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AN EDITION OF TALLAND ÉTAIR

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2003
DECLARATIONS

I declare (i) that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University; (ii) that it is entirely my own work; (iii) that I agree that the Library may lend or copy this thesis upon request:

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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 Breathnach. 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 Breathnach’s chapter on Middle Irish in Stair na Gaeilge (ed. K. McConne et al. 1990) and by Kim McConne’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 |

## Background to ‘Talland Étair’

| II. | Previous editions and commentaries | 10 |
| 2. Synopsis | 13 |
| 3. Parallels with other texts | 16 |
| 4. Literary analysis | 18 |

## Manuscripts and editorial policy

| III. | Manuscripts | 27 |
| 2. Relationship between the manuscripts | 29 |
| 3. Editorial policy | 48 |

## Dating

| IV. | External evidence | 53 |
| 2. Internal (linguistic) evidence | 56 |
| 3. Date of composition | 79 |

## Metre

| V. | Súil ind rig rámat clothach | 80 |
| 2. Delg fil i nArd Brestine | 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
TÉ Talland Étair

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

II. Background to ‘Talland Étain’

II.1. Previous editions and commentaries

TÉ 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 II.20-27 (which he says is an interpolation, 47) and II.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 nUislienn (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 II.123 and 185). The text contains many misreadings e.g. celmunnú (for L celmunniu), Mó timme (for L Mó turim) and Cheltair maic Uthaír (which should be expanded Celtchair maic Uthaír or with later Utethechair); 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 TÉ 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-
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 dindshenchus 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 Liffey [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 dindšenchas 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 1.193 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, Aithirné Ailgesach - Aithirné 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 1.82, 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 bruion 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 1.41) and he himself includes the reference in his synopsis '...sa tsli nach dtógfaidis a n-aghaidh go deo aris i measc Gael mura gcuirfidis 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 Tébuillech’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 Gegrai 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 Cemach, however, has unfinished business. He sets off through Leinster to catch up with Mess Gegrai. Mess Gegrai 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 Gegrai alone and one-handed.

As Mess Gegrai 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 Gegrai tells him he must seek what is his at all costs. Conall accuses Mess Gegrai of having the heads of his brothers, Mess Dead and Lóegaire. Mess Gegrai 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 Gegrai. Mess Gegrai, 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 Athglo 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. Breathnach, 1980; see ibid., 3).

3. II.91-99: The description of Leborcham is also similar to the description of Cú Chulainn during his *riastrad* (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 Bricrenn* (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 Cúscraid is also found in *Serglige 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 TÉ of elements found in other texts, the most important criterion in deciding which text influenced which is chronology. TÉ is datable to at least the second half of the OIr. period (see IV below). 3 is the dated earlier than TÉ so it is impossible that TÉ was the source; 1, 4, 7, are roughly linguistically contemporary with TÉ, 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 TÉ could have borrowed from them. The incidents in 6 are not contained in TBC Rec.I, so it is possible, as the language TÉ is generally older than that of the LL Táin that TÉ 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, TE 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:

TE 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 TE we see the basic plot being quickly established with Aithime'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 Gegrai (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 *ròsc* 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 Aithime 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 Aithime and engaging the Ulstermen in battle perfectly understandable. It also seems that the Leinstermen’s pursuit of Aithime 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 is 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 (1.259-60).

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
(1.16-17). Other humorous moments come with the description of Leborcham’s shape
(II. 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 (1.98).
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 Purblind
or Stammering Cúscraid (II.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 (1.240 ff.).

Justice

The wrong done to Echu son of Luchtae by Aithime, 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 (II.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 (II.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 (II.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 (I.176). Leborcham’s small loaf is likened to sixty regular loaves for comic effect (I.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 (I.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 (II.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 (I.222); the latter is used to symbolise the end result of a bad judgement on the part of Mess Gegrai (I.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 _TÉ_.

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 _TÉ_, 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 Gegrai, 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 Gegrai (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 Gegrai 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 Gegrai**

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 Gegrai 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 TÉ 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 TÉ, 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’.

26
III. Manuscripts, editions and editorial policy

III.1. Manuscripts

The edition is based on the following manuscripts.


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 Tadg 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.
In L *TÉ* 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 *TÉ*, 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 Athirne 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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. immargul 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr.
Superior readings in L

fa-dess/ ba-dess (7): H has a Midlr. 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 ri/ 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 Midlr. confusion of d /δ/ and g /γ/.

máige fea/ moighi fea (32): the spelling in H may represent the Midlr. 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
tarcaisn ‘contempt, insult’, given the context.

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

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

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

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

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

do-scuiched/ 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.

do 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 Midlr. form whereby conjunct frith is used independently without a preverb (< OIr. fo-frith, see SnaG, 306-7).

rop ail 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 ultaih), 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 Aithime’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 bia 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. fail (see SnaG, 323) and len. after ni (see SnaG, 278).

fria gilla/ fria a gilla (76): H has fria which is found in Midlr. for the simple prep. fri.

cen/ gan (86): H has later gan for OIr. cen.

Secht cet 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 cet retains its neut. gender.

leborcham is si do-bered. Mug 1 cumal ro batar i tig conchohair. is i 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 Midlr.) preceded by the neut. dual. numeral, it does not however show nas. after the numeral.
Cech ni do maith | do saich do-gnithea i n-here/ nac ni di maith no do saith do-gnithi ann (96-7): L has the better reading; in cases where the indef. pron. ni 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 ni ‘everything’, whereas H has indefinite nac ni ‘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 dune/ 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 ceduair (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 eccræ ‘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 Dian-.’).

coc laidiub/ 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 Midlr. nom. pl. which is based on the acc. pl. (see SnaG, 250-1).

Ni fir ngaiscid/ ni fir on (222): L has the superior reading; the phrase fir ngaiscid ‘warrior’s truth’ mirrors that of fir 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 Gegrail 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 chlointa/ i cassan cloënta (229): L has the superior reading with len. following dat. sg. cassán.

tríi/ trid (231): L has the historical hiatus form.

ad-n-aic a cend/ at-conaie a chend (231): 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-condaire i.e. 3sg. augm. pret. of ad-ci ‘sees’, used in the sense ‘his head saw the pillar’.

cot aclallaim /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 Midlr. 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 Tri an ro char (234-6): L has a 3pl. referring to the semantically pl. A trian and a late form ro c(h)ar which is in grammatical agreement with A trian and a Midlr. 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 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’.

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

a foid 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 Midlr. simple vb. cuinnigid (<OIr. con-dieig); the 3sg. ā-pret. of guidid in H is superior, the ā-pret. becomes rare in Midlr. (see SnaG, 304). It is necessary, however, to emend this to the rel. form gáde.

no guided/ gaid (3): H again has the ā-pret.

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

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

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

agreeing with stuíl.

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

or in ri/ ol-se (16) ol-se in H is good OIr. form as opposed to Mlr. or with clarification specifying in ri; 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 Midlr. 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 (DII, 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.’).

da súil/ di 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/a 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 infixed pron which is carried by the conjunction co meaning that ro is behaving as preverb.

.i. nad fàcca/.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.

ṣ ro guidetar/ṣ ro gadhatar (44): H has the superior reading with a-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 dib/ 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 ngegra (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/or-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 \( im \ farrad \) which of course may have simply crept in during transmission.

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

\( \text{Ni \ f\}} \text{ail/ Ni f\}} \text{il (68): L has a late reading with MidIr.} \text{f\}} \text{ail (see} \text{SnaG, 323) and len. after} \text{ni (see} \text{SnaG, 278).} \)

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 flaithi (74): H has the superior reading with a form showing \( ß \)-stem flexion in \( rigain \); L has a MidIr. form showing \( ã \)-stem flexion (see \( SnaG \), 247); H also has the superior reading with historical palatal \(-th\) in fem. i-stem gen. \( p\}. \text{flaithi.} \)

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 \( \text{co mbátar} \) to the second, omitting everything in between.

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

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

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

\( \text{eter lá} ñ \text{aidchi/ eter de} ñ \text{aidci (100): H has the better reading; L has a contracted form in acc. sg. of} \text{laa.} \)

ro chlaidsetar/ ro cechlotar (100-1): superior reading in H with the historical augm. redup. pret. of \( \text{claidid} \); L has a MidIr. form based on the un-reduplicated root \( \text{claid-} \) 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. \( \text{dün.} \)

36
do-choid/ do-coid (105): L shows MidIr. non-historical main-clause len. (see EIV, 173).

ar galaib/ ar galaib ainfin (109): H has the standard phrase (see DIL s.v. 1 gal).

Combad airsein no imberthea écomlund i tosaig i n-here/ IS se forceeta-immarbarath 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 constuction ‘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’.

Co cuala cu chulainn/ Co clos ni 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 ni, co n-acca ni (‘something was heard’, ‘he saw something’) the indefinite pronoun ni is used to anticipate something strange, mystic, surprising, or startling.’ also ‘In TBC the formula co cloth ni, 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 congaithe 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 congaid 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 bói do sciathaitb and olcena, Ėriu 4, 28.12’ cited DIL s.v. tuirem). L has a MidIr.
hypercotect 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).
uchtair 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 Olr.; I take nair to be an error for nArd, however, it is possible that it
contains the personal name Nár i.e. Úachtar Nár.
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)
nfaccai-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.
dódaígs/ 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 amraith (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 Olr. form of which is con-ábracht showing the regular development of ad > á
before \( r, l, n \) (see \textit{GOI}, 496). The \( m \) in \textit{-amracht} is due to the analogical influence of prot. \textit{-com\textsuperscript{\textdagger}racht}.

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

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

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

Ro randsat mna iat/ Ro raindse/ mna iat a tri (234): L has a MidIr. obj. indep. pron. \textit{iat}, which supplies an obj. where there is none in H.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\textit{esti}/ \textit{essi} (259): L has a MidIr. form with a dental (see \textit{SnaG}, 326).

**Middle Irish readings common to both mss.**

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

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

\textit{sinaind}/ \textit{sinaind} (7): both mss. have hypercorrect final \textit{nd} for \textit{nn}.
both mss. display the Midlr. phonetic development $e > eo / eu$ before $ch$.

both mss. have a later form whereby the masc. numeral is used with a fem. noun (see SnaG, 261); I have emended these to the historical form.

both mss. have a Midlr. form of the neut. pron. with initial $s$ (see SnaG, 274).

both mss. have the late form of $rigain$ with $ā$-stem flexion.

both mss. have a Midlr. 3sg. s-pret. which has replaced the OIr. suffixless pret. $fiu$ / $flu$ i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conj. $-foi$ supplies the 3sg. past tense conj. form $issin$ $tir$ / $isain$ $tir$ (34): both mss. have a form of the def. art. which shows either confusion of the acc. and dat., or that $tir$ is being treated as a masc. / fem. noun.

both mss. have Midlr. forms from 3sg. cond. $-fāicēbad.

both mss. have the Midlr. form of the prep. $i + art.$ (see SnaG, 259).

both mss. have the Midlr. form of the prep. $i + art.$ (see SnaG, 259).

both mss. have a Midlr. form of the numeral with the masc. acc. form replacing the nom. (see SnaG, 261).

both mss. show Midlr. simplification of $ndn>dn$ (see SnaG, 234).

both mss. have a Midlr. form with the initial vowel lost (see SnaG, 329).

both mss. have a Midlr. form with non-pal. $-br-$.

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)).

both mss. have the Midlr. form of 3sg. fut. of at-tá with $-a-$ for OIr. bieid.

both mss. also have $acht co$, which is clearly Midlr. if taken at face value; the occurrence of $acht$ here may be accounted for by scribal misreading of the compendium for $ocus$ $γ$ and that for $acht$ $ś$, which was subsequently expanded; I restore $γ$ which is here used to connect two sentences whereby the second is not formally dependent on the first (on this construction see
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).

\(ni\ 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 \(nì\) (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\ \(\gamma\ 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 Olr. (\(GOI\) vaguely states that it is ‘fem. in Mod. Ir.’, 205; note however, the following gloss cited \(DIL\ s.v.\ 1\ traig\ ‘t. a\ trachtu,\ vel\ quasi\ ter-rig.\ i.\ rig\ terram,\ ar\ ísí\ benas\ for\ lår,\ 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. Crist reum Crist im degaid, Thes. ii 357.14.; I therefore emend the ms. forms to \(degaid.\)

\(a\ da\ escait\ \(\gamma\ a\ dá\ sáil/\ a\ da\ hescaid\ \(\gamma\ 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 \(toichlid\) which replaces \(do-foichell\ ‘traverses, journeys over’ in MidIr.; the preverbal part. \(no\) is also absent in both mss.

\(is\ siat\ ro\ chlaidsetar\ dún\ etair/\ is\ iad\ ulaid\ ro\ cechlotar\ dún\ n-etur\ (100-1): both mss. have a late reading with the new 3pl. indep. pron. which replaced Olr. \(é\) (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 th na lát th gail/ na curaid th 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*.

dluingsius/ 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*.

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

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

colleic/ 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°2, Ml.130°3, Sg.45°7).

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 dússig/ ro dúsic (196): both mss. have a MidIr. form whereby OIr. *do-fiuschi* ‘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-aidleá.

Amal at-chonnairc/ Amal at-chondairc (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).

Atá/ 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 das/ Cid das (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 ferrcertne di ulltaib (2-3): H records a longer tradition for Aithirne.

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

dia dá sűil dósom/ dia dossom di 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 Éiriu is also a good reading as this form is lost in MR.

Do-curidar int ech fôt mor da dib croib. Niro airig duine isind airiucht coni tarla i n-ucht ind rig. i. fergusa fairge/ Do-cuirithir ant euch foot mor dia dib cruib iarlarcoib cusán airiucht conid tarlae i nn-ucht and rig. i. fergussa 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 Fairrce.

Cid fil im ucht-sa or in ri a aithirni/ 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 γ a n-athair/ a n-athair γ a mmathair (61): the mss. have different word-order.

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

ni anub-sa trá dit-so co rruca oenfer dultaib do chend γ do mnai/ ni ainiub-sa amh dot aimles-sa condu ruca ainfer do ullaib 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 1 dagdoine lagen dia mbreith dia thir leis/ do mnaib na flaithi dia mbreith; leis dia thir (74-5): the mss. have different vocabulary and word order (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

Do-roachtatar ulaid dano in yiarmoracht athirri. Do-llotar-side dia thessaircain-seom/ Co n-acotur ulaid immurgu in yiarmoracht a ndiaid athirine Do-llotur-side dia tairmiusc-sum (83-4): the mss. readings are structurally different and use different vocabulary (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

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

arna taiscelad 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).

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

Is i 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 töchostul ulad/ cona rucad a burach amach co tochusul nulad (104-5): the ms. readings are structurally different (see textual notes for full discussion of differences).

ar do-choid leborcham do töchostul ulad. Co tistais i curhaib no co tistais ar tir dia cobair/ AR do-coi lehurcaim 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 utaib dul dar mür nderg (118-9): the geis is in L only.

ben loeagair buadaig/ ben loegair buadaig maic connad buidi maic iliach (129): H records a longer tradition for Lóeagair Búadach (cf. CGH, 272).

ben cheltchar/ ben cealtchar maic uthidhir (131): H records the paternity of Celtchar.

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

Ba meti cend fir in chnu Ba med cend fir in chnu (193-4): different construction in the mss. (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:

```
   O
  / \
 X   X
 /   \
L     H
```

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 Û (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. mc when gen. sg. expanded to maic, im 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 † 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 ‘spitus 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. Midlr. forms common to both mss. are assumed to have been added after composition. Consequently, all such Midlr. forms will be replaced by their corresponding OIr. forms. This is the case for all grammatical categories.

The replacement of Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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. *bail boi*, a single form is used throughout (in this case *boi*). 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. 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 &; γ 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 γ 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 1.114 (mss. *imbirt/imbir*) and 1.263 (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 *TE* 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). *TE* 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 Cinaed ua Artacain (†975). Carney (1983, 188) states that ‘He wrote during the reign of Congalach, son of Mael Mithig (†956) and he had a connection with Amlaib or Olaf, king of Dublin, who spent much of his time in Meath. Cinaed died in 973 (AFM) and Amlaib 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 Amlaib of Áth Cliath from whom he received a gift of a horse; in the last stanza he refers to Colum Cille, whom he clearly tegards [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 Cinaed and the Norse king of Dublin, Amlaib Cúarán, highlighting their link with the Meath area, ‘In the *Metrical Dindshenchas* there is a poem on Achall, that is the Hill of Skreen near Tara, written by Cinaed ua hArtacáin for Amlaib Cúarán... Amlaib 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 Cinaed, 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 Amlaib’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 Amlaib’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 Amlaib 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 Amlaib, was composed for Amlaib Cuarán - and I think that this makes best sense - then Amlaib 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, Metr. 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, Érīu 7. 210-38. (g) A chloch thall fo r elaid uair (Cinaed), Meyer, Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes, 18; L III, 633-4.’

Cinaed’s familiarity with TÉ, is displayed in items d and e. Gwynn (1913, 104-9) gives d the title ‘Bend Étair I’. The first seven verses of ‘Bend Étair I are dindsenchus relating to Étar and are closed by a dhúnad. The following elements from TÉ are contained in the second part of the poem (the line nos. are those of Gwynn’s edition): i) Aithime’s retreat to Étar with his booty of seven hundred ‘white red-eared cows’ (l.53-6); ii) the pursuit of their booty by the Leinstermen (l.57-8); iii) the arrival of the Ulstermen to dispute the spoil of cattle (l.61-3); iv) the retreat of the Ulstermen to Étar (l.67-8). Other elements are related differently, e.g. Mess Dead’s presence there and his boyish strength are mentioned as in TÉ, but the poem speaks of his being drowned by Find Fili (not his being beheaded by the Leinstermen) (l.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 Fianna 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 12\textsuperscript{th}/13\textsuperscript{th} Centuries; it can therefore theoretically contain OIr. and Midlr. forms. H is a manuscript of the 16\textsuperscript{th} Century which can potentially contain OIr., Midlr. and EModlr. forms. As stated above (III.2), the mss. contain a mixture OIr. and Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg. masc.</td>
<td><em>ind</em> (and) <em>eich</em> 47, <em>ind</em> <em>usci</em> (and <em>usce</em>) 193, <em>ind</em> <em>föit</em> (and <em>foid</em>) 49, <em>ind</em> <em>rig</em> (and <em>rig</em>) 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl. masc.</td>
<td><em>ind</em> <em>fir</em> (in <em>fir</em> (H form still significant as it has not been replaced by <em>na</em>)) 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. sg. fem.</td>
<td><em>ind</em> (and) <em>ingen</em> 92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ri (ri) 13, in fer (an fear) 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

57
nom. sg. fem. in chnú (chnu) 194, in ben 245
acc. sg. fem. in cnoi 193, in mnaí 3, Lasin fèli (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/isín*: used in dative singular masculine and feminine:

masc. don gillu (gilla) 195
fem. isin chroibrúaid (craepruaídh) 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 (hingíni) 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 sluág) 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 urghail* (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 cu ci ind fir athgoeti* (do-bertis cuco in fir 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:

Noi trath (noi tradh) 86
tri chét læch (cet læch) 111

Feminine di preserved:

di 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
da sáil (sail) 96
da urgail (urghail) 117
Masculine accusative *cethri* for nominative *cethir*:

I Rrabatar cethri fichit unga (i rrabatar cetri fichit ungo) 50

\[o-stems\]

**OIr. forms:**

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

i (a) ndesciurt 32

Distinct accusative and dative forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>i ndorn (a ndornd)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>durn (durnd)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\ddash-stems\]

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. sg.</td>
<td>túath (tuath) 35, cúal (cual) 103, Sciatgal 180, lám (lam) 206, gress 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. sg.</td>
<td>láim (laim) 13, a ñaint (saint) 37, fortacht (fortacht) 45, commatin (matin) 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. sg.</td>
<td>co n-oenláim (n-oinlaimh) 222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i-stems

OIr. forms:

The OIr. vocalic genitive plural ending is preserved:

nom. pl. maine (maini) 33
gen. pl. maine (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 fèli (feli) 18,
dat. sg. i toirsi 124
Confusion/ generalization of final vowels is shown in:

*Masc. io*

nom. sg.   delta 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.   rigan (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 chnu (chnu) 193-4

Comparative

ba hailliu cach (haidiu 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.):

taris 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>noi crotha 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>tri coicdu (coectu) 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>Turtine tri fichet mbargen (A turtíni tri fichet mbairgen) 98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dative *dib* (fem.) used:

da dib 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-scaia 113, Rointi (rointi) 115,
    Maidid (Maididh) 117, (with 3sg. suffixed proleptic pron.),
    con-meil (con-mel) 175, im-soi (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.) maides (maidhes) 113, thrages (traighius) 113
3pl. as-berat (as berad) 110

Imperative

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

Imperfect

3sg. do-scuiched (do-scochad) 46, ni leiced (ni lecidh) 90, ad-féided
    (at-fededh) 97
3pl. do-bertis (do-bertis) 89, teigtis (tegdis) 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) farc bais 203, in tucais 247

3pl. co turgabsat (co turcabsat) 118

(rel.) ro ñersat (ro fersad) 117

Augmented preterites used with sense of preterite

3sg. Nira gaib (Niro gaib) 28, Ro char (ro car) 234, ni ñargaib (ni farcaib) 81, fo-racaib (fo-rácaib) 195

3pl. Ro randsat (Ro raindsat) 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 raith (raith) 157, ro raith (raith) 173, cecha torchair (cecha torchar) 184, doid (doidh) 205, do-lloid (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 (do-bebharnatar) 152, fo-fuaratar (fo-fuaratar) 176, ránctar (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-cotar) 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 tistais (co tisdais) 105

f-Future

1sg.  
Ni anub (ni ainiub) 70, Con-tuiliub 191

3pl.  
ticfat (ticfad) 183
Unreduplicated à-Future

2sg. 
-raga (-raghu) 227

ε-Conditional

3sg. 
nos bérad (nus berad) 68,
3pl. 
conna turgebtais (cona turcebtais) 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-gnither (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 assaïted (ro hasaïed) 30, ro lad (ro laadh) 45, co rragbad (co rragbhadh) 85, ro bith 166, Timarnad 244, co clos (co closs) 259

*a*-Subjunctive: Augmented Imperfect

3sg. arna ructhae 31

**f-future**

3sg. lasa mairfide (mmairfide) 35

**e-Future**

3sg. Ni gébthar (gebthar) 72

**Middle Irish developments**

New simple verbs based on the prototonic stem of compounds:

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

3sg. pret. dlungsius (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 (<Olr. in-lâ)
3sg. fut. pass. *cumrigfithir* (comrightfidir) 223 (<OIr. *con-riestar*) also with *f*-fut. flexion

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

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

Spread of weak formations:

*s*-Preterite

3sg. *ra foi* (ro foi) 30 (<OIr. *ro fiu*)

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

*f*-Conditional

3sg. *Ni Íaicfed* (Ni fāicbed) 35 (<OIr. *fāicébad*)

New Midlr. 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. *-caín*)

*Form showing adoption of general Midlr. 3pl. ending*

3pl. pret. *-sinsetar* (-ssinsithir) 178 (<OIr. *-sinset*)
Form showing new 3sg. pres. ind. ending -enn-ann

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

**SUBSTANTIVE VERB**

*Present indicative*

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

*Imperfect*

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

*Preterite*

3sg. bai (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
**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 *si* is only found after the third person singular present indicative of the copula:

Is i (IS Si) 96 (in L initial *s* has coalesced with the final *s* of the verb, this occurs in both MSS. elsewhere; Is i (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 chlaidsetar dún etair (as-berat laigin is iad ulaid ro cechlotar dún 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 Geigrai's wife)

Redundant neuter pronoun:

at-chonnarc (at-connarc) 198

**SUFFIXED PRONOUNS**

With third person singular present indicative:

3sg. neut. Rointi (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-gnither $ón$ (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 Midlr. by mar).

PREPOSITIONS

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

Initial vowel of oc lost before a possessive pronoun:

1sg. com digail-se 66
2sg. cot acallaim (acallaim) 235

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

3sg. fem. rempe (rempi) 96

Occurrence of -n- in a form of tré with a possessive pronoun:

3sg. triana 196, 209

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 ndechatar (co ndechatar) 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- $ia > å$ in an unstressed syllable:

dia (inchaib) 29

MidIr. forms:

Apparent contraction of hiatus:

cona scin (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- $\rightarrow$ -ia- in third person singular future of the substantive verb:

biaid 77 (< earlier bieid)

iu $\rightarrow$ i before a broad consonant:

it chind (cind) 10

Metathesised form:

oc descin 193

ml $\rightarrow$ bl:

no blaissed (blassed) 88

re $\rightarrow$ ra:

(ni) raga ((na) raghu) 227

Simplification of -ndn- $\rightarrow$ -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:

_Rannaigecht fota recomarcach_ (rannaigecht _bec_: See Murphy 1961, 53).

\[7^2\overline{7}^2-7^2\]

Rhyme:

There is perfect rhyme between b:d; these also make \_úatne\_ with a.

1. brethach: nÉchach.: clothach

2. mbúadach: slúagach.: n-irach

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. rig: brig

Alliteration:

1a. rig rámat
1b. brig brethach
1c. sella sillite
1d. n-úallaig nÉchach
2a. *Aithirne n-frach*

2b. *mballderg mbúadach*

2c. *Día 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. *ngn* for *gn* (see *SnaG*, 325).

The occurrence of these forms is more likely due to their being found in a ms. of the Midlr. period rather than to the poem being a Midlr. 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 end rhyme (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 Midlr. 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-rindnacht* (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-rindnacht* 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 Midlr. 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 MidFr. *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.
This passage is divided into 31 distinct units, 25 of which begin with the formula at-condarc (-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 at-condarc 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, cia Ultu ána acca?
A bé find ñorusta;
At-condarc-sa, coemchéile sliasta i snim šruthfola fua mboi, béo cathmil enedach Conchobar.
At-condarc and Coin Culainn eertślán ó chúl co ulaig, fo-roros a cháel.
At-condarc and Celtchar enedmar fadessin, éissi derga dia luid.
At-condarc and Lóegaire Lonnóbúadach, fria thairr culpait, tolla imma thoibu tlacht, a dabergin búáda bebárnatar.
At-condarc and, Briannán, brétsatar fir frisa comarnic carn.
At-condarc and, Gabliol lesciol leimnech lóg.

145 At-condarc and Conn/ae 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 di láim, do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara fair.
At-chondarc and, Dubthach di doit Lugdaig, léosait dessa, ded/us.

150 At-condarc and Lugdaig, lin a mac mrogsus innonn fri Durach nDerg.
At-condarc and Amargein Artrúad, ro lass sair assa chuthach cath.
At-condarc and Fergnae, fer brigach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib sebtaih selsus.
At-condarc and Auchride, augestar fri slúag sain, sois fria n-indeg firu foí fó.
At-condarc and Béathaig bégostar ind ala ór, sréithuis, fuilí foa ún a selad fri slas.

At-condarc and in tuibbigid tróethas rigrátha, Rochad Rúadbuillech mac Find Faithemain fri sellad slúag.

At-condarc and in suid sulbair soacaldmae, ro-siacht a aurdircinsce ardrigdae úad, ro sáraigsetar fir-Ferchertne fíilíd ind ríg.

At-condarc and Fiachraigh n-ail, ail cech ecoló sair clóó.

At-condarc and Conáed Cétguinech cetaro ráith eccrata, garg a roe ríth, ro bith mac Mornai moith, in dá thoib tuill, túaim i timargar ith.

At-condarc and Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth frí is bruinne ben.

At-condarc and inna ríglastra, lassait amal óenóebill, garg a ngaiscid gnim gaile; Glaine γ

Gormainech, Maine Milsothach γ Aíllíll, Scel γ Toscel, Dures γ Ret γ Bricriu. Bertsait mórnímú noi maic Carbada uill.

At-condarc and Conall Cernach co coscraib, co cernaib, co fóidbaib, co finnaib, co n-étib, co n-ócaib ro ráith briga; in cur cethbúadach, cethchoscrach, Conall cóem Cernach.

At-condarc and Úirathach Cethem Claidebrúad con-meil mórgala asa eolairg ard.

At-chondarc and, fo-fúaratuar Ulaid úir rod lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil, millsiunn, sástunn sál mara móir tethrag tar cutig.

At-chondarc and do-fúargabad úir, imma-sinset fir, imma-tarlaicthea cranna, imma -cloiset gai.

Sciathgal, sciath i cath; it cethbúadaig Ulaid iar n-áraib eccrat, iar fortbiu buiden, iar slígi úir.

Do-airgellsat giall cach cóiced di chóicedaib Érenn acht cóiced Gállion.

Dos-fil, ticfat, tadbdet, fibait i nEmain dadoig.

Ulaid ollchathaig, fritháilid inna firu dos-fil far ndochum, acht cecha torchair dib.

**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 Étain


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

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

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

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

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

Dálais iarum téora tonna dond uisciu imma agaid.

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

‘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-rigní in ri .i. a oensúil do thabairt dia chiunn no dia inchaib, fiurt féile do-rat Dia doßom di súil ata áildem ro bátar i nÉre. Is dé sin ro cét:

86
Súil ind rig rámat clothach,
do Aithirniu ba brig brethach
Sella sillite in tuaraid,
ercsait cenn n-úallaig nÉchach.

Eter Aithirne n-irach
is Echaig mballderg mbúadach
Do-rigéni Dia dúilech,
imchoimchlód súilech slúagach. S.

Is ed luide Aithirse iar suidiú co rríg Muman .i. co Tigernach Tétbüllech. Níor gab
danó ní dia inchaib-side acht ind rigain do feis leis ind aidchi sin, no enech fer
Muman do brith co bráth. Ocus ind adaig ro asaíteid in ben is si adaig ro fiú la Aithirse
do inchaib a haithig tige arna rucaithe e anech.

Is ed luide Aithirse iar sin i Laigniú co mboi i nArd Brestíne i ndesciurt Maige Fea.
Γ do-lotar Descert Laigen inna agaí an do thaircsin sét Γ maine dó arna digsed
issa tir, arna fáébad ailechea móra. Ar ní bitís a mainí nach nech fora taibred ammu
mani tabarthea dó. Ní fáéchad danó aghabáil túath no chenél lasa mairfíe-sem.
Co taibred in fer a mnaí ndó, no co taibred a óenšíil assa chiunn, no co taibred a saint
di šétaib Γ mainíb.

Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailechea móra do fáébail for Laignibe conid
romarbaís co mbetís Ulaíd do grés oca digail for Laigniú. Is and trá gabais áilgis do
Desciúrt Laigen i mBrestíne .i. nad n-accaé di šétaib no mainíb ní no gabad úaidib,
acht ail bréthre do fáébail forru co bráth conna turgébaí a n-aigthea dé la Goidelú.
.i. maní tuctais doossom in sét as dech boi isin tulaíg Š nad fitir nech isin tulaíg cia sét
so no ciá báile i rrabae.

Ba gress Š ba imdergad móir dón slúag a n-i-sín Š ro gádatar uili tigerna inna ndúile
co tartad fortacht dóib im dingbáil dib inna gresse ro laad forru. Boi trá marcach oc
imrinn a eich isin tulaíg. Do-scuiched dochum inna airechta, no linged úaidib.
Fecht and didiu oc soud ind eich dar colpthu, do-cuirethar int ech fót móir dia dib
cruib iarthaarchaib cossin n-airecht conid tarlae i n-ucht ind rig .i. Fergus Fairrce maic Nuadat Necht. Co n-accae-side a ndelg i n-agaid ind fòit dond leith ón talmain, i rrabatar cethair fichit ungae di dergóir.

‘Cid fil im ucht-sa’, ol in ri

‘a Aithirni?’

Is and as-bert Aithirne:

Delg fil i nArd Brestine,

di chruiib 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 ã do-rat i talmain iar maidm érghatha for Ultu .i. Cath Brestine’.

Is and sin do-ratat dó a ndelg. ã luid iar sin co Mess nGegrai .i. ri Laigen.

Bráthair dó Mess Róidá da maic Da Thó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a mmáthair ã a n-athair. Feraid Mess Gegrai failtí móir fri Aithirne.

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

‘Cid ara tibérainn?’ ol in ri.

‘Dot inchaib’, ol Aithirne ‘no conom marbae-so co rop ail for Laignib co bráthµ conna hanat Ulaid ocom digail-se forru co bráth’.

‘Mad ar Ualtaib nicot biad-so failte lim-sa a Aithirni’, ol in ri ‘rot bia in ben immurgu dom inchaib-se. Ni fil immurgu la Ultu óenfer noda bérad acht manis taibrinn duit-siu dom inchaib’.

‘Ni gébthar indiut’, ol in ri ‘rot bia fáilte’.

Foid in ben leis ind aidchi sin i. Búan ben Meisse Gegrai. g anaid Aithirne for cúairt Laigen co cenn mbliadnae, co tuc tri cóecta rignae di mnáib flaithe g
dagdoine Laigen dia mbríth 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 g co ndechus-sa dia
n-inchaib’.

Do-lloitar didiu Laigen do chelebrad do Aithirnui co mbátar i Forcarthain. Do-lloitar
danó Ulaid co mbátar oc Tulchuindi fri Áth Cliath an-túaid. Celebráid dóib íarum
int-i Aithirne g ni fárcaib bendachtin g ni tuc a n-aill. Ba ole immurgu la Laigniu
a mná do bríth úaidib i mbrait do Ultaib. Ó luid di inchaib Laigen int-i Aithirne, lotar
-side do iarmóracht a mabraite. Co n-accatar Ulaid immurgu in n-iarmóracht i ndiad
Aithirnui. Do-lloitar-side dia tairmiusc-som. Fechar cath immi fo chétóir. Maidid for
Ultu, co ndechutar la muir sair co rragbad Étar forru.

Noi tráth dóib i nÉtur cen dig cen biad, acht maní eisbesat sál in mora no maní dótar
in n-úir. Secht cét bó immurgu la Aithirne i. baí finda óderga for lár in dúine g ni
rabaí la Uiltu mac ná fer no mlaisseed bannae dia n-asacht no léicthe fon all, arna
taiscélad nech díb etir a biad-som do mláisacht. Ocus do-bértis cuci ind Ífr athgoíti
g ni léiced bannae inna cenn co n-epiltis a n-óenur di chráugalur. g no téigitis
maithi Ulad cuci i n-impidi im dig do Chonchobur g nícon étad úad. Conid ed no
fèrad Conchobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora muin òthá Emmain Machae im thráth
nóna beus i. Lebarcham is si do-bered.

Mug g cumal ro bátar i tig Chonchobair is si gein rucad etarru i. ind ingen

No bid trá a n-ínguin eter dé γ aidchi imma ndún ocus as-berat Laigin it é Ulaid ro chechlarat Dún nÉtair. A-tá bern Chon Culainn and cen iadad. No bid cách oca gressacht imma imbe.

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


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

Is and sin trá luid Leborcham fo-thúaid riasint slúag co cèlmainiu do mnáib Ulad.
Ar ro bátar-side i ngúais γ gábud γ i toirsi móir ónd úair ro gabad Ótar forsnáib
feraib:
.i. Mugain Aittenchaithrech ben Chonchobair maic Nessa an-túaid.
Feidelm Noichrothach danó ingen Chonchobair .i. noi crotha furre γ ba háildiu cach cruth alailiu.
Feidelm Foltchain and danó ben Lóegairi Búadaig maic Connad Buidi maic Iliach.
Findbec ingen Echach ben Chethhirn maic Óintain.
Brig Brethach ben Cheltchair maic Uthidir.
Findige ingen Echach ben Ógoin maic Durthacht.
Findchóem ingen Chathbad ben Amargin Óargiunnaíg.
Derb Forgaill ingen rig Lochlainne ben Lugdach Riab nDerg maic inna tri Find Emna.
Emer Foltchain ingen Forgaill Manach ben Chon Culainn maic Ósualtain.
Lendabair ingen Ógoin maic Dirthacht ben Chonaill maic Amargin.
Niab ingen Cheltchair maic Uthidir ben Chormaic Conn Longas maic Conchobair.
Mó tuirim anru boi di dagmnáib and olchenae.

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

A ingen a luath, a láeb, a Leborcham, cia Ultu ána acca?
A bé find forusta;
At-condarc-sa, cóemchéile sliasta i snim šruthfola fua mboi, béo cathmil cnedach Conchobor.
At-condarc and Coin Culainn certślán ó chúl co ulaig, fo-rous a cháel.
At-condarc and Ciltchar cnedmar fadessin, éissi derga dia luid.
At-condarc and Lóegaire Lonnbúadach, fria thairr culpaí, tolla imma thoibú tlacht, a dabergin búada bebárnatar.
At-condarc and Briannán, brétsatar fir frisa comarnic carn.
At-condarc and Gabliol lescoli léimnech lug.
At-condarc and Conlae Cöemthòeb, selgatar fri lathraige lár.
At-condarc and Furbaide Fer Benn, for daidbhenn, déonsus, dergsus, assa beirn bui.
At-condarc and Éogan Éo, dia dergdeiss, assa di láim, do-bebarnatar fuili folcmara fair.
At-condarc and, Dubthach di doit Lugdach, léosait dessa, dedlus.

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 brigach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib sebtaib selus.

At-condarc and Auchride, augestar fri slúaig sain, sois fria n-indeg firu foi fó.
At-condarc and Béothaig béogestar ind ala ór, srathuis fuili foa ún a šelad fri slas.
At-condarc and in tudbigid tróethas rigrátha, Rochad Rúadbuillech mac Find Faitheman fri sellad slúag.
At-condarc and in suid sulbair soacaldmae, ro-siacht a aurdircinsce ardigrdæ úad, ro sáraigsetar fir-Ferchertne filid ind rig.

At-condarc and Fiachraig n-ail, ail cech eoló sair clóó.
At-condarc and Conáed Cétguinech cetaro ráith ecrata, garga a roe rith, ro bith mac Mornai moith, in da thoib tuill, túaim i timargar ith.
At-condarc and Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth fris bruinne ben.
Ata-condarc and in na riglasra; lassait amal òenóebill, garga a ngaiscid gnìm gaile; Glaineñ Gormainech, Maine Miliscothach γ Ailill, Scel γ Toscel, Dures γ Ret γ Bricruí. Bertsait mógrnímu noí maic Carbada uill.
At-condarc and Conall Cernach co coscraib, co cemaib, co fodbaib, co finnaib, co n-étib, co n-ócaib, ro ráith briga; in cur cathbúadach, cathchoscrach, Conall cóem Cernach.

At-condarc and Úarathach Cethem Claidebrúad con-meil mòrgala asa eolairg ard.
At-chondarc and, fo-fúaratar Ulaid úr rod lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil, millsiunn, sástunn sál mora móir tethrag tar cutig.
At-chondarc and do-fúargabad úr, imma-sinset fir, imma-tarlaicthea cranna, imma -cloiset gai.

Sciathgal, sciath i cath; it cathbúadach Ulaïd iar n-áraib eccrat, iar fortbiu buiden, iar slíghi aír.
Do-airgellsat giall cach cóicid di chóicedaib Éreinn acht cóiced Gáilion.
Dos-fil, ticfat, taiddbet, fibait i nÉmain dadaig.
Ulaïd ollchathaig, fritháilid inna firu dos-fil far ndochum, acht cecha torchar dib.

Is ed céalmaine in sin ruc Leborcham do mnáib Ulad.
Luid danó Conall Cernach a óenur i n-íarmóracht Laigen do dagdighail a bráithre do -rochratar isin chath i. Mess Dead Ṭ Lóegaire. Is ed luide for Áth Cliath sech Drummanach for Auu Gabla i Forcarthain, sech Úachtar nAird, sech Nás do Chlóenud. Ó ránachtar didiu Laigin a tir, luid cách úaidib dia bailiu. Anais immurgu Mess Gegrai for Cassán Chlóenta a óenur ṭ a arae dar éissi int šluaig.

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

‘Maith lim’ ol in ri.


‘Cid tai a gillai?’ ol in ri.

‘Drochaslinge ad-condarc’ ol in gillae.

‘Gaib inna echu a gillai!’ ol in ri.

Gaibid in gillae inna echu.

‘Ind cnú deod-so’?, ol in gillae

‘Dóich’ ol in ri.

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

‘Mínigid cétamus!’ ol in ri.

‘In ferán doid a mbec sechom-sa’, ol in gillae ‘no issad a mmór’.
Ro boí a lám in dírig fría agaidh co lleith ind eitní. Da-n-aidlea in gillae co claidiub co tall a láim dé.

‘Olc sin a gillai' ol in ri. ‘Oslaic mo dorn a-tá leth ind eitní and!’.

Amal ad-condaire in gillae a n-i-sín, im-soi in claideb fris fessin co ndechuid tria druimm siar.

‘Fé amae a gillai!’ ol in ri.

In-lá fessin int-i Mess Gegrai a charpat ‘do-beir a láim ind ara bélighb.

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

‘Amein a Mess Gegrai!’ ol Conall.

215 ‘At-taam and’ ol Mess Gegrae.

‘Ceist iarum’ ol Conall.

‘Cid fil and’ ol Mess Gegrai ‘acht int-i dia ndligi ìachu, saig fair cach ni rot bé!’.

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

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

‘Bid ainem ón’ ol Conall.

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

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

94
i. co fo thri con-árcht lám Chonaill dia thoib do chomruc fri óenlámaid. Is iarum con-árcht lám Chonaill. Ocus iar sin immus-túaircet combo derg ind aub dib. Fortressa a chluichi in Chonaill Chernaig.

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

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


‘Cía oca tai a ben?’ ol Conall.

‘Ben Meisse Gegrai rig’.

‘Timarnad duit techt lim-sa’ ol Conall.

‘Cía dom-imarnaé?’ ol in ben.

‘Mess Gegrai’ ol Conall.

‘In tuais comardae lat?’ ol in ben.
‘A charpat ǧ a eich sund’ ol Conall.

‘Sochaide dia tabair séutu’ ol in ben.

‘A chenn suno danó’ ol Conall.

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

Imm-dergtae a cenn ind ala fecht ǧ no bántae in fecht n-aili.

‘Cid daas in fer, a ben?’ ol Conall.


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

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

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

At-recht iarum a faid guil eissi, co closs co Temraig ǧ co Ailinn ǧ fos-ceird dara cenn os-sí marb. Atá a fert forsint sligi .i. Coll Búaine, in coll ro ás tria fert.

‘Dot-ue ass a gillai!’ ol Conall.

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

‘Gat a inchinn ass’, ol Conall ‘ǧ imbir claidheb far ġ tuc a inchinn lat ġ cummaisc áel far co ndernae liathróit dé’.

Do-gnither ón ǧ fácabar a cenn ocon mnáí ocus lotar-som co ráncatar Emain. Ba móidmech immurgu la Ultu ri Laigen do marbad dóib.
Is dé sin trá a-tá Cúairt Aithirni " Marbad Meisse Gegrai do Chonall Chernach " Cath Étair.
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:

(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 Tétruellech. 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.

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 Fairrerce 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 Aithime?’ asked the king.

It was then Aithime 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 Aithime ‘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’.

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 Roida, 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 Tulchuinde to the north of Áth Cliath. 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.

The conflict went on both by day and by night about the fort and the Leinstermen say it is the Ulstermen who had built Dún nÉtaír. 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 Deidh 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 side and a slaughter to the other. A great number of Ulstermen fell accordingly, in the contesting of the fight. There fell accordingly there first: Mess Dead son of Amargein and Briannán Brethach and Connlæ and Béothach and Conaéd son of Mornæ 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 Êtar.

Namely, Mugain Aittenchaithrech from the north, wife of Conchobar son of Ness. Fedelm Noichruthach also, Conchobar’s daughter, that is, she had nine appearances and each appearance was more beautiful than the other. Fedelm Foltchain wife of Lòegaire Búadach son of Connae Buide son of Iliach was there then.
Findbec daughter of Echu wife of Cethern son of Fintan.
Brig Brethach wife of Celtchar son of Uthider.
Findige daughter of Echu wife of Éogan son of Durthacht.
Findchoem daughter of Cathub wife of Amargein Íargiunnach.
Derb Forgaill wife of Lugaid Riab nDerg son of the three Find Emna.
Emer Foltchain 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:

'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, Briannán, men with whom he met broke a cairn in pieces.
I have seen him there, Gabliol ..., a leaping warrior.
I have seen him there, Connlae Cóemthóeb, 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...
I have seen him there, Béothach who revived a second time, he scatters them... against slaughter.
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 marls 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, Uarathach Cethem 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.
Shield valour, shield in battle; the Ulstermen are victorious after slaughters of 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 Gáilioin.
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 Cliath, past Drummanach, over Aúi 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.

The lad takes hold of the horses.

‘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.

'They are not in my belt’ said Mess Gegrai.

'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. They move them forward then, into Úachtar Fine until they met with fifty 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 Aithime. 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’.

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 Ètar are named.


Talland Étair

L Incipit Talland Étair

H has no title, Flower (1926, 317) points out that it is ‘...entitled in L.L.. p.114b “Talland Étair,” in the A list of tales "Forbais Étair" 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 robob quairt Aithirne γ marbad Mesgegrae do Conall" and L.L. adds "γ cath Étair."

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 Édair, 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 Étair occurs in the first prose dindsenchas account of how Áth Cliath Cúalann was named; this account is based on TÉ. 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 Aithirne 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 Étaír and allaind Étaír.

The use of talland may be an innovation in L, with MidIr. final nd for mn, 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 Étaír' or 'Forbais Étaír'. 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 Étaír (also known as 'The Siege of Howth')'.

[2-3]

Boí fer amnas étócar 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 annus ettroc 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 Athirne 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’).

Fer gáde a oensúil din cháech γ gáid in mnaí oca lámnad.

L  Fer ro chunnig a oensúil on chaech. & no guided in mnaí oc lamnad.

H  Fer gaid a oensuil don coech γ gaid in mnaí 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.

Is dé boi 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 cétamus túaithbiul Érinn co rralae cúairt Connacht.

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

H IS Sed luidi a tosaig cetamus Tuaithibiulchuart 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 cmpd. 'a mbáidh ar dtuathal cuairt (? leg. dtuathalchuairt) re cneastacht chaoiin...Ó Brud. ii 22.12'; the L form would seem to represent adverbial túaithbiul rather than prep. + gen. túaithbel which would have nas. following (cf. 'túathbel nÉrann 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 rig medóin Érann eter in da Áth Chlíath

L IS ed luide iarum co rrig medóin Herenn eter na da ath chliath

H is sed luidi ierum co righ medoín erenn. eter na dà ath chliath

eter in da Áth Chlíath: both mss. have a late form of the def. art. with the MidIr. 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 (Clarin’s bridge, Galway) and Ath Cliath Dublinne (Dublin)'.

114
.i. co Echaig mac Luchtaí co rrig descirt Connacht.

L .i. co echaig mac luctai co rrig descirt connacht.

H .i. Co heochaid mac luchta a ndescriur connocht

.i. co Echaig mac Luchtaí: 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 rrig 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 ndescriurt.

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

L Luid-side dia idnacul ind aithirn co firu muman dar sinaing fa-des.

H Luid-side die idnacul 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 *tindnacol* (cf. 'thindnacol' Sg. 209²²⁴, gs. *tindnacuil* Wb 33³⁸⁸ cited *DIL* s.v. *tindnacol*, 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 ndimdaí a Aithirn', ol Echu

L Conna ruca ar ndimda a aithrní or eochu

H Gona rucoi ar ndimdi-me a aitirne ol euchaidh
Conna rucae: H Shows the Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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 śétaib no mainib ní bas áil duit co rrucae.

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

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

ma nod fil: H has the better reading but with a Midlr. infixed pron -s for -d; in the subst. vb. filí is used with ma in OIr. and this is replaced by tá in Midlr. (see DII. s.v. mà (2, 1.49 ff.); ocunn: both mss. have a Midlr. ocaínd (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. ni: 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 bearid 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 Midlr. use of orig. class. A fem. infixed pron where a neut. pron. is expected (in agreement with ní); I have restored the historical spelling in final -ae.
‘Atá immurgu’, ol Aithirne ‘ind óensúil ucút fil it chiunn do brith dam-sa im durn’.

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

H Ata immurgu ol aithirne an oensuíl ucút fil it cind-sa do breth dam-sa im durnd.

ucút: H has the superior reading, út is a later shortened form of ucút (see GOL, 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. bríthe 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. bríth throughout (cf. ll.30, 82 where both mss. have dat. brith and ll.262 where both mss. have dat. breth).

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

L Níba éra immurgu or eochu. rot bia.

H níba héra son amh ol eochaídh 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).

Is and do-rat in ri a mér foa śuíl conda tall assa chiunn γ co tarat i ndorn Aithirni.

L Is and do-rat in ri a mér fo śuíl co tall assa chind γ co tarat i ndorn aitherne.

H IS ann do-rat an ri fesa in a mer fòa śuíl condo tall assa cind γ con tarad a ndornd aitherri
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. 32e13). conda
tall: H has the superior reading with 3sg. fem. class C infixed pron. agreeing with súil. asa 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 McConé 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 ri ‘dochum ind uisci do nigi mo aigthe’.

L Geib mo láim a gillai or in ri dochum ind usci do nigi mo agthi.

H Gaib mo laim a gildi ol in ri dochum an uscie do nighi maighthi 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 usciul' 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.
Dálais iarum téora tonna dond usciu 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 ĭ at this point and later forms showing a palatal stem-final consonant (as with the DIL headword dálid) 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.

‘In tallad int suíl asmo chiunn a gillai?’ ol in ré.

L  In tallad int suíl asmo chind a gillai or in ré.

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.
All amae! ol in gillae 'is derg a nnderc 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 ri .i. Dergderc.

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

a nnderc: 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 ri; H with .i. preceding bid has this as a continuation of the lad's exclamations. ol-se: ol-se in H is good Olr. form as opposed to Mir. or with clarification specifying in ri; 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 Olr. and Mir. spelling.

Lasin féli móir do-rigni in ri .i. a óensúil do thabairt dia chiunn no dia inchaib,

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

H Lasin féli moir do-rigni an flaidh .i. a oensuíil 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. Olr. perf. pass. sg. do-rónad₁ 3sg. do-rigni > do-róni (see SnaG, 306; EIV, 233-4). in ri: in H a masc. form of the def. art. precedes fláith, which is fem. in Olr. 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 cimn '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 íele do-rat Dia dossom dí súil ata áildem ro bátar i nÉre. Is dé sin ro cét:

L  Firt féli dano do-rat dia dá súil dosom. Is de sin ro cét.

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

fiurt: I have restored the historical spelling. íele: I have restored the historical ía-stem gen. sg. spelling in -e. do-rat: L has 3sg. perf. of do-beir whereas H has 3sg. perf. of do-gni; 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 Olr. 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).
Súil ind rig rámat clothach,
do Aithirniu ba bríg brethach
Sella sillite in túaraid,
ercsait cenn n-úallaig nEchach.

Eter Aithirne n-irach
is Echaig mbalderg mbuadach
Do-rigéni Día dúilech,
imchoímchlóid súilech slúagach. S.

L Suil ind rig ramot clothach do athirne ba bríg brethach;
sella sillit an tuaraid ercsait cend uallaig n-echach.

Eter Aithirne n-irach is echaig mbalderg mbuadach
do-riṅgne dia dúilech imchloichmod súilech sluagach. S.

do Aithirniu: I have restored the historical dat. sg. ending in -iu. bríg 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 Midlr. 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. imchoímchlóid: according to DIL s.v. imchláechlóid is a compound of imm- and cláe(m)chlóid and as can been seen there and s.v. coimchloud, 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 … Ml. 63d, coimchlud canone, 78d12’ etc. cited DIL s.v. coimchloud. slúagach: this adjectival form of slóg is not well attested; it is used here to qualify imchoímchlóid apparently in the sense ‘abundant, multitudinous’, i.e. referring to the doubling of the king’s eyes.
Is ed luide Aithirne iar suidiu co rrig Muman .i. co Tigernach Tétbuillech.

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

H IS Sed luidi aithirne ier sin co ricch muman .i. Co tighurnach tétbuilleach

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’.

Níro gab dano ní dia inchaib-side acht ind rígain do Íeis leis ind aidchi sin,

L Nira gaib dano ni dia inchaib-side acht ind rígain do Íeis 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.
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 enech 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 asaïted in ben is sí adaig ro fiu la Aithirne do inchaib a aithig tige arna ructhae a enech.

L  Ocus ind aidchi sin ro assaited in ben is i adaig ra ñoi la athirne do aenig a fir arna ructha a enech.

H  Ocus an aigedh ro hasaidcWan banscal is hi agaid in sein ro foi 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 Midlr. confusion of lenited g and d (see SnaG, 234-5); I have emended this to the historical form. ro asaïted: lit. 'was brought to bed', I translate this as 'was in labour'. in ben: the word banscál, as Ni 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 fiu: both mss. have a Midlr. 3sg. s-pret. which has replaced the Olr. suffixless pret. fiu-fiu i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. conj. -foi 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 Olr. ro-fiu. 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 s-
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.

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

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

H  
*IS Sed luid aitirne iar sen a laghniu co mboí 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*.

**[32]**

γ do-lotar Descert Laigen inna agaid do thaircsin sét γ maíne dó arna
digsed issa tír, arna fácbad aíchea móra.

L  
& tancaiar descert lagen ina agid do tharcsin sét γ maíne dó arna digsed issin
tír. dáig na fácbad aílche.

H  
Ocus di-llotar desciurt lagen ara cind do thorcaisin set γ maíne do arna
dechsadh isan tír. Arna fácbad aílche mora.

do-lotar: the H reading with *do-tét* is more likely the original reading, *DII*. 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 chem* 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 *taircsiur*, 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 tir:** both mss. have a form of the def. art. which shows either confusion of the acc. and. dat., or that *tir* is being treated as a masc./ fem. noun; I have restored the acc. sg. neut. form of the def. art. **Arna fáchd:** the H form appears to fit the context better here, as the repeated use of *arna* reinforces the first. **Ailecha:** *DIL* s.v. *ailech* cites the present ex. and that at 1.38. A definition ‘insult, reproach’ (rather than ‘satire, invective’) is supported by the gloss *‘aileche 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 Emnæc, Corm. Tr. 110.7.’. The exx. cited in *DIL* s.v. *ailech* i.e. acc. sg. *ailig* and acc. pl. *aileche/ailchi*, do not prove *á*-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 l *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 1.38 below.
Ar ní bítis a máiní nach neich fora taibred ammus mani tabarthae dó.

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

H Arni bítis a mainí 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 tabarthae: 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’.

Ní fáicébad danó athgabáil túath no chenél lasa mairfide-sem.

L Ní fáicfed dano athgabáil túath no chenel lasa mairfide-som.

H Ní fáicbed dano athgabail tuath na cenhel lasa mmairfide-seomh.

Ní fáicébad: both mss. have MidIr. forms from 3sg. cond. -fáicébad; I have emended these to the historical form. athgabáil: DII. 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 superscript dot or mark on ms. above n.
Co taibred in fer a mnaí ndó, no co taibred a óenšíul assa chiunn, no co taibred a saint di śétaib γ mainib.

L Co tabrad in fer a mnaí dó. no co tabrad a oinšíul asa chind. no co tabrad a saint do śétaib γ mainib.

H Co dabreth an feur a mnaí ndo no co tabred a śuíl assa cind no co taibred a saint do setaib γ mainib

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). óenšíul: 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 mn; I have restored the unambiguous dat. sg. spelling.

Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailecha móra do fácbáil for Laignib conid romarbtais co mbetis Ulaid do grés oca digail for Laigniu.

L Is ed immurgu tuc-som inna menmain ailechi móra dàcbáil for Laigniu coro marbtais lagin é co mbetis ulaid do grés oca digail for laigniu.

H IS Sed immurgu tuc-som ina menmain² ailei 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 1.34 above. do fácbáil: L has a Midlr. 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 Midlr. construction with an indep. obj. pron.; H has Midlr. 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 infixed 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 desciurt Lagen i mBrestine

H IS and sen tra gabais algius do desciurt laige« i mbrestini

and: I have adopted the L reading without Midlr. 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.
.i. nad n-accae di šétaib no máinib ní no gabad úaidib,

L .i. nad źacca do šétaib no máinib 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 Midlr. these tend to be replaced by leniting rel. clauses as in L, where it is indicated by the lenited Midlr. prosthetic /; úaidib: on the normalization of this form see note on 1.46 below.

acht ail bréthre do źácbáil forru co bráth conna turgébtaiσ a n-aigthea dé la Goídelu.

L acht ail brethri do źácbáil forro co bráth conna turgébtaiσ a n-aigthe la goedelu.

H acht ail bretri do źácbail forra co brath conna turcebtais a n-aigthi de la gaidhela

**ail bréthre:** i.e. 'verbal insult' (see note on 1.34 above). **conna turgébtaiσ:** H has a Midlr. ending with a long i (see EIV, 178-9). **a n-aigthea:** I have restored the historical á-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).

/mani tuctais dossom in sét as dech boi isin tulaig

L mani thucdais dosom in sét as dech boi is tulaig

H .i. Mani tabradis dosom an set as dech bui as tuaig

**.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 Midlr. 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 1.19 above. **isin**: both mss. have the Midlr. form
of the prep. *i* + art. (see *SnaG*, 259); I have restored the OIr. form (note that it is
preserved in H in 1.46 below). **tulaig**: the vowel of the first syllable is spelt variously
in OIr. with *aul/ail e* (see *GOL*, 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]  

γ nad fitir nech isin *tulaig* cia sét so no cia baile i rrabae.

L  γ nad fitir nech is *tilaig* cia sét so no cia bale i rrabe.

H  γ na fidir neuch as *tulaig* cia set cie bali i rraibe

**nad fitir**: the reading in L is superior, H has Midlr. *na* for *nad* (see *SnaG*, 281; cf.
also, however, *GOL*, §§ 865, 866). **isin**: see note on previous line.

[44]  

Ba gress γ ba imdergad mór dont šluag a n-i sin

L  Ba gress γ ba imdergad mór dont šluag a n-i sin.

H  Ba gress γ ba himdergad mor dent sluag a nn-i sin

[44-5]  

γ ro gádatar uili tigerna inna ndúile co tartad fortacht dóib im dingbáil dib inna
gresse ro laad forru.

L  γ ro guidetar uile tigerna na ndúl co tardad *fortacht* dóib im dingbáil dib na
gressi ro lad forro.

H  γ 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* 1.3 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. diúile*); 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 *diúile.*

dib: both mss. have a contracted form, which is found alongside the hiatus form in OIr. (*see* *GOl*, 274). *ro laad:* the H reading with double *a* indicating a hiatus form is superior.

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**45-6**

*Bói trá mar cach oc imrimm a eich isin tulaig.*

**L**

Bai tra mar cach ic airimrim a eich is tilaig.

**H**

Bui mar cach oc imrim eich isan tolaigh.

*tré:* 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. **rc 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).

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**46**

*Do-scuiched dochum inna airechta, no linged úaidib.*

**L**

do-scuiched dochum na hairechta. no linged uaidib.

**H**

do-scochad docom na hairechta Fo-lingiudh 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 (*GOl*, 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. \textit{úaidib}: the H form with clearly palatal \textit{-d} is attested several times in the Wb. glosses (27\textsuperscript{d}1, 31\textsuperscript{d}18, 32\textsuperscript{d}10 etc.) as well as the ambiguous spelling attested in L (\textit{úadib} 2\textsuperscript{d}14, 4\textsuperscript{d}2), which could either represent non-palatal \textit{d} with the non-palatal off-glide omitted or palatal \textit{d} with the palatal on-glide omitted; either way, the joint evidence of both mss. suggests restoring \textit{úaidib} with pal. \textit{d}.

Fecht and didiu oc soud ind eich dar colpthu,

\textbf{L} \hspace{1cm} Fecht and didiu oc soud ind eich dar colptha.

\textbf{H} \hspace{1cm} facht and oc sood and eich thor colbta.

didiu: in L only, I have adopted it. \textit{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). \textit{dar}: H has a Midlr. form showing initial lenition; I have adopted the L reading. \textbf{colpthu}: I have restored the acc. pl. ending (masc. i-o-stem); the construction \textit{oc soud dar colpthu} lit. ‘turning over shanks’ is taken here to mean ‘turning/ wheeling (the horse) around’.

\textbf{[47-9]} do-cuirethar int ech fôt mór dia dib cruib \textit{iartharchaib} cossin n-airecht conid tarlae i n-uacht ind ríg .i. Fergusfa Fairre maic Nuadat Necht.

\textbf{L} \hspace{1cm} Do-cuiridar int ech fôt mór da dib croib. Niro airig duine isind airiuucht coni
tarla i n-uacht ind ríg .i. fergusfa fairge.

\textbf{H} \hspace{1cm} Do-cuirithir ant euch foot mor dia dib cruib iartharcoib cusun airiuucht conid
tarlae i nn-uacht and ríg .i. fergusssa foairce maic nuadat necht

\textit{fôt}: see note on \textit{oc soud} in previous line. \textit{dia}: H has the better reading; L has Midlr. \textit{da} for \textit{dia} i.e. prep. \textit{di} + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. \textit{dib cruib}: both mss. have the dat. dual, this is a hiatus form (cf. \textit{di chruib} 1.55 below, where the disyllabic form is fixed by syllable count; see also Greene, 1983, 2-3). \textit{iartharchaib}: this form, which is in H only, is a good Olr. reading i.e. dat. pl. adj. of \textit{iartharach} ‘back, hind’ qualifying
cruib; I have therefore adopted it. cossin n-airecht: in H the flow of the narrative is maintained, whereas L starts a new line with a Midlr. 3sg. pret. form niro airig (< Olr. dep. form -airigestar); I have adopted the H reading, clearly marking nas.

following acc. cossin. conid tarlae: in L the -d of the infixed pron. has coalesced to the initial of tarla. Fergusus Fairerce maic Nuadat Necht: only H records the paternity of Fergus Fairerce; 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 főit dond leith ón talmain, i rrabatar cethair fichit ungae di dergór.

L Co n-accai-side a ndelg i n-agaid ind főit 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 Féil Prol. 216, cited GOI, 211). cethair fichit: both mss. have a Midlr. 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 ri 'a Aithirni?'.

L Cid fil im ucht-sa or in ri a aithirni.

H Cid fil am ucht-sa a aithirni on ol in ri. Ata delc and; ol aithirni.
ol in ri ‘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 dele 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.

Is and as-bert Aithirne:

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

L  IS and as-bert aithirni. Delg fil i n-ard brestini do chrubí eich do-rindnacht.
    taris rucad mór mbreth cert i mbrutt mani maic durthacht.

H  Es and es-pert aithirne Dealc frith a n-ard brestine. di crubí eich do-
    rrichnacht. 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). chrubí: 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-
    éconnacht (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.20^15 (see EIV 150, GOI 344-5). Dirthacht: the reading in H with dir- utilizes an acceptable variant form in order to make rhyme with with do-rindnacht (on variation of au/-i- etc. see SnaG, 231); this rhyming form in H is therefore to be adopted.
‘Is ed a ndelg sin rop áil dam-sa’, ol Aithirne ‘i. bráthair m’athar-sa fod-rácaib

L  Is é in delg sin rop áil dam-sa or athirne .i. brathair mathar-sa fod-racaib

H  IS Sed a ndele sin rob álic dam-sa .i. brathir màthar dam dot-racab

Is ed a ndelg sin: superior reading in H; L has a Midlr. 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 álíc has an étymologie croisée from álíl 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-rácaib: 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).

γ do-rat i talmain iar maíd m érchat has for ultu .i. Cath Brestine’.

L  γ do-rat i talmain iar maíd m iérchat has for ultu .i. Cath Brestini.

H  γ do-rat i talmain iar maíd f oáircath as for ualltu .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 Féil Prol. 216, cited GOI, 211). érchat has: aírl (fo)áir of the mss. may represent a variant of the intensive prefix ér-/ ér- (possibly through analogy with the preverb variously written aírl 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 maíd
followed directly by *cath* in gen. sg. is ‘*i amal bid iarmaidm chatha forru*... ’ Ml. 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 iarhair Connacht (*Aurchath* son of Murchad, king of the west of Connacht [died] n. § king of Ui Briuin Al; ‘hUamnachán m. Aurchada’ *CGH* 153 œ38); and see *GOL*, 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.

Is and sin do-ratad dó a ndelg. ḡ luid iar sin co Mess nGegrai i. ri Laigen.

L Is and sin do-ratad dó in delg. Ocus luid iar sin co mes gegra .i. ri lagen.

H IS and sen do-rratat dó a ndelcc & luid ier sen co mes ngegrae .i. airdri laigen-

sin: H has a Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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. **ri Laigen:** it is difficult to say which reading belonged to the original; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases.
Bráthair dó Mess Róidí da mac Da Thó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a mmathair ṭ a n-athair.

L  brathair dó mes roidí .i. dá mac da tho in sin. buidir amlabair a mmathair ṭ a n-athair.

H  bratir do mes roída. Dá mac da tó in sin .i. buidir amlabair a n-athair ṭ 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 (< tôe) 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 mmathair ṭ 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.

Feraid Mess Gegraí fáilte móir fri Aithirne.

L  Feraid mess gegra falti móir fri athirne.

H  Feraid mes gegrae foailti fri haithirne

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

L Is maith lim-sa trá or athirne acht co rraib im ŵarrad co mmatin.

H IS maidh lium-sa on ol-se mad lat mnaí fesin do ŵeis 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 ŵeis lim: the H reading is superior, it reads lit. ‘If it be with your own wife for sleeping with me till morning’ (cf. ‘a·tā ingen chóem lá 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 ŵin im ŵarrad which of course may have simply crept in during transmission.

‘Cid ara tibérainn?’ ol in ri.

L Cid ara tibrind mo mnaí duí ar in ri.

H Cid ara tibér or in ri.

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 aithirne. Na conom marba-sa co rop ail do laignib co bráth.

H Dot inchaib ol aithirne no conom marba-sa co rab ail for laicnib co brath

no: L has Midlr. 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 forbál forru 1.38 above, with the acc. use).

[65-6] γ conna hanat Ulaid ocom digail-se forru co bráth’.

L γ conna hanat ulaid com digail-se forro co bráth.

H γ cona hanat ulaid com digail-se forra co brath

ocom: both mss. have a Midlr. form with the initial vowel lost (see SnaG, 329); I
have emended these to the historical form.

[67] ‘Mad ar Ultaib nicot biad-so fáilte lim-sa a Aithirni’, ol in rí

L Mad ar ultraib nocot biad-so falti lim-sa a athirni.

H Mád ar ultraib nicot bia-sai failti limm-sa a aiterne ol in ri.

nicot: the H reading is superior; L has a Midlr. form of nicon 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 ultraib), 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 Aithirse’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. failte: 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 bia in mnai immurgu dom incaib-se.

rot bia: the L reading is preferable as H has a 2pl. infixed 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] Ni fil immurgu la UItu óenfer noda bérad acht manis taibrinn duit-siu dom inchaib’.

L Ni fail 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.

Ni fil: L has a late reading with MidIr. fail (see SnAG, 323) and len. after ni (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 infixed pron. with class A in rel. cl. (see ElV, 170); I have restored the Olr. class C infixed pron. manis taibrinn: the L reading with Olr. mani + 3sg. fem. infixed 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.


L IS fir ol Athirne. ni anub-sa trà dìt-so co rruca oenfer dultaib do chend ë do mnai.

H IS fir ol aithirne. ni ainiub-sa amh dot aimles-sa condu ruca ainfer do ulltaib ãuit ol aithirne ier mbreth do cind dit.

nì ainiub-sa: H has the superior reading with historically palatal n in the future stem (see GOI, 397). ãm dìt 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 Ualtaib ãuit’, ol Aithirne ‘ìar mbrith do chinn dit: 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 1.10 above.

‘Ni gebthar indiuìt’, ol in ri ‘rot bia fälti’.

L Ni gebthar inniut or in ri. Rot bia falti.

H Ni gebthar indiuì ol in ri ro burbia fälti.

gebthar indiuì: 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 \(GOL, 93\)). **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 1.67 above); the pron. in both cases refers to Aithirne, I have adopted the L reading.

Foid in ben leis ind aidchi sin .i. Búan ben Meisse Gegrai.

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 \(GOL, 161-2\), the exx. cited are of the short dat., see \(id., 185-6\)). **Búan:** this personal name is a substantive of the o/a 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 \(DIL\ s.v. 3 mes(s)\)).

γ 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 1.4 above (see note).
[74-5]  co tuc tri cóecta rígnae di mnáib flaithe γ dagdoíne Laigen dia mbrith dia thír leis.

L  co tuc tri coicdu rígan do mnaib flatha γ dagdoíne lagen dia mbreith dia thír leis.

H  γ co tuc tri coectu rigno do mnaib na fláithi dia mbreth; leis dia thír

The H reading begins with γ; 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 i-stem flexion in rígain; L has a Midr. form showing ā-stem flexion (see SnaG, 247); I have restored the historical spelling of the OIr. gen. pl. ending. flaithe γ dagdoíne Laigen: H has the superior reading in flaithe with historical palatal -ih-; it would be difficult to say for sure whether or not the article preceding flaithe and γ 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 1.10 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 athirne fria gilla airc dam-sa co ulto co tisat 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)/ aird(g) as an ex. of the regular interchange of e and a, there are no early attestations of aird; it therefore seems best to restore actually attested eirg. co torsat: H has the lectio difficultior 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 l(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 γ 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. γ 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 γ and that for acht ̄s, which was subsequently expanded; I restore γ 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 lsg. 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 lsg. 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) 1.82 below).

Do-lloitar didiu Laigin do chelebrad do Aithirniu co mbátar i Forcarthain.

Do-lloitar danó Ulaid co mbátar oc Tulchuiindi fri Áth Cliath an-túaid.

L

Do-lloitar didiu laigin do chelebrad do aithirniu co mbatar oc telchuine fri ath cliath atúaid.

H

Do-lloitar didiu laigin do celiubrad do aitirne co mbatar a forcarthain Do -lloitar dano ulaid co mbotar oc telcuinde fri ath cliat antuaid

Do Forcarthain. Do-lloitar danó Ulaid co mbátar: this has been omitted in L through haplography caused by homoioteleuton i.e. the scribe jumped from the first occurrence of co mbátar 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. Tulchuiindi: Hogan cites exx. relating to the river Tolka s.vv. talcaínde, 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. talcaínde, dat. telchuine telcuinde which suggest vocalic stem flexion (io-, iá- or i- ) and acc. telchaind, dat. tulcaínd 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 iá- and i- 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) 1.42 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. atuaid).
Celebraid dóib íarum int-í Aithirne γ ni fárcab bendachtin γ ni tuc a n-aill.

L Celebraid dóib íarum int-i athirne γ ni fargaib bennachtain. γ ni thuc a n-aill.

H Celiubraid doib iarum ant-i aithirne γ ni farcaib bendachtin γ ni thuc alali

ni thuc both mss. show Midlr. len. after ni (see SnaG, 278). ni 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 ni thuc) ‘nothing else’ is more likely the original reading as this form is more prone to be lost in Midlr. and therefore would unlikely have been inserted to replace alali.

Ba oile immurgu la Laigniu a mná do brith úaidib i mbrait do Ualtaib.

L Ba oile immurgu la lagnib a mnna do brith uaidib 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 GOL, 20) and Midlr. where it may be a hypercorrect spelling after hiatus has been contracted (see SnaG, 229). úaidib: on normalization see note on 1.46 above.

Ó luid di inchaib Laigen int-í Aithirne, lotar-side do iarmórchacht a mbraite.

L O thanic do ainiuch lagen int-i athirne lotar lagen 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 *aimuch 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 'Nior thúisce cos Aithirne thar teorainn ag Ainech Laighean ná gur thosaigh an tiomáint'. The H reading is superior in any case, with tét '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 *lagin* in L appears to be a an attempt to clarify the ambiguous *-side* in H. *do iarmóracht:* I read *iarmóracht* here in the sense 'pursuing with intent to retrieve'.

[83-4]

Co n-accatar Ulaid immurgu in n-iarmóracht i ndiad Aithirni. Do-lotar-side dia tairmiuse-som.

L

Do-roachtatar ulaid dano i n-iarmóracht athirni. Do-lotar-side dia themaircain-seom.

H

Co n-acotur ulaid immurgu in n-iarmoracht a ndiaid aithirne Do-lotur-side dia tairmiuse-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'. *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 Midlr. of *niadiad* and *indegaid* or the later á-stem flexion.

*tairmiuse-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.
Fechair cath immi fo chétóir. Maidid for Ultu, co ndechutar la muir sair co rragbad Étar forru.

L Fechair cath immi fo chétóir. Maidid for Ulto. co ndechutar la muir sair co rragbad Étar forru.

H Fechair cath etorra Maididh for ulltu co ndechatar la muir sair co rragbadh 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 forsnab feraib at 1.124-5 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. forsnab 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).

Noi tráth dóib i nÉtur cen dig cen biad, acht mani eisbesat sál in mora no mani dótar in n-úir.

L Noi trath dóib i n-etur cen dig cen biad. acht meni esbetar sál in mara. no mani dotar in n-úir.

H noi tradh doib a n-etor cen dig gan biad achn mani esbeset sal moiri 1 mani deútár 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. -raghaiset (ElV, 130), the augmented prot. 3pl. of gabiid 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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. (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 *deutar*, length mark clearly visible in ms.) and *deodhsa* are forms of a compound of *foaid* from the root *h₃* yes- 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. bai finda óderga for láir in dúine ‡ ni rabae la UItu mac ná fer no mlaissed bannae dia n-ass acht no léicthe fon all,**

**L** Secht cét bó *immurgu* la *Aithirne* for láir in dúini & ni rabi la ulto mac na fer no blaissed a loimm acht no leicthe fon aill a mblegon.

**H** Secht cét mbo *immurgu* la *aithirne*. i. *ba finda óderca* for lar an duini ‡ ni raba la hulto mac no fer no blaissed banna dia nass acht no legthe fon aill.

**Secht cét bó:** L has the superior reading; nas. after *cét* 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 dún: both mss. show s-stem flexion in dún; this had occurred by the end of the
eightith 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 mlaíed: 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 loimm(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 taiscéad nech díb etir a biad-som do mlassacht.

L arna taiscéad nech díb etir a biad-som do blassacht.

H Arna taiscéad 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 > ia 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 Ìr athgoiti \( \gamma \) ni léiced bannaeg inna cenn co n-epiltis a n-óenur di chráugalur.

L & do-bertis cuci ind Ìr athgoeti \( \gamma \) ni leiced bannae ina cend co n-aplaitis a n-oínur do chrógalur.

H & do-bertis cuco in Ìr athgoiti ocus ni lecidh-som banna inna cenn co n-epiltis a ãenur do crogalur

\( \text{nì leiced}: \) L has 3sg. ipf. ind. pass. of \( \text{léicíd} \) 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. \( \text{inna cenn}: \) although L has hypercorrect \( \text{nd} \) for \( \text{nn} \), both mss. have the neut. acc. pl. form.

\( \text{co n-epiltis}: \) H has the better reading of 3pl. ipf. of \( \text{at-baill} \); neither ms. has the neut. pron. (cf. \( \text{arna epílitis} \) (Mi. 12116), cited GOI, 267). \( \text{a n-óenur}: \) both mss. have the dat. of apposition (see GOI, 160); L however, has the superior reading with nas.

following the 3pl. poss. pron. \( \text{di chráugalur}: \) the H form is better than L, in that L has the later compositional form \( \text{cró-} \) whereas the H reading allows for the possibility that it has earlier \( \text{cro-} \) with short \( \text{o} \); both, however, are later forms from OIr. \( \text{crú-} \) (see GOI, 197; Greene (1983) has discussed the incorrect listing of certain forms of \( \text{cró/ crú} \) in DIL, the present ex. (from L), however, is correctly listed under \( \text{crú} \) ‘gore, blood’. \( \text{Crógalur} \) is to be taken here to mean ‘bloody sickness’ i.e. a sickness with visible wounds.

[90-1] \( \gamma \) no tēigtis maithi Ulad cuci i n-impidi im dig do Chonchobur \( \gamma \) nicon étad úad.

L Ocus teigtis mathe ulad cuce i n-impide im dig do chonchobur ocus nocon étá úad.

H & tegdis mathi ulad cuci i n-impidi im digh dar cridi concobair \( \gamma \) nicon etadh uad
No téigits: 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. In-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 nicon (see SnaG, 280). The H reading with 3sg. ipf. etadh fits the context better than 3sg. pres. ind. étá in L (unless the L reading itself is due to omission of final d).

Conid ed no fárad Conchoobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora muin óthá Emain Machae im thráth nóna beus. L. Lebarcham is sí do-bered. Mug γ cumal ro bátar i tig Chonchobair is sí gein rucad etarrú i. ind ingen Lebarcham.

L Conid ed no furad chonchobar a ndo-bered ind ingen fora mmuin otá emuin macha im thráth nóna béis. i. lebormach is sí do-bered. Mug γ cumal ro batar i tig conchobair. is i gein rucad eturru i. ind ingen lebormach.

H Conad eadh ro feurud concupar a ndo-bered and ingen fora muin ota eomain macha im trath noma beus. i. lepuracham

Conid ed: L has the better spelling. No fárad: 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 γ cumal ro bátar i tig Chonchobair is sí gein rucad etarrú 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 thraighid γ a da nglún inna degaid,

L Ba dochraid dano a delb na ingine .i. a da traigid γ a da glún inna diaid.

H Ba dochrud tran a fuath na hingwi a da traichid γ 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. 68d2’ 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 Midlr. form as i-stem flexion became
standard in Midlr.; 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 fuath in H has a Midlr. 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 misshapenness. a di thraighid:
both mss. appear to treat traig as a neut. noun, were this the general Midlr. form of
the dual numeral i.e. dā (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 ĭsī 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 Midlr.) 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 Midlr. 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.
a di escait γ a di sáil remi. Is sí do-foichled Érinn i n-óenló.

L  a da escait γ a dá sáil rempe. Is i toichled herinn i n-óenló.

H  a da hescaid γ a dá sail rempi. IS Si toicliud erinn i nd-oenlo.

a di escait γ a di sáil: 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. 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 tóíchlid 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.

Cech ni di maith γ di saich do-gníthe i nÉre at-fedéd do Chonchobar isin Chráebrúaid deud lai.

L  Cech ni do maith γ do saich do-gníthea i n-here. ad-féided do chonchobur isin chroibrúaid deod lai.

H  nac ni di maidh no do saith do-gníthe ann at-fédedh de concopar isin craepriuadh deuidh lai

Cech ni: L has the better reading; in cases where the indef. pron. ni 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 ni ‘everything’, whereas H has indefinite nac ni ‘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 saich: 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 1ne with the selected reading in 1.2 above. at-féded: H has the superior reading.
with 3sg. neut. class B infixed pron. agreeing with *ni*. *deud lai*: 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. *a*-stem flexion; I have restored the historical spelling.

A *tortine tri fichet mbairgen ara ciunn i ciunn tened, cenmothá a cuit lasin slúag*.

L  Turtine tri fichet mbargen ara cind i cind tened. Cenmotha a cuit lasin slúag.

H  A turtíne tri fichet mbairgen ara cind a cinn tened cenmotha a cuid lasan³ slúag

A *tortine 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. ‘tortéini *i*. bairgenení, Corm. Y’ cited *DIL* s.v. *tortm(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. *tortm(e)*).

[98]

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

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³ with superscript 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 bid trí a n-imguin eter dé γ aitci imma ndún

L  No bid tra ind imguin eter lá γ aitci immo ndún.

H  No bid tra andimgoin eter de γ aitci immo ndun

No bid: both mss. have 3sg. ipf. ind. of the subst. vb. in final -d, this occurs again in both texts at 1.101 and 1.104; the readings in both mss. must go back to a Olr. variant of the more established form in final th (cf. ‘-bid, Ml.33°5’, 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 Olr., 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 1.96 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 withocus to render the meaning ‘both’ (see GOI, 550).
ocus as-berat Laigin it é Ulaid ro chechlatar Dún nÉtair.

L  At-berat lagen is siat ro chlaidsetar 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 Midlr. form based on the un-reduplicated root claid- with a Midlr. 3pl. ending -setar (see EIV, 238-9). Dún nÉtair: H has the superior reading with nas. following neut. acc. dún.

A-tá bern Chon Culainn and cen iadad. No bid cách oca gressacht imma imbe.

L  Atá bern chon culainn and cen iadad. No bid 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 bid: see note 1.100 above. oca: L has a Midlr. 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-iada lim-sa’. No bid danó Conchobar oc airbriathrad Chon Culainn,

L  Nithó ar-se cúal gai immus-n-iada lem-sa. No bid dano conchobar oc airbriathrad con culainn

H  noto ol-se cúal gai imus-iadha lim-sa. No bid concobar dano oc airbriatradh 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-iada: 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 bid: see note 1.100 above. airbriathrad: 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. briathraigid ‘utters words, speaks’, with vn. briathrad are attested (see DIL s.vv.); taking airbriathrad as a modified form of briathraigid briathrad 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  conna rucad a burach immach etir .i. co tairsed tóchostul ulad.

H  cona ruccad a burach amach co tochusul 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 tistais i curchaib tar muir dia cobair.

L  ar do-choid leborcham do thochostul ulad. Co tistais i curchaib no co tistais ar tir dia cobair.

H  AR do-coid leubarcam 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.
Do-ratad immurgu Mess Dead mac Amairgin daltae do Choin Chulainn, mac secht mbliadnae, for cléith i ndorus in dúine, γ nóinbor 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. & nóinbor cecha uaire isind ló do marbad dó.

H  Do-ratad immurgu mes deadh mac aimirgin dalta do coin culainn mac seucht mbliadnae for cléth a ndorus an lesa γ nóinbor cech tratha isan lo do marbad dó.

mbliadnae: both mss. have a contraction; I have expanded these to the Olr. gen. pl.

for cléith: L has a tendency to substitute ar for for (the two prep. were confused in Midlr. 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 Olr.). cecha úaire: both mss. have a gen. of time construction (see GOL, 159); as neither reading is clearly superior I have adopted the L reading, as in similar doubtful cases.

Ocus geill Ulad do thabairt immach cech laa do Laignib fo thri γ a mbreith innonn do Mess Dead fo thri ar galaib óenfír.

L  & geill ulad do thabairt immach cech lá do laghib fó thri. γ a mbreith innund do mes dead fó thri ar galaib.

H  & geill ulad do tabaírt amac fri lamha lagen fó tri γ a mbreith annonn do mes deadh fó tri ar galaib ainfír

cech laa do Laignib: the L reading is clearer; DIL s.v. fri and lám cites no exx. of the construction in H fri + lāma (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)

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 Midlr. (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 *GOL, 248*); an emendation is required in ms. -immarbrath as *breth* never had a vowel between *b* and *r* (*imbi-ro-breth*). L has Midlr. 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'.

[109-10]

**Is ed as-berat-som in tan trá ro ngabsat curaic Ulad i tir issind Étur anair,**

L IS sed trá as-berat-som in tan rođgabsat ulaid i tir issind etur anair.

H IS *Sed as-berad-somh an tan tra con-gauhsat curaig ulad i tir 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 tîr* 'comes to land', due allowance being made for the confused spelling *rođgabsat* 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.

[110-11]
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.).

is and do-cótar tri chét láech cossin mac forsin chléith dia marbad.

L is and do-chotar tri chét läech cosin mac forsin chléith dia marbad.

H is and do-cótar tri cet läech cusán mac forsan céith 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.

At-recht a búiriud ass i'arum oc beim a chinn dé. Co clos ni Cú Chulainn.

L Do-rat a biiriud ass iarum oc beim a chind de. Co cuala cu chulainn.

H At-racht a buiriudh ass ierum oc beim a cinn de Co clos ni 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 i'arum a faid guil eissi l.259 below); I have restored re- for Midlr. ra- (see SnaG, 233). Co closs ni: 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 clos 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 daltau-sa oc imbirt éccomloinn fair’.

L Is nem maides no is muir thráges no talam con-scara no búriud mo daltau-se oc imbirt éccomluind fair.

H is nem maidhes no moir traighius no talam con-scara no burid mo daltu-sai oc imbirt éccomlainn foair

Is nem maides no is muir thráiges no talam con-scara no búriud mo daltau-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>m had occurred by 800 A.D. see GOI, 238, and editorial policy).


L La sodain fo-cheird cu chulainn bedg immach. Rointi in sluag ina ndiaid.

H La sodain fo-cerd cu culainn bedg ammach rointi an sluag inna ndiaidh

fo-ceird: L shows MidIr. main-clause len. in a non-rel. form (see EIV, 173). Rointi: DIL s.v. roinid cites this ex. from Stokes (1887, 56), incl. his translation of the line as ‘the host was cleft in twain’, where his misinterpretation of rointi as roinnti (i.e. < rannaid ‘divides’) is pointed out. The form is 3sg. pres. ind. roinid ‘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

164
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 chétóir. Trom immurgu in gress ro lásat.

H  Fechair cath ann fo ceduair 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] **Cródaic conid apbad, amnas a mbúrach ro fersat in churaid γ ind láith gaile.**

L  Cróda ind imthócbail⁴ amnas a mbúrach ro fersat na curaid γ na láith gaile.

H  Crodha co n-apbad Amnus a mburuch ro fersad na curaid γ na laith gaili

**Cródaic 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 γ ind láith gaile:** both mss. have Midlr. 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 nónaí.**

L  Ro congaibthe trá na da urgail ó theirt co nónaí.

H  Con-acabtha tra na da urghail o tert co nona

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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 conghaid 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 nónai: 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 i-stem.


L Maidid iarum for lagniu co turgabsat múr derg fri ulto. ar ba geis do ultaib dul dar múr nderg.

H Maidid ierum for laigniu 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 Ualtaib 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.
Ba fé illé́ ́g̓ a fé innonn immurgu in comrac. Do-rochratar sochaide móir and do ultaib i frecur in chatha.

L  

Ba fé illé ́g̓ a fé innund immurgu in comrac. Do-rochratar sochaide móir and do ultaib i frecur in chatha.

H  

Ba fé illé ́g̓ innonn immurgu in comrac. Do-rochratar sochaidií mor and do ultaib i frecor an catha

Ba fé illé́ ́g̓ a fé innonn: Dill. s.v. llé́ 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 illé (ocus) fé̊ 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 Olr. 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°4, 21°7 etc.) i frecur: Dill. 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 friscuirethar 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 bai fó chossaib co torchair ina ligé ́g a fé̊ lóta f[h]airr.’ (42) tran. ‘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) tran. ‘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) tran. ‘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.


L Do-rochair and chetumus mess dead mac amargin. bó briannán brethach. nó condla. bó beothach nó conáed mac mornai nó sochaide archena.

H Do-rocair and cetamus mes dead mac aimirgin ocus briannán nó condla nó beuthach nó conáed mac morne nó 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 célmainiu 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 célmaini 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 ria'; the ex. cited from a 'later source' is 'ria 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 célmainiu: L has the historical dat. sg. spelling but in prose texts preserved in late mss. the evidential value of this is at best coincidental.

L  ar ro batar-side i ngúais γ gábud γ i toirsi móir ond uair ro gabad ētar forsna feraib

H  ar ro batar-sidi i ngabad γ guais γ i toirsi móir on uair ro gabad étur forsna feraib

ro gabad Étar forsnaiβ feraib: this phrase also occurs at 1.85 above; in MidIr. the 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. forsnaiβ (on use of dat. here see note on 1.85 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 nDoene (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 Noichrothach danó ingen Chonchobair .i. noi crotha furre γ ba háildiu cach cruth alailiu.

L  Feidelm noichruthach dano ingen chonchobair .i. noi crotha furri γ ba haiiliu cach cruth araile.

H  Fedilm nocrothach and ingen concobair .i. noi crotha furiri & ba haildiu cach cruth alali
Noichrothach: 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 Midlr. assimilation of ld > ll (see SnaG, 234). alailiu: both forms, with and without dissimilation are attested in Olr. (see GOI, 307); I have adopted the H reading (cf. 1.81 above), restoring the historical dat. sg. ending (i.e. following the compar.).

Feidelm Úoltchain and danó ben Lóegairi Búadaig maic Connad Buidi maic Iliach.

L Feidelm Úoltchain and dano ben loegaire buadaig.

H Feidilm Úoltcain and ben loegairi buadaip maic connad budi 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 Lóegairi 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.

Findbec ingen Echach ben Chethirn maic Íntain.

L Findbec ingen echach ben chethirn maic Íntain.

H Finbeg ingen echach ben cethirnn maic Íntain
Brig 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 Ulhechair is due to the influence of Celtchair. The form C(l)uthechair (cf. ‘Celtchair m. Cuithetheair’ 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.

Findige ingen Echach ben Éogain maic Durthacht.

L  Findnige ingen echach ben eogain maic durthacht.

H  Finnigi ingen ethach\(^5\) 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.
Findchóem ingen Chathbad ben Amargin Íargiunnaig.

L Findchæm ingen chathbad ben amairgin iarngiunnaig.

H Findcoem ingen catbaid ben amirgin iergiundaig


Derb Forgaill ingen rig Lochlainne ben Lugdach Riab nDerg maic inna tri Find Emna.

L Derb forgaill ben lugdach riab nderg.

H Derb forcaill ingen rig lochlainni ben lughduch riab ndeurcc maic na tri find emna.

*Derb Forgaill:* the tradition recorded in H is found elsewhere (*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).

Emer Foltchain ingen Forgaill Manach ben Chon Culainn maic Šualtaim.

L Emer foltchain ingen forgaill manach ben con culainn maic šualtaim.

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 Êogain maic Dirthacht ben Chonaill maic Amargin.

L  Lendabair ingen eogain maic dirthacht ben chonaill maic amairgin.

H  Lennabair ingen eogain maic dirtacht ben conail 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. Olr. (see editorial policy). **maic**

**Durthacht:** I have adopted the L reading (see note l.132 above).

[137] Niab ingen Cheltchair maic Uthidir ben Chormaic Conn Longas maic Conchobair.

L  Niab ingen cheltchair maic uthidir ben chormaic con longes maic conchobuir.

H  Niab ingen\[^6\] celtchoir maic utidhir ben cormaic con longes maic concobair

**maic Uthidir:** see note l.131 above.


L  Mó turim andro batar do degmnaib and chena.

H  Mo tuirimh anru boi do degmnaib ann olcena

**anru boi:** 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 boi do sciathaib and olchena, Ériu 4, 28.12’ cited DIL s.v. tuirem). L has a Midlr. 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 *dagdoine* l.75 above. *olchenae*: the H reading is superior; L has a Midlr. form showing lenition of the initial of *cenae* (see *SnaG*, 238).

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

**L**  Mugain trá ro boí oca hacallaim-si na leborchaimmi. Conid and as-bert-si *mugain*.

**H**  Mugain trá ro bui oc acolluim na hechlaigí. 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 Midlr. (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’.

**A ingen a luath, a láeb, a Leborcham, cia Ultu ána acca?**

**L**  A ingen a luath a lebarcham cia ulto ána acca.

**H**  A ingen a luath a læph a leborcham 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). **cia Ultu ána acca**: this is an ex. of “Tmesis III” (on this classification, see Greene, 1977) with the conj. part. *cia* (+ copula) at the head of
the sentence and the conjunct form of *ad-ci* (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 forbusta;

L A bé find forbusta

H A be find forbusta

*forbusta*: adj. meaning ‘firm, steady’, used here of a person to mean ‘dignified’.

[142-3] At-condarc-sa, cóemchéile slíasta i snim sruthfola fua mboí, béo cathmil cnedach Conchobar.

L at-chonnarc-sa caimchele slíasta i snim sruthfola. fua mbui beo cathmil conchobar.

H it-condurc-sa caine le lin slíasta i ssnim srut folia 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-ci* + 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. *siasait* ‘the thigh’, with the meaning ‘consort’ (lit. ‘thigh companion’; cf. ‘cairdes slíasta sexual intercourse’, id.). *i snim sruthfola*: the compound *sruthfiul* 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-chonarc and coin culainn certslain o chúl co ulaig fo-ruras a chel.

**H** At-condarc con coulaimn certslain ó cól co hulaich fo-ruraruss a chel.

**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 chrih mo dà ulaig* (i.e. 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. *rondicf*). **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 cenglait 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 Cettchar cnedmar fadessin, éissi derga dia luid.**

**L** At-corrarc and celtchar cnedmar fadessin essi derga dia luid.

**H** At-condarc and cealtchar cnedmar foadessin éssse 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.
At-condarc and Lóegaire Lonnbűadach, fria thairr culpait, tolla imma thoibú tlacht, a dabergin búada bebárnnatar.

L

At-condarc loegaire lonbuadach fria thair culpait tolla imma thoibú. tlacht a dabergin buada be'abarnatar.

H

At-condarc and lægáire londbuadach culpaic tolla immo toeba tlacht a daberghin buada be'abarnatar.

and: in H only; I have adopted it. Lonnbűadach: the normal epithet of Lóegaire is Bűadach (cf. 1.129 above); in this case bűadach 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 thoibú 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. thoibú ‘sides’; it reads ‘about his pierced sides a garment’. a dabergin búada bebárnnatar: DIL cites this line s.v. ?bergin from Dobbs’ edition of the passage (1949, 158). She silently expands and divides L’s dab’gin 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 thoibú (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. bűada the subject of bebárnnatar 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.
At-condarc and Briannán, brétsatar fir frisa comarnic carn.

L  At-connarc and briannan 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. siar ‘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’.

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’.

[148] 178
At-condarc and Connlae Cóemthóeb, selgatar fri lathraige lár.

**L**
At-conncarc and conla cáem toib selgatar fri lathraige lár.

**H**
At-conncarc and conla cain selgatar fri lathraidhde 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’.

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

**L**
At-conncarc and furbaide fer bend for daidben doensus dergsus asa beirn bui.

**H**
At-condarc and furhaido. for henn for daidhben doensus dergsus assa bemd 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 dagrig[a] domuin doénsius, Rawl. 115^5^5 (‘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 ¬ bû ¬ 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).
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 dí laim do-bebhnatar fuili 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. lámaíb 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/a-stem adj. folcmar ‘flowing, gushing’.

At-condarc and, Dubthach di doít Lugdach, léosait dessa, dedlus.

**L**  At-connarc and dubthach di dóit lugdaig, leosait dessa, dluingsius.

**H**  At-condarc and dubthach di dhoid lughdach leusad dessa dluingsius
di doít: i.e. dat. sg. of doe ‘arm’ meaning ‘by the side of’ (lit. arm of)’. léosait: i.e. 3pl. pret. of léoid ‘cuts (off), hacks (off)’. dessa: i.e. acc. pl. of dess ‘right hand’ (a-stem as subst.). dedlus: both mss. have MidIr. s-pret. of dlongid ‘splits, cuts, rends’ based on the unreuplicated present stem + 3pl. suffixed pron. i.e. ‘he (Dubthach) cut them’; I have restored the historical 3sg. reduplicated pret. + 3pl. suffixed pron.

At-condarc and Lugdaig, lín a mac mrogsus innonn fri Durach nDerg.

**L**  At-connarc and lugdaig lín a mac mbrogsus innind fri durach ñderg.

**H**  AT-condarc and lughdaig lín a mac mbrogsus ininn fri duruch nderg
In 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 Midlr. brogaíd (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.

At-condarc and Amargein Artrúad, ro lass sair assa chuthach cath.

L  At-connarc and amairgin artruad ro las sair assa chuthchath cath.

H  At-condarc ann aimirgin artruadh ro lass sair asa cauthcuath cath

Artrúad: I take this as an epithet of Amargein, possibly with art (i.e. ard) ‘noble’ + rúad (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.

At-condarc and Fergnae, fer brígach, fer cetaro ráith ria cach curaid, foa dib sebtaitb selsus.

L  At-connarc and fergna fer brigach fer cetaro raid ria cach coraid foa dib sebtaitb selsus

H  AT-condarc ann fergna fer mbrigach cetaro raith ria cach corith fofoa dib septaitb selfus

181
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 cuár, due to the influence of cuär, cór-). 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. sehtaib ?; 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.

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 fò.

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. aue/hjar, 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.
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. füli 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 béoaigdir ‘makes alive, vivifies’. ind ala ór: DIL s.v. béoaigdir 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 1.152 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. án; 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. slass ‘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 rigrátha, Rochad Rúadbuillech mac Find Faithemain fri sellad slúag.

L  At-condarc in tuidbigid troethas rigrátha rochad rúadbuillech mac find fatheman fri sellad slúag.

H  AT-condarc ann and tuidbigid troethus rigratha rochad rúadbuillech 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’. Rúadbuillech: I take this as an adjectival epithet from rúadbuille ‘a strong blow’ i.e. ‘of the strong blow’. Find Faithemain: 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’.


L  At-condarc and in suid sulbair soacallma ro-siacht a ardinsci ardrigda úad ro sáraigsetar fir-fercerhde file ind ríg.

H  AT-condarc ann an súid soagallma ro-siacht a aurdurcinsci airdriga uadh ra saraiter fir-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. fir: I take this to be the adj. fir ‘veracious, just, true’ i.e. ‘veracious Ferchertne’.
At-condarc and Fiachraig n-ail, ail cech ecló sair clóó.

L

At-connarc and fiachraig n-ail ail cech ecló sair 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 sair 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 ecló/ eclo; in H it is apparently preceded by a 3rd person poss. pron. or alternatively, the prep. a ‘out of’. sair 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; sair/ 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 clóó/ cloao may be.

At-condarc and Conáed Cétguinech cetaro ráith eccrata, garg a roe rith, ro bith mac Mornai moíth, in da thoib tuill, túaim i timargar ith.

L

At-connarc and conáed cetguinech cetaro ráid eccrata garg. a róe-rith ro bith mac mornai moíth no da thoib tuill túaim i timargar ith.

H

AT-condarc ann conoeth cetguinech mac morna cetaro raith ecraití garc a réo-rith ro bith mac morna moíth na da tæib tuill tuaim a timargur ith

Cétguinech: this is an adjectival epithet from cét nguin ‘a hundred wounds’ i.e ‘of the hundred wounds’. cetaro ráith: this form as in 1.157 above. eccrata: 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; roë (used here in it’s 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. robith: i.e. augm. pret. pass. sg. of benaid ‘strikes’. moith: I take the ms. forms moid to be the o/a-stem adj. moith ‘tender’, used attributively here of gen. sg. Mornai. in da: both mss. have a Midlr. 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/a-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 ith ‘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.

At-condarc and Coirpre, cenn fir fris, tnúth fris bruinne ben.

L At-connarc and corpre cend fir fris tnuid fris brunniu ben.

H AT-condarc ann coirpri cend fir fris tnuith 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/ tnuid ‘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.
Ata-condarc and na riglasra; lassait amal óenóeibill, garg a ngaiscid gním gaile; Glaine ṭ Gormainech, Maine Milscothach ṭ Ailill, Seel ṭ Toscel, Dures ṭ Ret ṭ Bricriu. Bertsait mórgnímu nó maic Carbada uill.

L At-connarc and na riglasra lassait amal oinaibill. garg a ṭngaiscid gním gaile glaine. ṭ gormainech mane milscothach ṭ ailill scel ṭ toscel dures ṭ ret ṭ bricriu bertsait mórgnímu nó maic carbada uill.

H AT-condarc ann na riglasra lassaid amail oenoibill gaírg a ngaisced gním glaini ṭ gormainech mane milscothach ṭ ailill scel ṭ toscel durus ṭ red ṭ bricne Bertsaid morgnimai nó 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 GOL, 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: gaísid 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 Seel 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. nói maic Carbada uill: I take this as subj. of bertsait. uill: i.e. gen. sg. of the o/u-stem adj. oll ‘great, ample’.

7 with suprascript dot or mark on ms. above s.
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 cathmíl cathbúadach cathchoscrach conall cém 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. 'cain tintai 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 étit '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 1.117 above); L has a late form based on the MidIr. nom. sg. milid (see DIL s.v. 2 mil; cf. earlier cathmíl l.142 above).
At-condarc and Úarathach Cethern Claidebrúad con-meil mórghala asa eolairg ard.

L

At-connarc and uarathach cethern claidebrúad con-meil morgala. asa eolairg ard.

H

AT-condarc ann huaraithiuch ceteim cloidimríaid 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. mópara: 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’. asa: 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 mópara the form of which we can be fairly certain).
At-chondarc and, fo-fúaratar Ulaid úir rod lelgatar, amal liges milchobar mil, millsiunn, sástunn sál mora móir tethrag tar cutig.

L  At-connarc and fo-fúaratar ulaid úir ro selgatar amal lighes\(^9\) milchobur mil millsiund sastund sál mara móir tethrag tar cutig.

H  AT-condarc and fo-fúaratar ulaid úir rod lelgatar amal no lligius milcobar mil millsiund sastand sal mara móir mor tethragh 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 Midlr. preverbal lenition. úir: i.e. ‘earth, clay’ (cf. manídótar 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 Midlr. (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’. **millsiunn:** i.e. 3sg. pret. of millid ‘spoils, destroys’ + 1pl. suffixed pron. **sástunn:** i.e. 3sg. pres. ind. of sáisaid ‘satisfies’ + 1pl. suffixed pron. **mora:** I have normalized the spelling in the first syllable in line with the previous ex. in 1.86 above. **tethrag tar cutig:** DIL lists this form s.v. tethraigid, no definition for the verb is given; a word resembling this is cited s.v. 3 tethra from O’Davoren’s Glossary (1562, ed. Stokes, 1904) ‘Tethrack [v.l. teachrach]. i. traigh, ut est ro fine tonn tethrack i. ro traighi [v.l. ro traighed] tonn tainnemach na fine amail è’ which Stokes translates as ‘tethrack, 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. tethrack (from *te-thrág) seems redupl. pret. of tráigim, whence trúges

\(^9\) 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 *tréigid* 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 möir* '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.


L  At-connarc and do-füargaiib úr immon sinsetar fir. immo-tarlaicthea cranna imma-cloíset gai.

H   AT-condarc and To-fuarcabath ur immo ssinsithir fir imma-irlaicther slega imma-cloíset 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 ElV, 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 species 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. -cloïset: i.e. imma + 3pl. pret. of cloid 'turns back, repels'.

[180-1] Scíathgal, sciath i cath; it cathbúadaig Ulaid íar n-áraib eccrat, íar fortbiu buiden, íar slígi áir.

L Scíathgal sciath i cath. i cathbúadaig ulaid íar n-áraib eccrat íar fortbiu buiden¹⁰ íar slíge air.

H Scíathgal scieth i cath IT catbuaduig ulaid íar n-áraib eccrat íer fortbe buidin íar slíghi áir

Scíathgal: 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). slíge áir: ár 'slaughter' is an attrib. gen. qualifying slíge 'cutting down, smiting' i.e. 'a slaughterous cutting down'.


L Do-fairchelsa giall cech coicid de choicedaib hereann acht coiced galion

H To-faircelset giall 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 iat da cóiced ro techtsat cland Heremoin .i. cóiced nGáleoin .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, 118a43 (Minugud 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 taidbat 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. infixed. 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 e-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’ Ml. 138d12) 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 dib.

L  Ulaid ollchathaig frithalid na firu dos-fil far ndochum acht cecha torchair dib

H  hulaid ollcathaib frithailid na fira dus-fic for ndochum acht cecha torchar dib.

Ulaid ollchathaig: ollchathaig is nom. pl. of ollchathach, a cmpd. 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 e’; I have restored the historical non-pal. final.
Is ed célimaine in sin ruc Leborcham do mnáib Ulad.

IS sed célimaini in sein ruc leborcham do mnaib Ulad.

IS Sed célimain in sin ruc lepurcaum do mnaib ulad

Luid danó Conall Cernach a oenur i n-iarmoracht Laigen do dagdígail a bráithre do-rochratar isin chath .i. Mess Dead γ Lóegaire.

Luid conall cernach a oenur i n-iarmoracht lagen do digail a brathar do rochratar sin chath .i. mes dead. γ loegaire.

LUID DANO conall cernuch a oenar a nd-iarmoracht laigen do degdígail a braitri do rocratar isan cat .i. mess dedad γ læguiri

**a oenur:** L has the historical dat. sg. spelling (i.e. dat. of apposition, see *GOl*, 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 *dagdoine* 1.75 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. 1.106 above); the H reading is not a recognised variant form of *Mess Dead* (see *DIL* s.v. *Dead* ‘Different from Mess Dedaíd, as Rawl. 158.21 shows: clann Amargin...Mes De’ (i.e. Mess Dead) ‘Mess Dedaíd Dian-.’).
[187-8] **Is ed luide for Áth Cliath sech Drummanach for Auu Gabla i Forcarthain, sech Úachtar nAird, sech Nás do Chléenud.**

L  IS sed luide for áth cliath sech drummairnech for uib gabla. i forcarthain. sech uachtur aird. sech nás. do chlainud.

H  IS Sed luide for ath cliath sech druinmanuch for hu gabla i forcarthain Sech úachtar nair sech nás do clæinad

Drummanach: i.e. ‘Drinnagh (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. Úi Gabla gives its location as in the present text i.e. between ‘Drinnagh’ and ‘Oughterard’ (cf. add. & corr. s.v. Ráth 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 Úi 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 Nár. Chléenud: 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 rancatar didiu Laigin a tir, luid cach úaidib dia bailiu.**

L  O rancatar didiu lagin a tir luid cach úadib dia bailiu.

H  O Rancatar didiu laigin dia tir Luid cach huaidib dia bailiu

Ó rancatar... a t só: both mss. have 3pl. augm. pret. of ro-ic ‘reaches’; in L it takes the direct acc. tóir, 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.
Anais immurgu Mess Gegrai for Cassán Chlóenta a óenur γ a arae dar éissi int slúaig.

L Anais immurgu mess gegra for cassán chlointa a oinur. γ a ara dar éissi int slúaig

H Anus immurgu mes gegrae for cassan clænta γ a arai dar eis 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 éissi (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 éissi 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).

‘Con-tuluiub-sa calléic’, ol int arae fri Mess nGegrai ‘γ con-tolae-so iarum’.
‘Maith lim’ ol in rí.

L Con-tuluiub-sa colleic ar int ara fri mess gegra. γ con-tola-su iarum. Maith lim ar in rí.

H Con-tuluiub-sa colleic ol int ara fri mes ngegrai & con-tolu-sa iarum mait lim ol ind rí

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.16², Ml.130³, Sg.45b⁷). 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.
A mboí Mess Gegrai oc déicsin ind uisci co n-acea in cnóí farsind abainn.

L A mbui mess gegra oc descin ind usci co n-acca in cnó ar fut na haband chuce.

H A mboi mes gegrae oc descin and usce co n-aco in cnó iarsan abaind

**oc déicsin:** both mss. have the Midlr. 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 Midlr. hypercorrect spelling with nd for nn in aband/abaind, L also has Midlr. 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.

Ba méite cenn fir in chnu. Luid sis fadessin conda tubart dó γ nos tethainn cona scin γ fo-rácaib leth ind eitni don gillu.

L Ba meti cend fir in chnu. Luid sis fadessin conos tuc cuce γ ros teind cona scin. & fo-racaib leth ind eitne don gillu.

H Ba med cend fir in chnu Luid sis bodessin conda tabhairt dó γ rus teind cona scin γ 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 Midlr. 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
I have restored the OIr. redup. pret. including the 3sg. fem. class A infixed pron. **fo-rácab:** both mss. have Midlr. 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 1.208 below where the same choice presents itself, as neither reading is clearly superior.


L Co nfaccai-seom in ngilla do-furcbad ón talmain triana chotlud.

H Co n-aco-somh an gilla do-n-aurebad don talmain triana cotlud

**Co n-accae-som:** L has a Midlr. form with (lenited) prosthetic *f*. **da-n-aurebad:** both mss. have a form of 3sg. ipf. ind. of *do-furgab* '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 Midlr. main clause len. (see *EIV*, 173). **tría:** both mss. have a Midlr. form with *n* before the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (see *SnaG*, 330). I have emended these to the historical form.


‘Cid tá a gillai?’ ol in rí.

L & ro dúisig in gilla íar sin assa chotlud. Cid tá 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 Midlr. 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 íar sin:** I have adopted the word order in L, as well as the reading *íar sin.*
Drochaislinge: DIL s.v. aislinge suggests that this is an /o-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 Midlr. 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 Midlr. (see ElV, 180). Gaibid: the H reading is superior, with narrative pres. gaibid; L has a Midlr. form with augm. pret. ro gab as simple past tense replacing pret. gahais.

In cnu deod-so?, ol in gillae

'Dóich' ol in ri.

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

Ind cnu: 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 issad a mmór’.

L Minigid lim chetus or in ri. In fer doid in mbec sechom-sa ar in gilla no issad a mmór.

H Minaighid cetamus ol in ri An ferán doidh an mbeg sechom-sa no isad a mmor

**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 láim ind rig fria agaid co lleith ind eitni.**

L Ro boí a láim in rig fria agid ind rig co lleith ind eitni.

H Ro boí ha lam and rich frie aigid co lleth and airne

**fria agaid:** H have adopted the H reading without the second occurrence of *ind rig* 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-aideala in gillae co claidiub co tall a láim dé.**

‘Ole sin a gillai’ ol in ré.

**L** Do-naidlend in gilla co claidiub co tall a láim de. Olc sin a gillai ol in ré.

**H** To-naidlend an gilla co claidem co tall a laimh de Olc sen a gilla or^{12} an ri

**Da-n-aideala:** both mss. have late form with a Midlr. 3sg. conj. ending (see *SnaG*, 293-4); the historical 3sg. pres. ind. is *do-aideala*. 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 Midlr. 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 airen ann

**ind eitni:** see note on l.195 above.

^{12} added above the line.
Amal ad-condaire in gilla a n-i-sin, im-soi in claideb fris fessin co ndechuid tria druimm siar.

‘Fé amae a gillai!’ ol in rí.

L Amal at-chonnaire in gilla a n-i sin im-soi in claideb friss fessin co ndechaid triana druim siar. Fe amae a gillai or in ri.

H Amal at-chonnairc 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 Midlr. form with at + len. for ad + nas. following amal (see GOI, 316). a n-i-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-soi in claideb fris fessin: I have adopted the word order in L, as well as the reading fessin. tria: see note on 1.196 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.

In-lá fessin int-i Mess Gegrai a charpat γ do-beir a láim ind ara bêlaib.

L Indlid fessin int-i mess gegra a charput γ do-beir a laim ind ara belaib.

H indlid fesin an carpat ant-i mess gegrai γ 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 Midlr. (see SnaG, 328).

13 Ind[lid]; the facs. reading indud is doubtful (cf. H).
In tan didiu luide assind áth siar, is and do-lluid Conall Cernach issin n-áth anair.

L  In tan diditu luid assinn áth siar. Is and do-riacht conall issin áth anair.

H  An tan iarum luid asan ath siar 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 GOL, 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.

Amein a Mess Gegrai' ol Conall.
‘At-taam and' ol Mess Gegrae.
‘Ceist iarum' ol Conall.

L  Amlaid sin a mess gegra ar conall. Atò 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. amin); 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. *am laid* cites the present L reading as an ex. of the adverbial phrase ‘*a. sin*’ which replaces Olr. *amail* + demonstr.; I have therefore adopted the H reading. **Conall:** as in 1.213 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-i dia ndligi *fiachu*, saig fair cach *ní rot bé*’.

**L**

*Cid ail and ar mess* *gegrai* acht int-i dia ndligi *fiachu* saig fair cach *cumung rot bé*.

**H**

nocon fuil on *dano* acht ant-i dia ndligi *fiacha* dos-fothlaig fair cach *ni rot be ol mess *gegrai*

**Cid fil and:** I take *ail* in L to represent *fail*, i.e. the late Olr. 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-i 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 *Brislech 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* (< Olr. *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. t aitire 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.

‘At-taat mo bráthair lat-so’ ol Conall.
‘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 Midlr. form showing contraction of hiatus; I have emended these to the historical 3pl. form. *bráithir*: superior reading in L; H has the Midlr. 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*. 
‘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’.

L Ni fir ngaiscid ar mes gegrai. comrac frim-sa co n-óenláim. Is fair bias ar conall. cumrígfithir mo lám dom thaib-se ar conall.

H ni fir on ol mes gegrai comruc rim-sa co n-oinlaimh. IS air bias ol conall comrigfithir mo lam-sa domb thaib

**fír ngaiscid:** L has the superior reading; the phrase *fír ngaiscid* ‘warrior’s truth’ mirrors that of *fír flatheamon* ‘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 Midlr. form whereby initial / 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 Midlr. of the prepp. *for* and *ar* (see *SnaG*, 326). **bia-sa:** the form in both mss. may represent Midlr. use of the rel. after clefted prepositional phrases (see *ElV*, 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 Midlr. 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 superflous *ar conall* (or indeed with earlier *ol*) at the end of the line.
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 ládm chonaill chernaitg dia thoib.

H i. co bo tri con amracht lamh conuill fria a thoib do comrac fria hoinlaimaidh IS iarum con amracht lam conaill

fo thrí: both mss. have a Midlr. form of *fo* with a voiced initial (see *SnaG*, 327).

con-áracht: L has a Midlr. 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. -comfracht; I have adopted the H reading restoring regular OIr. *con-dracht*. *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.

Ocus iar sin immus-túaircet combo derg ind aub dóib.

L Ro thuairc cach a chéile combó derg ind aband dóib.

H & iar sin mus-túaircet commo derg an abann dóib

Ocus iar sin immus-túaircet: L has a Midlr. 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 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).
Fortressa a chluichi in Chonail Chernaig.

‘Maith trá a Chonail!’ ol Mess 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 Chonnaill Cernaig: 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’ (DII. 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.)

Ro-fetar-sa ni regae-so co rucae mo chenn-sa lat γ tabair mo chenn fort chenn γ m’orddan fort horddan.

Ro-fetar-sa ni 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
The vocalism in the L form is attested for all persons except 2sg. and 2pl. (see \textit{GOI}, 272-3), the present form was probably acceptable in OIr. also.

\textbf{Benaid Conall a chenn \textit{dé oc} Cassán Chlóenta ocus beirid Conall a cenn co tarat forin liic for brú ind átha.}

\textbf{L} Benaid conall a chend de ic cassán chlointa. & berid conall in cend co tarat forin liic ar bruach\textsuperscript{14} átha.

\textbf{H} Benaid \textit{conall} a cenn de i cassan cloénta & beraid \textit{conall} a cend co tarat foran liic for bru an átha.

\textbf{a chenn:} \textit{a} in H is to be taken as 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (with len. omitted), as in L. \textbf{oc:} the spelling of the vowel in \textit{oc} varies in MidIr. (see \textit{SnaG}, 329); both mss. have a late form and in H -c has been assimilated to the initial of \textit{cassan}. \textbf{Cassán Chlóenta:} L has the superior reading with len. following dat. sg. \textit{cassdn}. \textbf{a cenn:} in L the neut. art. has been replaced; I have adopted the H reading. \textbf{forin:} forms with and without \textit{s} occur alongside each other in the glosses (see \textit{GOI}, 293; cf. \textit{forsin chléith} l.111 above). \textbf{liic:} both mss. have the disyllabic acc. sg. of \textit{lie}, \textit{lia} ‘standing stone, pillar-stone’ (i.e. not of \textit{lecc} ‘flagstone’; Bergin (1938b, 217-8) has discussed the confusion of these words; that \textit{lie}, \textit{lia} is the form in question here, is also confirmed by the switch to \textit{coirthe} ‘rock, pillar, standing-stone’). \textbf{for:} L has a later form with \textit{ar} replacing \textit{for} (see note on l. \textbf{brú ind átha:} L is badly faded between \textit{bru} and \textit{atha}; in the transcription of L I have relied on the diplomatic ed. to supply \textit{ach} but even here the editors note that the \textit{a} is indistinct; there remains a strong possibility then that L had \textit{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 -\textit{d}); I have therefore restored \textit{brú} + art. with H and possibly with L.

\textsuperscript{14} bru[ach].
[230-1] Do-luid bannae a méidiu in chinn co ndechuid i cenn in choirthi co lluid triit co talmain.

L  do-luid banna a mmediu in chind co ndechaid i cend in chorthi co lluid triit co talmain.\textsuperscript{15}

H  Do-luid banna a meidhe in cind co ndechuid a cend an coirthie co lluid trid co talamh.

\textbf{a méidiu:} I have restored dat. \textit{méidiu} following the prep. \textit{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. \textit{triit:} L has the superior reading with the historical hiatus form. Conall thwarts Mess Geograí'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. \textbf{co talmain:} acc. sg \textit{talmain} is restored here (see note on 1.59 above).

[231-2] Do-bert dano a cenn forin coirthe \textgamma at-n-aig a cenn in coirthe co talmain conid tarlae fora beolu dochum inna habann.

L  Do-bert dano a chend forsa corthe. \textgamma ad-n-aic a cend in corthe co talmain co tarla for beolu docum na haband.\textsuperscript{16}

H  Do-bert dano a cend foran coirthi \textgamma at-conaic a chend an coirthi conid tarla fora beula dochum na habhann.

\textbf{a cenn:} I have adopted the H reading with neut. art. \textbf{forin coirthe:} in the L form \textit{forsa} the \textit{n} of the def. art. is missing; it may otherwise be \textit{for} + neut. art., erroneously treating \textit{coirthe} as a neut. noun; I have adopted the H reading (same basic form preserved in both mss. 1.230 above; see also note 1.229-30). \textbf{at-n-aig:} L has the better reading with a proleptic masc. infixed pron. i.e. \textit{adnaic} = \textit{at-n-aig} referring to the pillar. H has a Midlr. form of \textit{ad-condaire} i.e. 3sg. perf. of \textit{ad-ci} 'sees', used in the

\textsuperscript{15} [do] lluid, co n[dechaid i], [co lluid; see editor's note.

\textsuperscript{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 infixed 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. infixed 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)’.  


L Conall cloen a ainm seom co sain. ar ro batar tri ainmi la ulto i. conall clóen γ cu chulainn goll. γ cuscraid mend.  

H Conull cloen a ainm siomh co sein Ar Ro batar tri hanmonna la hulto i.e. conall clæn γ cu culaimn goll γ cuscraid mend  

co sin: both mss. have a Midlr. 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 1.14 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. Midlr. nom. sg.); see also O’Brien, 1958, 99); I have restored the historical spelling including the a-stem nom. pl. ending (cf. ainem (nom. sg.) 1.221 above). The H reading appears to be the Midlr. nom. pl. of ainnm ‘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. clóen). Cú Chulainn Goll: i.e. ‘Cú Chulainn the Purblind’. Cúscraid Mend: i.e. ‘Stammering Cúscraid’.  

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Ro rannsat mná Ulad i tri. Ro car cech trian dib a fer din triur sin.

L Ro randsat mna ulad i tri iat. Ro char cach a fer don triur sin.

H Ro randsat mna ulad a tri ro car cech trian dib a fer din triur sin

Ro rannsat: L has a Midlr. 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 Midlr. 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.


L A trian ro charsa coin culainn batis guill cot acallaim. A trian\textsuperscript{18} ro charsat conall cloën batis cloën cot acallaim. A trian ro charsat cuscraid batis guilt cot acallaim.

H A trian ro carustar conoll báitis clæn ocod descin A trian dib ro car cu culainn báitis guill cot acollaimh A Trian ro char cuscraid 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 \textsuperscript{7} Cú Chulainn Goll \textsuperscript{7} 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

\textsuperscript{18} [g]uill; cot acall[aim] i.e. suspension stroke not visible, A t[ri]an.
ro carustār 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. **bātis:** 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. **cloīn:** nom. pl. fem. attributive adjj. relating to the women of Ulster and in agreement with the 3pl. verbal form and might be expected here; the ms. forms cloīn/ clēn must then represent a generalized nom. pl. masc. form especially at such a remove from mná Uład. **guill:** i.e. nom. pl. masc. (see previous note). **mind:** In the line relating to Cúscraid L has another apparently nom. pl. masc. form gūlt (i.e. got ‘stammering, lisping’); the use of mend as in H rather than got is expected (cf. **Cúscraid Mend** II.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. dēicsiu. **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 dara\textsuperscript{19} ais co mbo díriuch ond úair sin.

H  Do-berd danò conall a cend-sam fora cenda tarla dara ais \(\gamma\) co mbo direch ond úair 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 \(\gamma\) int arae i carpat Meisse Gegrai. Nos mrogat dó iarum i nÚachtar Fine,**

L  Luid didiu conall ina charpat a oinur \(\gamma\) int ara i carpat mes gegrai. Nos brogat dó iarum i n-úachtur fine.

H  Luid didiu conall ina carbad a oenur \(\gamma\) ant ara a carbad mes gegra nus mbruoghad dó iarum i nd-úachtar fine

**int arae:** I have restored the historical nom. sg. spelling in final -(a)e (cf. ‘Aire \(\gamma\) arae .i. ab auriga (.i. òodaig), quia scindit auras amail remetet ara choimdid [ms. coimd}g]} 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 Midfr. 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

\textsuperscript{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’. in Úachtar Fine: i.e. ‘Oughteranny, Co. Kildare’; Hogan (1910) cites the present ex. from L s.v. Úachtar Fine.


L  Co comrancatar fri coicait mban and sin .i. buan ben mes gegrai cona bantrotch oc tuidecht assin chocrich atúaid

H  co comharnecethar fri coeaid mban and sin .i. 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 bantrotch: 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 1.260 below (see note). an-túaid: both mss. have the later form; I have restored OIr. an-túaid (see note 1.126 above).

[242-4]  ‘Cia oca tāi a ben?’ ol Conall.

‘Ben Meisse Gegrai ríg’.

‘Timarnad duit techt lim-sa’ ol Conall.

L  Cia cá tāi a ben ar Conall. ben mess gegrai ríg. Timarnad duit techt lim-sa ar Conall.

H  Co tāai 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 *cia (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 *cia* 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. *Rig:* neither reading is clearly superior; I have adopted the L reading as with similar doubtful cases. *Timarnad:* both ms. 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).

*Cía dom-imarnae?* ol in ben.

*Mess Gegrai* ol Conall.

*In tucais comardae lat?* ol in ben.

**L** Cia do thimarnae or in ben. mess *gegrai* ar conall. In tucais chomartha latt or in ben.

**H** Cia dom timarna ol in ben Mess ol conall in tucais comarta lat ol in ben.

*Cía dom-imarnae:* in both ms. the preverb of *do-imnai* has been doubled (the form in both ms. is pret. pass. sg.); L reads ‘who has commanded it?’; H with residual 1sg. dat. infixed 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.

[245-7]
‘A charpat γ a eich sund’ ol Conall.
‘Sochaide dia tabair sétu’ ol in ben.
‘A chenn suno danó’ ol Conall.

L A charpat γ a eich sund21 ar conall. Sochaide da tabair seotu ar in ben. A22 chend suno dano ar conall.

H A carbad γ a ech lium ol conall Sochaidi dia tardand seuda ol in ben A cend sund dano ol conall

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 Midlr. 3sg. pres. ind. ending -and (-ann) in do-ratai; L does have a Midlr. 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 suna (see GOI, 305).


Imm-dergtha e cenn ind ala fecht γ no bántae in fecht n-aili.

L Am diles-sa uadh-som a fecht sa or in ben. No imdergtha in cend ind ara fecht γ ro bánta in fecht aile.

H Am diliusa uadh-som a fecht sae ol-Si. No immdergta in cend and ala no banta dano in facht n-ali

Am diles-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 *Gol*, 157); both mss. have a MidIr. phonetic spelling for OIr. **in fecht-so**. **ol-si**: 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 *Ml*.90\(^{12}\)). **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 *Gol*, 248, 308), it is likely therefore that, as in L, *fecht* followed *ind ala* in the original; I have therefore adopted *fecht*. **no bántae**: 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. *iol* /iː/ stem flexion, as in H (coincidentally at least)).

[C256-4] ‘Cid daas in fer, a ben?’ *ol Conall.


**L**


**H**

Cid das an fer a ben ol conull Ro-fedur-sa on immurgu ol in ben Imarbaig do-rala etorra ᵠ aithirne

Cid daas: both mss. have a form with hiatus contracted; I have restored the historical hiatus form (cf. *is ed daas in fer* II.255-6 below, where both mss. have the disyllabic form). Thurneysen (*Gol*, 478) cites the ex. at I.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 ᵠ Aithirne* in the next line, i.e. it was the man and not the bodyless head who had the dispute with Aithirne (cf. I.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.


L At-rubairt-seom nacham bérads-oenfer dultaib. Comrac imma brethir iarum iss ed daas in cend.

H adubrairt-seom nacham bérads-oenfer do uultaib 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 bérads-sa: both mss. have the 3sg. cond., which is used as in l.68 above. di Uultaib: 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 l.253-4 above; I have again adopted the H reading with in fer (see also note l.253-4 above).

‘An frim’, ol-sí ‘coro chain 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

cucum-sa: L has a MidIr. form with lenited initial (see SnaG, 238, 326). frim: both of the ms. forms are found in Olr. (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;
have normalized the spelling with i in line with the selected reading at 1.251 above.

coro chaín: both mss. have a later form, whereby the OIr. 1sg. dep. ending has been
adopted in place of the historical a-subj. endingless 1sg. (see SnaG, 308-9); I have
restored the historical form.

At-recht iarum a faíd guil eissi, co closs co Temraig ċ co Ailinn ċ fos
-ceird dara cenn os-sí marb.

L

Tuargaib iarum a foid guil esti. co clos co temraig. ċ co alind. ċ fos-
ceird dara cend ċ sí marb.

H

At-racht iarum a faid ngaUIL essi co closs co temraig ċ 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. faid guil: this is the subj. of
At-recht ‘She wailed’ lit. ‘her cry of lamentation arose from her’; the nas. following
nom. sg. fem. faid in H is erroneous. eissi: L has a MidIr. form with a dental (see
SnaG, 326). co Temraig: 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 oclus 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.
Atá a fert forsint sligi .i. Coll Búaine, in coll ro ás tríá fert.

**L** Ata a fert forsint sligi .i. Coll buana. 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 à-stem gen. sg. **ro ás:** H has a Midlr. form with **da (do)** replacing **ro** (see SnaG, 280). **trí:** both mss. have a Midlr. 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.


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

**L** Dot-uc ass a gillai ar conall. Fo-réimdim in cend do 23 breith lim or in gilla.

**H** Dot-uc as a gillii ol connall fo-réimhim an cendo do breith on ol in gilli

**Fó-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’.

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23 [d]o.
‘Gat a inchinn ass’, ol Conall ‘\(\gamma\) imbir claideb fair \(\gamma\) tuc a inchinn lat \(\gamma\) cummaisc \(\alpha\)el fair co ndernae liathróit dé’.

L  Gat a inchind ass or conall. \(\gamma\) immir claideb fair. \(\gamma\) tuc a inchind latt. & cummaisc \(\alpha\)el air. co nderna liathroit de.

H  Gat a incind as ol conall \(\gamma\) imbir claidemh fair \(\gamma\) tuc lat a incind \(\gamma\) cummaisc \(\alpha\)el fuirri co ndernai liatrioid di

**a inchinn:** I take \(\alpha\) to be the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. in this and in the next occurrence of the form. **imir:** 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.; *DhI.* 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-gni. **dé:** L apparently has the 3sg. neut. prepositional pron. of *de*; the H form is either the 3sg. fem. form *di* with the length mark absent, or it reflects the original neut. form as in L but showing confusion of *di* and *de*.

[265]  **Do-gnither on \(\gamma\) fácabar a cenn ocon mnaí ocus lotar-som co ráncatar Emain.**

L  Do-gnither\(^{24}\) on \(\gamma\) fácabar in cend acon mnaí. & lotar-som co rancatar emain.

H  Do-gnither on \(\gamma\) 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.

[265-6] Ba moidmech immurgu la Ultu ri Laigen do marbad dóib.

L  Ba maidmech immurgu la ulto ri lagen do marbad doib.

H  Ba maidmech immurgu la hullta ri ulad do marbad doib.

Ba moidmech: maidem and moidem are variant spellings of moidem ‘boasting’ in OIr. (see GOL, 42); moidmech has the concrete sense ‘a cause of boasting’ (see DIL s.v. moidmech).

ri 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.

[267-8] Is de sin trá a-tá Cúairt Aithirni γ Marbad Meisse Gegrai do Chonall Chernach γ Cath Étair.

L  IS de sin trá a-tá cuaird athirni. γ marbad mes gegrai do chonall chernach γ cath etair.

H  IS do sin ro boe cuuairt aithirne γ marbad mes gegrae do conall.

tré 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 1.13 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 γ 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.
APPENDICES

I. Additional material in L25

I.1. This marginal verse appears at the top of 117a

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], [is de do-gairther Cloenath], [is Conall Cernach iar sain], dogairther [mac Amargin], Conall Cloen do-ringni 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 scailte 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* = *airdrinn*.

1a:b. scath: Clóen-áth

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 Olr. demonstrative *sin*. Although it is a MidIr. form itself, its rhyming here with *Amargin* is acceptable by Olr. 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.’.
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 I.60).

The form do-ringni (2a.) has the consonant group -ngn- which appears in do-gní in Midlr. (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 scáth 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 fiarféig do Conall an aithiuse-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 Aimirgin.
ciaa cetgul ro cuala.
gol ingene Mughæde.
etir line is leo-thuagha.

3. A Conaill maic Aimirgin
ciaa cetfher do marbais
Füata Feta feramail
ro marbais a Fid Garbrais

indis duind scelai derba.
i tegim don casan-sa
co rucar cend Mis Gegrae

5. Fir in tesd ad-cualamar
ort ag raith comhrac Conaill.
ceech 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 \( Aifreisligi \ 7^3 7^2 7^3 7^2 \)

Metrical features:

Rhyme:

There is end rhyme in each stanza between b:d

1. ndoman: ndobur  
2. cuala: thuaga  
3. marbais: Garbrais  
4. derba: Gregae  
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. comtaic 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 1.60). 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 -tiag (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 cêtna 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 Midlr. voc. sg. of mac is found written in full as mec (4a).

Late prepositional forms are found in Midlr. duind (4b), with palatal final (see SnaG, 326) and E.Mod.Ir. ag (5b).

II.4. Textual notes:
1. 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) Mughede: I can find no other occurrence of this personal name.
2d. line: I take this to be line ‘line, line of battle’.
leothuagha: this appears to be a cmpd. of léod ‘hacking’ and tíag ‘axe’ i.e. ‘a hacking axe’, the present form then is acc. pl..
3b. ciaa: In the left margin with insertion marks.
3d. Fíata 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; ri 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. chiail: 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/v: ollcathaib 184

c for internal g/v: laicnibh 65

ch for final g/v: rich 206

ccch 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.: 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
lenition of voiceless fricatives is frequently unmarked: docom 46, bratir 61

lenition of voiced fricatives is frequently marked: coeragbhadh 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 ai: gaie 179

ie for ia: 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 ia: ier 28

io for e: enioch 30

iu for e: Fo-llingiudh 46

o for a: connocht 5

o for u: a n-etor 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 uu in io-stem dat. sg.: usce 14

i for ae: co n-aci 50

i for e: ludi 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.: dalu 113

Common/normal later orthography is also shown:

in consonants:

d for internal t /d/: fidir 42

dh confused with g /ɣ/: aigedh 30

g for c /g/: no legthe 88

hypercorrect ld for ll: gildí 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

eaa for unstressed e (i.e. non-palatal glide written): tetbuilleach 28
ew 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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(1976): *Táin bó Cuailgne: Recension 1 [based mainly on Lebor na hUidre version; with additions from Yellow Book of Lecan version and other manuscripts]*. Dublin.


(1942a): ‘iarann, làrag, etc.’, *Ériu* 13, 119-27.


(1921): Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Halle.


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 âth 213; dat. sg. fem. assin choicrich 241.
a n- 'their', 3pl. poss. pron.: ~ 41, 61, 61 et passim; (see also s.v. various prepp.).
a n- 'when', temporal conj.: a mboi 193.
a n-, 'that which': a ndo-bered 92; (+ ro) anru boi 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. iarsind abainn 193.
acaldam 'addressing', fem. o- stem: dat. sg. oca acaldaim-si 139, ocot acaldaim 235, 236 et passim.
acht 'but, except, except that' conjunction:
ad-aig 'drives': 3sg. pres. ind. at-n-aig (+ proleptic neut. infixed pron.) 231.
adaig 'night', fem. ò-stem: nom. sg. ind adaig 30, ~ 30; acc. sg. eter dé aídchí 'by day and by night' 100; temporal dat. dadaig 'on the (following) night' 183; temporal dat. ind aídchí sin 29, 73.

ad-cota ‘obtains’: pret. pass. sg. nicon étad 91.

ad-fét ‘relates’: 3sg. ipf. (+ 3sg. neut. Class B infixed pron.) at-féded 97.

áel ‘lime’, o-stem: acc. sg. ~ 263.


ail ‘insult, blemish’, fem. guttural stem: nom. sg. ~ 41, 65; nom. pl. ailchea 38; acc. pl. ailchea 34.

ail ‘rock’, fem. i-stem: ~ 165 (see textual note).

áil ‘wish’: (in phr. is a. do x ‘x desires’) nom. sg. ~ 9, 58.

aile ‘other’, iolíth-stem: ind ala ... aili ‘the one ... the other’ 252.


áilgesach ‘importunate’, oi/á-stem: (epithet) nom. sg. masc. ~ 2.

aimles ‘harm’, masc.: dat. sg. dit aimles-so 70.

ainem ‘blemish’, fem. á-stem: nom. sg. ~ 221; nom. pl. aimmea 233.

ainm ‘name’, neut. n-stem: nom. sg. ~ 2, a ainm-sem 232.

airbriathrad ‘ordering’ (see textual note): dat. sg. oc airbriathrad 104.

airecht ‘assembly’, fem.: acc. sg. ~ 48; gen. sg. inna airechta 46.

airgal ‘line of battle’, fem. á-stem: nom. dual in di airgal 117.

ais ‘back’: (in phr.) dara ais ‘backwards’ 237.

aislinge ‘vision’, masc.: (in cmpd. with droch) acc. sg. drochaislinge 198.
aithech, masc. o-stem: (in phr. with tech) gen. sg. aithig tige
‘husband’ 31.

Aithirne, proper name: nom. ~ 2, 10, 28 et passim; acc. ~ 24, 30, fri
Aithirne 62; voc. a Aithirni 8, 67; gen. ind
Aithirni 7, Aithirni 12, 84; dat. sg. do Aithirniu
21, 79.

alaile ‘other’, io/ía-stem: (as masc. subst.) dat. sg. alailiu 128; (as neut.
subst.) acc. sg. a n-aill 81.

áilind ‘beautiful’, i-stem: compar. áildiu 127; superl. áildem 19;

all ‘cliff’, o-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. amlabair 61.

ammus ‘attack’, masc. u-stem: acc. sg. ~ 34.

amnas ‘cruel’, o/á-stem: nom. sg. masc. ~ 2; pred. ~ 116.

án ‘glorious’, o/á-stem: acc. pl. masc. áná 140.

anaid ‘stays, remains’: 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 73; 2sg. ipv. an 258; 3sg. pret.
amais 189; 3pl. pres. subj. conna hanat 66; 1sg.
fut. ní ainiub-sa 70.

anair ‘from the east’, adv. of place: ~ 111, 213.

an-túaid ‘from, to the north’, adv. ~ 80, 126, 241.
of place:
ar ‘for’, conjunction: ~ 34, 105, 118 et passim.
ar ‘before, on account of’, prep. +
dat./acc.: (+ dat.) ar Uultaib 67; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc.
ara belaib ‘before him’ 212; 3sg. fem. ara
cumna ‘before her’ 98.

ar n- ‘our’, 1pl. poss. pron.: ~ 8.


ara n- ‘so that’, conjunction: (+ neg.) arna 31, 33, 34 et passim.

arae ‘charioteer’, masc. dental
stem: nom. sg. ~ 190, int aerae 191.
ard ‘high, noble’, o/ā-stem: 175 (see textual note); (see also s.v. rígdae).
ásaid ‘grows’:
asaítd ‘brings to bed’:
as-beir ‘says’:

as-oilci ‘opens’:
ass ‘milk’, neut. o-stem:
atá ‘is’, substantive vb.:

at-baill ‘dies’:
áth ‘ford’ masc. u-stem:

athair ‘father’, masc. r-stem:

athgabáil, fem. ā-stem:

175 (see textual note); (see also s.v. rígdae).
3sg. augm. pret. ro ás 260.
augm. pret. pass. sg. ro asaítd 30.
3pl. pres. ind. as-berat 100, as-berat-som 110;
3sg. pret. as-bert 53, as-bert-sí 139; 3sg. augm.
pretr. as-rubart-som 254-5.
2sg. ipv. oslaic 208.
dat. sg. dia n-ass 88.
2sg. pres. ind. cid oca tāi ‘what ails you?’ 197,
cia tāi ‘who are you?’ 242; 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 10,
52, 101 et passim; (conjunct form) ni fil 68;
3sg. pres. ind (+ 3pl. Class A infixed pron.) ma
nod fil ‘if they are’ 8; rel. fil 10, 54 (see textual
note); 3sg. pres. ind. rel. daas ‘vexes, agitates’
253, 256; 1pl. pres. ind. at-taam 215; 3pl. pres.
ind. at-taat 219; 3sg. ipv. no bid 100, 101, 104;
3pl. ipv. ni būtis 34; 3sg. pret. boí 2, 3, co mboí
32 et passim; 3pl. pret. co mbátar 79, 80; 3sg.
augm. pret. anru boí 138, ro boí 139, 206, ni
rabae 87-8, i rrabae 43; 3pl. augm. pret. ro
bátar 19, 94, ro bátar-side 124 et passim, i
rrabatar 49-50; 3sg. pres. subj. (+ 2sg. Class A
infixed pron.) rot bé 217-8; 3sg. fut. bieid 77;
3sg. fut. rel. bia-sa 223; 3sg. fut. (+ 2sg. Class
A infixed pron.) rot bia 11, 67, 72, (+ neg. +
2sg. Class A infixed pron.) nicot biad-so 67;
3pl. cond. co mbetis 39.
3pl. ipv. co n-epiltis 90.
acc. sg. issin n-áth 213; gen. sg. ind átha 230;
dat. sg. assind áth 213.
nom. sg. ~ 62; gen. sg. m’athar-sa 58.
(acc. sg. athgabáil 35.
in phr. with fo-ácaib ‘leaves possessions’)

athgoite 'severely wounded', *oi/o- *
stem:

at-reig 'rises':

augestar (3sg. pret.):

aurdirc 'renowned':

baile 'place, home', *io- *
stem:

bairgen 'loaf', fem. *a- *
stem:

ballderg 'red-limbed', *o/a- *
stem:

bánaid 'turns pale':

bannae 'drop', *io- *
stem:

bantrocht 'company of women,
female retinue', neut.:

bé 'woman', neut.:

beec 'small, little', *o/a- *
stem:

bedg 'leap', masc. *o- *
stem:

béim 'cutting, striking', neut. *n- *
stem:

beirid 'carries, takes':

nom. pl. masc. athgoiti 89.

3sg. pret. at-recht 112, 259.

159 (see textual note).

~ 163 (see s.v. insce).

nom. sg. ~ 43; dat. sg. dia bailiu 189.

gen. pl. ~ 98.

acc. sg. masc. eter ... Echaig mballderg 25.

ipf. pass. sg. no bántae 252.

nom. sg. ~ 230; acc. sg. ~ 88, 90.

dat. sg. cona bantrocht 241.

voc. sg. a bé 141.

(as neut. *o- *stem subst.) acc. sg. ambee 205.

acc. sg. ~ 115.

dat. sg. oc bém 112.

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 229; 3sg. augm. pret. ruc 185;
augm. pret. pass. sg. rucad 56, 94; 2sg. augm.

pres. subj. co rucae 227, conna rucae 8; 3sg.
augm. pres. subj. (+ co n- + 3sg. fem. Class B
infixed pron.) conda ruca 70; 3sg. ipf. subj.

conna rucad 104; ipf. subj. pass. sg. arna
ructhe 31; 3sg. cond. (+ 3sg. fem. infixed

pron.) noda bérad 68, (+ ná (> nach- ) + 1sg.

Class C infixed pron.) nacham bérad-sa 255.

accent. pl. fora béolu 232; dat. pl. ara béláib 212.

nom. sg. in ben 30, 67, 73 et passim; voc. sg. a

ben 242, 253; acc. sg. in mnaí 3, mnaí 36, 63 et

passim; dat. sg. ocon mnaí 265; nom. pl. mnaí

82, 234; gen. pl. cóeait mban 240; dat. pl. di

mnaíb 74, do mnaíb 123, 185.
benaid ‘strikes’

bendacht ‘blessing’, fem. ā/n-stem:

béo ‘living, alive’, o/ā-stem:

béoaigidir ‘makes alive, vivifies’:

bern ‘gap’, fem. ā-stem:

bertaid ‘brandishes’:

beus, used with verbs in the sense ‘regularly’:

biad ‘food’, neut. o-stem:

blíadain ‘year’, fem. ī-stem:

bó ‘cow’, fem.:

bodar ‘deaf’, o/ā-stem:

brat ‘booty, bondage’, fem. ā-stem:

bráth ‘judgement, doomsday’, masc. u-stem:

bráthair ‘brother’, masc. r-stem:

bratt ‘mantle’, masc. o-stem:

brétaithir ‘breaks’:

breth ‘carrying, judgement’, fem. ā-stem:

brethach ‘judicial’, o/ā-stem:

bríathar ‘word’, fem. ā-stem:

bríg ‘power, advantage’, fem. ā-stem:

brigach ‘powerful, mighty’, o/ā-stem:

brú ‘edge, brink’:

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 229; augm. pret. pass. sg. ro bíth 166.

acc. sg. bendachtin 81.

pred. ~ 142.

3sg. pret. rel. bégostar 160.

nom. sg. ~ 101; dat. sg. assa beirn 151.

3pl. pret. bertsait 171.

~ 93.

nom. sg. a biad-som 89; acc. sg. cen biad 86.

gen. sg. co cenn mbliadnae 74; gen. pl. mac secht mbliadnae 107.

nom. pl. bai 87; gen. pl. ~ 87.

pl. pred. buidir 61.

acc. sg. immin mbrait 77; gen. sg. a mbrait 83;

dat. sg. i mbrait 82.

(in adverbial phrase) co bráth ‘til doomsday, forever’ 17, 30, 41 et passim.

nom. sg. ~ 58, 61; nom. pl. bráithair 219; gen. pl. bráithre 186.

dat. sg. i mbrutt 57.

3pl. pret. brétsatar 148.

dat. sg. do brith 10, 82, dia mbrith 75 et passim; gen. pl. ~ 56.

nom. sg. fem. ~ 21 (see textual note).

acc. sg. imma bréithir 255; (in phr. with ail )

gen. sg. ail bréthre ‘verbal insult’ 41.

nom. sg. ~ 21 (see textual note); acc. pl. briga ?

173 (see textual note)

nom. sg. ~ 157.

dat. sg. for bru 230.
bruinne ‘breast, chest’, masc. io-stem:

bruinnid, ‘springs forth, darts’:

bu ‘death’:

búadach ‘victorious’, o/ā-stem:

búad ‘victory’, neut. i-stem:

buiden ‘band, troop’, fem. ā-stem:

búriud ‘roaring’, vn.:

búrach ‘rage’, neut. o-stem:

céech ‘every’, pronominal adj.:

cáech ‘everyone’, o-stem pron.:

cécha- ‘whosoever’, indefinite pron. (conjunct particle before verbs):

cáech ‘one-eyed’, o/ā-stem:

cáel ‘thin, slender’, o/ā-stem:

cainid ‘laments, bewails’:

canaid ‘sings’:

caraid ‘loves’:

carn ‘heap, pile’, neut. o-stem:

carpat ‘chariot’, masc. o-stem:

cath ‘battle’, masc. u-stem:

cath:

cathach ‘vehement, warlike’, o/ā-stem:

~ 168 (see textual note).

3pl. pret. bebárnatar 147.

gen. sg. buí 151 (see textual note).

pl. pred. cathbúadaig 180; (in cmpd. with lorn)

acc. sg. (epithet) Lommbúadach 146; (in cmpd. with cath) nom. sg. masc. cathbúadach 173;

acc. sg. masc. eter ... Echaig mbaallderg mbúadach 25.

gen. sg. búada 147 (see textual note).

gen. pl. ~ 180.

nom. sg. ~ 112 (see textual note), 113.

acc. sg. ~ 104, a mbúrach 116-7.

ceech 96, 108 et passim.

céech 96, 108 et passim.

cécha tor chair 184.

(as masc. subst.) dat. sg. ~ 3.

144 (see textual note).

augm. pret. pass. sg. ro cét 19.

3sg. augm. pret. ro car 234; 3pl. augm. pret. ro charsat 234-5, 235, 236.

acc. sg. ~ 148.

nom. sg. a charpat 248; acc. sg. a charpat 212,

inna charpat 239, i carpat 139 et passim.

nom. sg. ~ 84, 116; gen. sg. in chatha 120; dat. sg. i cath 180, isin chath 187; (see also s.v.
búadach, coscrach).

156 (see textual note).

(in cmpd. with oll) nom. pl. masc. ollchathaig 184.
cathmil ‘battle warrior’, masc.
dental stem:

céile ‘husband, companion’, masc.
io-stem:

ceist ‘question’, fem.:

célebrad, ‘bidding farewell’, masc.
u-stem vn.:

célebráid ‘bids farewell’:

céimaine ‘prophecy’, neut.:

cen ‘without’, prep. + acc.:

cenél ‘race’, neut. o-stem:

cénmothá, as prep. ‘besides, in addition to’:

cenn ‘head’, neut. o-stem:

cern ‘victory, triumph’, masc. o-stem:

cert ‘just, (in cmpds) straight, even’, o/á-stem:

cét ‘hundred’, neut. o-stem:

ceta- ‘first’:

cétamus ‘first, firstly’, adv.:

cethir ‘four’, masc. numeral:

cía, cid ‘who, what?’, interrogative pron.: 

nom. sg. ~ 142.

acc. sg. mo chéile 258, (in cmpd. with cóem)
acc. sg. cóemchéile sliasta ‘beloved consort’ 142,

nom. sg. ~ 216.

dat. sg. do cheilebrad 79.

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 80.

nom. sg. ~ 185; dat. sg. co célmainiu 123.

~ 86, 86, 101.

nom. sg. no chenél 35.

~ 98.

nom. sg. a cenn 229, 252, ~ 168 et passim; acc.
sg. ~ 23, mo chenn-sa 227-8, co cenn ‘for the
duration of’ 74 i cenn ‘into the end of’ 230;
gen. sg. do chinn 71, a chinn 112, in chinn 230;
dat. sg. it chiunn 10, assa chiunn 12, 36 et
passim; (in phr.) ara ciumn ‘before her’ 98, i
ciumn ‘at the end of’ 98; acc. pl. inna cenn 90.
dat. pl. co cernaib 172.

gen. pl. fem. ~ 56; (in cmpd.) ~ 144 (see also
s.v. slán).

nom. pl. ~ 87, 111.

forceta-immarbrath 109-10; cetaro ráith 157,
166.

~ 5, 120, 204.

nom. ~ 50.

cía 42, 43, 140 et passim; cid ara ‘why? (lit.
what is it for which?) 64, cid fil 51, cid taoi 197.
claideb 'sword', masc. o-stem: acc. sg. in claideb 209, ~ 263; dat. sg. co claidiub 207.

claidid 'digs, builds': 3pl. augm. pret. ro chechlatar 100-1.

clíath 'palisade', fem. ā-stem: acc. sg. for cléith 107; dat. sg. forsín chléith 111.

clóen 'crooked', o/ā-stem: nom. pl. masc. clóin 235.

Clóenad 'Clane': gen. sg. for Cassán Chlóenta 190, oc Cassán Chlóenta 229; dat. do Chlóenud 188.

cloíd 'turns back, repels': (+ imma-) 3pl. pret. imma-cloíset 179.

clóó: 165 (see textual note).

clothach 'renowned', o/ā-stem: nom. sg. masc. ~ 20.

cluiche '(in pl.) feats of arms': nom. pl. cluichti 226.

encedach 'wounded', o/ā-stem: nom. sg. masc. ~ 142.

encedmar 'wound-dealing': acc. sg. ~ 145.

cnú 'nut', fem. u-stem: nom. sg. in chnú 194, ~ 201; acc. sg. in cnoi 193.

co 'to', prep. + acc.: ~ 5, 6, 7 et passim; (in adverbial phr.) co bráth 17, 30, 41 et passim; (pronominal forms) 1sg. cuccum-sa 257; 3sg. masc. cui 89, 91; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. masc. cossin mac 111; acc. sg. fem. cossin n-airecht 48.

co n- (with indicative) 'so that', (with subjunctive) 'in order that', conjunction:

(Indicative): co rralae 5, co tarat 12 co mboi 32 et passim; (with Class C infixed pron.) 1sg. condom marbae-so 65, 3sg. masc. conid tarlae 48, 3sg. fem. conda tall 12; (+ 3sg. pres. ind. of the copula) conid 38, 91, 139; (Subjunctive): co tartad 45, co rop 65, co tisat 76 et passim; (+ Class C infixed pron.) 3sg. fem. conda ruca 70; (+ neg.) conna rucae 8, conna hanat 66, conna rucad 104.

co n- 'with', prep. + dat.: ~ 123, 172, 172 et passim; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. cona 194, 3sg. fem. cona 241.

cobair 'helping', fem.: dat. sg. dia cobair 106.
cóeca ‘fifty’, masc. dental stem:

 acc. sg. cóecait 240; acc. pl. cóecta 74.

cóm b ‘fair, beloved’, o/u-stem:

~ 142 (see s.v. céile); nom. pl. masc. ~ 173.

cóiced ‘province’, masc. o-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 182; gen. sg. cóiced 182; dat. pl. di chóicedaib 182.

coirich ‘neighbouring territory’,

dat. sg. assin choirich 241.

fern, a-stem:

acc. sg. forsin coirthe 231, in coirthe 231; gen.

coll ‘hazel’, masc. o-stem:

nom. sg. in coll 260.

~ 191.

collthae ‘shank’, masc. o-stem:

acc. pl. dar colpthu 47.

comairle ‘advice’, fem. iá-stem:

dat. sg. a comairli 4.

comardae ‘sign’:

acc. sg. ~ 247.

comrac ‘battle’, masc./neut. (see

GOI, 118) o-stem:

nom. sg. in comrac 119, ~ 222, 255; dat. sg. do

chomrac 224.

Conchobar, proper name:

nom. ~ 104, 143; acc. ~ 92; gen. Conchobair 4,

i tig Chonchobar 94, cuit Conchobair 99,

ingen Chonchobar 127; dat. do Chonchobur

91, 97.

Con-gaib ‘maintains, settles’:

augm. pret. pass. pl. con-acabtha 117.

Con-meil ‘grinds, consumes,

attacks’:

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 175.

Con-mesca ‘mixes together’:

2sg. ipv. cummaisc 263.

Con-ricc ‘encounters, meets’:

3sg. pret. frisa comarnic 148; 3pl. pret. co

comarnectar 240.

Con-rig ‘binds’:

fut. pass. sg. con-rirestar 223; pret. pass. sg.

con-árachc 224 (see textual note), 225.

Con-scara ‘breaks’:

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 113.

Con-tuili ‘sleeps’:

2sg. pres. subj. con-tolae-so 191; 1sg. fut. con-

tuiliub-sa 191.

Coscar ‘victory, triumph’, masc. o-

stem:

dat. pl. co coscraib 172.
coscrach ‘victorious, triumphant’,
o/a-stem:
cotlud ‘sleep’, masc. u-stem:

crann ‘spear’, neut. o-stem:
criss ‘belt’, masc. u-stem:
cródae ‘bloody’, io/i-/a-stem:
crógal ‘bloody-sickness’, neut. o-
stem:
crue ‘hoof’, fem. a-stem:
cruth ‘appearance’, masc. u-stem:

Cú Chulainn, proper name:
cúa car ‘circuit’, masc. i-stem:
cuíal ‘bundle’, fem. a-stem:
cuit ‘share’, fem. i-stem:
cúl ‘back, rear, neck, back of head’,
masc. o-stem:
culpait ‘cowl, hood’, fem.:
cumal ‘female slave’, fem. a-stem:
cumang ‘power, strength’, o-stem:
cur ‘warrior, hero’, masc. dental
stem:
curach ‘boat’, masc. o-stem:
cuthchath:
da’ ‘two’ masc. numeral:
da n- ‘two’, neut. numeral:
dabergin:
dagben ‘noblewoman’, fem. ä-
stem:

(in cmpd. with cath) nom. sg. masc.
cathchoscscrach 173.
acc. sg. tria chotlud 196; dat. sg. assa chotlud 196.

acc. pl. cranna 178.
dat. sg. ni’m chriss 220.
pred. ~ 116.
dat. sg. di chrógalar 90.

dat. dual dib cruib 47-8, di chrui 55.

nom. sg. ~ 128; nom. pl. crotha 127.
nom. ~ 112, 115; acc. sg. Coin Culainn 144;
gen. bern Chon Culainn 101, oc airbriathrad
Chon Culainn 104, ben Chon Culainn 135; dat.
sg. do Choin Chulainn 107.

nom. sg. ~ 267; acc. ~ 5; dat. sg. for cúa i 4,
73-4.
nom. sg. ~ 103.

acc. sg. cru 99.

144 (see textual note).
nom. sg. ~ 146 (see textual note).
nom. sg. ~ 94.

dat. sg. cumung 217.
nom. sg. in cur 173; dat. sg. ria cach curaid
157; in churaid 117.
npl. curaig 110, dat. pl. i curchaib 106.

156 (see textual note).
nom. ~ 61; acc. ~ 6.
nom. ~ 95.

147 (see textual note).
dat. pl. di dagmnáib 138.
dagduine ‘noble’, masc. io-stem: gen. pl. dagdoine 75.
daidbenn ‘pursuing, hunting’: 151 (see textual note).
dáilid ‘pours out’: 3sg. pret. dálais 14.
daltae ‘foster-son’, masc. io-stem: nom. sg. ~ 106; gen. sg. daltaí-sa 113
danó ‘moreover, also’: ~ 7, 47 et passim; (pronominal form) 3sg. neut. tarais 56; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. dara 237; 3sg. fem. dara 260.
dar/ tar ‘over, across’, prep. + acc.: ~ 7, 47 et passim; (pronominal form) 3sg. neut. tarais 56; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. dara 237; 3sg. fem. dara 260.

dead ‘end’, neut. o-stem: acc. sg. i ndiad ‘after (lit. into the end of)’ 83; dat. deud lai 97.
degaid, i ndegaid ‘behind’: inna degaid ‘behind her’ 95-6.
delb ‘figure’, fem. ā-stem: nom. sg. ~ 95.
delg ‘brooch’, neut. s-stem: nom. sg. ~ 52, 54, a ndelg 58 et passim; acc.
sg. a ndelg 49.
derc ‘hole’, neut. o-stem: nom. sg. a nderc 16.
derg ‘red’, o/ā-stem: pred. ~ 16, 225; acc. sg. masc. mír nderg 118,
dar mír nderg 119; nom. pl. derga 145.
dergaid ‘reddens’: 3sg. pret. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) dergsus 151.
descent ‘south’, neut. o-stem: nom. sg. (in proper name) Descert Laigen 33;
dat. sg. i ndescriurt 6, 32, do Descriurt Laigen 40.
dess ‘right hand’, fem. ā-stem: (in cmpd. with derg) dat. sg. dia dergdeiss 152;
acc. pl. dessa 154.
di’ ‘of, from’, prep. + dat.: ~ 2, 8, 37 et passim; (pronominal forms) 3sg.
masc. dé 112, 207, 229; 3sg. neut. dé 3, 19, 264 et passim; 3pl. dib 45, 89, 184 et passim; (+ poss. pron.) 2sg. dít 70, 71; 3sg. masc. dia 18, 47; 3pl. dia 88, 77; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc.
din cháech 3, din talam 195.
di’ ‘two’, fem. numeral: nom. di thraigid 95, ~ 96, 96 et passim; acc. ~ 19; dat. dib 47.
dia ‘day’, masc.? acc. eter dé 7 7aidchí ‘by day and by night’ 100.
dia n- ‘when’, temporal conjunction: dia lluid 4.
didiu ‘then’:
~ 47, 79.
dígal ‘avenging’, fem. ā-stem: dat. sg. oca digail 39, ocom digail-se 66; (in cmpd. with dag- ‘good’) dat. sg. do dagdígal ‘to avenge well’ 186.
díles ‘without legal protection, forfeit’, o/ā-stem: pred. am díles-sa 251.
díriuch ‘straight’, u-stem: pred. ~ 237.
dligid ‘is owed, entitled to’: 2sg. pres. ind. dia ndligi 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. dam-sa 10, 58, 76 et passim; 2sg. duí 9, 64, duí-siu 68 et passim; 3sg. masc. dó 33, 35, 36 et passim, (+ emph. pron.) dossom 4, 42, (with adverbial force) dó ‘thither’ 240; 3pl. dóib 45, 80, 86 et passim; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. dom 68, 69, 223; 2sg. dot 65; 3sg. masc. dia 7, 29, 75 et passim; 3pl. dia 75, 84, 106 et passim; (+ rel. part.) dia 249; (+ vn.) do brith 10, do nigí 14, do thabairt 18 et passim; (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. don gillu 195, dond usciu 14, dont sluag 44; dat. sg. neut. dond leith 49.
do-adbat ‘shows, displays’:
3pl. pres. ind. taidbdet 183.
do-airgella ‘gives a pledge for’: 3pl. pret. do-airgellsat 182.
do-airicc ‘comes’: 3sg. ipf. subj. co tairised 105.
do-alla ‘takes away, removes’: 3sg. pret. (+ 3sg. fem. Class C infixed pron.) conda tall 12, co tall 207; pret. pass. sg. in tallad 15.
do-beir ‘carries, puts’: 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 212, dia tabair 249; 2sg. ipv. tabair 228; 3sg. ipf. a ndo-bered 92, do-bered 93, 99; 3pl. ipf. do-bertis 89; 3sg. pret. do-bert 231, 236, (+ 3sg. fem. Class C infixed pron) conda tubart 194; pass. pret. sg. fora tabrad 34; 1sg. ipf.. subj. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron) manis taibrinn 68; 3sg. ipf. subj. co taibred 36, 36, 36; ipf.. subj. pass. mani tabarthe 35; 1sg. cond. tibérainn 64; (augm. forms based on do-uic): 2sg. ipv. tuc 263 (+ 2sg. Class A infixed pron.) dot-uic 26; 2sg. augm. pret. in tucais 247; 3sg. augm. pret. tuc-som 38, co tuc 74, ni tuc 81; 3pl. ipf.. subj. mani tuctais 42; (augm. forms based on do-rat): 3sg. augm. pret. do-rat 12, 59, co tarat 12, 229; augm. pret. pass. sg. do-ratad 60; 3sg. ipf. subj. co tartad 45.
do-bruinn ‘trickles, flows’: 3pl. pret. do-bebarnatar 152.
dochrud ‘misshapen’: pred. ~ 95.
dochum n- ‘to, towards’, prep. + gen.: ~ 13, 46, far ndochum 184 et passim.
doe ‘the upper arm, arm’, fem. dental stem: dat. sg. di dóit 154.
dóenaid:

do-fil ‘is coming, is at hand’:

3pl. dos-fil 183, 184.

do-fiuschi ‘wakes’:

3sg. augm. pret. do-riusaig 196.

do-fócaib ‘raises, sets up’:

augm. pret. pass. sg. do-fíargabad 178.

do-foichell ‘traverses’

3sg. ipf. ind. rel. do-foichled

do-furgaib ‘raises’:

3sg. ipf. (+ 3sg. masc. Class A ) infixed pron.
da-n-aurchbad 195; 3pl. pret. co turgabsat 118;

3pl. cond. conna turgéitais 41.

do-gní ‘does’:

pres. ind. pass. sg. do-gníther 265; ipf. pass. sg.
do-gníthe 97; 3sg. augm. pret. do-rigni 18, 19,
26; 2sg. augm. pres. subj. co ndernae 264.

do-ic ‘comes’:

2sg. ipv. tair-siu 257; 3pl. pres. subj. co tisat
76; 3pl. ipf. subj. co tistais 105; 3pl. fut. ticfat
183.

dóich ‘likely’:

pred. ~ 202; compar. dóchu 77.

do-immoirg ‘gathers, collects’:

pres. ind. pass. sg. timargar 167.

do-imna ‘enjoins, commands,
bequeaths’:

3sg. augm. pret. (+ 1sg. Class A infixed pron.)
dom-imarnae 245; augm. pret. pass. sg.
timarnad 244.

do-indnaig ‘delivers up’:

augm. pret. pass. sg. do-rindnacht 55.

do-léici ‘casts, throws’:

(+ imma-) augm. pret. pass. pl. imma-
tarlaicthea 178.

dorn ‘fist’, masc. o-stem:

acc. sg. indorn 12, ~ 208; dat. sg. im durn 10.

dorus ‘doorway, entrance’, neut. u-
stem:

do-scélai ‘discovers’:

3sg. ipf.. subj. arna taiscélad 88-9.

do-scuich ‘moves’:

3sg. ipf. do-scuiched 46.

do-tét ‘comes’:

3sg. pret. do-lluid 213, do-luid 230; 3pl. pret.
do-(l)otar 33, 79, 79 et passim.

do-tuit ‘falls’:

3sg. augm. pret. do-rochair 120, cachar
torchair 184; 3pl. augm. pret. do-rochratar
119-20, 186-7.

droch ‘bad’:

~ 198 (see s.v. aislinge).
(lit. pertaining to elements or creatures):
dul ‘going’, vn.: ~ 119.
dún ‘fort’, neut. s-stem:
~ 109.
é ‘he’, 3sg. masc. personal pron.: ~ 100.
é ‘they’, 3pl. personal pron.: nom. sg. ~ 110; gen. sg. éccoloinn 114.
éccomlonn ‘unequal combat’, acc. pl. eccrata 166; gen. pl. eccrat 180.
masc. o-stem:
eccrae ‘enemy’, masc. dental stem: acc. sg. imma ndún 100; Dún nÉtair 101; gen.
egchrach ‘messenger’, fem. a-stem: sg. in dùine 87.
egch ‘horse’, masc. o-stem:
egchrach ‘great-battle’, masc. u-stem
nom. sg. ~ 8, 11; acc. sg. co Echaig 6, etre ... nom. sg. ~ 31; dat. pl. dia inchaib 18, dia
ech ‘horse’, masc. o-stem:
egchrach-side 29, do inchaib 31 et passim.
egech ‘messenger’, fem.:
Échu, proper name: 175 (see textual note).
~ 4, 5, 17 et passim.
ecló: nom. pl. éissi 145; acc. pl. dar éissi ‘after’ 190.
ed ‘it’, 3sg. neut. personal pron.: dat. pl. co n-étib 172-3.
éis ‘track’, i-stem:
gen. sg. ind eitni 195, 208.
éit ‘cattle, a herd of cattle’, fem:
nom. sg. ~ 31; dat. pl. dia inchaib 18, dia
éolairg: inchaib-side 29, do inchaib 31 et passim.
egrae ‘refusal’, fem. vn.: nom. sg. ~ 11.
ergaid ‘reddens’:
3pl. pret. ercsait 23.
érchath ‘great-battle’, masc. u-stem gen. sg. érchatha 59.
(see textual note): acc. sg. Érinn 96; gen. sg. Érenn 5, 6, 182; dat.
Ériu ‘Ireland’, fem. n-stem: sg. i nÉre 2, 97.
esca(i)t ‘haunch’, fem.: nom. dual di escat 96.
Étar, ‘Howth’:

nom. sg. ~ 85, gen. sg. Dún nÉtar 101, Cath Étar 268; (see textual note), 124 (as previous ex.), i nÉtar 86, issind Étar 111.

eter ‘between’, prep. + acc.:

~ 6; (used with oecus in sense ‘both’) eter dé γ aidchí 100; (pronominal form) 3pl. etarru 94, 254.

etir ‘at all’:

~ 89, 105.

étrócar ‘unmerciful’, o/á-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 2.

fácbá(i)l ‘leaving’, fem. á-stem vn.:

dat. sg. do fácbáil 38, 41.

fa-des ‘southwards’, adv.:

~ 7.

faid ‘cry’, fem.:

nom. sg. ~ 259.

fáilti ‘joy, welcome’, fem. iá-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 67, 72; acc. sg. fáilti 62.

far n- ‘your’, 2pl. poss. pron.:

~ 184.

fé ‘slaughter’ (see textual note):

nom. sg. ~ 119, 119; fé amae ‘woe indeed’ 211.

fecht ‘time’:

(in phr.) fecht and ‘on one occasion’ 47; in fecht so ‘on this occasion, now’ 251; in fecht n-aili ‘on the other/next occasion’ 252.

féin ‘self’:

3sg. masc. fádssin 145, 194; fássin 63 (see textual note), 209, 212.

féle ‘generosity’, fem. iá-stem:

acc. sg. féli 18; gen. sg. fèle 19.

fer ‘man’, masc. o-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 2, 3, in fer 36 et passim; gen. sg. fir

(see textual note) 168, fir 194; nom. pl. ind fir 89, 148 (see textual note); acc. pl. co firu 7, forsnáib feraib 124-5, firu 159; gen. pl. ~ 29;

(in cmpd. with óen-) nom. sg. óenfr 68, 70, 255; gen sg. ar galab óenfr 109; dat. pl. forsnáib feraib 124-5.

feraid ‘(i) supplies, (ii) gives forth, showers:

(i) 3sg. pres. ind ~ 62; (ii) 3sg. ipf ro ferad 91-2; 3pl. augm. pret. ro fersat 117.

ferán ‘small man’, o-stem:

nom. sg. in ferán 205.

fert ‘mound’, neut. o-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 260; acc. sg. tríá fert 260.
fess 'spending the night', fem. ṣstem:

fiach 'debt', masc. o-stem:

fiche 'twenty', masc. dental stem:

fichid 'fights':

fili, masc. dental stem:

find 'white', o/ā-stem:

finnae 'hair (as collective 'fur, fleece')', masc. io-stem:

fir 'true, veracious', o/ā-stem:

fiurt 'miracle', masc. u-stem:

flaith 'chief', fem. i-stem:

fo chétóir 'at once':

fo 'under', prep. + acc./ dat.:

foácaib 'leaves':

fo-ceird 'throws, puts':

fodb '(collective form) spoils', neut. o-stem:

fo-gaib 'finds, gets':

folcmara 'flowing, gushing', o/ā-stem:
for ‘on’, prep. + acc./ dat.: (+ acc.) for Laigniu 39, for Ulu 59 et passim; (+ dat.) for cúairt 4, for Laignib 65, for lár 87 et passim; (pronominal forms) 1sg. form-sa 77; 3sg. masc. fair 114, 153, 217 et passim; 3sg. fem. fiurre 127; 3pl. forru 41, 45, 66 et passim; (+ poss. pron.) 2sg. fort 228, 228; 3sg. masc. fora 232, 237; 3sg. fem. fora 92; (+ rel. part.) fora tabrad 34, forceta-immarbrath 109-10 (see textual note). (+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. forsin liic 230; dat. sg. fem. forsin chléith 111, forsin slígh 260; dat. pl. masc. forsnáib feraíb124-5.

for-émid ‘is unable’: 1sg. pres. ind. fo-réimidim 262.

fo-roind ‘darkens, reddens’: 144 (see textual note).


fortréin ‘very strong’, oïä-stem: compar. fortressa 226.

forustá ‘dignified’, ioiũ-stem: voc. sg. fem. a bé find forusta 141.

fót ‘sod’, masc. o-stem: acc. sg. ~ 47; gen. sg. ind fóit 49.

~ 123.

fo-thúaid ‘northwards’, adv. of place:

foid ‘spends the night’: 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 73; 3sg. augm. pret. ro flú 30; 3pl. fut. fíbait 183.

frecor ‘contesting’, masc. o-stem: dat. sg. i frecur 120.

fri ‘towards, against’, prep. + acc.: ~ 62, 80, 118 et passim; (pronominal form) 1sg. frim-sa 222, frim 258; 3sg. fris 168, 209; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. fría, 146, 206; 3pl. fría 159.

fris-áilethar ‘expects, receives a guest’: 2pl. ipv. fritháilid 184.

fris-ben ‘strikes against’: 168 (see textual note).
fuil ‘blood’, fem. i-stem:

gábud ‘peril’, masc. u-stem:

gae ‘spear’, masc.:

gaibid ‘takes’:

gaiseed ‘weapons, arms’, masc. o-stem:

gal ‘valour, fury’, fem. a-stem:

garg ‘rough, fierce’, o/a-stem:

gataid ‘takes away, removes’:

gein ‘child (lit. that which is born)’, neut.:

geis ‘taboo’, fem.:

giáll ‘hostage’, masc. o-stem:

gillae ‘servant, lad’, masc. io-stem:

glún ‘knee’, neut. s-stem:

gnim ‘action, activity’, masc. u-stem:

gol ‘weeping, wailing’, masc. o-stem:

goll ‘purblind’, o/a-stem:

grés ‘continuance’:

dat. sg. dot fuil 16; nom. pl. fiuli 152; (in cmpd. with sruth) gen. sg. i srím srúthfola 142 (see textual note).

dat. sg. i ngúais gábud 124.

acc. sg. gáí 179; gen. pl. gáí 103.

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 200; 2sg. ipv. gaib 13, 199;

3sg. pret. gabais 39; 3sg. augm. pret. ní ro gab

28; 3pl. rod ngabsat 110; augm. pret. pass. sg. ro gabad 124, co rragbad 85; 3sg. ipf. subj. no gabad 40; fut. pass. sg. ni gédthar 72.

gen. sg. gaiscid 169, fir ngaiscid 222.

gein ‘child (lit. that which is born)’, neut.:

nom. sg. ~ 94.

nom. sg. ~ 118.

acc. sg. ~ 182; nom. pl. géill 108.

nom. sg. in gillae 16, 196, 198 et passim; voc. sg. a gillai 13, 15, 76 et passim; acc. sg. fria

gillae 76, in ngillae 195; dat. sg. don gillu 195.

nom. dual. da nglún 95.

nom. sg. ~ 169; (in cmpd. with mór) acc. pl. mórgnimu 171.

gen. sg. faíd guil 259.

masc. nom. pl. goll 235.

(in adverbial phr.) dat. sg. do grés ‘perpetually’ 39.
gress 'attack', fem. ā-stem:

gressacht 'urging', fem. ā-stem:
guás 'danger', fem. ā-stem:
guidid 'prays to, demands':
i 'she', 3sg. fem. personal pron.:
i n- 'in, into', prep. + acc./ dat.:

iádad 'closing', masc. ū-stem vn.:

iár 'after', prep. + dat.:
iármóracht 'pursuing, pursuit',
fem. ā-stem:
iárrtharch 'back', o/ā-stem:
iárum 'afterwards, then', adv.:
ibid 'drinks':
illé 'hither', adv. of place:

im' 'around, about', prep. + acc.:

imbe 'fencing', neut. io-stem vn.:

nom. sg. ~ 44; acc. sg. in gress 116; gen. sg. inna gresse 45.
dat. sg. oca gressacht-som 102.
dat. sg. i ngúais 124.
3sg. pret. gáid 3; rel. gáde 3, 3; 3pl. augm.
pret. ro gádatar 44.
~ 30.
(+ acc.) i ndorn 12, i LLaigniu 32, i tír 110; (+
dat.) i tosuch 4, i nÉre 19, i nArd Brestine et
passim; (pronominal forms) 2sg. indút 72; 3sg.
masc. acc. ind 212; 3sg. neut. dat. (in adverbal
use meaning ‘there, then’) and 12, 52, 53 et
passim; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. im 10, 76, ni'm
220; 2sg. tu 10; 3sg. masc. inna 33, 38, 239;
3sg. fem. inna 95; 3pl. inna 90, 115; (+ def.
art.) acc. sg. issín n-áth 213; acc. sg. neut. issa
tír 34, dat. sg. masc. issind ló 108; dat. sg. fem.
isin tulaig 42, 46.

acc. sg. cen iádad 101.

iáir sin 28, 32, ~ 59 et passim; (+ def. art.) dat.
sg. fem. iársind abainn 193.

acc. sg. in n-iármóracht 83; dat. sg. do
iármóracht 83, i n-iármóracht 186.
dat. dual. iárrthachaib 48.
~ 5, 14, 80 et passim.

3pl. augm. pret. mani esbeset 86.
~ 119.

~ 45, 91, 92; (pronominal form) 3sg. masc.
immi 84; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. imma 14,
102, 146 et passim; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. neut.
imma ndún 100; (+ rel. part.) imma (see s.v.
cloid, do-léici, sinid).

acc. sg. ~ 102.

261
imbert 'practising, plying', fem. ā-stem vn.:

imchloímchlód 'exchange', masc. o-stem:

imdergad 'insult, insulting', masc. u-stem:

imguin 'conflict', neut. i-stem:

immach 'out, outwards', adv.:

imma n-, preverb expressing the reciprocity of an action.

immarbág 'dispute', fem. ā-stem:

imm-beir 'practises, plies':

imm-derga 'reddens, makes red':

imm-iada 'encloses':

imm-tūaire 'smites mutually':

immurgu 'however':

impide 'intercession, entreating', fem.:

imrádud 'deliberating', masc. u-stem:

imrimm 'riding around', neut. n-stem:

im-soi 'turns':

imthócbál 'uprising', fem. ā-stem:

in n-, interrogative particle:

dat. sg. oc imbirt 113-4.

acc. sg. ~ 27.

nom. sg. ~ 44.

nom. sg. a n-imguin 100.

~ 108, 115.

nom. sg. ~ 254.

2sg. ipv. imbir 263; augm. pret. pass. sg. forceta-immarbrath 109-10.

ipf. pass. sg. imm-dergtha 252.

3sg. pres. ind. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) immus-n-i'ada 103.

3pl. pres. ind. immus-tūaircet 225.

~ 10, 11, 38 et passim.

dat. sg. i n-impidi 91.

nom. sg. ~ 77.

dat. sg. ~ 46.

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 209.

nom. sg. ind imthócbál 116.

in tallad 15, (+ 3sg. pres. ind. cop.) ind cnú 201, in tucais 247.

262
in(d) ‘the’, def. art.: nom. sg. masc. in rí 12, int ech 47; nom. sg.
 fem. in ben 30; ind óensúil 10, ind rigain 29,
 int súil 15; nom. sg. neut. a nderc 16; acc. sg.
 in slúag 115; acc. sg. fem. in mnáí 3, in n-
 iarmóracht 83; acc. sg. neut. a ndelg 49; gen.
 sg. masc. ind rig 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 Cliath 6;
(see also s.v. various prepp. and nouns).
~ 110, 213.
acc. sg. ~ 263, 263.
3sg. pres. ind ~ 212.
dat. sg. dia indnacul 7.
nom. sg. ind ingen 92, 94, ~ 127 et passim;
voc. sg. a ingen 140; gen. sg. inna ingine 95.
~ 109, 119, 155.
(in cmpd. with aurdurc) nom. sg. aurdircinsce
163.
neut. a n-i-sin ‘that’ 44, 209; masc. int-i 81, 82,
212 et passim.
acc. sg. masc. eiter Aithirne n-irach 24.
in tan ‘when’, temporal conj.: of place:
inchinn ‘brain’, neut.: acc. sg. ~ 263, 263.
indlid ‘yokes’:
indnacul ‘conveying’, vn.: 3sg. pres. ind ~ 212.
ingen ‘girl, daughter’, fem. ā-stem:
inonn ‘thither, yonder, over’, adv.
inse ‘speech’, fem. ā-stem:
int-i, a n-í ‘he (with masc. def.
art.), it (with neut. def. art.) ,the
afforementioned’, deictic part.: (in cmpd. with aurdurc) nom. sg. aurdircinsce
írach ‘wrathful’, o/ā-stem: 163.
neut. a n-i-sin ‘that’ 44, 209; masc. int-i 81, 82,
212 et passim.
acc. sg. masc. eiter Aithirne n-irach 24.
is ‘is’, copula:

1sg. pres. ind. am 251; 3sg. pres. ind. ~ 3, 4, 5 et passim, (rel.) as 42, (+ co n-) conid 38, 91, 139; 3pl. pres. ind. it 100, 180; 3pl. pres. ind. rel. at 19; 3pl. ipf. batis 235, 235 et passim; 3sg. pret. ba 21, 44, 44 et passim, (+ co n-) combo 225, 237; 3sg. augm. pret. rop’ 58; 3sg. pres. subj. bas 9; 3sg. pres. subj. (+ ma ‘if’) mad 63; 3sg. pres. subj. co rop 65; 3pl. ipf. subj. co mbetis 39, 3sg. fut. bid 17, 221, (+ neg.) niba 11.

ith ‘fat, grease’, neut.? u-stem:

167 (see textual note).

ithid ‘eats, devours’:

2sg. augm. pret. deod-so 201; 3sg. augm. pret. doid 205; 3pl. augm. pret. mani dótar 86; 3sg. cond. no issad 205.

la ‘with, by’, prep. + acc.:

~ 30, 41, 68 et passim; (pronominal forms) 1sg. lim-sa 63, 67, lim 63; 2sg. lat 63, 228, lat-so 219 et passim; 3sg. masc. leis 29, 73, 75; (+ rel. part.) lasa 35; (+ def. art.) acc. sg. masc. lasin súag 98; acc. sg. fem. lasin féli 18.

lá ‘day’, neut. io-stem:

acc. sg. cach lá; gen. sg. lai 97; dat. sg. issind ló 108; (in cmpd. with óen-) dat. sg. i n-óenló 96.

láeb ‘crooked’, o/á-stem:

(as á-stem subst.) voc. sg. a láeb 140.

láech ‘warrior’, masc. o-stem:

gen. pl. ~ 111.

Lagin, (in pl.) Leinster,

Leinstermen:

nom. pl. Laigin 79, 100, 189; acc. pl. i Laigniu 32, for Laigni 39 et passim; gen. pl. Descert Laigen 33, Laigen 60, 74 et passim; dat. pl. for Laignib 38, 65, do Laignib 108

lám ‘hand’, fem. á-stem:

nom. sg. ~ 206, 224, mo lám-sa 223 et passim; acc. sg. láim 13, 207, 212; (in cmpd. with óen) dat. sg. co n-óenláim 222.

lámnad ‘giving birth’, u-stem vn.:

dat. sg. oca lámnad 3.

lár ‘middle’, neut. o-stem:

acc. sg. ~ 150; dat. sg. for lár 87.
lasar ‘flame’, fem. ā-stem: (in cmpd. with ríg-) acc. pl. ríglasra 169.
llassaid ‘takes fire, blazes’: 3pl. pres. ind. lassait 169; 3sg. augm. pret. ro lass 156.
láth, masc. o-stem: (in phr. with gal) nom. pl. ind láith gaile ‘the warriors’ 117.
lathrach ‘puddle, muddy pool’, as fem. ā-stem: gen. sg. lathraige 150.
léedic ‘leaves, releases’: 3sg. ipf. ní léiced 90; ipf. pass. sg. no léicthe 88.
léimnech ‘leaping, jumping’, o/ā-stem: acc. sg. ~ 149.
léoid ‘cuts, hacks (off)’: 3pl. pret. léosait 154.
lesciol:
leth ‘side’, neut. s-stem: 149 (see textual note).
liathróit ‘ball’, fem. i-stem: acc. sg. forsin liic 229-30.
ligid ‘licks’: 3sg. pres. ind. rel. liges 176; 3pl. augm. pret. rod-lelgalar 176.
língid ‘jumps’: 3sg. ipf. no linged 46.
lonn ‘fierce, bold’, o/ā-stem: ~ 146 (see biúadach).
lúath ‘swift’, o/ā-stem: (as ā-stem subst.) voc. sg. a lúath 140.
lug ‘lynx’ masc. o-stem: acc. sg. ~ 149 (see textual note).
ma ‘if’, conjunction: ~ 8; (+ neg.) mani 35, 42, 86 et passim; (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.) manis taibrinn 68;
(+ 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula) mad 63, 67. nom. sg. ~ 2, 88, 105 et passim; acc. sg. ~ 6,
cossin mac 111; gen. sg. maic 48, 57, 126 et passim; nom. pl. maic 171; gen. pl. ~ 155.
mac ‘son’, masc. o-stem:
mag ‘plain’, neut. s-stem:

maidid ‘breaks’:

maidm ‘breaking (of a battle), defeat’, neut. n-stem:

main ‘possessions’ (in pl.):

maith ‘good’, i-stem:

marb ‘dead’, o/ā-stem:

marbad ‘killing’, masc. u-stem:

marbad ‘kills’:

marcach ‘horseman’, masc. o-stem:

maten ‘morning’, fem. ā-stem:

máthair ‘mother’, fem. r-stem:

medón ‘middle’, masc. o-stem:

méide ‘lower part of neck’, masc. io-stem:

méit ‘size’, fem.:

mend ‘stammering’, o/ā-stem:

menmae ‘mind’, masc. n-stem:

mér ‘finger’, masc. o-stem:

Mess Gegrai, proper name’

mil ‘honey’, fem. i-stem:

milchobar:

(in placename) gen. sg. Maige Fēa 32.

3sg. pres. ind. ~ 84, 118; 3sg. pres. ind. rel. maides 113.

dat. sg. iar maids 59.

nom. pl. maini 34; gen. pl. maíne 33; dat. pl. di ...

... mainib 8, 37, 40.

pred. ~ 63, 75, 192 et passim; superl. as dech 42; (as masc. subst.) nom. pl. maithi ‘nobles’ 91; (as neut. subst.) dat. sg. di maith 96.

dat. sg. do marbad 108, dia marbad 111.

2sg. pres. subj. (+ co n- + sg. Class A infixed pron.) condom marbae 65; 3pl. ipf. subj. conid romarbtais 38-9; cond. pass. sg. lasa mmairfide-sem 35.

nom. sg. ~ 45.

acc. sg. co matin 63.

nom. sg. ~ 61.

gen. sg. medín 5.

dat. sg. a méidiu 230.

gen. sg. méit 193.

nom. sg. neut. mend 236.

acc. sg. menmain 38.

acc. sg. ~ 12.

nom. sg. ~ 62, 189, 193 et passim; voc. sg. a Mess Gegrai 214; acc. sg. co Mess nGegrai 60,
fri Mess nGegrai 191; gen. sg. ben Meisse Gegrai 73, 239, 243 et passim.

acc. sg. ~ 176.

176 (see textual note).
millid ‘spoils, destroys’:

mínigidir ‘explains’:

mlaissid ‘tastes’:

mlassacht ‘tasting’, fem. ā-stem:

mo’ (m’ before a vowel) ‘my’, 1sg. poss. pron.:

moidmech ‘boastful, of that which calls for boasting’, o/a-stem:

moith ‘tender’, o/ā-stem:

mór ‘big, great’, o/ā-stem:

mórgala:

mrogaid ‘extends, presses forward’:

mug ‘male slave’, masc. u-stem:

muin ‘upper part of back’, fem.:

muir ‘sea’, neut. i-stem:

múr ‘wall’, masc. o-stem:

ná ‘nor’, conj.:

nach ‘any’, pronominal adj:

na, nad’ ‘that...not’, conj. introducing subordinate neg. cl.:

nathó ‘no’ (in a neg. reply to a question), adv.:

nech ‘anyone’, indef. pron.:

nem ‘sky’, neut. s-stem:

3sg. pret. (+ 1pl. suffixed pron.) millsium 177.

2pl. ipv. ~ 204.

3sg. ipf. no mlaissed 88.

dat. sg. ~ 89.

~ 13, 13, 64 et passim; m’athar-sa 58; (see also under various prepp.).

(as. subst.) nom. sg. ~ 266.

mátho 167 (see textual note).

nom. sg. masc. ~ 44; nom. sg. fem. ~ 120; acc. sg. masc. ~ 47; acc. sg. fem. móir 18; dat. sg. fem. móir 124; nom. pl. fem. móra 38; acc. pl. fem. móra 34; (as neut. o-stem subst.) nom. sg. ~ 56, acc. sg. a mmóir 205; compar. mó 138;

(see also s.v. gním).

(see textual note).

3pl. pres. ind. (+ 3pl. Class A infixed pron.) nos mrogat 239; 3sg. pret. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) mrogsus 155.

nom. sg. ~ 94.

acc. sg. fora muin 92.

nom. sg. ~ 113; acc. sg. ~ 85, dar muir 105;

gen. sg. in mora 86.

acc. sg. ~ 118, dar múr 119.

~ 88.

~ 34.

nadh 40, 42; (+ 1sg. Class C infixed pron.) nacham bérad-sa 255.

~ 103.

nom. sg. ~ 42, 89; gen. sg. neich 34.

nom. sg. ~ 113.
ní 'anything, something', indefinite pron. (neut. form of nech 'anyone':

ní(con), negative particle:

nige 'washing', vn.: níge

no' 'or', conjunction:

noí 'nine', cardinal numeral:

nóin 'the ninth hour', fem.:

nónbor 'group of nine people', masc. o-stem:

ó 'when', temporal conj.:

ó' 'from', prep. + dat.:

ó 'at', prep. dat.:

oc 'young man, warrior', masc. o-stem:

ocus' 'and', conjunction (short form is):

óderg 'red-eared', o/lā-stem:

óebell 'spark, single flame', fem.:

óen 'one', cardinal numeral:

~ 9, 29, 40 et passim.

(ní): niba 11, nír gab 28, ní 34, 35, 68 et passim; (nicon): ~ 91; (+ 2sg. Class A infixed pron.) nicot biad-so 67.

dat. sg. do ní 14.

~ 8, 18, 29 et passim.

~ 86, 127, 171.

gen. sg. im thráth nóna 'in the evening' 92-3;

acc. pl. co nónai 118.

nom. sg. ~ 107.

~ 82, 189.

~ 117, 144; (pronominal forms) 2sg. úait 70;

3sg. masc. úad 91, 163, úad-som 251; 3pl.

úaidib 40, 46, 82 et passim; (+ def. art.) dat. sg.

masc. ón talmain 49; dat. sg. fem. ónd úair

124, 237.

dat. pl. co n-ócaib 173.

~ 80; (pronominal form) 1pl. ocunn 8; (+ poss. pron.) 1sg. ocom 66; 2sg. ocot 235, 236, 236;

3sg. masc. oca 39, 101; 3sg. fem. oca 3, 139;

(+ vn.) oc imrim 45-6, oc soud 47, oc airbriathrad 104 et passim; (+ def. art.) dat. sg.

fem. ocon mnaí 265.

ocus 30, 89, 100 et passim; is 25; 3, 12, 33 et passim; os 259.

nom. pl. fem. óderga 87.

(in cmpd. with óen-) acc. sg. óenóebill 169.

óen- prefix. in cmpds. meaning 'single' (see s.v. fer, súil, lá, óebell).
óenar ‘single person’, masc. o-stem:

óenlámaid ‘one-handed one’, i-stem:

ol ‘said’, defective vb.:

ole ‘evil, bad’, o/a-stem:

olchenae ‘besides’, adv.:

oll ‘great, ample’, o/a-stem:

ón ‘that, (in explanation) that is to say’, neut. demons. pron.:

orddan ‘dignity, honour’, masc. o-stem:

óthá ‘from (lit. from where is)’:

rámat ‘high-road’, masc.:

rannaid ‘divides, separates’:

ráth ‘fort’, masc./fem.:

re n- , ria n- ‘before’, prep. + dat.:

reithid ‘runs’:

rí ‘king’, masc. guttural stem:

rígain ‘queen’, fem. ú-stem:

rigdae ‘kingly, majestic’, io/iā-stem:

rith ‘course’, masc. u-stem:

ro-cluineathar ‘hears’:

rőe ‘battle (extended meaning)’, fem.:

dat. sg. a n-óenur 90, a óenur 186, 190 et passim.

acc. sg. ~ 224.

(with proper nouns etc.) ~ 8, 10, 11 et passim;
(with pronouns) 3sg. masc. ol-se 63, 103; 3sg. fem. ol-si 258.

pred. ~ 81, 208.

~ 122.

171 (see textual note); (see also s.v. cathach).

~ 4, 51, 63 et passim.

acc. sg. ~ 228, 228.

~ 92, 99.

nom. sg. ~ 20.

3pl. augm. pret. ro rannsat 234.

(in. cmpd. with ríg-) acc. pl. rígatha 161.

ria 157; (pronominal form) 3sg. fem. remi 96;
(+ def. art.) dat. sg. masc. riasint sluag 123.

3sg. augm. pret. cetaro ráith 157, 166, ro ráith 173.

nom. sg. in rí 12, 13, 15 et passim; acc. sg. co ríg 5, 28; gen. sg. ind ríg 20, 164, 206 et passim; (stem ríg- used to form cmpds., see s.v. ráth, lasar).

nom. sg. ind rígain 29; gen. pl. rignae 74.

(in cmpd. with ard) nom. sg. fem. ardrígdae 163.

nom. sg. ~ 166.

pret. pass. sg. co closs 112, 259.

gen. sg. roe 166.

269
ro-fitir 'knows, knew':

ro-ic 'reaches':

roínid 'routs, overthrows':

ro-saig 'reaches, extends':

-sa, -se, 1sg. emph. pron.:

saer 'free', o/á-stem:

saich 'evil':

saigid 'seeks':

sain 'different, peculiar', ē-stem:

sair 'eastwards, forwards', adv. of place:

sál 'brine', masc. o-stem:

sál 'heel', fem. ā-stem:

sant 'desire', fem. ā-stem:

sáraigidir 'insults':

sásaid 'satisfies':

scian 'knife', fem. ā-stem:

sci'ath 'shield', masc. o-stem:

sebtaib:

sech 'past', prep. + acc.:

secht 'seven', cardinal numeral:

sell 'eye', neut. o-stem?:

sellad 'looking', masc. o-stem:

sét 'chattels'(in pl.), masc. o-stem:

sí 'she', 3sg. fem. personal pron.:

-si, 3sg. fem. emph. pron.:
siar 'westwards, backwards', adv.
of place:

sillid 'gazes':

sin 'that', demons. pron.:

sinid 'stretches out, spreads':

sis 'down', adv.:

slaidid 'strikes, slays':

slán 'whole, sound', o/ā-stem:

sleg 'spear, javelin', fem. ā-stem:

slasait 'thigh', fem. i-stem:

slige '(i) cutting down, smiting (ii) way, road', fem. iā-stem:

sligid 'strikes down':

slúag 'host', masc. o-stem:

slúagach 'rich in troops, followers', o/ā-stem:

sním 'grief, distress', masc. u-stem:

so, se 'this', demons. pron.:

-so, -siu, 2sg emph. pron.:

soacaldmae 'affable':

sochaide 'multitude', fem. iā-stem:

-som, -sem, 3sg. masc./ neut., 3pl emph. pron.:

soud 'turning', masc. u-stem vn.:

soid 'turns':

sreid 'scatters':

sruth 'stream, river', masc. u-stem:

~ 210, 213.

3pl. pres. ind. rel. sillite 22.

~ 19, 28, 29 et passim.

178 (see textual note).

~ 194.

3sg. fut. (+ 3pl. suffixed pron.) selsus 178.

(in cmpd. with cert) certslán 144 (see textual note).

178 (see textual note).

gen. sg. sliasta 142.

(i) dat. sg. iar sligi 181; (ii) dat. sg. forint sligi 260.

3pl. pret. selgatar 150.

acc. sg. lasin slúag 98; in slúag 115, fri slúag 159; gen. sg. dar éissi int slúag 190; dat. sg. dont slúag 44, riasint slúag 123; gen. pl. ~ 162.

acc. sg. ~ 27 ('abundant').

dat. sg. i sním 142.

so 43; se 77.

comdom marbae-so 65, nicot biad-so 67, contolae-so 191 et passim; duít-siu 68, tair-siu 257.

acc. sg. ~ 163.

nom. sg. ~ 120, 122, 249.

masc. dossom 4, tuc-som 38 et passim; lasa mairfide-sem 35, a ainm-sem 232; 3pl. dia tairmiusc-som 84, lotar-som 265.

dat. sg. oc soud 47.

3sg. pret. sois 159.

160 (see textual note).

~ 142 (see s.v. fuil).
súi ‘man of learning, sage’, masc.
dental stem:
suide ‘he, the latter’, anaphoric
pron.:
súil ‘eye’, fem. i-stem:
súilech ‘ocular’, o/a-stem:
sulbair ‘eloquent, well-spoken’, i-
stem:
sund ‘here’, adv. of place:
tabart ‘giving, putting’, fem. ā-
stem vn.:
taircsiu ‘offering’, fem. n-stem:
tairmesc ‘hindering’, masc. o-stem:
talam ‘ground, earth’, masc. n-
stem:
tarr/tairr ‘stomach, belly’, masc.:
tech ‘house, household’, neut. s-
stem:
techt ‘going’, fem. ā-stem:
teinnid ‘cuts, cracks’:
téit ‘goes’:

acc. sg. in suid 163.
(unstressed form) mac-side ~ 2, co n-accac-
side 49, lotar-side 82-3; (accented form) acc.
neut. la sodain ‘therewith’ 115.
nom. sg. int súil 15, ~ 20; acc. sg. ~ 12; acc.
dual di súil 19; (in cmpd. with óen-) nom. sg.
ind óensúil 10, óensúil 36; acc. sg. óensúil 3.
acc. sg. masc. ~ 27.
acc. sg. ~ 163.
~ 248, 250.
dat. sg. do thabairt 18, 108.
dat. sg. do thaircsin 33.
dat. sg. dia tairmiusc-som 84.
nom. sg. ~ 113; acc. sg. i talmain 59, co
talmain 231, 232; dat. sg. ón talmain 49, din
talmain 195.
146 (see textual note).
gen. sg. tige 31; dat. sg. i tig 94.
nom. sg. ~ 244.
3sg. pret. (+ 3sg. fem. Class A infixed pron.)
nos tethainn 194.
2sg. ipv. eirg 76; 3pl. ipf. no téigis 90; 3sg.
pret. dia lluid-som 4, luid-side 6-7, luid 60 et
passim; rel. luide 4, 5, 32 et passim; 3pl. pret.
lotar-side 82-3, lotar-som 265; 3sg. augm. pret.
do-coid 105, co ndechuid 209, 230; 3pl. augm.
pret. do-chótar 111, co ndechutar 85; 1sg. pres.
subj. co ndechur 77; 3sg. augm. ipf. subj. arna
digsed 33; 2sg. fut. ni regae-so 227.
tene 'fire', masc. dental stem: gen. sg. tened 98.
téoir, téora 'three', fem. cardinal numeral: nom. téora 233; acc. téora 14.
tert 'the canonical hour of terce', fem.: dat. sg. ó theirt 117.
tír 'land, territory', neut. s-stem: acc. sg. issa tír 34; i tír 110, ~ 189; dat. sg. dia thir 75.

Itlacht 'covering, garment', masc. u-stem: nom. sg. ~ 146.

Tnúth: (see textual note).
tóchustal 'muster, mustering', masc. o-stem: nom. sg. ~ 105; dat. sg. dia tóchustul-side 105.
tóeb 'side', masc. o-stem?: nom. dual in dá thoib 166; dat. sg. dom thóib 223; dia thoib 224; acc. pl. imma thóibu 146; (in cmpd. with cóem) acc. sg. Cóemthóeb 150.

toirse 'sorrow, distress', fem. iā-stem: dat. sg. i toirsi 124.

toll 'pierced, perforated', o/ā-stem: nom. dual. masc. tuill 167; acc. pl. tolla 146 (see textual note).

tortíne 'little loaf': nom. sg. ~ 98.
tosach 'beginning', neut. o-stem: dat. sg. (adverbial use) i tosuch 'at first' 4.

~ 39, 45, 76 et passim.

trá 'then': nom. dual di thraigid 95.

tráig 'foot', fem. dental stem: 3sg. pres. ind. rel. thráiges 113; 3sg. pret. tethraig ? (see textual note) 177.

tráidig 'ebbs': acc. sg. im thráth 92; gen. sg. cach thrátha 108; nom. pl. ~ 86.

tré' 'through', prep. + acc.: (pronominal form) 3sg. masc. triit 231; (+ poss. pron.) 3sg. masc. tria 196, 209; 3sg. fem. tria 260.

tri 'three', masc. cardinal numeral: acc. ~ 74; gen. ~ 98; (multiplicative) fo thri 109, 109, 224.
tri' 'three', neut. cardinal numeral: ~ 111.
triion 'third', neut. o-stem:
triar 'three persons', masc. o-stem:
tróethaid 'subdues, overwhelms':
trom 'heavy', o/ä-stem: nom. sg. ~ 234, a trian 234, 235 et passim.
túaim: dat. sg. din triur 234.
túathbiul 'left-hand wise' adv.: pred. ~ 116.
túar 'poet', masc. dental stem: 3sg. pret. rel. tróethas 161.
túath 'people', fem. ä-stem:
tuidbigid 'destroyer?', masc. i-stem:
tuidecht 'coming', fem. ä-stem: pred. 167 (see textual note).
tuareim 'enumerating', fem. ä-stem:
tuaithbiul 'subdues, overwhelm s': dat. sg. mò tuireim 138.
úallach 'proud', o/ä-stem:
úar 'hour', fem. ä-stem: dat. sg. isin tulaig 42, 46.
úcht 'lap', neut. u-stem: gen. sg. masc. úallaig 23.
uéut 'yon, that', demons. adj: dat. sg. ónd úair 124.
uile 'all', io/iä-stem: acc. sg. i n-ucht 48; dat. sg. im ucht-sa 51.
uisce 'water', masc. io-stem: ~ 10.
ulach 'foot': nom. pl. uili 44.
Ulaid (in pl.) 'Ulster, Ulstermen': gen. sg. ind uisci 13; dat. sg. dond uisci 14.
ungae 'ounce', fem. iä-stem: 144 (see textual note).
úr 'clay', fem.: nom. pl. Ulaid 39, 66, 80 et passim; acc. pl. for
Últaib 67, di Últaib 70, do Últaib 82 et passim.
úr ~ 5.

274