

# *Erchoitmed InGINE Gulidi*

An Edition with Translation and Textual Notes

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## ***Testimony of Plagiarism***

I hereby declare that I did not commit plagiarism while writing this MA thesis.

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# *Abbreviations*

CIG	Modern Irish Prose Reconsidered: The Case of Ceasacht Inghine Guile, Caoimhín Breatnach
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language
EIG	Erchoitmed Inghine Gulidi
GOI	Grammar of Old Irish, Rudolf Thurneysen
MI	Middle Irish
Mol	Modern Irish
OG	Onomasticon Goedelicum, E. Hogan
OI	Old Irish
Rawl.	Rawlinson B 512; Bodleian Library, Oxford
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
ZCP	Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie

# *Introduction*

## *The Story*

The tale tells about the Munster King Feidlimid mac Crimthain, who is together with his retinue on a visitation in West-Munster, when heavy snowfall prevents them from continuing their journey. Feidlimid asks his counselors at whose place they might find shelter. They tell him that Gulide's homestead is nearest and that he is obliged to show them hospitality since he had received many gifts from the Munster king. When Gulide hears them approaching he sends one of his daughters – the only other person present at the place – to convince Feidlimid and his hosts to pass them by, since the harsh winter had caused the place to be in a poor condition. The daughter sets out and delivers an elaborate speech in which she explains why it is not a good time to come to Gulide's stead. Feidlimid tells her that they shall go to the land between Drong and Loch Léin. Thereupon Gulide's daughter delivers another speech in which she tells of the inhospitality she received once while she had been staying there and she takes Feidlimid into Gulide's house.

EIG is part of the Historical Cycle or more specifically the Cycles of the kings. These cycles consist of tales spun by poets and bards to record more or less faithfully the history of the kings they served. Myles Dillon groups EIG under the Cycle of Crimthann son of Fidach but the connection is obscure in my point of view.<sup>1</sup> Though Crimthann son of Fidach had a son named Feidlimid<sup>2</sup>, he became king in AD 366 while Feidlimid son of Crimthann died in 847.<sup>3</sup> Besides, Feidlimid is not mentioned in any other tale of Dillon's Cycle of Crimthann son of Fidach. Nevertheless EIG shows the typical characteristics of a tale belonging to the Historical Cycle. One of the main characters is a historical figure who is mentioned numerous times in the annals.<sup>4</sup> The setting of the tale is a tour

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<sup>1</sup> Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (London 1946), 33.

<sup>2</sup> <http://traceyclann.com/files/Tracys%20decended%20from%20the%20Eoghanachts.htm>, 09-08-2010

<sup>3</sup> Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish Place Names* (Dublin 1994), 95. For further discussion on Feidlimid mac Crimthann see the Dating section.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Feidlimid mac Crimthain

through Munster with mentioning of real places and therefore could really be an account of a historical event.

The text is titled as *Erchoitmed Ingine Gulidi* which refers to the first speech, i.e. the lengthy explanation the satirist's daughter gives to convince the Munster King not to stay at their homestead. The daughter – who is not named directly<sup>5</sup> – says at the end of her explanation:

*'Mad meisi immorro ni heōl dam erchoitmed.'*<sup>6</sup>

'As for me however, I have no experience in excuses.'

The main theme of this tale is hospitality. Feidlimid mac Crimthan demands hospitality from Gulide for the gifts Gulide received. Gulide's daughter explains why Gulide's household cannot provide hospitality and describes the inhospitality she received once someplace else. Hospitality was very important to the Irish and they 'shared a collective pride in their reputation as a hospitable people; one that transcended social boundaries, and endured for many centuries.'<sup>7</sup> But it was not merely a sign of virtuous behavior and honor. 'Hospitality occupied a far more central position in legal, ethical, economic, religious and political value systems.'<sup>8</sup> It is no wonder then, that hospitality was also a topic in the Irish law texts in which was determined when hospitality was obligatory, and more importantly, what the consequences were of denial or exploitation of hospitality (as well as forced hospitality).<sup>9</sup> This is also reflected in Irish literature where hospitality - or the lack of it - is a frequent theme as can be observed not only in EIG but also in better known tales as *Cath Maige Turedh* 'The Second Battle of Maige Tuired' and *Fled Bricrend* 'Bricriu's Feast'.<sup>10</sup>

In the first paragraph the reader is told about Gulide's qualities as satirist. It is then most notable that the only satire performed does not come from Gulide himself, but instead from his daughter. Although the description of the poor hospitality she received

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<sup>5</sup> She herself says that Gulide has three daughters who are named Cuil, Geloch and Gréch and that she is not the eldest daughter. If the names are given in chronological order the daughter's name would be either Geloch or Gréch.

<sup>6</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B512, 115rb13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Catherine Marie O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in medieval Ireland 900-1500* (Dublin 2004), 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-22.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-24.

does not show a metrical complexity as is sometimes observed in satire, it is still highly stylistic. This type of satire is called *aisnéis* ‘narration’ which is characterized as ‘a statement made in accusation without rhyme’.<sup>11</sup> Among the stylistic devices that do have been used are alliteration (*do lomasna lomartha la selche salli seingblíne*), repetition of words (*lethnoachta, lethtirim, lethlána, lethloma*), poorly attested vocabulary (*gallurad, gallgruitni, frithirt*) and the use of words with the meaning of small quantities (*selche, scriblíne*). Other words characteristic of satire are words with negative meaning (*tana, scremloiscthi*) and of sickness and diseases (*legtha liraighi, scamche*).

### **Manuscript**

The Middle Irish tale *Erchoitmed Inghine Gulidi* (EIG) is found only in one manuscript, namely Rawlinson B512 (Rawl.), which lies now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.<sup>12</sup>

It was composed during the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript was made of vellum leaves of approximately 25,5 x 19 cm and consists at present of 157 folios (though only numbered to 154 due to an error in foliation). It is a compilation of five originally separate volumes whose pages are out of order in the current manuscript. The manuscript contains mainly Irish poetry and prose but also law texts, saints’ lives as well as Latin texts and even some English notes can be found.

Important texts found in the same volume as EIG are *Cáin Adomnáin* ‘The law of Adomnán’ and *Scéla mucce maic Dathó* ‘The story of Mac Da Thó’s Pig’.<sup>13</sup>

EIG is found on ff. 114v to 115v which are part of the first volume of the manuscript consisting of ff. 1-36, 45-52 and 101-22. It is written in two columns as is almost the entire manuscript (except for fo. 54r-56v) with 36 lines per page. The ruling is by dry point which is visible on fo. 115v. There are three different kinds of foliation, though Best counts as many as 6 different foliations in some places throughout the whole manuscript.<sup>14</sup> On fo. 114v there is a ‘89’ written in black ink in the left upper margin (D)<sup>15</sup> and a faint ‘76’ (not mentioned by Best) probably written with pencil in the center

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<sup>11</sup> Roisin McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire* (Dublin 2008), 53.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries*, Part 1 (Dublin 2001) 223.

<sup>13</sup> cf. R. I. Best, ‘Notes on Rawlinson B 512’, *ZCP* 17 (1928) 389-402.

<sup>14</sup> Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts*, 225.

<sup>15</sup> The capitals in brackets refer to the different kinds of foliation as given by Best and Ó Cuív.

of the upper margin. On fo. 155r 'Fo. 65.' (B) is written in red in the middle of the upper margin as well as the continuance of foliation D in the right upper margin. Additionally there is a somewhat faint '115' on the first line between the two columns which is the modern foliation (A). On fo. 115v only foliation D is found in the left upper margin of the page.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Modern Irish Versions***

Although Rawl. is the only manuscript containing the Middle Irish tale, there are some 90 manuscripts which contain a Modern Irish version. The text is called *Ceasacht Inghine Guile* (CIG) 'The complaint of Guile's daughter' and Caoimhín Breatnach calls it one of the most popular Romantic tales of that period.<sup>17</sup> One of the earliest manuscripts containing CIG is RIA 24 P 12, which dates from the first half 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> CIG distinguishes a long and a short form, the latter being the original one:

'The main difference between the two is that additional episodes, one involving the seduction of Guile's daughter by a clerical student, the other involving the appropriate division of a goose, have been added at the end of the longer form. I believe that these episodes are later additions and that the short form is the earlier modern version.'<sup>19</sup>

In comparison with EIG, CIG is clearly longer, more detailed and contains more phrases of praise directed at Feidlimid as well as Guile. It is noteworthy that in CIG 'Guile is being presented to us as a person of high status and a beneficiary of royal patronage. This is in direct contrast to Gulide's role as a *cáinte*, a person of very low status, in the corresponding section of EIG'.<sup>20</sup>

Breatnach even states 'Guile is being portrayed in CIG as a fili of the highest status, i.e. an ollamh.'<sup>21</sup> Other notable differences between CIG and EIG are: (1) Guile asks his daughter to detain Feidlimid and his followers while preparations are made for a suitable welcome. It is also mentioned that Feidlimid is entitled to such a welcome as it is reiterated that Guile had often received gold and wealth from him without seeking it;

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<sup>16</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B512, 114v-115v.

<sup>17</sup> Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Early Modern Irish Prose Reconsidered: The Case of *Ceasacht Inghine Guile*', *Ériu* 42 (1991) 121.

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G402563/header.html>, 09-08-2010.

<sup>19</sup> C. Breatnach, 'Early Modern Irish Prose Reconsidered', 122.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

(2) Guile's daughter is called Guile Beag while she is unnamed in EIG; (3) in the second speech of the daughter, the one being badly treated is not herself but four guests who came to the place in spring; (4) the title, i.e. EIG is named after the first speech of Gulide's daughter whereas CIG is named after her second speech.

### ***Purpose of this study***

The tale was edited and translated only once by Kuno Meyer in 1894, who included it in the appendix of his *Hibernica Minora* which deals with an Irish Psalter also found in Rawl. B512.<sup>22</sup> The edition is not very consequent in the editing, i.e. abbreviations and changes (for grammatical reasons) are not always marked. His translation – though more than 100 years old - seems quite accurate but leaves some gaps. The purpose of the present study therefore is to provide a more accurate edition to fit in with the modern standard, a new full translation as well as a discussion of the language in order to shed more light on the question of the date of composition.

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<sup>22</sup> Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Hibernica Minora: being a fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the psalter with Translation, Notes and Glossary and an Appendix*, Anecdota Oxoniensia Series (Oxford 1894)

# Linguistic Analysis

Though Rawl. dates from the 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, EIG seems to be composed earlier. The language is clearly older than Early Modern or Classical Irish, which was in use from 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century and thus the period in which the manuscript was composed.<sup>23</sup> Therefore one can assume that the text was copied from an exemplar dating from the MI (or even OI) period. Since language and date of EIG have not been discussed before, I have listed some Old and Middle Irish characteristics of the text in this chapter.

## Middle Irish

1. Lenition and nasalization are generally written (*fhēinnidecht* l.18, *n-or* l.12).<sup>24</sup>
2. Lenited *d* and *g*, are beginning to fall together during the MI period (*oighthi* < *aidchi* l.26).<sup>25</sup> Lenited *ml-* may be replaced with *bl-* (*blichta* l.38).<sup>26</sup>
3. a) The alternation between *o* and *a* before a non-palatalized consonant (*ascolt* l.40),<sup>27</sup> b) the change from *ai* to *oi* in accented syllables (*oighthi* l.26)<sup>28</sup> and c) from *áe/aí/óe/oí* to a long vowel *é* or *í* - and therefore the falling together of the diphthongs (*bai* l.4 instead of *boí*; *óen* as in *óenbeich* l.36 versus later *aen* as in *aenmachraidh* l.35; *aīgedacht* l.13 for OI *oígedacht*) - are vowel changes of the MI period.<sup>29</sup>
4. The falling together of short unstressed vowels (in final position) can be found (*bāi baili Gulide in Cāinti* 'that was the homestead of Gulide the Satirist' l.4).<sup>30</sup>
5. Once *neith*(l.10) is found which is a MI form of OI *neich*.
6. There is confusion of *nn* and *nd* in writing as a result of *-nd-* > *-nn-* (*menduta* l.30).<sup>31</sup>
7. Unhistoric initial *f-* appears (*ro-fíarfaig* l.6 of *íarmi-foich* 'consults'; *ní-faca* l.20 of *ad-cí* 'sees').<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Damian McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, (unpublished article) 2.

<sup>24</sup> Kim McCone, *A First Old Irish Grammar and Reader ...*, (Maynooth 2005) 17.

<sup>25</sup> Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', K. McCone, et. al. (ed.), *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Maynooth 1994) 234-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>29</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 9. Cf. Kim McCone, *A First Old Irish Grammar and Reader, including an Introduction to Middle Irish* (Maynooth 2005) 174-75.

<sup>31</sup> MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 6.

8. The MI form of the OI sg. article *ind* occurs only once (*an ingen* l.50).<sup>33</sup> The difference in vocalism of the article, i.e. *i* or *a*, is dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>
9. The nom.pl. form of the feminine and neuter article *na*, replaces the masculine *ind* (*na slóig* l.5).<sup>35</sup>
10. Loss of the OI dat.pl. ending *-ib* is shown (*cosna slogaib* l.25).<sup>36</sup>
11. Loss of neuter gender is shown (*isin tech* l.23 for OI *isa tech* which would be expected because of the accusative noun).<sup>37</sup>
12. The noun *feitlicān* (l.55) is a form of MoI *féileacán* and probably comes from OI *etelachán* ‘a little flying creature; a butterfly’.<sup>38</sup>
13. *áthandaib* (l.40) from *áith* was originally a feminine i-stem but shifted to an n-stem.<sup>39</sup>
14. *fóirithin* (l.13) is the MI verbal noun of *fo-reith* ‘helps’.<sup>40</sup>
15. The comparative is used as superlative (*nesa* l.6 for superl. *nessam*; *gériu 7 ba gortiu 7 ba hamainsiu* l.3-4). This development became common and ultimately replaced the superlative in the MI period.<sup>41</sup> It is already quite common in *Félire Oengusso*, which dates from between 797 and 808.<sup>42</sup>
16. MI *eisen* (l.8) is used for OI *ésom*.<sup>43</sup>
17. The MI 3sg. and pl. infixed pronoun *s n-*of class A was replaced by a hybrid of classes A and C (normally *das/dos*) which came to be used for all classes, i.e. the class-system was breaking down (*nodus-geibthe* l.54).<sup>44</sup>
18. *foraib* (l.5) instead of *forru* is used. This displays the confusion of dat./acc. after a preposition, i.e. the loss of syntactical distinction between place and direction.
19. The distinction between deuterotonic and prototonic forms was simplified. The old prototonic forms started to be inflected as simple verbs.<sup>45</sup>In EIG this is

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<sup>32</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 235.

<sup>33</sup> Mac Manus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 7.

<sup>34</sup> GOI §245.

<sup>35</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 258.

<sup>36</sup> MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 7.

<sup>37</sup> Wim Tigges, *An Old Irish Primer* (Nijmegen 2006) 36.

MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 8.

<sup>38</sup> DIL, letter E col. 227.

<sup>39</sup> DIL, letter A col. 252.

<sup>40</sup> DIL, letter F col. 257.

<sup>41</sup> GOI §366; Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 255-6.

<sup>42</sup> GOI §8.

<sup>43</sup> DIL, letter E col. 2.

<sup>44</sup> MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 34; Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 266-67.

reflected in *do-fogain* (l.30) which is the MI form of *fo-gní* ‘serves’ treated as simplex (the OI form would be *fo-ruigenai*);<sup>46</sup> *ro-fíarfaig* (l.6) originally from *íarmi-foich* ‘asks’ - which had an OI t-pret. *íarmi-fuacht* - but it was simplified to *(f)íarfaigid* in MI.<sup>47</sup>

20. The weak conjugation spread to originally strong verbs<sup>48</sup> (*ro-ben* (l.54) is a s-pret. from *benaid* ‘strikes’ which had a reduplicated pret. *ro-bí* in OI.
21. The augment *ro* was being generalized in the past<sup>49</sup> and almost completely superseded the unaugmented form.<sup>50</sup> Perfect forms with *ro-* appear in the text but have generally lost their perfective meaning. Later *ro-* was confused with *do*, i.e. *do* too could be used as past tense marker (*do-fogain* l.30).
22. In the MI period *ro* was no longer treated as a preverb but as a conjunct particle, in order to keep it out of the verbal form (*ro-taitin* (l.54) from *do-aitni* ‘shines’ for OI *do-raithni*).<sup>51</sup>
23. In MI new personal endings were created. The OI pres.ind./fut.1pl.abs. ending – *mi* gave way to *-mit* which is the old ending with the petrified suffixed 3sg. neuter pronoun (*fuicfimit* l. 48).<sup>52</sup> Another MI verbal ending is the past 2pl. ending *-bair* which was based on the 2pl.poss.adj. *for/bar* (*tancabair* l.33 from *do-icc* ‘comes’ for *táncaid*).<sup>53</sup>

### **Old Irish forms**

1. Though the distinctive form of the article, *ind*, is lost in MI, it is the general form in EIG (*ind ingen* l.23).<sup>54</sup>
2. The preverbal *ro* can still be found infixes to compound verbs (*do-rinntóí* l.23 from *do-intaí* ‘returns’).<sup>55</sup>
3. The correct use of the dual can still be found (*dib n-imairib* l.35 with following nasalization).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 282-3.

<sup>46</sup> DIL, letter F col. 237.

<sup>47</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 299; GOI §840B.

<sup>48</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 16-17.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>51</sup> DIL, letter D2 col.198.

<sup>52</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 22.

<sup>53</sup> Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 305; McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 22.

<sup>54</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

4. The change of *ó* to *ú* after an initial *c*- and before a palatalized consonant did not happen yet (*cóich* l.21).<sup>57</sup>
5. The adjective is still inflected (*móra* l.24).<sup>58</sup>
6. In MI independent pronouns are used as object pronouns.<sup>59</sup> This is not the case in EIG, where many infix pronouns are still found (*ros-caithetar* l.37, *not-gabtais* l.54). There are no examples of this practice found in *Saltair na Rann*, which means that it probably came into the literary language after the composition of *Saltair na Rann* composed around 988.<sup>60</sup>
7. Copulative sentences still show congruence of subject and verb (3pl. *it* used with plural subject l.33).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> GOI §237.2.

<sup>57</sup> Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 233.

<sup>58</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 3,31; Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 271.

<sup>61</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 14; McCone, *First Old Irish Grammar and Reader* (Maynooth 2005) 213.

# Dating

## Historical

As mentioned earlier the manuscript was composed in the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The language of EIG though, points to an earlier date of composition. The events happening in EIG are not recorded and therefore give no indication a probable date of composition.

The historical life of Feidlimid mac Crimthain is well documented in the annals. The Annals of Inisfallen mention his birth in AD 770.<sup>62</sup> In AD 820 he took the kingship of Cashel (and therefore Munster) and after that his actions are well documented until the year AD 847 in which he died after being wounded in battle the previous year.<sup>63</sup> He is described as ecclesiast, scribe and anchorite<sup>64</sup> and had strong connections to the Céili Dé.<sup>65</sup> Between 820 and 841 he defeated the Connachta and the Uí Neill, kidnapped the abbot of Armagh at Kildare and took the abbacies of Cork and Clonfert. He fought against some of the greatest of Irish monasteries, amongst which are Kildare, Clonfert, and above all, Clonmacnoise which is named numerous times in connection with Feidlimid's reign.<sup>66</sup> His death in AD847 then, is a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this text.

## Linguistic

To say that EIG is Middle Irish simply because the text is found in a Middle Irish manuscript would be foolish. Unfortunately there are no other extant copies of the story

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<sup>62</sup><http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100004/index.html> (Annals of Inisfallen), 09-08-2010, 770.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 820.2-847.1;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100016/text079.html> (Chronicon Scotorum) 09-08-2010, 820, 823;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005A/index.html> (Annals of the Four Masters) 09-08-2010, 824.10-845.4;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001A/index.html> (Annals of Ulster) 09-08-2010, 820.5-847.1.

There is some inconsistency between the annals.

<sup>64</sup> Craig Haggart, 'Feidlimid mac Crimthainn and the "Óentu Maíle Ruain"', *Studia Hibernica* 33 (2004) 29.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100004/index.html> (Annals of Inisfallen), 09-08-2010, 820.2-847.1;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100016/text079.html> (Chronicon Scotorum) 09-08-2010, 820, 823;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005A/index.html> (Annals of the Four Masters) 09-08-2010, 824.10-845.4;

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001A/index.html> (Annals of Ulster) 09-08-2010, 820.5-847.1.

which is why we have to rely heavily on internal linguistic evidence. Therefore an investigation of the language is obligatory to determine whether the text is indeed Middle Irish or rather (Late) Old Irish. This I have done in the previous chapter.

The Middle Irish period is usually dated to 900-1200.<sup>67</sup> Damian MacManus states his definition of Middle Irish in his unpublished article *Introduction to Middle Irish* as follows:

‘One does not speak of classical Middle Irish as the language was in a state of flux from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries when the fixed standard of Bardic poetry was laid down.’<sup>68</sup>

This ‘state of flux’ is what makes the dating of an MI text so hard. Moreover, MI developments confine themselves not only to the Middle Irish period.

‘Many of the developments which we associate with the Middle Irish period can be seen in their embryonic stage already in Old Irish.’<sup>69</sup>

Although EIG contains some words that are typically MI, or in any case later than the Old Irish period, there are few traces of the major morphological and syntactical changes of the Middle Irish period. The *terminus post quem* is 847. When compared with the MI characteristics of *Saltair na Rann*, which is dated to 988, EIG looks slightly more conservative.<sup>70</sup> Considering the length of EIG,<sup>71</sup> I propose an Early Middle Irish - late 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century - date of composition, maybe between 850 and 950, though a little later would not be impossible.

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<sup>67</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 221.

<sup>68</sup> MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>70</sup> The MI characteristics of *Saltair na Rann* are discussed in MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, and Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’.

<sup>71</sup> EIG is much shorter than *Saltair na Rann* or other texts examined by MacManus and Liam Breatnach. Therefore it would not be surprising if some MI characteristics are not found in EIG, although they actually were present in the language of the time EIG was composed.

# *Editorial Policy*

The following text is based on a transcription of the folio's (fo. 114v – 115v) of Rawlinson B512 which is currently found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.<sup>72</sup> For my transcription I have used the digital version of this manuscript. I have tried to keep the text as close to the manuscript text as possible and yet to make a readable text of it. I have followed the paragraphing of Kuno Meyer's edition and added line numbers in order to make it easier to compare the two. There are numerous cases in the text where the compendium '7' for *ocus* is accompanied by a dot. In these cases I have ignored the dot since it is generally clear no full stop is intended.

As is common nowadays I have expanded all abbreviations in italics.<sup>73</sup> The ligatures are separated silently. I have followed word divisions according to modern day practice (i.e. pronouns and particles written separately from other words etc.). Preverbs and the particles *ro-* and *no-* are attached to the verb by a hyphen - which comes after the infixed pronoun if such is present - for better readability. The same goes for suffixed pronouns. Conjunctions and prepositions are written separately from the verb. When the particle *ro-* is attached to a conjunction or the negative particle with omission of its vowel no hyphen is used (i.e. with the copula *nir ba*). Mutations – when written – are attached to the word except the *n* prefixed to a following word beginning with a vowel which is attached to the word by a hyphen. Lenition is marked as *h* where indicated in the manuscript (I have made no difference in the way lenition is indicated, i.e. with *h*, suprascript dot or spiritus asper above the letter in question). When letters have been added they are placed between square brackets. Where my reading differs from the one in Meyer's edition I have given Meyer's reading in a footnote. Length-marks are rarely written and are therefore added as a macron to distinguish them from the original accents. When an original length-mark is written on the wrong vowel (i.e. a glide or the wrong element of a diphthong) I have corrected this in the main text and given the manuscript reading in a footnote.

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<sup>72</sup> <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb512>

<sup>73</sup> As opposed to Meyer who wasn't consequent in putting the expanded element in italic font.

Capitals have been added to the first word in a sentence – which is generally given rubricated in the manuscript - and to personal and place names. I have added punctuation but the sentences generally remain as they are in the manuscript save for the instances where readability would be impaired. In these cases I have combined sentences separated by a stop in the manuscript when obviously belonging together (i.e. *fliuch cæm na dūib co bun clúas, tigi lethno(a)chta, arān lethtirim, lestair lethlána, colpdai lethloma*).

In the English translation a word, when it is superfluous, ungrammatical or unsyntactical in English has been translated, but placed between brackets. When a word has been added it is placed between square brackets. When it is impossible to translate a sentence or phrase literally into English, I have given a looser translation accompanied by a footnote with the literal translation preceded by "Lit.:".

# *Erchoitmed InGINE Gulidi*

[fo 114v l.18]ERCHOITMED INGINE GULIDI INSO.

1. [R]ī ro-gab Muman, edh ón Feidlimid mac Crimthain. Luid-side fecht and for  
mōrcūairt Muman *cona*-rala sīar i n-Īar Muman co *rōacht* Áth Lōche. Ba hand-sén baī  
baili Gulide in Cāinti, ba gēriu 7 ba gortiu 7 ba hamainsiu, baī in hÉriu ina aimsir. Hī dulig  
5 erraig *dono* do-*chōtar* sīar na slōig. Feraid snechta mór foraib co ro-*fhēimdetar* na slóig<sup>1</sup>  
imt[h]echt ann. Dethbir<sup>2</sup> ón ar do-roiched glūni fer in snechta. Ro-*ffarfaig*<sup>3</sup> Feidlimid  
dona *hēolchaib* “cīa is nesa dūn sund” ol se. “Ni fetamar ēm” ol seat<sup>4</sup> “*acht* mad Gulide  
Átha Lóchi do *chara* fēin.” “*Fortgillim* ém” ol Feidlimid “mās eisen fil ann is gulbnide 7 is  
gér 7 is goirt 7 is amnus fīchda fēig[h]bríat[h]rach fēichemanda. Imfhacus<sup>5</sup> do  
10 *athchuingith* neith co neoch<sup>6</sup> 7 nī maith fēin dia<sup>7</sup> tidnacul. Ar-aíde *dono*” ar Fedlimid “cen  
cop fīal *fri fēnechus* cen cop soichlech tidnacail cen cop sūarrach tabarta, atāt ar  
*commaíne*<sup>8</sup> fair. Ruc ar n-ór 7 ar n-arget 7 ar n-escra. Ruc ar n-eocha 7 ar srīana 7 ar  
sadli. Dlegmait de ar fōirithin im aīgedacht na haidchi.”

2. Lotar na slōigh<sup>9</sup> ĩarsin co ríachtatar an faighthi 7 sendait na cornairi a cornu<sup>10</sup> 7 na  
15 stocairi a stucu for dūæ na faigthi 7 nī raibe for a cind isin baili *acht* mad Gulide 7 a  
*ingen* namā 7 ba senóir<sup>11</sup> crínliath Gulide in tan sin ar bātar slána a *secht fíchit blíadnai*.<sup>12</sup>

3. Is amlaid immorro baí<sup>13</sup> Gulide co mba lāech ar lāechdacht 7 ar engnam 7 co mba  
fēinnid ar fhēinnidecht 7 ba mílid ar militacht 7 ba brugaid ar brugamnus 7 ba cāinti ar  
cāintecht .i. ar gēri 7 gorti 7 amainsi. Is de sin ro-giguil Gulide Cánti de.

20 4. At-racht súas Gulide ĩar sin 7 do-rat a ulind foí 7 ro-dēc[h]ustar imme 7 ní faca *acht*  
mad se 7 a ingen namá isin tigh. “Maith trā a ingen” ar Gulide “erg amach 7 féig lat cóich  
inna cornairi-si 7 na stocaire 7 cía ríasa sendat.”

5. At-racht súas ind ingen ĩarsin 7 luid amach. Do-rinntóí for cūla isin tech 7 as-bert:  
“Slōig móra sunn” ar si. “Is dōig lim<sup>14</sup> is é Feidlimid mac Crimthain co maithib fer Muman  
25 imme.” “Maith a ingen” ar Gulide, “eirc immach cosna sl [fo. 115r.]ógaibh 7 dēna sēgantus  
*briathar friu dús* in sechendais dún ind oighthi.” At-racht súas ind ingen *ársin*<sup>15</sup> 7 gabais  
a timt[h]ocht impe .i. brat corcra 7 lēne srebnaide sīda<sup>16</sup> *fria* gelchnes 7 minesc dergóir<sup>17</sup>  
inna brut.

6. Luid co riacht na slógu 7 as-bert: “Fo dia a Feidlimid cot slōgaib *archena*. Acht is  
 30 muiredaig cāich a menduta. Is misech cāch<sup>18</sup> co hacairsed<sup>19</sup> nī do-fogain do flaithemnas  
*immut* namā<sup>20</sup>. Ar ind in***baid*** is ferr ceta-raba *Gulide*<sup>21</sup> ríam nīr ba ró dó air úacra<sup>22</sup> treisi  
 nó cóicthi nó decmaidi nō mīs nō rāithi nō blīadna remut-sa ar méd do tarscuir 7 ar līn  
 do daine. Olc ind in***baid*** tancabair. Is tregdaigti.<sup>23</sup> It salcha na herdrochait. it mālla na  
 ferthigisi. It ainmecha na cúite. Sraitslige sochaide sund do grés. Cerdcha gaband and,  
 35 cāinti *chonaire*. Is cell *for* dib n-imairib. Is *ard* macha *ar* gnādchi. Is fēr bó aenmachraidh.  
 Is geilt aengeóid. Is milide ōenbeic[h]. Tuargabtha ar n-āela. Nī tarlaicthi ar lonide. Ros-  
 caithetar<sup>24</sup> ar seinbíd nī tancatar ar nūabíd. Olc ind in***baid*** tancabair ind in***baid*** randus  
*int* sentond a tortīn *fris* ind ingin. Ard bót fīaich ocaind īseal<sup>25</sup> bot *con*. Blichta srōna *ar*  
 mban. En glasa inar lilachaib īar ndísca inar ngamnachaib. Ar mnā asiul ar mbae ansiuil.  
 40 Tūarathlia inar n-áthandaib. Tart inar muillib. Ascolt inar *conaib*. Āithgéra<sup>26</sup> *ar* cait.  
 Imda<sup>27</sup> lochaid léire<sup>28</sup> lūatha lēochailli lind. Leghait lēbenna liath crūaidi cotata<sup>29</sup> indiaid  
 oidchi úar<sup>30</sup> fhota.”

7. “Acht atā nī and *chena*” *ar* ind ingen nī missi bís ac agallaim degdaīne sund do grés.  
 Cuil 7 Geloc[h] 7 Gréch tres fī liæ<sup>31</sup> *Gulide*.<sup>32</sup> Gendhud 7 Sliprad 7 Lorgad *tri* doirreōire  
 45 *Gulide*.<sup>33</sup> Dīambad<sup>34</sup> í mo sindersiur no-beith and at-ethad ní no-[r]āidfed rib-se. Mad  
 meisi *immorro* ni heōl dam erchoitmed.”

8. “Fortgillim ēim” *ar* Feidlimid “dīamad hí no-beith and no-fhuicfimis-ni an mír ō  
 Lūachair síar lea 7 osa tussu fil and fuicfimit let<sup>35</sup> *etir* Droing 7 Loch Léin.”<sup>36</sup>

9. “Maith trā a meic<sup>37</sup> *Crimthain*” *ar* ind ingen. “Lud-sa adaigh *ar* aīdhoighecht 7 nīrbo  
 50 rīgda ind aīdoghe(a)cht tucad dam. Cid tucad dit” *ar* Feidlimid “ní hansa” *ar* an ingen “.i.  
 in cethramad rand cethrachat loirgi legtha liraighi do airbiuch clīu gamna scamche. La  
 cutruma gernine do lomasna lomartha la selche salli seingblīne la tana táib na blinmuici.  
 La ceithri scriblīne scremloiscthi do choirci īarmair airthir īchtair tuaiscirt athguirt lēna  
 frisna ro-ben gāeth 7 frisna ro-taitin grīan. Not-gabtais riasíu nodus-geibthe. Menaightis  
 55 riasíu nodus-menaigthe. La cudruma ceitri<sup>38</sup> scíath feiticān do gallurad gallgruitni īarna  
 lomantarraing [115v.] tré crúaidbeól<sup>39</sup> senballáin<sup>40</sup>. Metrén fochæl fo[r]lethan a hind  
 ferna fodluigthe a fotha íchtair drochais frithirt a húachtar athirt a híchtar fās faulom a  
 medón. Acht bá<sup>41</sup> don as glas galraiges baī *for* ladargair in īchtair tuaiscirt in muide īarna  
 malcad maistred *for* mogadaib moglatrand im merlraithib errchaidib. Acht ba don cét as<sup>42</sup>

60 inna cét bó cētna *con* rāinic ind inis inna cuicne maiten moch indé. Nī ba hed sōn dūib-si do-bērthar<sup>43</sup> aīgedhacht na haidhchi-si dúib isind fescor ī tancabair .i. fliuchc[h]āemna dūib co bun clúas,<sup>44</sup> tigi lethno(a)chta, arān lethtirim, lestair lethlána, colpdai lethloma.”

10. At-racht ind ingen sūas īarsin 7 gabhais lāim Feidhlimidh lea inna tech. Baī Feidlimidh and tri lá 7 teora aidhchi 7 nī fuair día<sup>45</sup> rīgi nach día fhlaithes a oired ba ferr  
65 dó ar bánbiudh 7 for-fācaib Feidhlimidh bendachtain. FINIT.

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<sup>1</sup> MS ‘sloíg’.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer ‘dethbir’.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer ‘fiarfaig’.

<sup>4</sup> Maybe ‘seát’.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer ‘imfacus’.

<sup>6</sup> ‘o’ is subscripted.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer ‘dia’; peculiar d-.

<sup>8</sup> MS ‘commáine’.

<sup>9</sup> Maybe ‘slóigh’, as has Meyer.

<sup>10</sup> Meyer ‘acurnu’.

<sup>11</sup> MS ‘senoír’.

<sup>12</sup> Meyer ‘bliadan’.

<sup>13</sup> MS ‘bái’.

<sup>14</sup> Meyer ‘lem’, but the manuscript clearly has ‘lim’.

<sup>15</sup> Abbreviation ‘ar’ with length mark.

<sup>16</sup> Meyer ‘sída’.

<sup>17</sup> MS ‘dergoír’.

<sup>18</sup> Meyer ‘caich’.

<sup>19</sup> Meyer has ‘hadair’ but the manuscript has ‘hacair’.

<sup>20</sup> Meyer ‘namá’.

<sup>21</sup> MS .g.

<sup>22</sup> MS ‘uácrá’.

<sup>23</sup> superscripted: ‘in gaeth’.

<sup>24</sup> Meyer ‘Roscaichetar’.

<sup>25</sup> Meyer ‘íseal’.

<sup>26</sup> subscripted ‘i’, thus Meyer ‘aith’.

<sup>27</sup> Meyer ‘Imda’.

<sup>28</sup> MS ‘leire’.

<sup>29</sup> final –a is subscripted.

<sup>30</sup> MS ‘uár’.

<sup>31</sup> LA: ‘Tres filiae’.

<sup>32</sup> Meyer ‘gulidi’.

<sup>33</sup> Meyer ‘gulidi’.

<sup>34</sup> Meyer ‘diamdad’.

<sup>35</sup> With a smudge just before the i-.

<sup>36</sup> MS ‘Leín’.

<sup>37</sup> Meyer ‘a mic’.

<sup>38</sup> Meyer ‘ceithr’.

<sup>39</sup> ‘béol’ is superscripted.

<sup>40</sup> MS ‘senballáin’.

<sup>41</sup> Copula is usually written without fada.

<sup>42</sup> Meyer ‘cétas’.

<sup>43</sup> Meyer ‘dobérthar’.

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<sup>44</sup> MS 'cluás'.

<sup>45</sup> MS 'diá'.

# *The Excuse of Gulide's Daughter*

This is the Excuse of Gulide's daughter

1. [There was] a king who took Munster, that is Feidlimid son of Crimthan. Once he went on a great visitation of Munster and he happened to go<sup>1</sup> westwards into West-Munster until he reached Áth Lóche. It was there that was the homestead of Gulide the Satirist, who was the keenest, sharpest and craftiest that was in Ireland in his time. In 5 hard spring then, the hosts went westwards. Snow poured<sup>2</sup> greatly upon them, so that the hosts were unable to journey in it. The reason for this: because the snow reached the knees of the men. Feidlimid made an inquiry to the guides: "Who is it that is nearest to us here?" said he. "Truly we don't know" said they, "unless it be Gulide of Áth Lóche, 10 your own friend". "Truly I testify" said Feidlimid, "if it is he who is there, he is biting and keen and sharp and he is rough, pugnacious, sharp-tongued [and] argumentative. [He is] very close to ask anything of anyone while<sup>3</sup> he himself is not good at his generosity." "Nevertheless (then)" said Feidlimid, "though he be not generous in observing custom, though he be not generous in bestowing gifts, though he be not cheerful in giving, he is 15 obliged to us<sup>4</sup>. He has taken our gold and our silver and our goblets. He has taken our horses and our bridles and our saddles. He owes us<sup>5</sup> our assistance concerning hospitality for the night."

2. The hosts went then until they reached the fields. And the horn-blowers played their horns and the trumpeters their trumpets on the mound of the meadows. And there 20 was no[one] before them in the town except only Gulide and his daughter. And Gulide was a wrinkled grey old man at that time, because his seven score years were whole.

3. It is thus however, that Gulide was, namely<sup>6</sup> a warrior with regard to valor and skill and a champion with regard to championship, he was a soldier with regard to martial prowess and a hospitaller with regard to hospitality and a satirist with regard to

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<sup>1</sup> Lit: it put him.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: pours.

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: and.

<sup>4</sup> Lit.: our obligations are on him.

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: We are entitled from him.

<sup>6</sup> Lit.: namely that he was.

25 the art of satire, that is with regard to sharpness and bitterness and cunning. It is  
therefore [the name] 'Gulide the Satirist' stuck on him.

4. Gulide rose up then and propped himself on his elbow<sup>7</sup> and looked around him  
and he did not see [anyone] in the house except only himself and his daughter. "Well  
then, daughter," said Gulide "Go outside and look<sup>8</sup> who are these horn-blowers and the  
30 trumpeters before you and for whom do they sound."

5. Thereupon the maiden rose up and went outside. She returned back into the  
house and said: "Great hosts [are] here" said she. "It seems to me that it is Feidlimid son  
of Crimthan with the noble men of Munster<sup>9</sup> around him." "Well then, daughter," said  
Gulide "go outside to the hosts and make a skillful speech<sup>10</sup> to them to find out whether  
35 they might yield the night to us." Thereupon the maiden rose up and put her cloak  
around her that is a purple cloak and a silken tunic of fine texture against her white skin  
and a pin of red-gold in her cloak.

6. She went until she reached the hosts and said: "Welcome<sup>11</sup>, Feidlimid and your  
hosts too. However everyone is a master of his place. Everyone is entitled to claim<sup>12</sup>  
40 something that he paid to your kingdom from you only. For whenever Gulide felt better,  
there was no[thing] too much for him with regard to an announcement for you [to visit]  
for three days or five or ten or a month or three or a year for the size of your retinue and  
the number of your people. Bad [is] the time you have come. The wind is piercing. The  
steps are dirty. The stewards are slow. The meals are blemished. A multitude of  
45 passages are always here. Smithies of blacksmiths [are] there, satirists of the road. It is a  
sanctuary on two ridges. Our custom is a high field. The field is grass for [one] cow. It is  
grass for one goose. It is a honey-pasture for one bee. Our flesh forks have been raised.  
Our churn dashes have not been given up. Our old food has been consumed; our new  
food has not come. Bad [is] the time you have come, the time when the old woman  
50 shares her loaf with the girl. High is the tail of a raven with us; low is the tail of a dog; the  
noses of our women are running like milk; watery milk [is] in our milk-cows while

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<sup>7</sup> Lit.: put his elbow underneath him.

<sup>8</sup> Lit.: look with you.

<sup>9</sup> Lit.: the nobles of the men of Munster.

<sup>10</sup> Lit.: skill of words.

<sup>11</sup> Idiomatic phrase.

<sup>12</sup> Lit.: that he might claim.

[there is] dryness in our strippers; our women [are] in childbed, [while] our cows [are] barren; there is emptiness in our drying-kilns; drought in our mills; our dogs are starved<sup>13</sup>; our cats [are in] great hunger; quick eager mice are numerous; pools are ungenerous; hard grey level surfaces melt after a long cold night.”

7. “But there is more”<sup>14</sup> said the maiden. “It is not I who is always here addressing noblemen. Cuil and Gelach and Gréch are the three daughters of Gulide. Gendhud and Sliprad and Lorgad are the three porters of Gulide. If it were my eldest sister<sup>15</sup> who was here, she would have obtained anything she would have spoken to you. As for me however, I have no experience in excuses.”<sup>16</sup>

8. “I declare then” said Feidlimid, “if it were she who were here, we would leave with her the land<sup>17</sup> from Lúachair westwards. But since [it is] you who is here we shall leave with you [towards the land] between Drong and Loch Léin.”

9. “Well then, son of Crimthan” said the maiden. “I went one night for hospitality, but the hospitality that was given to me was not royal.” “What was given to you” said Feidlimid. “Not hard to say,” said the maiden, “that is, the forty-fourth share of a decayed jaundiced joint of the left front-corner of a lung-infected calf; with an equal amount of the girdle of a bare stripped rib; with a small portion of thin lean bacon from the scanty side of a thin pig; with four small bundles of skin-burnt oats, remnants of the most north-eastern part of a fallow field against which wind did not blow and sun did not shine - they used to take them before you should have taken them [and] they used to break [them] before you would have broken them - ; with an equivalent of the weight of four butterfly’s wings of foreign clothes; Norse curds after they had been dragged by cords through the hard opening of an old drinking vessel. A small vessel, slender beneath broad above [made] out of the top of a split alder-tree; its furthestmost bottom [contained] bad milk, its upper part big lumps, its lower part more lumps, empty and bare [was] its middle. But it was of the blue infected milk, which was in the space of the very bottom<sup>18</sup> of the vessel, after the putrefaction of the churn by thieving servants in

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<sup>13</sup> Lit.: [there is] starvation in our dogs.

<sup>14</sup> Lit.: there is something there besides.

<sup>15</sup> I take this to be the superlative though comparative would be possible.

<sup>16</sup> or: I am not skilled in [making] excuses.

<sup>17</sup> Lit.: part.

<sup>18</sup> Lit.: lower part of the bottom.

the stormy days of spring. But it was of the first milk of the first cow that reached the  
80 byre of the kitchen early yesterday morning. It should not be this to you, that hospitality  
for this night shall be given to you in the evening in which you have come, that is a bath  
for you to the tips of your ears, houses half-empty, bread half-dry, vessels half-filled,  
calves half-bare.”

**10.** The maiden rose up then and took the hand of Feidlimid with her into her house.  
85 Feidlimid remained there for three days and three nights and never did he get an  
amount of fair food that was better, neither from his kingship nor his rule, and Feidlimid  
leaves a blessing. FINIT

# Notes

line 2 **Rí** The first 5 lines are indented to create a space for the initial which has not been filled. The initial is most probably 'R' since the text opens with the popular phrase '*Rí ro-gab ...*'.

**edh ón** Normally written as abbreviation *.i.* but here written more fully with an n-stroke and abb. for lenition. The rest of the text has *.i.*

lines 3 **cona-rala** '*and he happened to come*'; This is a composition of the conjunction *co n-* 'so that' followed by and infixed pronoun and the conj. form *rala* (from *-cuirethar*)<sup>92</sup>. Since a class C infixed pronoun is required after *con-*, *cona-* probably stands for OI *conda-rala*<sup>93</sup> literally meaning '*and it put him*'. Usually it is used idiomatically meaning '*happens to be/go*'.

**hand-sén** It is a variant of 'and-sin' with h-prefixion due to the preceding copula. The fada is unusual in this context. There is a form *séin* with a long vowel, but it occurs only in bardic verse and is used for rhyming purposes. *sin* is the standard in OI, while *sen* becomes more common in later language.<sup>94</sup>

line 4 **in Cāinti** A title or nickname given to Gulide. Though there is no further evidence for Gulide being a satirist, his daughter's second speech could be described as a kind of satire.<sup>95</sup> Since one would expect some kind of satire after the explanation of Gulide's nickname, one could argue that the daughter satisfies this expectation by taking up the profession of her father. The word *cáinte* is explained in Cormac's Glossary: '*Cáinte* is from *cáinim* 'I dispraise' ... *cáinteir* 'a reproacher',<sup>96</sup> and the daughter's speech is indeed a thorough dispraising.

**gēriu 7 ba gortiu 7 ba hamainsiu** Comparatives used to denote superlatives. See also Linguistic Analysis.<sup>97</sup>

**Hí dulig** The preposition í 'in' is written with prosthetic h- since nasalization in following *dulig* is not shown.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> DIL, letter D2 col.233-34.

<sup>93</sup> GOI §413; cf. Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 266.

<sup>94</sup> DIL, letter S col. 230-31.

<sup>95</sup> See also the introduction on p. 6-7.

<sup>96</sup> Cormac, *Sanas Chormaic: Cormac's Glossary ...* (1868) 31.

<sup>97</sup> Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 255-6.

<sup>98</sup> GOI §842C.

line 5 **dono** Later form of *dano* 'then'. There appear to be numerous abbreviations for this word.<sup>99</sup> The scribe of this text used *dō*.<sup>100</sup>

**do-chōtar** Note the lenition which indicates the relative clause in MI. In Old Irish a main clause would have followed after a prepositional phrase.<sup>101</sup> The *o* was probably long though there is no length-mark written. This is a MI innovation which can be observed throughout the paradigm of the verb *téit*.<sup>102</sup>

**foraib** This is the conjugated form of the preposition *for* 'on' with dative. Expected would be *forru* (with accusative) because of an implied action/movement.<sup>103</sup> 'snow poured greatly onto them'.

lines 6 **ro-fiarfaig** perf.3sg. form of *íarfaid* 'consults' with unhistorical prosthetic *f*-. The verb is the Middle Irish simplified form of OI *íarmi-foich* 'seeks after'.<sup>104</sup>

line 7 **dona** MI form of the inflected preposition *do* with the plural article. OI form should be *donaib*.<sup>105</sup>

**ol** Defective verb introducing direct speech. Other words used for these purposes in this text are *ar* and forms of the verb *as-beir*. *ol* seems to be the oldest form and could be derived from the preposition *oll* 'beyond, further'. Already in OI this became *al* and could be substituted by *ar*.<sup>106</sup> To introduce direct speech *ar* too was used as can be observed in lines 9 and 19 for example. In MI *ol*, *ar*, *or*, *for* and *bar* were used but *ar* was the only one surviving into MoI.<sup>107</sup>

line 8 **Fortgillim** pres.ind.1sg. of *for-gella* with 3sg.n. infix pronoun of Class B. The verb is usually accompanied by this infixed pronoun as it became petrified after the loss of neuter gender.<sup>108</sup>

**eisen** It is a MI variant of *ésom* 'he'. In late MI the vowel is often shortened before strengthening or anaphoric suffixes, which may be due to analogy with *messe* and *tussu*.<sup>109</sup> The final *-n* is due to confusion with demonstrative pronoun *sin*. The MoI form

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<sup>99</sup> DIL, letter D1 col.86-87.

<sup>100</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B512, 114va27.

<sup>101</sup> McCone, *First Old Irish Grammar and Reader*, 197.

<sup>102</sup> DIL, letter T col.125-28.

<sup>103</sup> See also Linguistic Analysis; Wim Tigges, *Old Irish Primer*, 38.

<sup>104</sup> DIL, letter I col. 20.

<sup>105</sup> DIL letter D2 col.171.

<sup>106</sup> GOI §825.

<sup>107</sup> DIL, letter O col.130-31.

<sup>108</sup> GOI §423.

<sup>109</sup> DIL, letter E col. 2.

is *eisean* which shows the same structure.<sup>110</sup>

line 9 **Imfhacus** ‘very close’. This is a composition of the intensive prefix *imm-* which was rare in OI but later became more common, and a variant of *ocus* ‘near’ with unhistorical prosthetic *f*.<sup>111</sup> It probably indicates that he is quick to ask for boons or favors.

line 10 **neith** It is a later form of *neich* which I already mentioned in the Linguistic Analysis.<sup>112</sup>

**tidnacul** The original form is *tindnacol* ‘generosity’. Later it became *tidnacol* by dissimilation.<sup>113</sup>

line 11 **sūarrach** It normally meant ‘petty, mean, insignificant’ but could also be used for *súaircech*,<sup>114</sup> which has the same meaning as *súairc* ‘cheerful, noble’.<sup>115</sup>

line 13 **sadli** Old Norse loanword from ‘sadall’ meaning ‘saddle’.<sup>116</sup>

**Dlegmait** With MI 1pl. ending *-mait* for earlier *-mai*.<sup>117</sup> The final *-t* is a petrification of the neuter suffix which was then generalized.<sup>118</sup> In MI it is often used as active verb ‘owes, is bound to, ought’.<sup>119</sup> Originally accompanied by preposition *do*, but in MI *do* and *de* were confused – as can be observed here – and *de* ultimately superseded *do*.<sup>120</sup>

**aīgedacht** Is a variant of *oīgedacht* ‘hospitality’. Another form found in this text is *aīdhoighecht*. The latter form shows MI confusion of lenited *d* and *g*.

line 14 **faighthi** Is the MI form of OI *faithche* ‘green meadow’ with metathesis and *gh* for *th*.<sup>121</sup>

line 18 **brugaid** Later form of *briugu* ‘hospitaller’, a d-stem. The new nom.sg. probably spread from the acc.sg.

line 19 **ro-giguil** This peculiar form is a reduplicated 3sg.perf. of *glenaid* ‘adheres, sticks to’. The normal OI form would be *ro-gúil*.<sup>122</sup> The reduplicated form seems to be a remnant of the older form which became *-gúl* through compensatory lengthening when

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<sup>110</sup> DIL letter S col.87.

<sup>111</sup> DIL letter I col. 107.

<sup>112</sup> DIL letter N col.41; GOI §233n.

<sup>113</sup> DIL letter T col. 178.

<sup>114</sup> DIL letter S col.403.

<sup>115</sup> DIL letter S col. 399, 403.

<sup>116</sup> DIL letter S col. 5.

<sup>117</sup> See also Linguistic Analysis p.12.

<sup>118</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 22.

<sup>119</sup> DIL, letter D2 col. 162.

<sup>120</sup> DIL, letter D2 col. 160.

<sup>121</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 234.

<sup>122</sup> DIL, letter G col.100.

the cluster *-gl-* was simplified, i.e. *-gigl-* > *-gíl*. The long vowel then became diphthongized to *-gíuil*.<sup>123</sup> It is however peculiar that *glenaid* did not become weak as *benaid* had done (*ro-ben* l.54) though both are B IV verbs.<sup>124</sup>

line 20 **ro-dēchustar** The 3sg.pret. deponent ending *-estar/-astar* is found also in active inflection. The verb *déchaid* ‘looks, gazes’ is a simplification of *do-éccai* ‘looks at, sees’.<sup>125</sup>

**ní faca** Is the MI form of *-accae*, pret.3sg. conjunct form of *ad-cí* ‘sees’ with unhistorical *f-*.

line 23 **isin tech** *tech* ‘house’ is an acc.sg. which was originally a neuter, but has to be masculine in this text, since the preposition would have been *isa* otherwise (accusative carries meaning of motion while dative carries meaning of place).<sup>126</sup>

line 25 **cosna** MI form of the inflected preposition *co* ‘to’ with the plural article. OI form should be *cosnaib*.<sup>127</sup>

line 26 **oighthi** This is the MI form of *aidchi* (acc.sg. of *adaig* ‘night’). It shows the phonetic development of *ai>oi* in MI and furthermore, the confusion of lenited *d* with *g* and *ch* with *th* respectively. Note the correct OI ending in *-i* (rather than later *-e*).<sup>128</sup>

line 27 **corcra** This is a derivative of *corcair* ‘crimson or purple color’ which is from Latin *purpura*.<sup>129</sup>

line 30 **cāich** According to context this should be *cách* ‘everyone’. Meyer has both times, i.e. here and in the next line, *caich* (gen.sg.), while in the manuscript only the latter has a palatal *ch*. However the construction of the two sentences is the same and therefore both should be *cách*.

line 30-31 **hacairsed ... namā** Meyer translates as ‘everyone is . . . , but thy pryncedom has not served . . .’<sup>130</sup> and reads *hadair*, but the manuscript has clearly written *hacair*. This is probably part of the verbal form *acairsed* with following abbreviation (*s* with stroke on top), the prototonic form of the verb *ad-gair* ‘prosecutes, claims’<sup>131</sup> thus translating as ‘everyone is entitled to claim something that he paid to your kingdom

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<sup>123</sup> GOI §71.

<sup>124</sup> B IV as in GOI §551.

<sup>125</sup> DIL, letter D1 col. 189.

<sup>126</sup> Tigges, *Old Irish Primer*, 36; See also: Linguistic Analysis p.11.

<sup>127</sup> MacManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 7; See also: Linguistic analysis p.11.

<sup>128</sup> *-i* and *-e* came to be confused due to falling together of unstressed final syllables as I mentioned in the section on Linguistic Analysis p. 10.

<sup>129</sup> DIL, letter C col. 478.

<sup>130</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

<sup>131</sup> DIL, letter A col. 55.

from you only' (Note that *immut* here is ambiguous, since *imm* has quite a list of possible meanings including 'from, by, to, around').<sup>132</sup>

line 30 **do-fogain** This is the MI form of *fo-gní* 'serves' here treated as simplex with root *-fog(a)n*.<sup>133</sup> I took it to be the perf.3sg. with *do-* instead of *ro-* as perfective particle 'he paid'.<sup>134</sup>

line 33 **tancabair** This verb has a MI past 2pl. ending *-bair* which was based on the 2pl.poss.adj. *for/bar*.<sup>135</sup> The OI ending would have been *do-áncaid, -táncaid*.<sup>136</sup>

**tregdaigti** : *tregtaigthe* is the participle of *traigtid* 'wounds, pierces'.<sup>137</sup> The subject is superscripted.

line 34 **It ainmecha na cúite**. 'The meals are blemished'. Meyer gives no translation of this sentence.

line 35 **Cerdcha goband and, cāinti chonaire** I take *cerdcha goband* to be plurals since *cāinti* is in the plural. *goband* could be either singular or plural. *cerdcha* could stand for OI *cerdchae* or *cerdchai*, the former being the singular while the latter the plural form. But because of the falling together of unstressed short vowels both would be pronounced /ə/ by the MI period.<sup>138</sup>

**ard macha** Meyer translates as Armagh, i.e. 'it is as frequented as Armagh'.<sup>139</sup> But since there is no clear evidence that this is a place name, I prefer to take it literally 'Our custom is a high field'.

**gnādchi** This is a form of *gnáthche* 'wont, frequency' written with confusion of final unstressed vowel (*-i* instead of *-e*) and *d* instead of *th*.<sup>140</sup>

line 36 **bó** The form is ambiguous (whether it is singular or plural), but the context makes clear *bó* is to be meant a singular. Compare with *oenbeich* and *aengeóid* which are both singular.

line 37 **lonide** It is a nom.pl. of *loinid* 'churn dash'. A churn-dash is a quilting pattern. It could be meant as a pars-pro-toto referring to a whole quilt, meaning 'Our quilts have not been put away' implying that it is still very cold, or 'Our quilting has not been given

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<sup>132</sup> DIL, letter I col. 103-7.

<sup>133</sup> DIL, letter F col. 237.

<sup>134</sup> McCone, *First Old Irish Grammar and Reader*, 212;

McCone, *The Early Irish Verb* (Maynooth 1987) 205-6.

<sup>135</sup> Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 305; McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 22.

<sup>136</sup> DIL, letter D2 col.298.

<sup>137</sup> DIL, letter T col.290.

<sup>138</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 9.

<sup>139</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

<sup>140</sup> Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 229.

up'. However there is also a device used with churning, which is called a churn-dash.<sup>141</sup> Meyer translates as 'our churn-dashes have not been lowered'.<sup>142</sup>

**Ros-caithetar** Meyer reads *Ros-caichetar* and translates it as 'is gone', which could be from the same verb (i.e. *caithid* 'consumes, uses'), but the manuscript clearly has *caithetar* and there is no need to amend this to *-caichetar*.<sup>143</sup>

line 39 **Blichta ... mban.** *blichta* is the nom.pl. of *blicht*, the MI form of *mlicht* 'milk' which here means 'milk-giving, flowing'. The milk implies some kind of fluid. It probably is a stylistic idiom for a running nose.

line 40 **túarathlia** This comes from *túaradhia* 'unsettled condition'. It is used in combination with *áthandaib* 'drying-kilns', which were used to dry substances such as grain, meal, or clay. I would suggest 'emptiness' for *túarathlia*, because of the lack of material in bad times. Meyer translates it as 'great dryness' which could be a more poetical translation with the same meaning (it fits nicely with the following 'drought in our mills').<sup>144</sup>

**áthandaib** It originally is a feminine i-stem, but this form and *athanna* (nom.pl.) found in 'The Annals of Connacht' suggest confusion and later shift to an n-stem.<sup>145</sup>

line 41 **ascolt** Is a later form of *ascalt* 'scarcity' i.e. scarcity of food and thus hunger or starvation.<sup>146</sup>

line 41-42 **Imda ... lind.** It is not completely translated by Meyer, saying only 'We have many eager quick . . . mice.'<sup>147</sup> ('...quick eager mice are numerous; pools are ungenerous'.)<sup>148</sup>

**léochailli lind** Here the noun (*lind* 'pool') is singular while the predicative adjective defining the noun (*léochailli* 'ungenerous') is the plural form. Though the singular became predominant both in the adjective and in the copula (which is absent here) during the MI period,<sup>149</sup> the plural form of the adjective here is obviously the right one.

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<sup>141</sup> Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: a study based mainly on the law-texts of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Dublin 1998), 325.

<sup>142</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

<sup>143</sup> DIL letter C Col. 55.

<sup>144</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

<sup>145</sup> Annals of Connacht 1235.17

<http://celt.ucc.ie/published/G100011/index.html> 09-08-2010

<sup>146</sup> The vowel difference is an example of the MI vowel change a>o as mentioned in the chapter of Linguistic Analysis.

<sup>147</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

<sup>148</sup> p. 24 of this translation.

<sup>149</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 14.

This then, constitutes an exception to the development of an indeclinable adjective (i.e. the singular form) which was completed by 1300.<sup>150</sup>

line 42 **i ndiaid** This is the MI contracted form of OI *i ndiad* ‘after’ from *dead* ‘conclusion, end’ which fell together with *i ndigaid* (the old verbal noun of *do-saig* ‘seeks, searches’).<sup>151</sup>

**Leghait ... fhota.** Meyer translates this as ‘The grey hard stiff benches are rotten after a long cold night’. However, *legthait* which comes from *legaid* ‘melts (away), dissolves, perishes’ could be better translated here with ‘melts’ than ‘rotten’. This would fit better with the ‘long cold night’, i.e. the melting of ice in the morning. The harsh weather conditions were already mentioned in the first paragraph of the text (i.e. the snowfall). ‘*lēbenna liath crūaidi cotata*’ ‘hard grey level surfaces’ then, is a stylistic description of the melting ice in which the alliteration indeed is clearly visible.

line 43 **chena** This lenition of an adverb is a MI development.

line 45-46 **no-[r]aidfed** The form is a sec.f-fut.3sg. Although a smudge conceals the initial letter of the stem, it is quite probably an *r*. Thus I take it to be from *ráidid* ‘says, tells’ – as does Meyer - which is a weak verb and therefore takes the f-future as is indeed the case in the form above. *Ráidid* is often accompanied by the preposition *fri* for the person addressed. Here the preposition is *rib-se* which is the MI form, since it is written without the initial *f*.<sup>152</sup>

line 46 **erchoitmed** Here is the only instance of the word in the text and it is from this the text gets its title. The word itself has suffered metathesis coming from *airchoimted* the verbal noun of *ar-coimtim* ‘excuses oneself’.<sup>153</sup>

line 47 **dīamad** It is the same word as in line 45, i.e. *diambad*, here with loss of *b* – probably through assimilation.

line 48 **síar** Meyer translates ‘from Luachair east with her’, which is clearly an error. The manuscript form is *síar* ‘westwards’ and not *sair* ‘eastwards’.<sup>154</sup>

**fuicfimit** It is a f-fut.1pl-form of *fo-ácaib* ‘leaves’ with MI ending *-mit*, which was based on the old 1pl. ending with suffixed neuter pronoun.<sup>155</sup>

line 49 **Lud-sa** The OI pret.1sg. was *lod*. The *u* in *lud* here might have been influenced

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<sup>150</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 14.

<sup>151</sup> DIL letter D1 col.221, 172.

<sup>152</sup> DIL, letter F col.413.

<sup>153</sup> DIL, letter A col.384.

<sup>154</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B512, 115rb16.

<sup>155</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 22.

by the pret.3sg. *luid* which spread beyond its limits in MI and MoI.<sup>156</sup> The suffixed pronoun provides for a clear distinction between the attested form and the pret.3sg.

**aídhoghecht** This is another variant of *oígedacht* ‘hospitality’ with confusion of lenited *d* and *g*.<sup>157</sup> See also note on line 13.

line 50-51 **an ingen** Note the only time the MI form of the article appears in the text. Otherwise OI *ind* is used.

line 51 **airbiuch** Composition of *air* ‘front’ en *bacc* ‘corner’. Meyer translates it as ‘the low bitter north-east [corner] of a field’ which implies that ‘corner’ is added to the text while in fact it is expressed in *-biuch*. It can’t be *airbach/árbach* ‘destruction, slaughter’ because of the context and *airbacc* ‘crook, angle’ neither, though it is probably the same word. Note the peculiar orthography of *-ch* for original *-cc*, which may be due to confusion with *airbach* mentioned above.

**scamche** *Scamach* comes from *scam* ‘lung’ and denotes a disease called ‘bovine pleuropneumonia’ or ‘lung-plague’. It is an infectious disease and may be a kind of bovine tuberculosis.<sup>158</sup>

line 52 **selche** The literal meaning is ‘shell-bearing animal/insect, turtle, snail’, but it is also used for ‘small cold thing/portion’. Words of small amounts like this are popular in satires since they carry a negative connotation. *Seilche* is also found in the Satire *Gilla Cellaig, cenn for sallaib*.<sup>159</sup>

line 53 **scriblíne** It is a form of *scriplín* ‘a small bundle’, which is the diminutive of *screpull* ‘scruple, unit of value, fee, tribute, piece, morsel’, a Latin loanword (*scripulus*).<sup>160</sup> It was a measure of weight equating about one twenty-fourth of an ounce.<sup>161</sup> Just as *selche* it denotes a small quantity whose use is characteristic for a satire.

line 54 **ro-ben** This is the MI form of OI perf.3sg. *ro-bí*, of *benaid* ‘strikes’. It had been a strong BIV verb, but obviously became weak as can be observed in the new s-pret.<sup>162</sup> Compare with *ro-giguil* in line 17.

**ro-taitin** It is the MI simplified perf.3sg. of *do-aitni* ‘shines’ (*taitnid*). The OI form

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<sup>156</sup> DIL, letter T col. 127.

<sup>157</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 234-35.

<sup>158</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 327.

<sup>159</sup> Roisin McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, 271.

<sup>160</sup> Cormac, *Sanas Chormaic*, 101.

<sup>161</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 584.

<sup>162</sup> GOI §756.

would be *do-raitni*.<sup>163</sup>

**Not-gabtais** This is the imperf.3pl. of *gaibid* ‘takes’ with a 3sg.n. infix pronoun. The infix pronoun cannot be the grammatical object of the sentence since it is singular, while plural later on in the sentence (*-dus-*). However it could refer to a preceding noun which would be in this case *choirci* ‘oats’ without congruence of gender and number,<sup>164</sup> or it could be merely a petrification of the neuter singular pronoun as is common in MI (note also *fortgillim* in line 8).<sup>165</sup>

line 54-55 **nodus-geibthe** This is the past ā-subj.2pl *no-gabthae* with the MI 3pl. infix pronoun *-dus-*.<sup>166</sup>

line 54 **Menaigtis** Though the preverbal *no-* is missing, it is also an imperf.3pl. Compare with *not-gabtais* which furthermore has an infix pronoun here missing.

**nodus-menaigthe** see note on *nodus-geibthe*.

**ceitri scíath feitlicān do gallurad** Meyer does not translate this phrase: ‘with an equal portion of four . . . of Norse curds’. *Scíath* generally means ‘shield, wings’ while *feitlican* seems to be unclear at first sight. In DIL ‘weight of four butterfly wings’ is proposed, thus linking *feitlican* to MoI *féilecán* ‘butterfly’. It is probably derived from *etelechán* ‘a little flying creature, butterfly’ with syncope and unhistorical prosthetic *f-*.<sup>167</sup> This translation would fit nicely with the context and the style of satire, i.e. with a lot of words indicating small quantities.

line 56 **gallgruitni** ‘Norse curds’. It seems to be some kind of dairy product, i.e. ‘the part of milk that coagulates when the milk sours or is treated with enzymes.’<sup>168</sup> It is also used to make cheese.

line 57 **ferna** ‘alder-tree’. ‘Alder timber is very resistant to decay under water and was therefore used for water pipes, pumps, troughs, small boats and piles under bridges and houses.’<sup>169</sup> It was also used for shields and masts, probably because of its lightness.<sup>170</sup> The alder is mentioned in the list of trees contained in the law-text on farming called *Bretha Comaithchesa*. It is part of the second class of trees, the *Aithig Fedo*

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<sup>163</sup> DIL, letter D2 col.198.

<sup>164</sup> GOI §422.

<sup>165</sup> McManus, *Introduction to Middle Irish*, 34.

Furthermore, the 3sg. neuter infix pronoun of class B *-t-* spread beyond its limits and became to be used for a masculine object irrespective of class.

<sup>166</sup> Liam Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 266-67.

<sup>167</sup> DIL, letter E col. 227.

<sup>168</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 327.

<sup>169</sup> <http://www.british-trees.com/treeguide/alder/nhmsys0000455771.htm>, 09-08-2010.

<sup>170</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 384.

‘commoners of the wood’.<sup>171</sup>

**frithirt** Meyer gives no translation. DIL suggests something with *irt* ‘death’,<sup>172</sup> but that does not fit the context. It clearly shows some similarities with *athirt*. They probably have the same 2<sup>nd</sup> element, i.e. *-irt*. The phrase obviously describes the *gallgruitni* ‘Norse curds’ in more detail. When looking at Norse curds, one can see a milky fluid with solid lumps floating on the surface. *Frithirt* (and for that part *athirt* too) could be a composition of *frith* + *fert* with lenition of the second *f*. Though *fert* usually means ‘burial-mount’, it could probably also refer to the mountainous floating lumps of Norse curds.<sup>173</sup>

**athirt** Again Meyer has no translation. As said above I take it to be a composition with *fert*, i.e. *aith* + *fert*.

line 58 **ladargair** This is a composition of *ladar* ‘fork, space between fingers, grip, grasp’ and *gair* ‘short (space)’, both indicating a small space.

line 60 **ind inis** It is a later form of *indes* ‘milking-enclosure (in a farmyard)’.<sup>174</sup> Note the double definite article. In OI the first article would have been omitted.

line 61 **do-bérthar** I take it to be fut.3sg.pass. *do-bérthar* (as did Meyer) from *do-beir* ‘gives’. But it could be a pres.subj.3sg.pass. *do-berthar* ‘may be given’ as well, since there is no *fada* in the manuscript.

line 62-63 **fiuch ... lethloma**. Note the stylistic repetition of *leth-* and therefore the alliteration of this phrase. *Leth* ‘half’ is a word often used in satires, since it has a negative

line 64 **lāim Feidhlimidh** ‘the hand of Feidlimid’ is probably a *pars-pro-toto*. Alternatively it can be translated as ‘took Feidlimid by the hand’. Meyer adds ‘and led him’.<sup>175</sup>

line 66 **bánbiudh** Literally ‘white food’. It is a term used for all kinds of dairy products, especially curds and butter, and is a kind of ‘summer food’ (as opposed to ‘winter food’ which consisted mainly of meat and cereals).<sup>176</sup>

line 66 **bendachtain** It is acc.sg. of *bennacht* ‘blessing’, which usually is a feminine *ā-*

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<sup>171</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 380.

<sup>172</sup> DIL, letter F col. 442.

<sup>173</sup> DIL letter F col. 93.

<sup>174</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 40.

<sup>175</sup> Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 69.

<sup>176</sup> Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 318.

stem, but is also, less frequently found as n-stem.<sup>177</sup> It is a Latin loanword from *benedictum*. It can be compared with the English 'farewell', which started life as a blessing too.

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<sup>177</sup> DIL, letter B col. 77; GOI § 727.

# *Place & Personal Names*

## *Place names*

**Áth Loche** 7; at Dunlow, Killarney, Co. Kerry

**Drong** 42; Drung Hill, Co. Kerry. There is another place called Drong, but it is in Ulster and therefore, it is unlikely the one meant here.<sup>178</sup>

**Ériu** *Ireland*; 4

**Loch Léin** 42; *Lake of Learning*. Lakes of Killarney Co. Kerry.<sup>179</sup> These are three lakes - Lough Leane (which is probably the one meant here), Muckcross Lake (also called Middle Lake) and Upper Lake.<sup>180</sup>

**Lúachair** 41; *Rushy Place*. Lougher, Co. Kerry. In this text it probably refers to Sliabh Luachra, a mountainous region along the border area of Cork, Kerry and Limerick.<sup>181</sup>

**Muma** *Munster*; acc. Mumain 2,3, gen. Muman 2

## *Personal Names*

**Cuil** 38; *Fly*<sup>182</sup>

**Feidlimid mac Crimthain** 2, 6

**Geloc** 38; *Smasher*

**Gendhud** 39; *Wedging*

**Gréch** 39; *Scream*

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<sup>178</sup> Meyer says in a note: 'Drung Hill, barony of Iveragh, Co. Kerry'. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 67.

<sup>179</sup> Roisin McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, 279.

<sup>180</sup> <http://publish.ucc.ie/doi/locus, 09-08-2010>.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> The translations given for the three daughters and the three doorkeepers of Gulide are given in a footnote in Meyer's edition. The names are very likely made up for stylistic purposes. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, 68.

**Gulide in Cáinti** 3, 7; *Gulide the Satirist*

**Lorgad** 39; *Cudgeling*

**Sliprad** 39; *Caning*

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