, has the reading which best suits the context; I have removed the superfluous second preverb. **Mess Gegrai:** it is impossible to say which ms. has the original reading; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **comardae:** I have restored the historical spelling.

- [248-50] ‘A charpat ⁊ a eich sund’ ol Conall.
 ‘Sochaide dia tabair séutu’ ol in ben.
 ‘A chenn suno danó’ ol Conall.

L A charpat ⁊ a eich sund²¹ ar conall. Sochaide da tabair seotu ar in ben. A²² chend suno dano ar conall.

H A carbad ⁊ a ech lium ol conall Sochaidi dia tardand seuda ol in ben A cend sund dano ol condall

eich: in H *ech* must also represent nom. pl. *eich*, but with the palatal glide vowel omitted. **sund:** it is difficult to say which form was in the original; I have adopted the L reading as in similar doubtful cases. **dia tabair:** the H reading contains an innovation with the new MidIr. 3sg. pres. ind. ending *-and* (*-ann*) in *do-ratai*; L does have a MidIr. form in *da* (< *dia* i.e. prep. *do* + rel. pron. *a*), but the verbal form i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conjunct, is superior. **suno:** L has the *lectio difficilior*, a footnote in the diplomatic edition suggests that *suno* is an error for *sund*; this form more likely represents the OIr. disyllabic form *sunda* (see *GOI*, 305).

- [251-2] ‘Am díles-sa úad-som in fecht-so’ ol-sí.

Imm-dergthae a cenn ind ala fecht ⁊ no bántae in fecht n-ailli.

L Am díles-sa uad-som a fecht sa or in ben. No imdergtha in cend ind ara fecht ⁊ ro bánta in fecht aile.

H Am diliusa uadh-som a fecht sae ol-Sí. No immdergta in cend and ala no banta dano in facht n-ali

Am díles-sa úad-som: i.e. ‘I am without forfeited/ irrecoverable by him’. This is in keeping with what is known about the legal status of a queen in early Irish society, i.e. that like any other freewoman she did not have independent legal capacity (see Kelly, 1988, 75-8). In the present context, as her husband is dead, it means that she must

²¹ [s]und.

²² [A].

comply with the bequest. **in fecht-so:** i.e. acc. of time ‘this once’ (see *GOI*, 157); both mss. have a MidIr. phonetic spelling for OIr. *in fecht-so*. **ol-sí:** H has the *lectio difficilior*; the L form is probably an attempt to clarify the more ambiguous form in H (note that one form with short *-i* is attested in the glosses *MI.90^b12*); **Imm-dergthae:** in both mss. *imm-derga* ‘reddens’ behaves as a simple verb, with *no* placed before the ipf. ind. pass. sg.; I have restored the OIr. compound form. **a cenn:** both mss. use the masc. art. with *cenn*; I have restored the neut. art. **ind ala:** L has the MidIr. form *ind ara*, whereas H has the superior reading with OIr. *ind ala*; *ind ala* normally accompanies a noun (see *GOI*, 248, 308), it is likely therefore that, as in L, *fecht* followed *ind ala* in the original; I have therefore adopted *fecht*. **no bántac:** the verbal form in both mss. is ipf. pass. sg. of *bánaid* ‘turns pale’; in L *ro* has been confused for *no* (see *SnaG*, 280). *dano* appears in H only; as there is no strong case for adopting it I have followed L. **in fecht n-aili:** H has the better reading with *nas.* following acc. *fecht*; I have restored historical final *-i* (acc. sg. fem. *io/ iā* stem flexion, as in H (coincidentally at least)).

[253-4] ‘Cid daas in fer, a ben?’ ol Conall.

‘Ro-fetar-sa ón immurgu’, ol in ben ‘immarbág do-ralae etarru ⁊ Aithirne.

L Cid dás in cend a ben ar conall. Ro-fetar-sa immurgu ar in ben. IMmarbág do-rala eturro ⁊ aithirne.

H Cid dás an fer a ben ol conull Ro-fedur-sa on immurgu ol in ben IMarbaig do-rala etorra ⁊ aithirne

Cid daas: both mss. have a form with hiatus contracted; I have restored the historical hiatus form (cf. **is ed daas in fer** ll.255-6 below, where both mss. have the disyllabic form). Thurneysen (*GOI*, 478) cites the ex. at l.255-6 below (from L), the subst. vb. is used idiomatically in the sense ‘agitates, vexes’, the antecedent (in this case the neut. pron.) indicates the cause of the anger. **in fer:** the H reading is preferable, as the present form must be taken with **etarru ⁊ Aithirne** in the next line, i.e. it was the man and not the bodyless head who had the dispute with Aithirne (cf. l.256 below where L again has *in cend* and H again has *in fer*). **ón:** In H only; its inclusion adds strengthens the narrative i.e. that this is a subject on which Búan can claim some

authority as in ‘that (the answer to Conall’s question) I do know’; I have adopted it therefore.

[254-6] **As-rubart-som nacham bérad-sa óenfer di Ultaib. Comrac imma bréithir iarum, is ed daas in fer’.**

L At-rubairt-seom nacham bérad-sa oenfer dultaib. Comrac imma brethir iarum iss *ed* daas in cend.

H adubrairt-seom nacham berad-sa oenfer do ulltaib comrac ima breithir iarum iss ed doass in fer

As-rubart-som: both mss. display late features; L has a MidIr. form with petrified neut. pron. (see *EIV*, 172-3); H has MidIr. *adub-* for *atrub-* with omission of proclitic *ro* (see *EIV*, 196-7) and both have palatal final *rt* (see *EIV*, 235). I have adopted the L reading, restoring the historical form. **nacham bérad-sa:** both mss. have the 3sg. cond., which is used as in l.68 above. **di Ultaib:** the L form shows the MidIr. tendency to elide the vowel of the prepp. *do* and *di* before words beginning with a vowel (see *SnaG*, 236). **is ed daas in fer:** see note on ll.253-4 above; I have again adopted the H reading with *in fer* (see also note ll.253-4 above).

[257-8] **‘Tair-siu cuccum-sa’, ol Conall ‘issin carpat’.
‘An frim’, ol-sí ‘coro chaín mo chéile’.**

L Tair-siu chucum-sa ar conall issin carpat. an frim or-si coro chainiur mo cheile.

H Tair-siu cucum-sa ol conall isan carbad An frium ol-si-se coro cainiur mo celi

cuccum-sa: L has a MidIr. form with lenited initial (see *SnaG*, 238, 326). **frim:** both of the ms. forms are found in OIr. (see *GOI*, 515); I have adopted the L reading. **ol-sí:** it is difficult to say whether the L form without the emph. pron. or the H form with it is the original reading; I have adopted the L form as in similar doubtful cases; I

have normalized the spelling with *i* in line with the selected reading at 1.251 above.

coro cháin: both mss. have a later form, whereby the OIr. 1sg. dep. ending has been adopted in place of the historical *ā*-subj. endingless 1sg. (see *SnaG*, 308-9); I have restored the historical form.

At-recht iarum a faíd guil eissi, co closs co Temraig ⁊ co Ailinn ⁊ fos-ceird dara cenn os-sí marb.

L Tuargaib iarum a foíd guil esti. co clos co temraig. ⁊ co alind. ⁊ fos-ceird dara cend ⁊ sí marb.

H At-racht iarum a faid nguil essi co closs co temraig ⁊ co hallind Fus-ceird dara cend is hi marb

At-recht: L has 3sg. prot. augm. pret. *Tuargaib* in independent position; the augm. form does not fit the context; the H form shows the MidIr. phonetic development *re>ra* (see *SnaG*, 233) in the 3sg. pret. of *at-reig* ‘arises’; on the basis of a similar phrase at 1.114 above, it would appear that the H reading is closer to the original; I have therefore adopted it restoring the historical form. **faíd guil:** this is the subj. of **At-recht** ‘She wailed’ lit. ‘her cry of lamentation arose from her’; the nas. following nom. sg. fem. **faíd** in H is erroneous. **eissi:** L has a MidIr. form with a dental (see *SnaG*, 326). **co Temair:** acc. of *Tem(u)ir* ‘Tara, Co. Meath’ (*Tem(u)ir*, originally an *i*-stem, adopted guttural flexion within the OIr. period see *GOI*, 204). **co Ailinn:** ie. ‘Knockaulen, Co. Kildare’ (see *DIL* s.v. *Ailenn*). Hogan (1910) has two separate entries s.v. *alend*, *alenn* and s.v. *allend*; both refer to the same place. **fos-ceird:** the 3sg. fem. infixed pron. is reflexive i.e. ‘she throws herself’. **os-sí:** the L form with compendium for *ocus* before the stressed nominative form of the fem. personal pron. does not preclude reading OIr. *os* here, and indeed the H form with *is* may simply be a late orthographical representation of *os*.

[260] **Atá a fert forsint sligi .i. Coll Búaine, in coll ro ás tría fert.**

L Ata a fert *forsint* sligi .i. Coll buaná. in coll ro ás triana fert.

H Ata a fert forant slighe .i. coll buana. an coll da ás triana fert-se .i. buan a hainm-si

forsint: I have adopted the L form with *s* in line with **forsin** 1.111 above. **Coll Búaine:** ‘Buan’s Hazel’; Hogan (1910) places it ‘nr. Clongowes College, N. of Clane’; I have restored the *ā*-stem gen. sg. **ro ás:** H has a MidIr. form with *da* (*do*) replacing *ro* (see *SnaG*, 280). **tría:** both mss. have a MidIr. form of *trí* with *n* + a 3sg. fem. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330); I have restored the historical form. **fert:** the lenited initial in L following a fem. poss. adj. is clearly an error; I have adopted the L form without the emph. pron. At ll.240-1 (see note) above L names Búan, H does not; L therefore has no explanation of *Coll Buana* whereas H does .i. *buan a hainm-si*. I have adopted the L reading.

[261-2] **‘Dot-uc ass a gillai!’ ol Conall.**

‘Fo-réimdim a cenn do brith lim’ ol in gillae.

L Dot-uc ass a gillai ar conall. Fo-réimdim in cend do²³ breith lim or in gilla.

H Dot-uc as a gilli ol connall fo-rémthim an cend do breith on ol in gilli

Fo-réimdim: H writes *th* for lenited *d*. **a cenn:** both mss. have the masc. form of the def. art.; I have emended these, replacing the neut. art. **lim:** the L reading is preferable; H with the demonstrative *ón* reads ‘I am unable to do that, to take the head with me’.

²³ [d]o.

[263-4] **Gat a inchinn ass, ol Conall ʔ imbir claideb fair ʔ tuc a inchinn lat ʔ cummaisc áel fair co ndernae liathróit déʔ.**

L Gat a inchind ass or conall. ʔ immir claideb fair. ʔ tuc a inchind latt. & cummaisc áel air. co nderna liathroit de.

H Gat a incind as ol conall ʔ imbir claidemh fair ʔ tuc lat a incind ʔ cummaisc áel fuirri co ndernai liathroid di

a inchinn: I take *a* to be the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. in this and in the next occurrence of the form. **imbir:** I have adopted the orthographically conservative spelling in H (this is not intended to reflect the phonetic reality of 9th Cent. OIr.; *mb*>*mm* had occurred by 800 A.D. see *GOI*, 238, and editorial policy). **fair:** in discussing the formation of *inchinn*, an *i*-stem, Thurneysen (*GOI*, 219) does not give its gender in OIr.; *DIL* s.v. *inchinn* has ‘f. ? Earlier n.’; the following ex. cited s.v. *inchinn* ‘no gatta a n-inchind assa cendaib ... Death tales 4 § 1’ is an example of its neut. gender in OIr.; *fair* in both mss. should be taken as the 3sg. neut. prepositional pron. of *for*. **fair:** in this case L has the same form as before but showing loss of the initial *f*; the H form reflects the later fem. gender of *inchinn* in the use of the MidIr. fem. prepositional pron. *fuirri*. **co ndernae:** I have restored the historical spelling in the ending of 2sg. prot. augm. pres. subj. of *do-gní*. **dé:** L apparently has the 3sg. neut. prepositional pron. of *de*; the H form is either the 3sg. fem. form *dí* with the length mark absent, or it reflects the original neut. form as in L but showing confusion of *di* and *de*.

[265] **Do-gníther ón ʔ fácabar a cenn ocon mnaí ocus lotar-som co ráncatar Emain.**

L Do-gníther²⁴ ón ʔ facabar in cend acon mnaí. & lotar-som co rancatar emain.

H Do-gnither on ʔ facabur an cend ocon mnaí & lotur-som co rancatar eomain machae

²⁴ Do gní[th]er.

a cenn: both mss. have the masc. form of the def. art.; I have restored the neut. art.

Emain: it would be difficult to say which reading belongs to the original; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases.

1.4. The name

[265-6] **Ba moídméach immurgu la Ultu rí Laigen do marbad dóib.**

L Ba maídméach immurgu la ulto rí lagen do marbad doib.

H Ba maidméach immurgu la hullta ri ulad do marbad doib.

Ba moídméach: *maidem* and *moídem* are variant spellings of *moídem* ‘boasting’ in OIr. (see *GOI*, 42); *moídméach* has the concrete sense ‘a cause of boasting’ (see *DIL* s.v. *moídméach*). **rí Lagen:** H has an error here; the ms. has the contracted form *ul-*, which may indicate that the common ancestor had *l-*, which was expanded as *lagen* on its transcription into L and mistranscribed as *ul-* into H.

1.5.

[267-8] **Is dé sin trá a-tá Cúairt Aithirni ⁊ Marbad Meisse Gegrai do Chonall Chernach ⁊ Cath Étair.**

L IS de sin trá a-tá cuaird athirni. ⁊ marbad mes gegrai do chonall chernach
⁊ cath etair.

H IS do sin ro boe cuuairt aithirne ⁊ marbad mes gegrae do conall.

trá a-tá: both mss. have the idiomatic use of the subst. vb. + the prep. *di* which means ‘x is named from’ (see *DIL* s.v. *de, di* (142 l.13 ff.)), the prep. (+ demonstrative *sin* in this case) refers to the event(s) which are the basis of the name(s); H has 3sg. augm. pret. *ro boe* used in the sense of the pret.; I have adopted the L reading, including *trá*.

Cúairt: on this normalization see note on 1.4 above). **Chonall Chernach ⁊ Cath**

Étair: It would be difficult to say which of the ms. readings belonged to the original.

There is nothing to suggest that the material which appears in L but not in H is a later addition; I have therefore adopted the L reading.

1.6. The name

1.7. The name

APPENDICES

I. Additional material in L²⁵

I.1. This marginal verse appears at the top of 117^a

1. Ar ba dercaga a scath
is de do-gairther Cloen-ath
is Conall Cernach iar sain
do-gairther *mac* Amargin
2. Conall Cloen do-ringni echt
sochla saer ci .. rt
a clo ... e de
o ro bi Mes Gegrae

I.2. 1. For its shape was...,
Hence is Crooked Ford so called
And Conall Cernach after that,
The son of Amargein is called.

2. Conall Cernach has committed a slaughter,
Renowned and noble...
...from him,
After he slayed Mess Gegrai.

²⁵ The ms. is particularly difficult to read here; it has been necessary to rely on the diplomatic. ed. for much of these two verses. The illegible portions, which are supplied by the diplomatic ed. are enclosed in square brackets.

Ar ba [dercaga a scath], i[s de] dogairther [Cloenath], [is Conall Cernach iar sain], dogairther [*mac* Amargin], Conall Cl[oen doringni echt], [sochla] saer ci .. rt, a clo ... e de, [o ro bi] Mes Gegrae

I.3. Metre:

The metre is *deibide*, with the first verse belonging to the *deibide scáilte fota* type ($7^x 7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$; $7^x 7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$).

1. $7^1 7^2 7^1 7^3$
2. $7^1 ? ? 6^1$ (see textual notes below).

Metrical features:

Rhyme: *rinn* $\bar{\text{r}}$ *airdrinn*.

1a:b. *scáth*: Clōen-āth

c:d. *sain*: Amargin

2c:d. *de*: Gegrae

Alliteration:

1c. *Conall* Cernach

2a. *Conall* Cloen

2b. *sochla* saer

Dating:

Certain internal linguistic features suggest that this poem is a MidIr. composition, although there are no definite cases fixed by rhyme.

1c:d. *sain*: Amargin

In MidIr. the form *sain* with non-palatal *s* occurs as a variant of the OIr. demonstrative *sin*. Although it is a MidIr. form itself, its rhyming here with *Amargin* is acceptable by OIr. standards. Carney (1964, xxxii) explains: 'When a rhyme is sought for a monosyllable consisting of consonant(s) + vowel + consonant(s) there is concern only for the quality of the final consonant, and not for the quality of the first.'

2c:d. de: Gegrae

The 3sg. masc./ neut. prepositional pron. *dé*, rhymes here with unstressed *-(a)e*; however, we cannot be sure of the Original flexion of the second element in this name (see note on l.60).

The form *do-ringni* (2a.) has the consonant group *-ngn-* which appears in *do-gní* in MidIr. (see *SnaG*, 325).

I.4. Textual notes:

1a. *dercaga*: not listed in *DIL*. From the context this is most likely an adj. meaning ‘bent, crooked’.

Cloen-ath: O’Rahilly (*Ériu* 13, 176) has argued, in the context of vowel shortening in placenames with *áth* as their second element, that *Clóenad* ‘...may be explained as a compound of *cloen* and *áth*, i.e. ‘slanting ford’’. The present ex. would appear to be in agreement with the above etymology, especially as the second element rhymes with *scath* i.e. *scáth* ‘reflexion, image’. Of course *scāth* would also make rhyme with *-ad*.

2b. Parts of this line and the next are illegible in the ms. (the dots represent missing syllables); *sochla saer* counts for three syllables, the word beginning *ci* makes four and the final consonant group *rt* must have been preceded by *é*, or another long vowel, as it rhymes with *echt* i.e. *écht* ‘a slaying, slaughter’. This leaves two syllables that cannot be made out at all.

2c. *a*: this is either a 3sg./ pl. poss. pron., or it the prep. a ‘out of’ (perhaps *a Clóenad?*). Four syllables can be made out in this line; the prepositional pron. *de* is the only form which yields some meaning.

2d. *ro bi*: As it stands this line has only six syllables.

II. Additional material in H

II.1. The following poem with introduction appears at the end of H after *TÉ*.

ARaili ben tsidhe ro *fiarfaig* do Conall an aithiusc-sa an tan boi ac immtuarcain ocus
Mes Gegrae for Cassan Cloenta

1. A Conaill *maic* Aimirgin
cia cetni ro mill ndoman.
Eua ben ar senathar
ro mill ar Demon ndobur.
2. An Conaill *maic* Aimirgen.
ciao cetgul ro cuala.
gol *ingene* Mughæde.
etir line is leo-thuagha.
3. A Conaill *maic* Aimirgin
ciao²⁶ cettfher do marbais
Fúata Feta feramail
ro marbais a Fid Garbrais
4. A Conaill *mec* Aimirgein.
indis duind scelai derba.
ní tegim don casan-sa
co rucar cend Mis Gegrae
5. Fir in tesd ad-cualamar
ort ag raith comhrac Conaill.
cech gaisced do-rigni-so.
ferrde do chiall a Conaill. A *conaill*

²⁶ in margin with insertion marks.

II.2.

A certain otherworldly woman sought this utterance from Conall when he and Mess Gegrai were striking each other at Cassán Clóenta.

1. O Conall son of Amargein,
Who first devastated the world?
Eve, the wife of our ancestor,
Devastated it on account of the wicked Devil.
2. O Conall son of Amargein,
What was the first cry you heard?
The cry of Mugaede's daughter,
Between the battle-line and hacking-axes?
3. O Conall son of Amargein,
Who was the first man you killed?
Quiet, manly Fúata,
I killed in Fid Garbrais
4. O Conall son of Amargein,
Tell us sure stories!
I am not going from this path,
Until I may take the head of Mess Gegrai.
5. The account we heard is true,
Of you, at the relating of Conall's conflict.
Every feat that you have accomplished,
Your wisdom is better for it O Conall. O Conall.

II.3. Metre:

The metre is *Aí freisligi* 7³ 7² 7³ 7²

Metrical features:

Rhyme:

There is end rhyme in each stanza between b:d

1. ndoman: ndobur
2. cuala: thuaga
3. marbais: Garbrais
4. derba: Gegrae
5. Conaill: Conaill (gen. sg. rhyming with voc. sg.)

Alliteration:

- 1d. (ar + len.) *demon ndobur*
- 2b. *cetgul (ro) cuala*
- d. *line leo*
- 3c. *Fúata feta feramail*
- 5b. *comraic Conaill*
- d. *chiall Conaill*

Elision:

- 2d. the vowel of *is* is elided; this is fixed by syllable count.

Dúnad:

This poem has a *dúnad* of the *saigid* type.

Dating:

On the basis of internal linguistic features, especially those fixed by rhyme, we can be reasonably confident that this poem is a MidIr. composition.

MidIr. forms fixed by rhyme:

1. ndoman: ndobur

These forms retain their historical orthography, but for them to rhyme the vowel in the final closed syllables of both words must have been reduced to schwa.

4. derba: gegrae

The *o*-stem acc. pl. *derba* ended in an *a* in OIr. The second element in the name *Mess Gegrai* would have ended in either *-(a)i* or *-(a)e* in OIr. (see note on l.60). For these words to rhyme, the vowels in the final open syllables must have been reduced to schwa.

MidIr. forms fixed by syllable count:

New MidIr. personal endings are found in 1sg. pres. ind. *ni tegim* (4c), whereby the general ending *-im* has replaced the historical endingless form *-tíag* (see *SnaG*, 292); and in 1sg. pres. subj. *co rucar* (4d), whereby the old 1sg. dep. ending has spread to the historical endingless form *-ruc* (see *SnaG*, 308-9).

MidIr. forms not fixed by rhyme:

Verbal forms:

cetni ro mill (1b); in MidIr. adverbial *cétna* is found before dependent and independent verbal forms replacing the OIr. construction with *ceta-* (see *SnaG*, 263).

In the above ex. and in *ro mill* (1d), *do marbais* (3b) and *ro marbais* (3d), perfective forms are used with the sense of the preterite.

Historical preverbs have been replaced by MidIr. forms in *do marbais* (3b) (see *SnaG*, 280) and *ad-cualamar* (5a).

indis (4b) 2sg. ipv.; from the new MidIr. verb *in(d)isid* based on the verbal noun *in(d)isiu*, of *in-fét* (see *EIV*, 193).

Other forms:

Non-historical hiatus is found in *ciaa* (2b, 3b) (see *SnaG*, 231), it provides a seventh syllable here.

The MidIr. voc. sg. of *mac* is found written in full as *mec* (4a).

Late prepositional forms are found in MidIr. *duind* (4b), with palatal final (see *SnaG*, 326) and E.Mod.Ir. *ag* (5b).

II.4. Textual notes:

- 1d. *dobur*: ‘dark, unclean’ is used here in the sense ‘dire, dark-minded’ (see *DIL* s.v. *dobur*; the present ex. is cited).
- 2a. *An*: this is clearly an error for the voc. part. *a*.
- 2c. (*ingene*) *Mughæde*: I can find no other occurrence of this personal name.
- 2d. *line*: I take this to be *líne* ‘line, line of battle’.
leothuagha: this appears to be a compd. of *léod* ‘hacking’ and *túag* ‘axe’ i.e. ‘a hacking axe’; the present form then is acc. pl..
- 3b. *ciaa*: In the left margin with insertion marks.
- 3d. *Fúata Feta*: I can find no other occurrence of this personal name.
ro marbais: the 1sg. non-palatal ending *-as* (OIr. *-us*) is clearly the intended form; this form must have been influenced by 2sg. *do marbais* in 3a.
Fid Garbrais: Hogan (1910) has no listing for *Fid* and *Garbras* used together. note however, s.v. *garbros*; *rí Garbrois*, *Ui*; *N. of Benbulben* in *N. Sli...*’.
- 5b. *ag raith*: I take this to be the vn. *rád* ‘saying, relating’ (with *-th* for final *d*).
- 5d. *chiall*: As it stands this line reads ‘your wisdom is better for it O Conall!’. I suggest that *ciall* is an error for *cáil* ‘reputation’ i.e. ‘your reputation is better for it’.

III. List of orthographical variations in H

Previous studies of the orthography of this ms. have been carried out by Stokes (1891, 53-56), Windisch (*IT*, 109-10) and Hull (1968, 2). Many of the features noted by them are present here, although this text does not deviate from what is classed as normal orthography to the same extent as others in the ms. The 'abnormal' elements of the orthographical system used in this text are not applied uniformly and a 'normal' equivalent can be found in all cases, e.g. the personal name which is normally spelt Leborcham is variously spelt: leborchum (with normal *b* for *b/v*) 123, lepurcham (with abnormal *p* for *b/v*) 95 and leuharcam (with abnormal *uh* for *b/v*) 105. In the following collection consonants and vowels are treated separately and the vowels have been further separated into stressed and unstressed etc.

Consonants:

b for final *g*/*γ*/: ollcathaib 184

c for internal *g*/*γ*/: laicnibh 65

ch for final *g*/*γ*/: rich 206

cch for lenited *g*: ricch 28

d for *th*: comrighfidir 223

dh for final *th*: maidh 63

gh for *ch*: cluighi 226

mb for *m* /*m*/: domb 223

nd for *n* in *nas.*: i nd-oenlo 96

p for *b/v*: concopar 97

ph for *b/b*/: do-phir 212

t for *d/δ*/: nat 40

th for *ch*: ethach 32

uh for b /v/: leuharcam 105

lenition of voiceless fricatives is frequently unmarked: docom 46, bratir 61

lenition of voiced fricatives is frequently marked: co rragbhadh 85, maighti 13, claidemh 263

Vowels in closed stressed syllables:

eu for e (ea is normal later): feur 36

o for u: moir 105

oa for á: foailti 62

Vowels in open stressed syllables:

aie for aí: gaie 179

ie for ía: cie 43

Vowels in closed unstressed syllables:

au for a: lepurcaum 185

ei for e: ceteirn 175

eo for e: aldeomh 19

i for e: lecidh 90

i for iu: buiridh 112

ie for ía: ier 28

io for e: enioch 30

iu for e: Fo-llingiudh 46

o for a: connocht 5

o for u: a n-eter 86

u for a: Co n-acotur 83

Vowels in open unstressed syllables including deviations from OIr. standard which are, however, normal later:

ai for ae in io-stem nom. sg.: arai 190

e for i in io-stem gen. sg.: usce 193

e for iu in io-stem dat. sg.: usce 14

i for ae: co n-aci 50

i for e: luidi 4

ii for e: sochaidii 120

ie for i in io-stem gen. sg.: uscie 13

o for ae in io-stem gen. pl.: ungo 50

u for ai in io-stem gen. sg.: daltu 113

Common/ normal later orthography is also shown:

in consonants:

d for internal t /d/: fidir 42

dh confused with g /γ/: aighedh 30

g for c /g/: no legthe 88

hypercorrect ld for ll: gildi 13

c > g /g/ in unstressed words: Gona 8

in vowels:

final a or o for historical final u in acc. pl.: forra 41, na heocha 199, la hulto 88

ea for unstressed e (i.e. non-palatal glide written): tetbuilleach 28

eu/ eo before ch in stressed words: neuch 42

a for i: am (-soi) 209

Note the following sham archaisms:

3sg. pres. ind. of as-beir: es-peurt 139

to for do (in rosc passage): To-fuarcabath 178 (also with -th in perf. pass. sg.)

(in prose): To-n-aidlend 206

The definite article:

The initial vowel is almost always written *a*. This is also frequent in forms of the prep. *i* 'in, into' (cf. also *i* for *a* in the preverb *ad it-condurc* 142).

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GLOSSARY

- a'**, voc. part.: *a Aithirni* 8, *a gillai* 13, 15 *et passim*.
- a'** 'his, its' 3sg. masc. poss. pron.: (masc.) ~ 12, 18, 31 *et passim*; (neut.) ~ 16; (see also s.v. various prepp.).
- a** 'her', 3sg. fem. poss. pron.: ~ 31, 95, 95 *et passim*; (see also s.v. various prepp.).
- a** 'from', prep. + dat.: ~ 4, 230; (pronominal forms) 3sg. masc. *ass* 112; 3sg. fem. *eissi* 259; 3sg. neut. *ass* 263; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. *asmo* 15; 3sg. masc. *assa* 12, 36, 151 *et passim*; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. *assind áth* 213; dat. sg. fem. *assin choicrích* 241.
- a n-** 'their', 3pl. poss. pron.: ~ 41, 61, 61 *et passim*; (see also s.v. various prepp.).
- a n-** 'when', temporal conj.: *a mboí* 193.
- a n-**, 'that which': *a ndo-bered* 92; (+ *ro*) *anru boí* 138.
- a n-**, rel. part.: (see s.v. various prepp.).
- aub** 'river', fem. *n*-stem: nom. sg. *ind aub* 225; gen. sg. *inna habann* 232
dat. sg. *íarsind abainn* 193.
- acaldam** 'addressing', fem. *ā*-stem: dat. sg. *oca acaldaim-si* 139, *ocot acaldaim* 235, 236 *et passim*.
- acht** 'but, except, except that' conjunction: ~ 29, 41, 68 *et passim*.
- ad-aig** 'drives': 3sg. pres. ind. at-n-aig (+ proleptic neut. infixed pron.) 231.
- adaig** 'night', fem. *ī*-stem: nom. sg. *ind adaig* 30, ~ 30; acc. sg. *eter dé* 7
aidchi 'by day and by night' 100; temporal dat. *dadaig* 'on the (following) night' 183; temporal dat. *ind aidchi sin* 29, 73.

ad-cí ‘sees’:	3sg. pret. <i>co n-accae-side</i> 49, <i>co n-accae</i> 193, <i>nad n-accae</i> 40 <i>et passim</i> ; 3pl. pret. <i>co n-accatar</i> 83; 1sg. augm. pret. (+ 3sg. masc. Class B infixed pron.) <i>at-condarc-sa</i> 142, (+ 3sg. neut. Class B infixed pron.) <i>at-chondarc</i> 176, (+ 3pl. Class B infixed pron.) <i>ata-condarc</i> 169 <i>et passim</i> ; 2sg. augm. pret. <i>-acca</i> 140; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>ad-condaire</i> 209
ad-cota ‘obtains’:	pret. pass. sg. <i>nícon étad</i> 91.
ad-fét ‘relates’:	3sg. ipf. (+ 3sg. neut. Class B infixed pron.) <i>at-féded</i> 97.
áel ‘lime’, <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 263.
agad ‘face’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>imma agaid</i> 14, <i>im agaid</i> 76, <i>fria agaid</i> 206, (in phr.) <i>inna agaid</i> ‘before him’ 33; gen. sg. <i>aigthe</i> 13; dat. sg. <i>i n-agaid</i> 49; acc. pl. <i>aigthea</i> 41.
ail ‘insult, blemish’, fem. guttural stem:	nom. sg. ~ 41, 65; nom. pl. <i>ailchea</i> 38; acc. pl. <i>ailchea</i> 34.
ail ‘rock’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	~ 165 (see textual note).
áil ‘wish’:	(in phr. <i>is a. do x</i> ‘x desires’) nom. sg. ~ 9, 58.
aile ‘other’, <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	<i>ind ala ... aili</i> ‘the one ... the other’ 252.
áilges ‘request’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>áilgis</i> 39.
áilgesach ‘importunate’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(epithet) nom. sg. masc. ~ 2.
aimles ‘harm’, masc.:	dat. sg. <i>dít aimles-so</i> 70.
ainem ‘blemish’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 221; nom. pl. <i>ainmea</i> 233.
ainm ‘name’, neut. <i>n</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 2, <i>a ainm-sem</i> 232.
airbríathrad ‘ordering’ (see textual note):	dat. sg. <i>oc airbríathrad</i> 104.
airecht ‘assembly’, fem.:	acc. sg. ~ 48; gen. sg. <i>inna airechta</i> 46.
airgal ‘line of battle’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. dual <i>in dí airgail</i> 117.
ais ‘back’:	(in phr.) <i>dara ais</i> ‘backwards’ 237.
aislinge ‘vision’, masc.:	(in compd. with <i>droch</i>) acc. sg. <i>drochaislinge</i> 198.

aithech , masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	(in phr. with <i>tech</i>) :gen. sg. <i>aithig tige</i> 'husband' 31.
Aithirne , proper name:	nom. ~ 2, 10, 28 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. ~ 24, 30, <i>fri</i> <i>Aithirne</i> 62; voc. <i>a Aithirni</i> 8, 67; gen. <i>ind</i> <i>Aithirni</i> 7, <i>Aithirni</i> 12, 84; dat. sg. <i>do Aithirniu</i> 21, 79.
alaile 'other', <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	(as masc. subst.) dat. sg. <i>alailiu</i> 128; (as neut. subst.) acc. sg. <i>a n-aill</i> 81.
áilind 'beautiful', <i>i</i> -stem:	compar. <i>áildiu</i> 127; superl. <i>áildem</i> 19;
all 'cliff', <i>o</i> -stem?:	acc. sg. ~ 88.
all amae 'indeed', interjection:	~ 16.
ám 'truly, indeed':	~ 70.
amal 'as', conjunction:	~ 169, 176, 209.
amein 'so, then', interjection:	~ 214.
amlabar 'dumb':	pl. pred. <i>amlabair</i> 61.
ammus 'attack', masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 34.
amnas 'cruel', <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. masc. ~ 2; pred. ~ 116.
án 'glorious', <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	acc. pl. masc. <i>ána</i> 140.
anaid 'stays, remains':	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 73; 2sg. ipv. <i>an</i> 258; 3sg. pret. <i>anais</i> 189; 3pl. pres. subj. <i>conna hanat</i> 66; 1sg. fut. <i>ní ainiub-sa</i> 70.
anair 'from the east', adv. of place:	~ 111, 213.
an-túaid 'from, to the north', adv. of place:	~ 80, 126, 241.
ar 'for', conjunction:	~ 34, 105, 118 <i>et passim</i> .
ar' 'before, on account of', prep. + dat./ acc.:	(+ dat.) <i>ar Ulaib</i> 67; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>ara belaib</i> 'before him' 212; 3sg. fem. <i>ara</i> <i>ciunn</i> 'before her' 98.
ar n- 'our', 1pl. poss. pron.:	~ 8.
ár 'slaughter', neut.? <i>o</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>áir</i> 181; dat. pl. <i>íar n-áraib</i> 180.
ara n- 'so that', conjunction:	(+ neg.) <i>arna</i> 31, 33, 34 <i>et passim</i> .
arae 'charioteer', masc. dental stem:	nom. sg. ~ 190, <i>int arae</i> 191.

ard ‘high, noble’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	175 (see textual note); (see also s.v. <i>rígdae</i>).
ásaid ‘grows’:	3sg. augm. pret. <i>ro ás</i> 260.
asaítid ‘brings to bed’:	augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>ro asaítid</i> 30.
as-beir ‘says’:	3pl. pres. ind. <i>as-berat</i> 100, <i>as-berat-som</i> 110; 3sg. pret. <i>as-bert</i> 53, <i>as-bert-si</i> 139; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>as-rubart-som</i> 254-5.
as-oilci ‘opens’:	2sg. ipv. <i>oslaic</i> 208.
ass ‘milk’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>dia n-ass</i> 88.
atá ‘is’, substantive vb.:	2sg. pres. ind. <i>cid oca taí</i> ‘what ails you?’ 197, <i>cía taí</i> ‘who are you?’ 242; 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 10, 52, 101 <i>et passim</i> ; (conjunct form) <i>ní fil</i> 68; 3sg. pres. ind (+ 3pl. Class A infixes pron.) <i>ma nod fil</i> ‘if they are’ 8; rel. <i>fil</i> 10, 54 (see textual note); 3sg. pres. ind. rel. <i>daas</i> ‘vexes, agitates’ 253, 256; 1pl. pres. ind. <i>at-taam</i> 215; 3pl. pres. ind. <i>at-taat</i> 219; 3sg. ipf. <i>no bíd</i> 100, 101, 104; 3pl. ipf. <i>ní bítis</i> 34; 3sg. pret. <i>boí</i> 2, 3, <i>co mboí</i> 32 <i>et passim</i> ; 3pl. pret. <i>co mbátar</i> 79, 80; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>anru boí</i> 138, <i>ro boí</i> 139, 206, <i>ní rabae</i> 87-8, <i>i rrabae</i> 43; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro bátar</i> 19, 94, <i>ro bátar-side</i> 124 <i>et passim</i> , <i>i rrabatar</i> 49-50; 3sg. pres. subj. (+ 2sg. Class A infixes pron.) <i>rot bé</i> 217-8; 3sg. fut. <i>bieid</i> 77; 3sg. fut. rel. <i>bia-sa</i> 223; 3sg. fut. (+ 2sg. Class A infixes pron.) <i>rot bia</i> 11, 67, 72, (+ neg. + 2sg. Class A infixes pron.) <i>nicot biad-so</i> 67; 3pl. cond. <i>co mbetis</i> 39.
at-baill ‘dies’:	3pl. ipf. <i>co n-epiltis</i> 90.
áth ‘ford’ masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>issin n-áth</i> 213; gen. sg. <i>ind átha</i> 230; dat. sg. <i>assind áth</i> 213.
athair ‘father’, masc. <i>r</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 62; gen. sg. <i>m’athar-sa</i> 58.
athgabál , fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	(in phr. with <i>fo-ácaib</i> ‘leaves possessions’) acc. sg. <i>athgabáil</i> 35.

athgoíte ‘severely wounded’, <i>ioliā</i> -stem:	nom. pl. masc. <i>athgoíti</i> 89.
at-reig ‘rises’:	3sg. pret. <i>at-recht</i> 112, 259.
augestar (3sg. pret.):	159 (see textual note).
aurdirc ‘renowned’:	~ 163 (see s.v. <i>insce</i>).
baile ‘place, home’, <i>io</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 43; dat. sg. <i>dia bailiu</i> 189.
bairgen ‘loaf’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	gen. pl. ~ 98.
ballderg ‘red-limbed’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. masc. <i>eter ... Echaig mballderg</i> 25.
bánaid ‘turns pale’:	ipf. pass. sg. <i>no bántae</i> 252.
bannae ‘drop’, <i>io</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 230; acc. sg. ~ 88, 90.
bantrocht ‘company of women, female retinue’, neut.:	dat. sg. <i>cona bantrocht</i> 241.
bé ‘woman’, neut.:	voc. sg. <i>a bé</i> 141.
bec ‘small, little’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(as neut. <i>o</i> -stem subst.) acc. sg. <i>a mbec</i> 205.
bedg ‘leap’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 115.
béim ‘cutting, striking’, neut. <i>n</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>oc béim</i> 112.
beirid ‘carries, takes’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 229; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>ruc</i> 185; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>rucad</i> 56, 94; 2sg. augm. pres. subj. <i>co rucae</i> 227, <i>onna rucae</i> 8; 3sg. augm. pres. subj. (+ <i>co n-</i> + 3sg. fem. Class B infixed pron.) <i>conda ruca</i> 70; 3sg. ipf. subj. <i>onna rucad</i> 104; ipf. subj. pass. sg. <i>arna ructhae</i> 31; 3sg. cond. (+ 3sg. fem. infixed pron.) <i>noda bérad</i> 68, (+ <i>ná</i> (> <i>nach-</i>) + 1sg. Class C infixed pron.) <i>nacham bérad-sa</i> 255.
bél ‘mouth’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. pl. <i>fora béolu</i> 232; dat. pl. <i>ara bélaib</i> 212.
ben ‘woman’, fem.:	nom. sg. <i>in ben</i> 30, 67, 73 <i>et passim</i> ; voc. sg. <i>a ben</i> 242, 253; acc. sg. <i>in mnaí</i> 3, <i>mnaí</i> 36, 63 <i>et passim</i> ; dat. sg. <i>ocon mnaí</i> 265; nom. pl. <i>mná</i> 82, 234; gen. pl. <i>cócait mban</i> 240; dat. pl. <i>di mnáib</i> 74, <i>do mnáib</i> 123, 185.

benaid ‘strikes’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 229; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>ro bíth</i> 166.
bendacht ‘blessing’, fem. <i>ā/n</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>bendachtin</i> 81.
béo ‘living, alive’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 142.
béoaigidir ‘makes alive, vivifies’:	3sg. pret. rel. <i>béogestar</i> 160.
bern ‘gap’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 101; dat. sg. <i>assa beirn</i> 151.
bertaid ‘brandishes’:	3pl. pret. <i>bertsait</i> 171.
beus , used with verbs in the sense ‘regularly’:	~ 93.
biad ‘food’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>a biad-som</i> 89; acc. sg. <i>cen biad</i> 86.
blíadain ‘year’, fem. <i>ī</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>co cenn mblíadnae</i> 74; gen. pl. <i>mac secht mblíadnae</i> 107.
bó ‘cow’, fem.:	nom. pl. <i>baí</i> 87; gen. pl. ~ 87.
bodar ‘deaf’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pl. pred. <i>buidir</i> 61.
brat ‘booty, bondage’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>immin mbrait</i> 77; gen. sg. <i>a mbraite</i> 83; dat. sg. <i>i mbrait</i> 82.
bráth ‘judgement, doomsday’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	(in adverbial phrase) <i>co bráth</i> ‘til doomsday, forever’ 17, 30, 41 <i>et passim</i> .
bráthair ‘brother’, masc. <i>r</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 58, 61; nom. pl. <i>bráithair</i> 219; gen. pl. <i>bráithre</i> 186.
bratt ‘mantle’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i mbrutt</i> 57.
brétaithir ‘breaks’:	3pl. pret. <i>brétsatar</i> 148.
breth ‘carrying, judgement’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>do brith</i> 10, 82, <i>dia mbrith</i> 75 <i>et passim</i> ; gen. pl. ~ 56.
brethach ‘judicial’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. fem. ~ 21 (see textual note).
bríathar ‘word’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>imma bréithir</i> 255; (in phr. with <i>ail</i>) gen. sg. <i>ail bréithre</i> ‘verbal insult’ 41.
bríg ‘power, advantage’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 21 (see textual note); acc. pl. <i>bríga</i> ? 173 (see textual note)
brígach ‘powerful, mighty’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 157.
brú ‘edge, brink’:	dat. sg. <i>for brú</i> 230.

bruinne ‘breast, chest’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	~ 168 (see textual note).
bruinnid , ‘springs forth, darts’:	3pl. pret. <i>bebárnatar</i> 147.
bu ‘death’:	gen. sg. <i>buí</i> 151 (see textual note).
búadach ‘victorious’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pl. pred. <i>cathbúadaig</i> 180; (in cmpd. with <i>lonn</i>) acc. sg. (epithet) <i>Lonnbúadach</i> 146; (in cmpd. with <i>cath</i>) nom. sg. masc. <i>cathbúadach</i> 173; acc. sg. masc. <i>eter ... Echaig mballderg mbúadach</i> 25.
búaid ‘victory’, neut. <i>i</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>búada</i> 147 (see textual note).
buiden ‘band, troop’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	gen. pl. ~ 180.
búiriud ‘roaring’, vn.:	nom. sg. ~ 112 (see textual note), 113.
búrach ‘rage’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 104, <i>a mbúrach</i> 116-7.
cech ‘every’, pronominal adj.:	<i>cech</i> 96, 108 <i>et passim</i> .
cách ‘everyone’, <i>o</i> -stem pron.:	nom. ~ 101, 189.
cecha- ‘whosoever’, indefinite pron. (conjunct particle before verbs):	<i>cecha torchair</i> 184.
cáech ‘one-eyed’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(as masc. subst.) dat. sg. ~ 3.
cáel ‘thin, slender’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	144 (see textual note).
caínid ‘laments, bewails’:	1sg. pres. subj. <i>coro caín</i> 258.
canaid ‘sings’:	augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>ro cé</i> t 19.
caraid ‘loves’:	3sg. augm. pret. <i>ro car</i> 234; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro charsat</i> 234-5, 235, 236.
carn ‘heap, pile’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 148.
carpat ‘chariot’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>a charpat</i> 248; acc. sg. <i>a charpat</i> 212, <i>inna charpat</i> 239, <i>i carpat</i> 139 <i>et passim</i> .
cath ‘battle’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 84, 116; gen. sg. <i>in chatha</i> 120; dat. sg. <i>i cath</i> 180, <i>isin chath</i> 187; (see also s.v. <i>búadach, coscrach</i>).
cath :	156 (see textual note).
cathach ‘vehement, warlike’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(in cmpd. with <i>oll</i>) nom. pl. masc. <i>ollchathaig</i> 184.

cathmíl ‘battle warrior’, masc. dental stem:	nom. sg. ~ 142.
céile ‘husband, companion’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>mo chéile</i> 258; (in compd. with <i>cóem</i>) acc. sg. <i>cóemchéile slíasta</i> ‘beloved consort’ 142,
ceist ‘question’, fem.:	nom. sg. ~ 216.
celebrad , ‘bidding farewell’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>do chelebrad</i> 79.
celebraid ‘bids farewell’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 80.
célmaine ‘prophecy’, neut.:	nom. sg. ~ 185; dat. sg. <i>co célmainiu</i> 123.
cen ‘without’, prep. + acc.:	~ 86, 86, 101.
cenél ‘race’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>no chenél</i> 35.
cenmothá , as prep. ‘besides, in addition to’:	~ 98.
cenn ‘head’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>a cenn</i> 229, 252, ~ 168 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. ~ 23, <i>mo chenn-sa</i> 227-8, <i>co cenn</i> ‘for the duration of’ 74 <i>i cenn</i> ‘into the end of’ 230; gen. sg. <i>do chinn</i> 71, <i>a chinn</i> 112, <i>in chinn</i> 230; dat. sg. <i>it chiunn</i> 10, <i>assa chiunn</i> 12, 36 <i>et passim</i> ; (in phr.) <i>ara ciunn</i> ‘before her’ 98, <i>i ciunn</i> ‘at the end of’ 98; acc. pl. <i>inna cenn</i> 90. dat. pl. <i>co cernaib</i> 172.
cern ‘victory, triumph’, masc. <i>o</i> - stem:	
cert ‘just’, (in compds) straight, even’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	gen. pl. fem. ~ 56; (in compd.) ~ 144 (see also s.v. <i>slán</i>).
cét ‘hundred’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. pl. ~ 87, 111.
ceta- ‘first’:	<i>forceta-immarbrath</i> 109-10; <i>cetaro ráith</i> 157, 166.
cétamus ‘first, firstly’, adv.:	~ 5, 120, 204.
cethir ‘four’, masc. numeral:	nom. ~ 50.
cía, cid ‘who, what?’, interrogative pron.:	<i>cía</i> 42, 43, 140 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>cid ara</i> ‘why? (lit. what is it for which?)’ 64, <i>cid fil</i> 51, <i>cid taí</i> 197.

claideb ‘sword’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>in claideb</i> 209, ~ 263; dat. sg. <i>co claidiub</i> 207.
claidid ‘digs, builds’:	3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro chechlatar</i> 100-1.
clíath ‘palisade’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>for cléith</i> 107; dat. sg. <i>forsin chléith</i> 111.
clóen ‘crooked’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. pl. masc. <i>clóin</i> 235.
Clóenad ‘Clane’:	gen. sg. <i>for Cassán Chlóenta</i> 190, <i>oc Cassán Chlóenta</i> 229; dat. <i>do Chlóenud</i> 188. (+ <i>imma-</i>) 3pl. pret. <i>imma-cloíset</i> 179.
clóid ‘turns back, repels’:	165 (see textual note).
clóó:	
clothach ‘renowned’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. masc. ~ 20.
cluiche ‘(in pl.) feats of arms’:	nom. pl. <i>cluichi</i> 226.
cnedach ‘wounded’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. masc. ~ 142.
cnedmar ‘wound-dealing’:	acc. sg. ~ 145.
cnú ‘nut’, fem. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>in chnú</i> 194, ~ 201; acc. sg. <i>in cnoí</i> 193.
co ‘to’, prep. + acc.:	~ 5, 6, 7 <i>et passim</i> ; (in adverbial phr.) <i>co bráth</i> 17, 30, 41 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal forms) 1sg. <i>cuccum-sa</i> 257; 3sg. masc. <i>cuci</i> 89, 91; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. masc. <i>cossin mac</i> 111; acc. sg. fem. <i>cossin n-airecht</i> 48.
co n- (with indicative) ‘so that’, (with subjunctive) ‘(in order) that’, conjunction:	(Indicative): <i>co rralae</i> 5, <i>co tarat</i> 12 <i>co mboí</i> 32 <i>et passim</i> ; (with Class C infixed pron.) 1sg. <i>condom marbae-so</i> 65, 3sg. masc. <i>conid tarlae</i> 48, 3sg. fem. <i>conda tall</i> 12; (+ 3sg. pres. ind. of the copula) <i>conid</i> 38, 91, 139; (Subjunctive): <i>co tartad</i> 45, <i>co rop</i> 65, <i>co tísat</i> 76 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ Class C infixed pron.) 3sg. fem. <i>conda ruca</i> 70; (+ neg.) <i>conna rucae</i> 8, <i>conna hanat</i> 66, <i>conna rucad</i> 104.
co n- ‘with’, prep. + dat.:	~ 123, 172, 172 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>cona</i> 194, 3sg. fem. <i>cona</i> 241.
cobair ‘helping’, fem.:	dat. sg. <i>dia cobair</i> 106.

cóeca ‘fifty’, masc. dental stem:	acc. sg. <i>cóecait</i> 240; acc. pl. <i>cóecta</i> 74.
cóem ‘fair, beloved’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	~ 142 (see s.v. <i>céile</i>); nom. pl. masc. ~ 173.
cóiced ‘province’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 182; gen. sg. <i>cóicid</i> 182; dat. pl. <i>di chóicedaib</i> 182.
coicrích ‘neighbouring territory’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>assin choicrích</i> 241.
coirthe ‘pillar, standing-stone’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>forsin coirthe</i> 231, <i>in coirthe</i> 231; gen. sg. <i>in choirthi</i> 230.
coll ‘hazel’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>in coll</i> 260.
calléic ‘meanwhile’:	~ 191.
colpthae ‘shank’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	acc. pl. <i>dar colpthu</i> 47.
comairle ‘advice’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>a comairli</i> 4.
comardae ‘sign’:	acc. sg. ~ 247.
comrac ‘battle’, masc./ neut. (see <i>GOI</i> , 118) <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>in comrac</i> 119, ~ 222, 255; dat. sg. <i>do chomruc</i> 224.
Conchobar , proper name:	nom. ~ 104, 143; acc. ~ 92; gen. <i>Conchobair</i> 4, <i>i tig Chonchobair</i> 94, <i>cuit Conchobair</i> 99, <i>ingen Chonchobair</i> 127; dat. <i>do Chonchobur</i> 91, 97.
con-gaib ‘maintains, settles’:	augm. pret. pass. pl. <i>con-acabtha</i> 117.
con-meil ‘grinds, consumes, attacks’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 175.
con-mesca ‘mixes together’:	2sg. ipv. <i>cummaisc</i> 263.
con-ricc ‘encounters, meets’:	3sg. pret. <i>frisa comarnic</i> 148; 3pl. pret. <i>co comarnectar</i> 240.
con-rig ‘binds’:	fut. pass. sg. <i>con-rirestar</i> 223; pret. pass. sg. <i>con-áracht</i> 224 (see textual note), 225.
con-scara ‘breaks’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 113.
con-tuili ‘sleeps’:	2sg. pres. subj. <i>con-tolae-so</i> 191; 1sg. fut. <i>con-tuiliub-sa</i> 191.
coscar ‘victory, triumph’, masc. <i>o</i> - stem:	dat. pl. <i>co coscraib</i> 172.

coscrach ‘victorious, triumphant’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(in compd. with <i>cath</i>) nom. sg. masc. <i>cathhoscrach</i> 173.
cotlud ‘sleep’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>tría chothlud</i> 196; dat. sg. <i>assa chothlud</i> 196.
crann ‘spear’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. pl. <i>cranna</i> 178.
criss ‘belt’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>ní’m chriss</i> 220.
cródae ‘bloody’, <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 116.
chrógalar ‘bloody-sickness’, neut. <i>o</i> - stem:	dat. sg. <i>di chrógalur</i> 90.
crue ‘hoof’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. dual <i>dib cruib</i> 47-8, <i>di chruib</i> 55.
cruth ‘appearance’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 128; nom. pl. <i>crotha</i> 127.
Cú Chulainn , proper name:	nom. sg. ~ 112, 115; acc. sg. <i>Coin Culainn</i> 144; gen. <i>bern Chon Culainn</i> 101, <i>oc airbriathrad</i> <i>Chon Culainn</i> 104, <i>ben Chon Culainn</i> 135; dat. sg. <i>do Choin Chulainn</i> 107.
cúairt ‘circuit’, masc. <i>i</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 267; acc. ~ 5; dat. sg. <i>for cúairt</i> 4, 73-4.
cúal ‘bundle’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 103.
cuit ‘share’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>cuit</i> 99.
cúl ‘back, rear, neck, back of head’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	144 (see textual note).
culpait ‘cowl, hood’, fem.:	nom. sg. ~ 146 (see textual note).
cumal ‘female slave’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 94.
cumang ‘power, strength’, <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>cumung</i> 217.
cur ‘warrior, hero’, masc. dental stem:	nom. sg. <i>in cur</i> 173; dat. sg. <i>ria cach curaid</i> 157; <i>in churaid</i> 117.
curach ‘boat’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	npl. <i>curaig</i> 110, dat. pl. <i>i curchaib</i> 106.
cuthchath:	156 (see textual note).
da’ ‘two’ masc. numeral:	nom. ~ 61; acc. ~ 6.
da n- ‘two’, neut. numeral:	nom. ~ 95.
dabergin:	147 (see textual note).
dagben ‘noblewoman’, fem. <i>ā</i> - stem:	dat. pl. <i>di dagmnáib</i> 138.

dagduine ‘noble’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	gen. pl. <i>dagdoíne</i> 75.
daidbenn ‘pursuing, hunting’:	151 (see textual note).
dáilid ‘pours out’:	3sg. pret. <i>dálais</i> 14.
daltae ‘foster-son’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 106; gen. sg. <i>daltai-sa</i> 113
danó ‘moreover, also’:	~ 29, 35, 80 <i>et passim</i> .
dar/ tar ‘over, across’, prep. + acc.:	~ 7, 47 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal form) 3sg. neut. <i>tarais</i> 56; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>dara</i> 237; 3sg. fem. <i>dara</i> 260.
dead ‘end’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>i ndiad</i> ‘after (lit. into the end of)’ 83; dat. <i>deud lai</i> 97.
degaid, i ndegaid ‘behind’:	<i>inna degaid</i> ‘behind her’ 95-6.
déicsiu ‘looking, gazing’, fem. <i>n</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>oc déicsin</i> 193.
delb ‘figure’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 95.
delg ‘brooch’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 52, 54, <i>a ndelg</i> 58 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. <i>a ndelg</i> 49.
derc ‘hole’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>a nderc</i> 16.
derg ‘red’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 16, 225; acc. sg. masc. <i>múr nderg</i> 118, <i>dar mór nderg</i> 119; nom. pl. <i>derga</i> 145.
dergaid ‘reddens’:	3sg. pret. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) <i>dergsus</i> 151.
dergór ‘red-gold’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>di dergór</i> 50.
descert ‘south’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. (in proper name) <i>Descert Laigen</i> 33; dat. sg. <i>i ndesciurt</i> 6, 32, <i>do Desciurt Laigen</i> 40.
dess ‘right hand’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	(in compd. with <i>derg</i>) dat. sg. <i>dia dergdeiss</i> 152; acc. pl. <i>dessa</i> 154.
deug ‘drink’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>cen dig</i> 86, <i>im dig</i> 91.
di ‘of, from’, prep. + dat.:	~ 2, 8, 37 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal forms) 3sg. masc. <i>dé</i> 112, 207, 229; 3sg. neut. <i>dé</i> 3, 19, 264 <i>et passim</i> ; 3pl. <i>dib</i> 45, 89, 184 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ poss. pron.) 2sg. <i>dít</i> 70, 71; 3sg. masc. <i>dia</i> 18, 47; 3pl. <i>dia</i> 88, 77; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. <i>din cháech</i> 3, <i>din talam</i> 195.

di' 'two', fem. numeral:	nom. <i>dí thraigid</i> 95, ~ 96, 96 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. ~ 19; dat. <i>dib</i> 47.
dia 'day', masc.?:	acc. <i>eter dé</i> ⁊ <i>aidchi</i> 'by day and by night' 100.
Dia 'God', masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 19, 26.
dia n- 'when', temporal conjunction:	<i>dia lluid</i> 4.
didiu 'then':	~ 47, 79.
dígal 'avenging', fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>oca dígail</i> 39, <i>ocom dígail-se</i> 66; (in compd. with <i>dag-</i> 'good') dat. sg. <i>do dagdígail</i> 'to avenge well' 186.
díles 'without legal protection, forfeit', <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. <i>am díles-sa</i> 251.
dimdae 'displeasure' fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>dimdai</i> 8.
dingbál 'fending off', fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>im dingbáil</i> 45.
díriuch 'straight', <i>u</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 237.
dligid 'is owed, entitled to':	2sg. pres. ind. <i>dia ndligi</i> 217.
dlongaid 'splits, cuts, rends':	154 (see textual note).
do' (t when suffixed to prepp. ending in a vowel) 'your', 2sg. poss. pron.	~ 71 (see also s.v. various prepp.).
do' 'to, for', prep. + dat.:	~ 21, 31; (pronominal forms) 1sg. <i>dam-sa</i> 10, 58, 76 <i>et passim</i> ; 2sg. <i>duit</i> 9, 64, <i>duit-siu</i> 68 <i>et passim</i> ; 3sg. masc. <i>dó</i> 33, 35, 36 <i>et passim</i> , (+ emph. pron.) <i>dossom</i> 4, 42, (with adverbial force) <i>dó</i> 'thither' 240; 3pl. <i>dóib</i> 45, 80, 86 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. <i>dom</i> 68, 69, 223; 2sg. <i>dot</i> 65; 3sg. masc. <i>dia</i> 7, 29, 75 <i>et passim</i> ; 3pl. <i>dia</i> 75, 84, 106 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ rel. part.) <i>dia</i> 249; (+ vn.) <i>do brith</i> 10, <i>do nigi</i> 14, <i>do thabairt</i> 18 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. <i>don gillu</i> 195, <i>dond uisciu</i> 14, <i>dont slúag</i> 44; dat. sg. neut. <i>dond leith</i> 49.
do-adbat 'shows, displays':	3pl. pres. ind. <i>taidbdet</i> 183.

do-aidlea ‘attacks’:	3sg. pres. ind. (+ 3sg. masc. Class A infix pron.) <i>da-n-aidlea</i> 206.
do-airgella ‘gives a pledge for’:	3pl. pret. <i>do-airgellsat</i> 182.
do-airicc ‘comes’:	3sg. ipf. subj. <i>co tairsed</i> 105.
do-alla ‘takes away, removes’:	3sg. pret. (+ 3sg. fem. Class C infix pron.) <i>conda tall</i> 12, <i>co tall</i> 207; pret. pass. sg. <i>in tallad</i> 15.
do-beir ‘carries, puts’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 212, <i>dia tabair</i> 249; 2sg. ipv. <i>tabair</i> 228; 3sg. ipf. <i>a ndo-bered</i> 92, <i>do-bered</i> 93, 99; 3pl. ipf. <i>do-bertis</i> 89; 3sg. pret. <i>do-bert</i> 231, 236, (+ 3sg. fem. Class C infix pron.) <i>conda tubart</i> 194; pass. pret. sg. <i>fora tabrad</i> 34; 1sg. ipf. subj. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infix pron.) <i>manis taibrinn</i> 68; 3sg. ipf. subj. <i>co taibred</i> 36, 36, 36; ipf. subj. pass. <i>mani tabarthe</i> 35; 1sg. cond. <i>tibérainn</i> 64; (augm. forms based on <i>do-uic</i>): 2sg. ipv. <i>tuc</i> 263 (+ 2sg. Class A infix pron.) <i>dot-uc</i> 26; 2sg. augm. pret. <i>in tucais</i> 247; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>tuc-som</i> 38, <i>co tuc</i> 74, <i>ní tuc</i> 81; 3pl. ipf. subj. <i>mani tuctais</i> 42; (augm. forms based on <i>do-rat</i>): 3sg. augm. pret. <i>do-rat</i> 12, 59, <i>co tarat</i> 12, 229; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>do-ratad</i> 60; 3sg. ipf. subj. <i>co tartad</i> 45.
do-bruinn ‘trickles, flows’:	3pl. pret. <i>do-bebarnatar</i> 152.
dochrud ‘misshapen’:	pred. ~ 95.
dochum n- ‘to, towards’, prep. + gen.:	~ 13, 46, <i>far ndochum</i> 184 <i>et passim</i> .
do-cuirethar ‘puts, happens’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 47; 3sg. pret. <i>do-ralae</i> 254, (+ <i>co n-</i> + 3sg. masc. infix pron.) <i>conid tarlae</i> 48, 232, 237.
doe ‘the upper arm, arm’, fem. dental stem:	dat. sg. <i>di dóit</i> 154.

dóenaid:	151 (see textual note).
do-fil ‘is coming, is at hand’:	3pl. <i>dos-fil</i> 183, 184.
do-fíuschi ‘wakes’:	3sg. augm. pret. <i>do-ríusaig</i> 196.
do-fócaib ‘raises, sets up’:	augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>do-fúargabad</i> 178.
do-foichell ‘traverses’:	3sg. ipf. ind. rel. <i>do-foichled</i>
do-furgaib ‘raises’:	3sg. ipf. (+ 3sg. masc. Class A) infixed pron. <i>da-n-aurchbad</i> 195; 3pl. pret. <i>co turgabsat</i> 118; 3pl. cond. <i>conna turgébtas</i> 41.
do-gní ‘does’:	pres. ind. pass. sg. <i>do-gníther</i> 265; ipf. pass. sg. <i>do-gníthe</i> 97; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>do-rigni</i> 18, 19, 26; 2sg. augm. pres. subj. <i>co ndernae</i> 264.
do-ic ‘comes’:	2sg. ipv. <i>tair-siu</i> 257; 3pl. pres. subj. <i>co tísat</i> 76; 3pl. ipf. subj. <i>co tístais</i> 105; 3pl. fut. <i>tícfat</i> 183.
dóich ‘likely’:	pred. ~ 202; compar. <i>dóchu</i> 77.
do-immoirg ‘gathers, collects’:	pres. ind. pass. sg. <i>timargar</i> 167.
do-imna ‘enjoins, commands, bequeaths’:	3sg. augm. pret. (+ 1sg. Class A infixed pron.) <i>dom-imarnae</i> 245; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>timarnad</i> 244.
do-indnaig ‘delivers up’:	augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>do-rindnacht</i> 55.
do-léici ‘casts, throws’:	(+ <i>imma-</i>) augm. pret. pass. pl. <i>imma-tarlaicthea</i> 178.
dorn ‘fist’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>i ndorn</i> 12, ~ 208; dat. sg. <i>im durn</i> 10.
dorus ‘doorway, entrance’, neut. <i>u</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i ndorus</i> ‘in front of’ 107.
do-scélai ‘discovers’:	3sg. ipf. subj. <i>arna taiscélad</i> 88-9.
do-scuich ‘moves’:	3sg. ipf. <i>do-scuiched</i> 46.
do-tét ‘comes’:	3sg. pret. <i>do-lluid</i> 213, <i>do-luid</i> 230; 3pl. pret. <i>do-(l)lotar</i> 33, 79, 79 <i>et passim</i> .
do-tuit ‘falls’:	3sg. augm. pret. <i>do-rochair</i> 120, <i>catcha torchair</i> 184; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>do-rochratar</i> 119-20, 186-7.
droch ‘bad’:	~ 198 (see s.v. <i>aislinge</i>).

druimm ‘back’, neut. <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>tría druimm</i> 210.
dúilech ‘the Creator, epithet of God (lit. pertaining to elements or creatures)’:	nom. sg. masc. ~ 26.
dul ‘going’, vn.:	~ 119.
dún ‘fort’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>imma ndún</i> 100, <i>Dún nÉtair</i> 101; gen. sg. <i>in dúine</i> 87.
é ‘he’, 3sg. masc. personal pron.:	~ 109.
é ‘they’, 3pl. personal pron.:	~ 100.
éccomlonn ‘unequal combat’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 110; gen. sg. <i>éccomloinn</i> 114.
eccrae ‘enemy’, masc. dental stem:	acc. pl. <i>eccrata</i> 166; gen. pl. <i>eccrat</i> 180.
ech ‘horse’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>int ech</i> 47; gen. sg. <i>eich</i> 46, 55; nom. pl. <i>eich</i> 248; acc. pl. <i>inna echu</i> 199, 200.
echlach ‘messenger’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>inna hechlaige</i> 139.
Echu , proper name:	nom. sg. ~ 8, 11 ; acc. sg. <i>co Echaig</i> 6, <i>eter ... Echaig</i> 25; gen. sg. <i>Echach</i> 23.
ecló:	165 (see textual note).
ed ‘it’, 3sg. neut. personal pron.:	~ 4, 5, 17 <i>et passim</i> .
éis ‘track’, <i>i</i> -stem:	nom. pl. <i>éissi</i> 145; acc. pl. <i>dar éissi</i> ‘after’ 190.
éit ‘cattle, a herd of cattle’, fem.:	dat. pl. <i>co n-étib</i> 172-3.
eitne ‘kernel’, masc.:	gen. sg. <i>ind eitni</i> 195, 208.
enech ‘face, honour’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 31; dat. pl. <i>dia inchaib</i> 18, <i>dia inchaib-side</i> 29, <i>do inchaib</i> 31 <i>et passim</i> .
éolairg:	175 (see textual note).
érae ‘refusal’, fem. vn.:	nom. sg. ~ 11.
ercaid ‘reddens’:	3pl. pret. <i>ercsait</i> 23.
érchath ‘great-battle’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem (see textual note):	gen. sg. <i>érchatha</i> 59.
Ériu ‘Ireland’, fem. <i>n</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>Érinn</i> 96; gen. sg. <i>Érenn</i> 5, 6, 182; dat. sg. <i>i nÉre</i> 2, 97.
esca(i)t ‘haunch’, fem.:	nom. dual <i>di escait</i> 96.

Étar , ‘Howth’:	nom. sg. ~ 85, gen. sg. <i>Dún nÉtair</i> 101, <i>Cath Étair</i> 268; (see textual note), 124 (as previous ex.), <i>i nÉtur</i> 86, <i>issind Étur</i> 111.
eter ‘between’, prep. + acc.:	~ 6; (used with <i>ocus</i> in sense ‘both’) <i>eter dé</i> 7 <i>aidchi</i> 100; (pronominal form) 3pl. <i>etarru</i> 94, 254.
etir ‘at all’:	~ 89, 105.
étrócar ‘unmerciful’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 2.
fácbá(i)l ‘leaving’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>do fácbáil</i> 38, 41.
fa-des ‘southwards’, adv.:	~ 7.
faíd ‘cry’, fem.:	nom. sg. ~ 259.
fáilte ‘joy, welcome’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 67, 72; acc. sg. <i>fáilti</i> 62.
far n- ‘your’, 2pl. poss. pron.:	~ 184.
fé ‘slaughter’ (see textual note):	nom. sg. ~ 119, 119; <i>fé amae</i> ‘woe indeed’ 211.
fecht ‘time’:	(in phr.) <i>fecht and</i> ‘on one occasion’ 47; <i>in fecht so</i> ‘on this occasion, now’ 251; <i>in fecht n-ailli</i> ‘on the other/ next occasion’ 252.
féin ‘self’:	3sg. masc. <i>fadessin</i> 145, 194; <i>fessin</i> 63 (see textual note), 209, 212.
féle ‘generosity’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>féli</i> 18; gen. sg. <i>féle</i> 19.
fer ‘man’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 2, 3, <i>in fer</i> 36 <i>et passim</i> ; gen. sg. <i>fir</i> (see textual note) 168, <i>fir</i> 194; nom. pl. <i>ind fir</i> 89, 148 (see textual note); acc. pl. <i>co firu</i> 7, <i>forsnaib feraib</i> 124-5, <i>firu</i> 159; gen. pl. ~ 29; (in compd. with <i>óen-</i>) nom. sg. <i>óenfir</i> 68, 70, 255; gen. sg. <i>ar galaib óenfir</i> 109; dat. pl. <i>forsnaib feraib</i> 124-5.
feraid ‘(i) supplies, (ii) gives forth, showers:	(i) 3sg. pres. ind ~ 62; (ii) 3sg. ipf. <i>ro ferad</i> 91-2; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro fersat</i> 117.
ferán ‘small man’, <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>in ferán</i> 205.
fert ‘mound’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 260; acc. sg. <i>tría fert</i> 260.

fess ‘spending the night’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem?:	dat. sg. <i>do feis</i> 29, 63.
fiach ‘debt’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. pl. <i>fiachu</i> 217.
fiche ‘twenty’, masc. dental stem:	nom. pl. <i>fichit</i> 50; gen. pl. <i>fichet</i> 98.
fichid ‘fights’:	pres. ind. pass. sg. <i>fechair</i> 84, 115.
fili , masc. dental stem:	acc. sg. <i>filid</i> 164.
find ‘white’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	voc. sg. fem. <i>a bé find</i> 141; nom. pl. fem. <i>finda</i> 87.
finnae ‘hair (as collective ‘fur, fleece’)', masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	dat. pl. <i>co finnaib</i> 172.
fír ‘true, veracious’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 70; ~ 164; (as <i>o</i> -stem subst.) <i>fír ngaiscid</i> 222.
fiurt ‘miracle’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	independent dat. sg. <i>fiurt</i> 18.
flaith ‘chief’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	gen. pl. <i>flaithe</i> 74.
fo chétóir ‘at once’:	~ 84, 116.
fo ‘under’, prep. + acc./ dat.:	(+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>foa</i> 12; (+ rel. part.) <i>fua</i> 142; (+ def. art.) <i>fon all</i> 88; (forming a multiplicative) <i>fo thrí</i> 109, 109, 224.
fo-ácaib ‘leaves’:	pres. ind. pass. sg. <i>fácabar</i> 265; 2sg. augm. pret. <i>in fárcabais</i> 203; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>fo-rácaib</i> 195, <i>ní fárcuib</i> 81; 3sg. augm. pret. (+ 3sg. neut. Class C infixed pron.) <i>fod-rácaib</i> 58; 3sg. ipf. subj. <i>arna fácbad</i> 34; 3sg. cond. <i>ní fáicébad</i> 35.
fo-ceird ‘throws, puts’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 115, (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) <i>fos-ceird</i> 259; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>co ralaie</i> 5; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>ro laad</i> 45; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro lásat</i> 116.
fodb ‘(collective form) spoils’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. pl. <i>co fodbaib</i> 172.
fo-gaib ‘finds, gets’:	3pl. augm. pret. <i>fo-fúaratar</i> 176.
folcmar ‘flowing, gushing’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. pl. fem. <i>folcmara</i> 152.

for ‘on’, prep. + acc./ dat.:	(+ acc.) <i>for Laigniu</i> 39, <i>for Ultu</i> 59 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ dat.) <i>for cúairt</i> 4, <i>for Laignib</i> 65, <i>for lár</i> 87 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal forms) 1sg. <i>form-sa</i> 77; 3sg. masc. <i>fair</i> 114, 153, 217 <i>et passim</i> ; 3sg. fem. <i>furre</i> 127; 3pl. <i>forru</i> 41, 45, 66 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ poss. pron.) 2sg. <i>fort</i> 228, 228; 3sg. masc. <i>fora</i> 232, 237; 3sg. fem. <i>fora</i> 92; (+ rel. part.) <i>fora tabrad</i> 34, <i>forceta-immabrath</i> 109-10 (see textual note). (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. <i>forsin liic</i> 230; dat. sg. fem. <i>forsin chléith</i> 111, <i>forsint sligi</i> 260; dat. pl. masc. <i>forsnaib</i> <i>feraib</i> 124-5.
for-émid ‘is unable’:	1sg. pres. ind. <i>fo-réimdim</i> 262.
fo-roind ‘darkens, reddens’:	144 (see textual note).
fortacht ‘help’, fem. <i>ā/n</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 45.
fortbe ‘massacre, smiting’, neut. <i>io</i> - stem:	dat. sg. <i>íar fortbiu</i> 180.
fortrén ‘very strong’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	compar. <i>fortressa</i> 226.
forusta ‘dignified’, <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	voc. sg. fem. <i>a bé find forusta</i> 141.
fót ‘sod’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 47; gen. sg. <i>ind fóit</i> 49.
fo-thúaid ‘northwards’, adv. of place:	~ 123.
foid ‘spends the night’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 73; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>ro fíu</i> 30; 3pl. fut. <i>fibait</i> 183.
frecor ‘contesting’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i frecur</i> 120.
fri ‘towards, against’, prep. + acc.:	~ 62, 80, 118 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal form) 1sg. <i>frim-sa</i> 222, <i>frim</i> 258; 3sg. <i>fris</i> 168, 209; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>fria</i> , 146, 206; 3pl. <i>fria</i> 159.
fris-áilethar ‘expects, receives a guest’:	2pl. ipv. <i>fritháilid</i> 184.
fris-ben ‘strikes against’:	168 (see textual note).

fuil ‘blood’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>dot fuil</i> 16; nom. pl. <i>fuili</i> 152; (in compd. with <i>sruth</i>) gen. sg. <i>i sním sruthfóla</i> 142 (see textual note).
gábud ‘peril’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i ngúais</i> ⁊ <i>gábud</i> 124.
gáe ‘spear’, masc.:	acc. sg. <i>gaí</i> 179; gen. pl. <i>gaí</i> 103.
gaibid ‘takes’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 200; 2sg. ipv. <i>gaib</i> 13, 199; 3sg. pret. <i>gabais</i> 39; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>níro gab</i> 28; 3pl. <i>rod ngabsat</i> 110; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>ro gabad</i> 124, <i>co rragbad</i> 85; 3sg. ipf.. subj. <i>no gabad</i> 40; fut. pass. sg. <i>ní gébthar</i> 72.
gaisced ‘weapons, arms’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>gaiscid</i> 169, <i>fír ngaiscid</i> 222.
gal ‘valour, fury’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	gen. sg. (in phr. with <i>láth</i>) <i>ind láith gaile</i> ‘the warriors’ 117; (in compd. with <i>sciath</i>) nom. sg. <i>sciathgal</i> ‘shield valour’ 180; (in phr.) dat. pl. <i>ar galaib óenfir</i> ‘in single combat’ 109; pred. ~ 166, 169.
garg ‘rough, fierce’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	2sg. ipv. <i>gat</i> 263.
gataid ‘takes away, removes’:	nom. sg. ~ 94.
gein ‘child (lit. that which is born)’, neut.:	nom. sg. ~ 118.
geis ‘taboo’, fem.:	acc. sg. ~ 182; nom. pl. <i>géill</i> 108.
gíall ‘hostage’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>in gillae</i> 16, 196, 198 <i>et passim</i> ; voc. sg. <i>a gillai</i> 13, 15, 76 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. <i>fria gillae</i> 76, <i>in ngillae</i> 195; dat. sg. <i>don gillu</i> 195.
gillae ‘servant, lad’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	nom. dual. <i>da nglún</i> 95.
glún ‘knee’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 169; (in compd. with <i>mór</i>) acc. pl. <i>mórgnímu</i> 171.
gním ‘action, activity’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>faíd guil</i> 259.
gol ‘weeping, wailing’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	masc. nom. pl. <i>goll</i> 235.
goll ‘purblind’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(in adverbial phr.) dat. sg. <i>do grés</i> ‘perpetually’ 39.
grés ‘continuance’:	

gress ‘attack’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 44; acc. sg. <i>in gress</i> 116; gen. sg. <i>inna gresse</i> 45.
gressacht ‘urging’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>oca gressacht-som</i> 102.
gúas ‘danger’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i ngúais</i> 124.
guidid ‘prays to, demands’:	3sg. pret. <i>gáid</i> 3; rel. <i>gáde</i> 3, 3; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro gádatar</i> 44.
í ‘she’, 3sg. fem. personal. pron.:	~ 30.
i n- ‘in, into’, prep. + acc./ dat.:	(+ acc.) <i>i ndorn</i> 12, <i>i lLaigniu</i> 32, <i>i tír</i> 110; (+ dat.) <i>i tosuch</i> 4, <i>i nÉre</i> 19, <i>i nArd Brestine et passim</i> ; (pronominal forms) 2sg. <i>indiut</i> 72; 3sg. masc. acc. <i>ind</i> 212; 3sg. neut. dat. (in adverbial use meaning ‘there, then’) <i>and</i> 12, 52, 53 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. <i>im</i> 10, 76, <i>ní’m</i> 220; 2sg. <i>it</i> 10; 3sg. masc. <i>inna</i> 33, 38, 239; 3sg. fem. <i>inna</i> 95; 3pl. <i>inna</i> 90, 115; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. <i>issin n- áth</i> 213; acc. sg. neut. <i>issa tír</i> 34; dat. sg. masc. <i>issind ló</i> 108; dat. sg. fem. <i>isin tulaig</i> 42, 46.
íadad ‘closing’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem vn.:	acc. sg. <i>cen íadad</i> 101.
íar n- ‘after’, prep. + dat.:	<i>íar sin</i> 28, 32, ~ 59 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. fem. <i>íarsind abainn</i> 193.
íarmóracht ‘pursuing, pursuit’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>in n-íarmóracht</i> 83; dat. sg. <i>do íarmóracht</i> 83, <i>i n-íarmóracht</i> 186.
íartharach ‘back’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	dat. dual. <i>íartharchaib</i> 48.
íarum ‘afterwards, then’, adv.:	~ 5, 14, 80 <i>et passim</i> .
ibid ‘drinks’:	3pl. augm. pret. <i>mani esbeset</i> 86.
illé ‘hither’, adv. of place:	~ 119.
im’ ‘around, about’, prep. + acc.:	~ 45, 91, 92; (pronominal form) 3sg. masc. <i>immi</i> 84; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>imma</i> 14, 102, 146 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. neut. <i>imma ndún</i> 100; (+ rel. part.) <i>imma</i> (see s.v. <i>cloid</i> , <i>do-léici</i> , <i>sínid</i>).
imbe ‘fencing’, neut. <i>io</i> -stem vn.:	acc. sg. ~ 102.

imbert ‘practising, plying’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>oc imbirt</i> 113-4.
imchloímchlód ‘exchange’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 27.
imdergad ‘insult, insulting’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 44.
imguin ‘conflict’, neut. <i>i</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>a n-imguin</i> 100.
immach ‘out, outwards’, adv.:	~ 108, 115.
imma n- , preverb expressing the reciprocity of an action.	
immarbág ‘dispute’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 254.
imm-beir ‘practises, plies’:	2sg. ipv. <i>imbir</i> 263; augm. pret. pass. sg. <i>forceta-immarbrath</i> 109-10.
imm-derga ‘reddens, makes red’:	ipf. pass. sg. <i>imm-dergthae</i> 252.
imm-íada ‘encloses’:	3sg. pres. ind. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) <i>immus-n-íada</i> 103.
imm-túaire ‘smites mutually’:	3pl. pres. ind. <i>immus-túaircet</i> 225.
immurgu ‘however’:	~ 10, 11, 38 <i>et passim</i> .
impide ‘intercession, entreating’, fem.:	dat. sg. <i>i n-impidi</i> 91.
imrádud ‘deliberating’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 77.
imrimm ‘riding around’, neut. <i>n</i> -stem:	dat. sg. ~ 46.
im-soí ‘turns’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 209.
imthócbál ‘uprising’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>ind imthócbál</i> 116.
in n- , interrogative particle:	<i>in tallad</i> 15, (+ 3sg. pres. ind. cop.) <i>ind cnú</i> 201, <i>in tucais</i> 247.

- in(d)** ‘the’, def. art.: nom. sg. masc. *in rí* 12, *int ech* 47; nom. sg. fem. *in ben* 30; *ind óensúil* 10, *ind rígain* 29, *int súil* 15; nom. sg. neut. *a nderc* 16; acc. sg. *in slúag* 115; acc. sg. fem. *in mnaí* 3, *in n-íarmóracht* 83; acc. sg. neut. *a ndelg* 49; gen. sg. masc. *ind rí* 20, *ind eich* 47, *in chatha* 120; gen. sg. fem. *inna airechta* 46; gen. sg. neut. *in dúine* 87; dat. sg. fem. *ind aidchi sin* 29; nom. pl. masc. *ind fir* 89, *ind láith gaile* 117; acc. pl. masc. *inna firu* 184; nom. dual fem. *in dí airgail* 117; acc. dual masc. *in dá Áth Clíath* 6; (see also s.v. various prepp. and nouns).
- in tan** ‘when’, temporal conj.: ~ 110, 213.
- inchinn** ‘brain’, neut.: acc. sg. ~ 263, 263.
- indlid** ‘yokes’: 3sg. pres. ind ~ 212.
- indnacul** ‘conveying’, vn.: dat. sg. *dia indnacul* 7.
- ingen** ‘girl, daughter’, fem. *ā*-stem: nom. sg. *ind ingen* 92, 94, ~ 127 *et passim*; voc. sg. *a ingen* 140; gen. sg. *inna ingine* 95.
- innonn** ‘thither, yonder, over’, adv. of place: ~ 109, 119, 155.
- insce** ‘speech’, fem. *iā*-stem: (in compd. with *aurdure*) nom. sg. *aurdircinsce* 163.
- int-í, a n-í** ‘he (with masc. def. art.), it (with neut. def. art.), the afforementioned’, deictic part.: neut. *a n-í-sin* ‘that’ 44, 209; masc. *int-í* 81, 82, 212 *et passim*.
- írach** ‘wrathful’, *o/ā*-stem: acc. sg. masc. *eter Aithirne n-írach* 24.

is 'is', copula:	1sg. pres. ind. <i>am</i> 251; 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 3, 4, 5 <i>et passim</i> , (rel.) <i>as</i> 42, (+ <i>co n-</i>) <i>conid</i> 38, 91, 139; 3pl. pres. ind. <i>it</i> 100, 180; 3pl. pres. ind. rel. <i>at</i> 19; 3pl. ipf. <i>batis</i> 235, 235 <i>et passim</i> ; 3sg. pret. <i>ba</i> 21, 44, 44 <i>et passim</i> , (+ <i>co n-</i>) <i>combo</i> 225, 237; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>rop'</i> 58; 3sg. pres. subj. <i>bas</i> 9; 3sg. pres. subj. (+ <i>ma</i> 'if') <i>mad</i> 63; 3sg. pres. subj. <i>co rop</i> 65; 3pl. ipf. subj. <i>co mbetis</i> 39, 3sg. fut. <i>bid</i> 17, 221, (+ neg.) <i>niba</i> 11.
íth 'fat, grease', neut. ? <i>u</i> -stem:	167 (see textual note).
ithid 'eats, devours':	2sg. augm. pret. <i>deod-so</i> 201; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>doid</i> 205; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>mani dótar</i> 86; 3sg. cond. <i>no íssad</i> 205.
la 'with, by', prep. + acc.:	~ 30, 41, 68 <i>et passim</i> ; (pronominal forms) 1sg. <i>lim-sa</i> 63, 67, <i>lim</i> 63; 2sg. <i>lat</i> 63, 228, <i>lat-so</i> 219 <i>et passim</i> ; 3sg. masc. <i>leis</i> 29, 73, 75; (+ rel. part.) <i>lasa</i> 35; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. masc. <i>lasin</i> <i>slúag</i> 98; acc. sg. fem. <i>lasin féli</i> 18.
lá 'day', neut. <i>io</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>cach lá</i> ; gen. sg. <i>lai</i> 97; dat. sg. <i>issind</i> <i>ló</i> 108; (in cmpd. with <i>óen-</i>) dat. sg. <i>i n-óenló</i> 96.
láeb 'crooked', <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(as <i>ā</i> -stem subst.) voc. sg. <i>a láeb</i> 140.
láech 'warrior', masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	gen. pl. ~ 111.
Lagin , (in pl.) Leinster, Leinstermen:	nom. pl. <i>Laigin</i> 79, 100, 189; acc. pl. <i>i lLaighniu</i> 32, <i>for Laighniu</i> 39 <i>et passim</i> ; gen. pl. <i>Descert</i> <i>Laigen</i> 33, <i>Laigen</i> 60, 74 <i>et passim</i> ; dat. pl. <i>for</i> <i>Laignib</i> 38, 65, <i>do Laignib</i> 108
lám 'hand', fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 206, 224, <i>mo lám-sa</i> 223 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. <i>láim</i> 13, 207, 212; (in cmpd. with <i>óen</i>) dat. sg. <i>co n-óenláim</i> 222.
lám nad 'giving birth', <i>u</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>oca lám nad</i> 3.
lár 'middle', neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 150; dat. sg. <i>for lár</i> 87.

lasar ‘flame’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	(in compd. with <i>ríg-</i>) acc. pl. <i>ríglasra</i> 169.
lassaid ‘takes fire, blazes’:	3pl. pres. ind. <i>lassait</i> 169; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>ro lass</i> 156.
láth , masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	(in phr. with <i>gal</i>) nom. pl. <i>ind láith gaile</i> ‘the warriors’ 117.
lathrach ‘puddle, muddy pool’, as fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>lathraige</i> 150.
léicid ‘leaves, releases’:	3sg. ipf. <i>ní léiced</i> 90; ipf. pass. sg. <i>no léicthe</i> 88.
léimnech ‘leaping, jumping’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 149.
léoid ‘cuts, hacks (off)’:	3pl. pret. <i>léosait</i> 154.
les ‘rampart’, <i>u</i> -stem (see textual note):	gen. sg. <i>ind lesa</i> 107.
lesciol :	149 (see textual note).
leth ‘side’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 208; acc. sg. <i>leth</i> 195; dat. sg. <i>dond leith</i> 49, <i>co lleith</i> 206.
lia ‘standing-stone, pillar-stone’, masc. guttural stem:	acc. sg. <i>forsin liic</i> 229-30.
líathróit ‘ball’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 264.
ligid ‘licks’:	3sg. pres. ind. rel. <i>liges</i> 176; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>rod-lelgatar</i> 176.
lín ‘full complement’, neut. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 155.
lingid ‘jumps’:	3sg. ipf. <i>no linged</i> 46.
lonn ‘fierce, bold’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	~ 146 (see <i>búadach</i>).
lúath ‘swift’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(as <i>ā</i> -stem subst.) voc. sg. <i>a lúath</i> 140.
lug ‘lynx’ masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 149 (see textual note).
ma ‘if’, conjunction:	~ 8; (+ neg.) <i>mani</i> 35, 42, 86 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) <i>manis taibrinn</i> 68; (+ 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula) <i>mad</i> 63, 67.
mac ‘son’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 2, 88, 105 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. ~ 6, <i>cossin mac</i> 111; gen. sg. <i>maic</i> 48, 57, 126 <i>et passim</i> ; nom. pl. <i>maic</i> 171; gen. pl. ~ 155.

mag ‘plain’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	(in placename) gen. sg. <i>Maige Fea</i> 32.
maidid ‘breaks’:	3sg. pres. ind. ~ 84, 118; 3sg. pres. ind. rel. <i>maidés</i> 113.
maidm ‘breaking (of a battle), defeat’, neut. <i>n</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>iar maidm</i> 59.
maín ‘possessions’ (in pl.):	nom. pl. <i>maíni</i> 34; gen. pl. <i>maíne</i> 33; dat. pl. <i>di ... maínib</i> 8, 37, 40.
maith ‘good’, <i>i</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 63, 75, 192 <i>et passim</i> ; superl. <i>as dech</i> 42; (as masc. subst.) nom. pl. <i>maithi</i> ‘nobles’ 91; (as neut. subst.) dat. sg. <i>di maith</i> 96.
marb ‘dead’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 260.
marbad ‘killing’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>do marbad</i> 108, <i>dia marbad</i> 111.
marbaid ‘kills’:	2sg. pres. subj. (+ <i>co n-</i> + sg. Class A infixed pron.) <i>condom marbae</i> 65; 3pl. ipf. subj. <i>conid romarbtais</i> 38-9; cond. pass. sg. <i>lasa mmairfide-sem</i> 35.
marcach ‘horseman’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 45.
maten ‘morning’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>co matin</i> 63.
máthair ‘mother’, fem. <i>r</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 61.
medón ‘middle’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>medóin</i> 5.
méide ‘lower part of neck’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>a méidiu</i> 230.
méit ‘size’, fem. <i>o</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>méite</i> 193.
mend ‘stammering’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. neut. <i>mend</i> 236.
menmae ‘mind’, masc. <i>n</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>menmain</i> 38.
mér ‘finger’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 12.
Mess Gegraí , proper name’	nom. sg. ~ 62, 189, 193 <i>et passim</i> ; voc. sg. <i>a Mess Gegraí</i> 214; acc. sg. <i>co Mess nGegraí</i> 60, <i>fri Mess nGegraí</i> 191; gen. sg. <i>ben Meisse Gegraí</i> 73, 239, 243 <i>et passim</i> .
mil ‘honey’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 176.
milchobar :	176 (see textual note).

millid ‘spoils, destroys’:	3sg. pret. (+ 1pl. suffixed pron.) <i>millsiunn</i> 177.
mínigidir ‘explains’:	2pl. ipv. ~ 204.
mlaissid ‘tastes’:	3sg. ipf. <i>no mlaissid</i> 88.
mlasacht ‘tasting’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. ~ 89.
mo’ (m’ before a vowel) ‘my’, 1sg. poss. pron.:	~ 13, 13, 64 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>m’athar-sa</i> 58; (see also under various prepp.).
moídméach ‘boastful, of that which calls for boasting’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(as. subst.) nom. sg. ~ 266.
moíth ‘tender’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	167 (see textual note).
mór ‘big, great’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. masc. ~ 44; nom. sg. fem. ~ 120; acc. sg. masc. ~ 47; acc. sg. fem. <i>móir</i> 18; dat. sg. fem. <i>móir</i> 124; nom. pl. fem. <i>móra</i> 38; acc. pl. fem. <i>móra</i> 34; (as neut. <i>o</i> -stem subst.) nom. sg. ~ 56, acc. sg. <i>a mmór</i> 205; compar. <i>mó</i> 138; (see also s.v. <i>gním</i>).
mórgala:	(see textual note).
mrogaí ‘extends, presses forward’:	3pl. pres. ind. (+ 3pl. Class A infixed pron.) <i>nos mrogat</i> 239; 3sg. pret. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) <i>mrogsus</i> 155.
mug ‘male slave’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 94.
muin ‘upper part of back’, fem.:	acc. sg. <i>fora muin</i> 92.
muir ‘sea’, neut. <i>i</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 113; acc. sg. ~ 85, <i>dar muir</i> 105; gen. sg. <i>in mora</i> 86.
múr ‘wall’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 118, <i>dar múr</i> 119.
ná ‘nor’, conj.:	~ 88.
nach ‘any’, pronominal adj.:	~ 34.
na, nad’ ‘that...not’, conj. introducing subordinate neg. cl.:	<i>nad</i> 40, 42; (+ 1sg. Class C infixed pron.) <i>nacham bérad-sa</i> 255.
nathó ‘no’ (in a neg. reply to a question), adv.:	~ 103.
nech ‘anyone’, indef. pron.:	nom. sg. ~ 42, 89; gen. sg. <i>neich</i> 34.
nem ‘sky’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 113.

ní ‘anything, something’, indefinite pron. (neut. form of <i>nech</i> ‘anyone’):	~ 9, 29, 40 <i>et passim</i> .
ní(con) , negative particle:	(ní): <i>níba</i> 11, <i>níro gab</i> 28, <i>ní</i> 34, 35, 68 <i>et passim</i> ; (nícon): ~ 91; (+ 2sg. Class A infixed pron.) <i>nícot biad-so</i> 67.
nige ‘washing’, vn.:	dat. sg. <i>do nigi</i> 14.
no ‘or’, conjunction:	~ 8, 18, 29 <i>et passim</i> .
noí ‘nine’, cardinal numeral:	~ 86, 127, 171.
nóin ‘the ninth hour’, fem.:	gen. sg. <i>im thráth nóna</i> ‘in the evening’ 92-3; acc. pl. <i>co nónaí</i> 118.
nónbor ‘group of nine people’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 107.
ó ‘when’, temporal conj.:	~ 82, 189.
ó ‘from’, prep. + dat.:	~ 117, 144; (pronominal forms) 2sg. <i>úait</i> 70; 3sg. masc. <i>úad</i> 91, 163, <i>úad-som</i> 251; 3pl. <i>úaidib</i> 40, 46, 82 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. <i>ón talmain</i> 49; dat. sg. fem. <i>ónd úair</i> 124, 237.
oac ‘young man, warrior’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. pl. <i>co n-ócaib</i> 173.
oc ‘at’, prep. dat.:	~ 80; (pronominal form) 1pl. <i>ocunn</i> 8; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. <i>ocom</i> 66; 2sg. <i>ocot</i> 235, 236, 236; 3sg. masc. <i>oca</i> 39, 101; 3sg. fem. <i>oca</i> 3, 139; (+ vn.) <i>oc imrimm</i> 45-6, <i>oc soud</i> 47, <i>oc airbriathrad</i> 104 <i>et passim</i> ; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. fem. <i>ocon mnaí</i> 265.
ocus ‘and’, conjunction (short form is):	<i>ocus</i> 30, 89, 100 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>is</i> 25; ¶ 3, 12, 33 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>os</i> 259.
óderg ‘red-eared’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. pl. fem. <i>óderga</i> 87.
óebell ‘spark, single flame’, fem.:	(in cmpd. with <i>óen</i> -) acc. sg. <i>óenóebill</i> 169.
óen ‘one’, cardinal numeral:	<i>óen</i> - prefix. in cmpds. meaning ‘single’ (see s.v. <i>fer</i> , <i>súil</i> , <i>lá</i> , <i>óebell</i>).

óenar ‘single person’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>a n-óenur</i> 90, <i>a óenur</i> 186, 190 <i>et passim</i> .
óenlámaid ‘one-handed one’, <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 224.
ol ‘said’, defective vb.:	(with proper nouns etc.) ~ 8, 10, 11 <i>et passim</i> ; (with pronouns) 3sg. masc. <i>ol-se</i> 63, 103; 3sg. fem. <i>ol-sí</i> 258.
olc ‘evil, bad’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 81, 208.
olchenae ‘besides’, adv.:	~ 122.
oll ‘great, ample’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	171 (see textual note); (see also s.v. <i>cathach</i>).
ón ‘that, (in explanation) that is to say’, neut. demons. pron.:	~ 4, 51, 63 <i>et passim</i> .
orddan ‘dignity, honour’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 228, 228.
óthá ‘from (lit. from where is)’:	~ 92, 99.
rámat ‘high-road’, masc.:	nom. sg. ~ 20.
rannaid ‘divides, separates’:	3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro rannsat</i> 234.
ráth ‘fort’, masc./fem.:	(in. compd. with <i>ríg-</i>) acc. pl. <i>rígrátha</i> 161.
re n- , ria n- ‘before’, prep. + dat.:	<i>ria</i> 157; (pronominal form) 3sg. fem. <i>remi</i> 96; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. <i>riasint slúag</i> 123.
reithid ‘runs’:	3sg. augm. pret. <i>cetaro ráith</i> 157, 166, <i>ro ráith</i> 173.
rí ‘king’, masc. guttural stem:	nom. sg. <i>in rí</i> 12, 13, 15 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. sg. <i>co rí</i> 5, 28; gen. sg. <i>ind rí</i> 20, 164, 206 <i>et passim</i> ; (stem <i>ríg-</i> used to form compds., see s.v. <i>ráth, lasar</i>).
rígain ‘queen’, fem. <i>ī</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>ind rígain</i> 29; gen. pl. <i>rígnae</i> 74.
ríгдаe ‘kingly, majestic’, <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	(in compd. with <i>ard</i>) nom. sg. fem. <i>ardríгдаe</i> 163.
rith ‘course’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 166.
ro-cluinethar ‘hears’:	pret. pass. sg. <i>co closs</i> 112, 259.
róe ‘battle (extended meaning)’, fem.:	gen. sg. <i>roe</i> 166.

ro-fitir ‘knows, knew’:	1sg. <i>ro-fetar-sa</i> 227, 254; 3sg. pret. <i>nad fitir</i> 42.
ro-ic ‘reaches’:	3pl. pret. <i>ó ráncatar</i> 189, <i>co ráncatar</i> 265.
roínid ‘routs, overthrows’:	3sg. pres. ind. (+ 3sg. neut. suffixed pron.) <i>roínti</i> 115.
ro-saig ‘reaches, extends’:	3sg. pret. <i>ro-siacht</i> 163.
-sa, -se , 1sg. emph. pron.:	<i>dam-sa</i> 10, 58, <i>im ucht-sa</i> 51 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>ocom dígail-se</i> 66, <i>dom inchaib-se</i> 68
saer ‘free’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	165 (see textual note).
saich ‘evil’:	(as. subst.) dat. sg. <i>di saich</i> 97.
saigid ‘seeks’:	2sg. ipv. <i>saig</i> 217.
sain ‘different, peculiar’, <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 159.
sair ‘eastwards, forwards’, adv. of place:	~ 85; 156 (see textual note).
sál ‘brine’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 86.
sál ‘heel’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. dual <i>dí sáil</i> 96.
sant ‘desire’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>a saint</i> 37.
sáraigidir ‘insults’:	3pl. augm. pret. <i>ro sáraigsetar</i> 163-4.
sásaid ‘satisfies’:	3sg. pres. ind. (+ 1pl. suffixed pron.) <i>sástunn</i> 177.
scian ‘knife’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>cona sciin</i> 194.
sciath ‘shield’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 180; (see also s.v. <i>gal</i>)
sebtaib :	157 (see textual note).
sech ‘past’, prep. + acc.:	~ 187, 188, 188; (pronominal form) 1sg. <i>sechom-sa</i> 205.
secht ‘seven’, cardinal numeral:	~ 87, 107.
sell ‘eye’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem?:	nom. pl. <i>sella</i> 22.
sellad ‘looking’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>fri sellad</i> 162.
sét ‘chattels’ (in pl.), masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 42; acc. sg. <i>in sét</i> 42; gen. pl. ~ 33; acc. pl. <i>séutu</i> 249; dat. pl. <i>di sétaib</i> 8, 37, 40.
sí ‘she’, 3sg. fem. personal pron.:	~ 30, 93, 94 <i>et passim</i> .
-si , 3sg. fem. emph. pron.:	<i>oca acaldaim-si</i> 139, <i>as-bert-si</i> 139.

síar ‘westwards, backwards’, adv.	~ 210, 213.
of place:	
sillid ‘gazes’:	3pl. pres. ind. rel. <i>sillite</i> 22.
sin ‘that’, demons. pron.:	~ 19, 28, 29 <i>et passim</i> .
sínid ‘stretches out, spreads’:	178 (see textual note).
sís ‘down’, adv.:	~ 194.
slaidid ‘strikes, slays’:	3sg. fut. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) <i>selsus</i> 178.
slán ‘whole, sound’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	(in compd. with <i>cert</i>) <i>certslán</i> 144 (see textual note).
sleg ‘spear, javelin’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	178 (see textual note).
slíasait ‘thigh’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>slíasta</i> 142.
slige ‘(i) cutting down, smiting (ii) way, road’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	(i) dat. sg. <i>iar sligi</i> 181; (ii) dat. sg. <i>forint sligi</i> 260.
sligid ‘strikes down’:	3pl. pret. <i>selgatar</i> 150.
slúag ‘host’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>lasin slúag</i> 98; <i>in slúag</i> 115, <i>fri slúag</i> 159; gen. sg. <i>dar éissi int slúaig</i> 190; dat. sg. <i>dont slúag</i> 44, <i>riasint slúag</i> 123; gen. pl. ~ 162.
slúagach ‘rich in troops, followers’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 27 (‘abundant’).
sním ‘grief, distress’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i sním</i> 142.
so, se ‘this’, demons. pron.:	<i>so</i> 43; <i>se</i> 77.
-so, -siu , 2sg emph. pron.:	<i>comdom marbae-so</i> 65, <i>nícot biad-so</i> 67, <i>con-tolae-so</i> 191 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>duit-siu</i> 68, <i>tair-siu</i> 257.
soacaldmae ‘affable’:	acc. sg. ~ 163.
sochaide ‘multitude’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 120, 122, 249.
-som, -sem , 3sg. masc./ neut., 3pl emph. pron.:	masc. <i>dossom</i> 4, <i>tuc-som</i> 38 <i>et passim</i> ; <i>lasa mairfide-sem</i> 35, <i>a ainm-sem</i> 232; 3pl. <i>dia tairmiusc-som</i> 84, <i>lotar-som</i> 265.
soud ‘turning’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>oc soüid</i> 47.
soid ‘turns’:	3sg. pret. <i>sois</i> 159.
sreid ‘scatters’:	160 (see textual note).
sruth ‘stream, river’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	~ 142 (see s.v. <i>fuil</i>).

suí ‘man of learning, sage’, masc. dental stem:	acc. sg. <i>in suid</i> 163.
suide ‘he, the latter’, anaphoric pron.:	(unstressed form) <i>mac-side</i> ~ 2, <i>co n-accae-side</i> 49, <i>lotar-side</i> 82-3; (accented form) acc. neut. <i>la sodain</i> ‘therewith’ 115.
súil ‘eye’, fem. <i>i</i> -stem:	nom. sg. <i>int súil</i> 15, ~ 20; acc. sg. ~ 12; acc. dual <i>dí súil</i> 19; (in compd. with <i>óen-</i>) nom. sg. <i>ind óensúil</i> 10, <i>óensúil</i> 36; acc. sg. <i>óensúil</i> 3.
súilech ‘ocular’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	acc. sg. masc. ~ 27.
sulbair ‘eloquent, well-spoken’, <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. ~ 163.
sund ‘here’, adv. of place:	~ 248, 250.
tabart ‘giving, putting’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem vn.:	dat. sg. <i>do thabairt</i> 18, 108.
tairesiu ‘offering’, fem. <i>n</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>do thaircsin</i> 33.
tairmesc ‘hindering’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>dia tairmiusc-som</i> 84.
talam ‘ground, earth’, masc. <i>n</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 113; acc. sg. <i>i talmain</i> 59, <i>co talmain</i> 231, 232; dat. sg. <i>ón talmain</i> 49, <i>din talmain</i> 195.
tarr/tairr ‘stomach, belly’, masc.:	146 (see textual note).
tech ‘house, household’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>tige</i> 31; dat. sg. <i>i tig</i> 94.
techt ‘going’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 244.
teinnid ‘cuts, cracks’:	3sg. pret. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) <i>nos tethainn</i> 194.
téit ‘goes’:	2sg. ipv. <i>eirg</i> 76; 3pl. ipf. <i>no téigtis</i> 90; 3sg. pret. <i>dia lluid-som</i> 4, <i>luid-side</i> 6-7, <i>luid</i> 60 <i>et passim</i> ; rel. <i>luide</i> 4, 5, 32 <i>et passim</i> ; 3pl. pret. <i>lotar-side</i> 82-3, <i>lotar-som</i> 265; 3sg. augm. pret. <i>do-coid</i> 105, <i>co ndechuid</i> 209, 230; 3pl. augm. pret. <i>do-chótar</i> 111, <i>co ndechutar</i> 85; 1sg. pres. subj. <i>co ndechur</i> 77; 3sg. augm. ipf. subj. <i>arna digsed</i> 33; 2sg. fut. <i>ní regae-so</i> 227.

tene ‘fire’, masc. dental stem:	gen. sg. <i>tened</i> 98.
téoir, téora ‘three’, fem. cardinal numeral.	nom. <i>téora</i> 233; acc. <i>téora</i> 14.
tert ‘the canonical hour of terce’, fem.:	dat. sg. <i>ó theirt</i> 117.
tír ‘land, territory’, neut. <i>s</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>issa tír</i> 34; <i>i tír</i> 110, ~ 189; dat. sg. <i>dia thír</i> 75.
tlacht ‘covering, garment’, masc. <i>u</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 146.
tnúth:	(see textual note).
tóchustal ‘muster, mustering’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 105; dat. sg. <i>dia tóchustul-side</i> 105.
tóeb ‘side’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem?:	nom. dual <i>in dá thoíb</i> 166; dat. sg. <i>dom thóib</i> 223; <i>dia thoíb</i> 224; acc. pl. <i>imma thóibu</i> 146; (in compd. with <i>cóem</i>) acc. sg. <i>Cóemthóeb</i> 150.
toirse ‘sorrow, distress’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>i toirsi</i> 124.
toll ‘pierced, perforated’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	nom. dual. masc. <i>tuill</i> 167; acc. pl. <i>tolla</i> 146 (see textual note).
tonn ‘wave’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	acc. pl. <i>tonna</i> 14.
tortíne ‘little loaf’:	nom. sg. ~ 98.
tosach ‘beginning’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. (adverbial use) <i>i tosach</i> ‘at first’ 4.
trá ‘then’:	~ 39, 45, 76 <i>et passim</i> .
traig ‘foot’, fem. dental stem:	nom. dual <i>di thraigid</i> 95.
tráigid ‘ebbs’:	3sg. pres. ind. rel. <i>thráiges</i> 113; 3sg. pret. <i>tethraig</i> ? (see textual note) 177.
tráth ‘hour’ neut. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>im thráth</i> 92; gen. sg. <i>cach thrátha</i> 108; nom. pl. ~ 86.
tré ‘through’, prep. + acc.:	(pronominal form) 3sg. masc. <i>triit</i> 231; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. <i>tría</i> 196, 209; 3sg. fem. <i>tría</i> 260.
tri ‘three’, masc. cardinal numeral:	acc. ~ 74; gen. ~ 98; (multiplicative) <i>fo thrí</i> 109, 109, 224.

tri ‘three’, neut. cardinal numeral:	~ 111.
trian ‘third’, neut. <i>o</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 234, <i>a trian</i> 234, 235 <i>et passim</i> .
triar ‘three persons’, masc. <i>o</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>din triur</i> 234.
tróethaid ‘subdues, overwhelms’:	3sg. pret. rel. <i>tróethas</i> 161.
trom ‘heavy’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	pred. ~ 116.
túaim :	167 (see textual note).
túaithebiul ‘left-hand wise’ adv.:	~ 5.
túar ‘poet’, masc. dental stem:	acc. sg. <i>in túaraid</i> 22.
túath ‘people’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	nom. sg. ~ 35.
tuidbigid ‘destroyer?’, masc. <i>i</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>in tuidbigid</i> 161.
tuidecht ‘coming’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>oc tuidecht</i> 241.
tuirem ‘enumerating’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>mó tuirim</i> 138.
tulach ‘hill’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>isin tulaig</i> 42, 46.
úallach ‘proud’, <i>o/ā</i> -stem:	gen. sg. masc. <i>úallaig</i> 23.
úar ‘hour’, fem. <i>ā</i> -stem:	dat. sg. <i>ónd úair</i> 124.
ucht ‘lap’, neut. <i>u</i> -stem:	acc. sg. <i>i n-ucht</i> 48; dat. sg. <i>im ucht-sa</i> 51.
ucut ‘yon, that’, demons. adj:	~ 10.
uile ‘all’, <i>io/iā</i> -stem:	nom. pl. <i>uili</i> 44.
uisce ‘water’, masc. <i>io</i> -stem:	gen. sg. <i>ind uisci</i> 13; dat. sg. <i>dond uisciu</i> 14.
ulach ‘foot’:	144 (see textual note).
Ulaid (in pl.) ‘Ulster, Ulstermen’:	nom. pl. <i>Ulaid</i> 39, 66, 80 <i>et passim</i> ; acc. pl. <i>for Ultu</i> 59, <i>la Ultu</i> 68, <i>co Ultu</i> 76 <i>et passim</i> ; gen. pl. <i>Ulad</i> 91, 105, 108 <i>et passim</i> ; dat. pl. <i>ar Ultaib</i> 67, <i>di Ultaib</i> 70, <i>do Ultaib</i> 82 <i>et passim</i> .
ungae ‘ounce’, fem. <i>iā</i> -stem:	gen. pl. ~ 50.
úr ‘clay’, fem.:	nom. sg. ~ 178; acc. sg. <i>in n-úir</i> 87, <i>úir</i> 176.