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**STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL IRISH
LEGAL ANCILLARY MATERIAL**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

Studies in Medieval Irish Legal Ancillary Material

Alice Rebecca Taylor-Griffiths

Preserved in medieval Irish manuscripts are a number of legal texts, which generated a broad range of glosses and commentary. Focus has hitherto generally been on the older strata of material and their immediate glossing. This dissertation begins with in-text glossing, and goes beyond the immediate glossing context to consider other forms of what I call legal ancillary material. It is composed of two major parts: etymological glosses; and *glossae collectae* (independent sets of glosses).

The introduction provides an overview of scholarship thus far on legal ancillary material and sets out the overall aim of this dissertation, which is to examine the purpose, function, and method of the composition and transmission of legal ancillary material. By treating glossarial material as primary sources in their own right, they give an insight into how scribes thought. Questions asked include: how do these glossing methods differ? What was their purpose? Why did scribes consider them relevant? What can they tell us about the way in which legal material was expanded and transmitted?

In the ‘etymological glosses’ part of the dissertation, I demonstrate the previously overlooked significance of etymological glossing in a learning environment. Owing to the vast amount of etymological glossing across medieval Irish law texts, I use a sample group of eight legal texts from TCD H 2. 15A (1316) pp. 17a–42b, 47a–66b. As it is syllabic etymology which has drawn the most attention (negative or otherwise), it is this type which forms the core of this first major part of the dissertation. The main body of the discussion is split into two sections: the first is given to process, in which methodological aspects of first and final syllable etymology are examined in detail. The second looks at the purpose of etymological glosses. A key conclusion to arise from this discussion is the scribes’ preoccupation with preserving the consonant structure of the lemma, while the meaning of the lemma is maintained elsewhere in the same gloss. Such a technique is highly suitable for a learning environment to aid memorisation of legal language, and illustrates how legal material was transmitted in an educative context.

Because very little work has been done on *glossae collectae*, this part of the dissertation begins by providing a summary of the *glossae collectae* in *CIH*. The bulk of this section focuses on

two *glossae collectae*: Aidbriugh *glossae collectae* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337) pp. 61^a–62^b) and Adhmad *glossae collectae* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337) p. 422), for which I provide the text and translation. Both *glossae collectae* use the same base text (*Bretha Nemed Déidenach*) and - unlike other *glossae collectae* in CIH - show very little expansion from other base texts, but individually they represent different stages of development. As a result, they provide a point of comparison in how an ancillary document moves away from its primary textual focus and begins to incorporate material from other sources. Of especial use is that a copy of *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* exists, so that it is possible to identify how and where the scribes extracted lemmata.

This dissertation has examined two aspects of medieval Irish legal ancillary material: etymological glosses; and *glossae collectae*. There is a clear pedagogical purpose in both, as learning aids of different methods and application. Skill and creativity in language, engagement with a variety of topics and texts, and a focus on both understanding legal terminology in context and a broader philological interest mark glosses and *glossae collectae* as the product of well-educated scholars who took an active interest in both the preservation of language and the rendering of the same into a more accessible format.

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Please note that the Appendices are contained in a separate volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACC</i>	<i>Amrae Coluimb Chille</i> (ed. and transl. Bisagni)
<i>Address</i>	‘An Address to a Student of Law’ (ed. and transl. Ní Dhonnchadha)
<i>Adhart-GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 623–8 (ed. Pearson)
<i>Adhmad-GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 422a–b
<i>Aidbriugh-GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 61 ^a –62 ^b
<i>AL</i>	<i>Ancient Laws of Ireland</i> (ed. Atkinson, Hancock, Hennessy, O’Mahony, and Richey)
<i>ALC</i>	<i>Annals of Loch Cé</i> (ed. and transl. Hennessy)
<i>Anfuigell</i>	ed. and transl. Eska, 2019 (<i>A Raven’s Battle-Cry</i>)
<i>Arra-GC</i>	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 60 ^b 12–62A
<i>Archiv.</i>	<i>Archiv für celtische Lexicographie</i>
<i>AU</i>	<i>Annals of Ulster</i> (ed. and transl. Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (to A.D. 1131); ed. and transl. Mac Carthy)
<i>Auraicept</i>	<i>Auraicept na n-Éces</i> (ed. and transl. Calder)
<i>BB</i>	<i>Becbbretha</i> (ed. and transl. Charles-Edwards and Kelly)
<i>BD</i>	<i>Bandíre</i> (ed. and transl. Thurneysen, ‘Trisches Recht. I <i>Díre</i> ’)
<i>BDCb</i>	<i>Bretha Déin Chécht</i> (ed. and transl. Binchy)
<i>BDD</i>	<i>Togail Bruidne Da Derga</i> (ed. Knott)
<i>BG</i>	<i>Bretha im Gatta</i> (ed. and transl. Hull)
<i>BMMM</i>	<i>Brisleach Mór Maige Murthemne</i> (ed. and transl. Kimpton)
<i>BN</i>	<i>Bretha Nemed</i> , comprising: <i>BND</i> = <i>Bretha Nemed Dédenach</i> <i>BND-C</i> = commentary including <i>BND</i> material preserved at TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 423–36 <i>BND Commentary</i> = TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 88 <i>BND-H</i> = TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 135 ^a –152 ^b <i>BNT</i> = <i>Bretha Nemed Toísech</i>
<i>Bothar-GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 288–289
<i>Bretha Crólige</i>	ed. and transl. Binchy
<i>Breth-GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 649 ^b –654 ^b

<i>CA</i>	<i>Cáin Aicillne</i> (TCD H 3. 17 (1336) version ed. and transl. Thurneysen ‘Aus dem irischen Recht I. [1. Das Unfrei-Lehen]’)
<i>Caldron</i>	<i>Caldron of Poesy</i> (ed. and transl. Breatnach)
<i>CB</i>	<i>Córus Bésgnai</i> (ed. and transl. Breatnach)
<i>CG</i>	<i>Críth Gablach</i> (ed. Binchy)
<i>CIH</i>	<i>Corpus Iuris Hibernici</i> (ed. Binchy)
<i>CL</i>	<i>Cáin Lánamna</i> (ed. and transl. Eska)
<i>CN</i>	<i>Caier</i> narrative
<i>CN-commentary</i>	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 66 ^{a-b}
<i>CN-SC</i>	<i>CN</i> material preserved in <i>SC</i> Y.698 s.v. <i>gaire</i>
<i>Cogad Gáedel</i>	<i>Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib</i> (ed. and transl. Todd)
<i>Cóir Anmann</i>	<i>Cóir Anmann</i> (ed. and transl. Arbuthnot (2 vols.))
<i>Colloquy</i>	‘The Colloquy of the Two Sages’ (ed. and transl. Stokes)
Colmán mac Lénéni	ed. Thurneysen
Condalbha-GC	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), cols. 51, 52 (currently being edited by Chantal Kobel)
Cotainside-GC	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 15
<i>CUT</i>	<i>Coibnes Uisci Thairidne</i> (ed. and transl. Binchy, ‘Irish Law Tracts Re-Edited’)
<i>D</i>	<i>Díre</i> (ed. and transl. Thurneysen, ‘Irisches Recht. I <i>Díre</i> ’)
<i>DDC</i>	<i>Dúil Dromma Cetta</i>
<i>Di Astud Chor</i>	ed. and transl. McLeod (<i>Early Irish Contract Law</i>)
<i>DIL</i>	eDIL 2019: <i>An Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> , based on the Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913-1976) (www.dil.ie 2019).
Eg.	British Library Egerton
<i>EIF</i>	<i>Early Irish Farming</i> (Kelly)
<i>EIM</i>	<i>Early Irish Metrics</i> (Murphy)
Fél.	<i>Félire Óengusso</i> (ed. and transl. Stokes, <i>The martyrology of Oengus the Culdee</i>)
Fél. Ep.	Epilogue to <i>Félire Óengusso</i> (ed. and transl. Stokes, <i>The martyrology of Oengus the Culdee</i>)
Fél. Prol.	Prologue to <i>Félire Óengusso</i> (ed. and transl. Stokes, <i>The martyrology of Oengus the Culdee</i>)
<i>Fled Bricrenn</i>	ed. Windisch

<i>Fled Dúin na nGéd</i>	ed. Lehmann
Fonnaidh-GC	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 638 ^c –640 ^b
<i>Fo réir Choluimb</i>	‘A Poem in Praise of Columb Cille’ (ed. and transl. Kelly)
Fosterage Commentary	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 272
GC	<i>Gúbretha Caratniad</i> (ed. and transl. Thurneysen, ‘Aus dem irischen Recht III: 4. Die falschen Urteilssprüche Caratnia’s’)
GEIL	<i>Guide to Early Irish Law</i> (Kelly)
<i>Genealogiarum</i>	<i>Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae</i> (ed. O’Brien)
GOI	<i>A Grammar of Old Irish</i> (Thurneysen)
Gormac-GC	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67A–67B
Gormac-2	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 661
<i>H Trefocal</i>	ed. and transl. Breatnach (‘ <i>Trefocal Tract</i> ’, pp. 52–3)
<i>imchomarc</i> text	ed. and transl. Hayden (‘A medieval Irish dialogue’)
<i>Lebor Gabála</i>	(i) ed. Macalister, 1938; (iii) ed. Macalister, 1940
Lecan Glossary	The Lecan Glossary (RIA MS 23 P 2, pp. 331d–335) (ed. Stokes, 1900)
Mat-GC	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67 ^a –67 ^b
<i>Mesca Ulad</i>	ed. Watson
<i>Met. Dinds</i>	<i>Metrical Dindsenchas</i> (ed. and transl. Gwynn)
Metr. Gl.	‘On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish’ (ed. Stokes)
MS	manuscript
MV	<i>Mittelirische Verslehren</i> (ed. Thurneysen)
Ni Tulach-GC	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 284–287
PHP	<i>The Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the Senchas Már</i> (ed. and transl. Carey)
<i>Prose Trefhocal</i>	TCD H 3. 17 (1336), cols. 672–3 (ed. and transl. Breatnach (‘ <i>Trefhocal Tract</i> ’, pp. 59–63))
<i>Oaths</i>	‘A Fragmentary Old Irish Text on Oaths’ (ed. and transl. Breatnach)
O’Dav.	O’Davoren’s Glossary British Library Egerton 88 ff. 79a–92c and TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 120–35 (ed. and transl. Stokes) In the Appendices, F indicates readings from the H 2. 15B version and E from Egerton 88
OGSM	<i>Old Irish Glossing of Senchas Már</i> TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 358 ^a –398 ^a
OM	O’Mulconry’s Glossary (ed. and transl. Moran)
Ox. Bodl. Rawl.	Oxford Bodleian Rawlinson

<i>Recholl Breth</i>	ed. and transl. Eska (2016)
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sanas Cormaic</i> (ed. Meyer, 1912; database available at Early Irish Glossaries Database asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/). The following abbreviations are used to refer to <i>SC</i> : B = RIA 23 P 16 (Leabhar Breac), pp. 263–72 H ^{1a} = TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 13–37 [89–115] H ^{1b} = TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 77–102 [153–178] K = University College Dublin, Franciscan (Killiney) A 12, pp. 1–40 La = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 610, fols. 79r–80v, 83r–86r L = TCD H 2. 18 (1339) (Book of Leinster), p. 179 Loman = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 76a–79c = <i>CIH</i> ii.622.13–627.35 M = RIA D ii 1 (Book of Uí Maine), fols. 177r–84ra [119r–126ra] Y/YAdd. = TCD H 2. 16 (1318) (Yellow Book of Lecan), pp. 255a–283a
<i>Senbriathbra Fíthail</i>	ed. and transl. Smith
sg.	singular
<i>SM</i>	<i>Senchas Már</i>
<i>SnG</i>	<i>Stair na Gaeilge</i> (ed. K. McCone, D. McManus, C. Ó Háinle, N. Williams, L. Breatnach)
<i>TBC</i>	<i>Táin Bó Cúailnge</i> . The following abbreviations are used to refer to <i>TBC</i> : <i>TBC LL</i> = Book of Leinster (ed. Windisch) <i>TBC LU</i> = <i>Lebor na hUidre</i> (ed. Best and Bergin) <i>TBC W</i> = Egerton 1782 (ed. Windisch) <i>TBC YBL</i> = Yellow Book of Lecan (ed. Strachan and O’Keeffe) <i>TBC-GC</i> = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 538a1–539a20. Paragraph numbers refer to <i>TBC-GC</i> printed by Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 20–7. Entries in the summary of <i>glossae collectae</i> (Chapter 8) which relate to an entry in <i>TBC-GC</i> beyond that printed by Russell is referred to by manuscript page and line.
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
Thes.	<i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> (ed. Stokes and Strachan)
<i>Tochmarc Ailbe</i>	ed. and transl. Thurneysen
<i>Tochmarc Émire</i>	ed. van Hamel (<i>Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories</i> , pp. 16–68)
<i>Tochmarc Étaine</i>	ed. Bergin and Best

<i>Trefhocal Tract</i>	TCD H 2. 18 (1339) (Book of Leinster), 37a–38a18 and RIA D ii 1 (1225) (Book of Uí Maine), 143ra60–143va14 (ed. Breatnach, 2017, pp. 38–51)
<i>Treatise</i>	<i>The MacEgan Legal Treatise</i> (ed. and transl. Kelly)
<i>Triads</i>	<i>The Triads of Ireland</i> (ed. and transl. Meyer)
<i>Trip.</i>	<i>Bethu Phátraic: the Tripartite Life of Patrick</i> (ed. and transl. Mulchrone)
UB	<i>Uraicecht Becc</i>
UR	<i>Uraicecht na Ríar</i> (ed. and transl. Breatnach)
V	vowel

1 INTRODUCTION: EARLY IRISH LAW

Approximately eighty Old Irish law texts survive, including the great legal collections the *Senchas Már* (hereafter *SM*) and *Bretha Nemed* (hereafter *BN*), the language of which can be dated to between the seventh and ninth centuries.¹ These surviving law texts are mostly preserved in much later manuscripts from the 14th–16th centuries, with the notable exception of the twelfth century Ox. Bodl. Rawl. 502 (which contains two legal texts).² As a result, we have almost a thousand years' worth of continuous legal tradition.

In the Old Irish period, the law was primarily in the hands of a body of professional lawyers, including the *brithem* 'judge' and *aigne* 'advocate'. Within this legal body was a series of ranks with commensurate status, value, and expertise. Though of high status, a judge found guilty of a false judgement or more serious offences were liable to a heavy fine or to lose both his office and honour-price.³ The highest rank was the *brithem trí mbérla* 'judge of three languages' or *brithem téora mbreth* 'judge of three judgements' (i.e. traditional law (*fénechas*), poetry, and canon law);⁴ but the majority of legal scholars would have been employed as arbitrators and advisors for low-scale procedures such as contracts and distraint.⁵

The extent of ecclesiastical influence in what has often been perceived as secular, native Irish legal material is now known to have been greater than previously thought.⁶ As most surviving core legal texts are dated to c.650–750, it can be difficult to distinguish between secular and ecclesiastical sources of legal material; the same method of exegesis was applied equally to biblical passages as, for example, to *Cáin Aicillne*.⁷ Even in the most ostensibly native legal texts, there is an overlap between secular and ecclesiastical disciplines. Biblical stories form the basis for legalistic discussion and exempla alongside references to native law in *Di Astud Chor*,⁸ polygyny is both queried and accepted in *Bretha Crólige*,⁹ and some major churches had a secular

¹ Kelly, 'Texts and transmissions', p. 230.

² *Gúbretha Caratniad* (Ox. Bodl. Rawl. B 502, ff. 62v–63r = *CIH* vi.2192.1–2199.26) and *Cóic Conara Fugill* (Ox. Bodl. Rawl. B 502, f. 63v = *CIH* vi.2200.1–2203.5).

³ For examples of such situations, see Kelly, *GEIL*, pp. 545.

⁴ e.g. *UB* = *CIH* v.1612.23–6.

⁵ For a description of the types of lawyers and their rôles, see Kelly, *GEIL*, pp. 51–7.

⁶ See e.g. Breatnach, 'Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts', p. 115, Charles-Edwards, 'Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer', pp. 37–41.

⁷ See Breatnach, 'Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts', pp. 115–16.

⁸ e.g. *Di Astud Chor*, §§ 6, 13–15.

⁹ *Bretha Crólige*, § 57. Provision for the sick-maintenance of second wives are described in *Bretha Crólige*, § 56.

brithem.¹ A study by Breatnach has shown that some sections in *Bretha Nemed Toísech* (hereafter BNT) which were written in the *roscaid* style of the traditional law are in fact translations or summaries from the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, an eighth century collection of church canons.² Charles-Edwards has drawn attention to the fact that a king or a lord could summon both a secular judge and an ecclesiastical judge, whereby one rôle of the king was his capacity to bring together both legal traditions in coming to a decision.³ He has also noted that the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* reveals a ‘Christian society in which the Church worked closely with judges and kings’;⁴ and that the style of the vernacular *Senchas Már* indicates the work of someone who had undergone a Latinate curriculum including exegesis.⁵ Ó Corráin, Breatnach, and Breen have similarly demonstrated the rôle that canon law played in many Old Irish law texts such as *Córus Bésnái*, concluding that ‘there is no need to doubt that the law tracts, in Latin and in the vernacular, are the work of a single class of learned men who were as well versed in scripture as in the legal lore of their ancestors and founded their laws on a conscious and sophisticated compromise between the two’.⁶ Breatnach notes that ‘for eighth century Munster we can hardly speak of secular law-schools uninfluenced by Christianity’;¹ assuming that Munster was not unique in this respect, the image presented is of a multi-disciplinary educative environment in early Ireland in which a learned scholar would be familiar with both secular and ecclesiastical material.

Russell has noted that the earliest versions of Cormac’s Glossary and O’Mulconry’s Glossary, dating to the seventh and ninth centuries respectively, contain a high proportion of entries wherein the ‘technical framework is Latinate even though the words under discussion are Irish’.⁷ This is an important point: the matrix language of glossing and commentary is often Latinate, though the content and the language in which it is expressed appears Irish. The Latinate framework of learned discourse in Ireland, such as wrap-around commentary and psalm patterns of exegesis, was often translated into the vernacular, with the result that a text could be entirely in Irish but retain a Latinate structure. The Latinate matrix in which the lawyers were working can be seen in both the style and layout of the surviving legal texts. Charles-Edwards

¹ Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Irish Law’, p. 351.

² Breatnach, ‘Canon Law and Secular Law’, pp. 444–52. See also Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 370–1.

³ Charles-Edwards, *Medieval Gaelic Lawyer*, p. 25. For a description of the *scribae*, see Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 269.

⁴ Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 246.

⁵ Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer’, p. 41.

⁶ Ó Corráin, Breatnach, and Breen, ‘Laws’, pp. 382–438 (citation at p. 412). Charles-Edwards has drawn attention to the fact students in a Latinate curriculum would not all have progressed to the end of the course, and stressed the importance of allowing ‘for several different ways in which secular learned men might be connected with churches’ (Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer’, pp. 40–1).

⁷ Russell, ‘What was the best of every language’, p. 447.

describes the texts based on the oral legal tradition as ‘characterised by three stylistic features all of which derive ultimately from the schools of Latin grammarians: etymology, enumeration and a particular form of question and answer’.¹ Etymology, enumeration, and colloquy are distinctive elements in legal glossarial material. For example, a passage of commentary in *OGSM* on *Cethairsblicht Athgabálae* (*SM1*, 2) includes a run of eight questions to which the answer to all but one begins *ní ansae* ‘it is not difficult’.² The use of *ní ansae* directly parallels the *non difficile* of Latin pedagogical texts (Old Welsh *nit abruid*). Didactic questions occur not only in the glossarial material, but also in the core texts themselves. *Críth Gablach*, for example, begins *cíð ara n-eperr Críth Gablach? ní anse, ar...* ‘What is it for which *Críth Gablach* is so called? Not difficult, because...’.³

Charles-Edwards has categorised Irish legal texts into three classes: *Fénechas*, plain prose, and textbook prose.⁴ He describes texts of the *Fénechas* type as derived from the oral tradition of Irish law (i.e. *Fénechas*) belonging to the period up to c.650, such as *Cóic Conara Fugill*;⁵ plain prose as those texts which display none of the orality of the *Fénechas* texts nor the Latinate matrix of the textbook prose, such as *Bechbretha*, *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne*, and *Bretha im Gatta*, which can be dated to c.650–c.750;⁶ and textbook prose as a form of enumeration, such as *Córus Bésgnai*, *Cáin Aicillne*, and *Cáin Lánamna*, to c.700–c.750.⁷ For the purposes of this study into legal glossarial material, it is the plain prose and textbook prose which is of most interest. Regarding the teaching of the law, Charles-Edwards has drawn attention to the orality of *Fénechas* texts and their place in the transmission of legal information, in the form of the instructions of a pupil to his master, and of the background of the textbook style in which the author writes ‘as if he and his pupils were interpreting some set of the text’ as a literary device, rather than a direct rendering of dialogue.⁸ Using *Berrad Airechta* as a case-study, Stacey has built on Charles-Edwards work to argue that sayings not attributed to *Fénechas*, but which introduced *Fénechas*-type expressions, served as pillars around which legal discussion could be structured; in *Berrad Airechta* the compiler ‘clearly expects those for whom he is writing already either to have access to, or be familiar with, the texts from which he cites.’⁹

¹ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, p. 147. For a scenario-based form of legal teaching, see Taylor-Griffiths, ‘*Gúbretha Caratniad*’, pp. 124–9.

² *CIH* iii.889.29–890.5.

³ *CG*, § 1.

⁴ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, p. 146. For a more recent summary, see Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Irish Law’, pp. 344–5.

⁵ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, pp. 146–7.

⁶ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, pp. 153.

⁷ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, p. 155.

⁸ Charles-Edwards, ‘Review’, pp. 146–7, 150–1.

⁹ Stacey, ‘Learning Law’, pp. 138–40.

After the Norman invasion, the law fell to legal families (or learned families who had law as an area of expertise), including the MacEgans, the O'Dorans, and the O'Davorens.¹ It is largely through the copying efforts of these families that so many law texts have survived. Many surviving law manuscripts, including TCD H 2. 15A (1316), can be connected to the MacEgans.² Though the most obscure historically, the O'Davorens produced one of the most important legal manuscripts, British Library Egerton 88, which was compiled under the supervision of Domhnall Ua Duibhdábhoireann at the MacEgan law school at Park, as well as other locations, between 1564 and 1569.³ The O'Davorens acted as lawyers mainly in the small territory of Corcumroe; Egerton 88, however, demonstrates that Domhnall and his research team had access to a range of legal texts, not of which all have survived. It appears to have been common practice for law schools to send one or more of their number to a different school for some or all of their training. As well as moving to a MacEgan school for what presumably was the equivalent of a research period at another university, Egerton 88 was worked on by scholars from multiple schools; one marginal entry, for example, was added by a member of the MacClancy family;⁴ and the section containing *Auraicept na nÉces* 'the Scholars' Primer' was produced in 1569 at the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire school at Ardkyle in Co. Clare.⁵ The manuscript TCD H 3. 17 (1336), an O'Doran composite legal manuscript, contains marginalia showing that the scribe, John Cosnavy, moved from place to place while in the process of copying the manuscript.⁶ Based on the character of the early texts, Charles-Edwards has suggested that the practice of late medieval law schools, of sending some members of a legal family to another school for part or all of their training, is likely to have existed in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁷ Simms has pointed out that a lawyer was still expected to have a knowledge of *filidbeacht* 'poetics' in the 16th century.⁸ The overall image, therefore, is that with regards to the method and practice of education, little changed between the seventh and seventeenth century. This is of course unlikely to be true in its entirety; the very earliest secondary material shows a range of classical and continental influences merging with vernacular language and custom, and it

¹ See Kelly, 'Texts and transmissions', pp. 239–41. For a discussion of learned families dealing with medical and grammatical material, see Hayden, 'Some Notes', pp. 136–53.

² Kelly, *GEIL*, p. 253. For TCD H 2. 15A, see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 90–2.

³ Kelly, 'Texts and transmissions', pp. 240–1. See O'Grady, *Catalogue* vol. 1, p. 85.

⁴ Kelly, 'Texts and transmissions', p. 240.

⁵ Hayden, 'Some Notes', pp. 136–7.

⁶ Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 126.

⁷ Charles-Edwards, 'Early Irish law', p. 350.

⁸ Simms, 'Brehon Lawyers', p. 129.

seems most improbable that later scholars would have had less access to trends and texts from the continent of their own time.¹

Although the product of a decentralised practice, the law texts reflect a tradition consistent in its vocabulary, rationale, and procedures.² There is little evidence of royal involvement in the creating and regulating of the law. The rôle of kings seems to have been relatively limited to issuing *rechtgai* in times of emergency and promulgating *cána* at public assemblies. Very little legislation has come down to us. *Cána* – promulgated laws which can be dated to the eighth and early ninth centuries – were put into effect publicly and are typically connected with a person (e.g. *Cáin Adomnáin*) or the people who fall under the domain of the law (e.g. *Lex aui Suanaich for Leth Cuinn*).³

Those texts which have survived are mostly textbook law intended for use by lawyers; they are anonymous, undated, and rarely give an indication of where they were written. Approximately one third of *CIH* is comprised of material belonging to *SM*. This material contains 47 texts, which have survived in varying degrees of completeness, in fixed order and arranged into three parts.⁴ Breatnach describes *SM* as a ‘legal handbook, a text about the law, which sets out to state what the law relating to an extraordinary wide variety of matters is’.⁵ Texts within *SM* cover topics as diverse as the ownership of items found at sea;⁶ the invalidity – or validity – of contracts made while drunk;⁷ and responsibility for the child of a couple who are not *mentes sanae*.⁸ The *BN* texts, which are associated with Munster, focus heavily – but not exclusively – on the rights of poets, and reflect a close link between legal scholars and poets.⁹ Even within *BN* material, there is detailed information on for example, processes used by artisans.¹⁰ A broad range of subjects came within the lawyers’ domain. Kelly has pointed out that ‘the authors of the law-texts are obviously well-informed about the topics with which they are dealing’, showing technical understanding of topics including anatomy, botany, brewing, and the swarming patterns of bees.¹¹ Legal material also occurred in a variety of styles and genres. In

¹ A detailed study would have to be made of the extant manuscripts in their chronological context in order to achieve a clearer idea of how the scholarly apparatus of an Irish legal scholar developed over time.

² See Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Irish Law’, p. 349.

³ AU 748.8 (ed. and transl. Mac Airt and Mac Niocall, p. 202). Charles-Edwards has pointed out that the vernacular terms *cáin*, *rechtge*, *recht*, and Latin *lex* overlapped (Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer’, p. 43 fn. 100).

⁴ For a list of the tracts in *SM*, see Breatnach, ‘Early Irish Law Text’, pp. 1–3.

⁵ Breatnach, ‘Early Irish Law Text’, p. 10.

⁶ e.g. *Bretha Éitgid* = *CIH* i.315.4.

⁷ e.g. *DAC*, § 21.

⁸ e.g. *CL*, § 38.

⁹ See Binchy, ‘*Bretha Nemed*’, pp. 4–6.

¹⁰ *BNT* = *CIH* vi.2219.36–8. Kelly has drawn attention to the likelihood of a law text specifically on blacksmiths (now lost) (*Bretha Goibnenn*), another skilled area of expertise (Kelly, ‘Texts and transmissions’, p. 230).

¹¹ Kelly, *GEIL*, p. 237. The body of learned men in medieval Ireland must have extended beyond that reflected in the legal and poetical texts. In his edition of *Bretha Crólige*, Binchy noted that the inclusion of *Bretha Crólige* and *Bretha*

addition to textbook prose, we have, for example, wisdom texts such as *Audacht Morainn*,¹ legal narratives such as *Echtra Fergusa Maic Léti*,² canon law such as the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*,³ and ecclesiastical legislation such as *Cáin Domnaig*.⁴ From a modern perspective, the variety of genres is striking; however, this is a reflection of the modern compartmentalisation of disciplines. In the early medieval period, they were part of a much broader interdisciplinary education whose subjects complemented and augmented one another.⁵

Of the surviving manuscripts, the most important in terms of their legal content are British Library Egerton 88 and TCD H 2. 15A (1316). Egerton 88 contains O'Dav., the longest legal glossary to survive. It is a late sixteenth-century glossary in which the majority of citations are from legal texts. Two independent copies of this glossary exist, both from approximately the same period: British Library Eg. 88, ff. 79a–c (an O'Davoren manuscript) and TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 120–35 (a composite manuscript belonging to the Mac Fhirbhisigh family).⁶ Glossaries consist of a headword followed by one or more citations containing the headword, then followed by one or more glosses. What is particularly notable about O'Dav., aside from its predominantly legal content, is that its headwords (including verbs) are in textual form, not in dictionary form;⁷ and they are almost entirely comprised of difficult words.⁸ Stokes provided a revised edition in 1904, with a literal translation.⁹ In his *Companion*, Breatnach provides a significant chapter on O'Dav. which he uses the citations to understand the ordering of *SM*.¹⁰ In his study of their sources, he emphasises that the substantial use of block citations ‘makes O'Davoren’s Glossary a source of the utmost important in dealing with incomplete and fragmentarily preserved texts’.¹¹ Breatnach provides a comprehensive list of the citations, noting

Déin Chécht in the medico-legal manuscript National Library of Ireland Phillipps 10297 ‘must have been puzzling to a scribe ‘unlearned in the law’’ (Binchy, ‘*Bretha Crólige*’, p. 1). A multidisciplinary environment producing physicians as well as lawyers and poets would account for such incongruities.

¹ ed. and transl. Kelly, *Audacht Morainn*.

² ed. and transl. Binchy, ‘The Saga of Fergus Mac Léti’; see also McLeod, ‘Fergus Mac Léti and the Law’.

³ ed. and transl. Flechner, *The Hibernensis* (2 vols).

⁴ ed. and transl. Hull, ‘*Cáin Domnaig*’.

⁵ *Echtra Fergusa Maic Léti* is a particularly good example of this, as a legal text which employs literary motifs as a method of teaching legal principles and procedures. For *Echtra Fergusa Maic Léti* as a teaching text, see McLeod, ‘Fergus Mac Léti and the Law’, p. 12. McLeod focuses solely on the legal elements and gives no indication as to how the leprechauns, sea monster, and general dramatic structure of the tale fits into his teaching framework, but clearly such motifs would have been an effective method both of drawing on pre-existing literary elements and the use of tragic and comedic drama to engage pupils in the narrative (and thus in the legal points within).

⁶ Eg. 88 version = *CIH* iv.1466.11–1531.24; the TCD H 2. 15B (1317) version is not included in *CIH* and has not yet been edited (but readings from the TCD H 2. 15B (1317) version are provided in the apparatus of Stokes’ 1904 edition).

⁷ In other words, nouns are not necessarily in the nominative, nor verbs in the 3rd sg. present, &c.; they are preserved in the case or form in which they are found in the base text.

⁸ Russell, ‘Sounds of a Silence’, p. 6.

⁹ Stokes, ‘O’Davoren’s Glossary’, pp. 197–504.

¹⁰ Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 100–59.

¹¹ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 103.

frequency and source, where possible.¹ Where his study looks at format and frequency, there is an overlap with studying the work of the compilers themselves. The most common type of entry in O'Dav. is *X .i. Y ut est...*, and the compiler of O'Dav. tended to group citations from a particular text together within a particular letter block, often following the order of the source.² There is no clear indication as to what dictates the use or presentation of a citation, but in Breatnach's study the information provided presents a platform for looking at the function of this glossary as an independent production of legal material.

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) is the oldest surviving Irish legal manuscript, and contains both legal and non-legal material.³ A comment in the top margin of p. 14 (*SM*, 17 *Di Fodlaib Cenéoil Tíaithe*) by Aodhagán Mac Conchobair shows that it was present at the MacEgan school in Dún Daighre (Duniry, Co. Galway) in 1575, and it may also have been in another MacEgan school in Ormod, Co. Tipperary.⁴ It is now bound in five volumes, of which the second and fourth volumes contain legal material.⁵ Volume two is composite, and consists of three sections which originally belonged to separate manuscripts and which all contain material from *SM*: TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) pp. 11–38; TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b) pp. 39–66; and TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (c) pp. 43–6.⁶ Volume four (pp. 71–86) contains various poetico-legal material.⁷ A sample group of texts from volume two form the basis of the following study.

The duration of the legal tradition combined with the cumulative and conservative nature of the copying process – particularly during the 12th–16th centuries – resulted in the accretion of a significant quantity of what is usually described as secondary material (in-text glosses, glossaries, commentaries, and digests) to the extent that the majority of the surviving legal corpus is secondary material. As a whole, legal glossarial material requires far more research into how it was used, transmitted, and expanded. The following study will look at two forms of glossing, in-text glossing known as 'etymological glosses' and independent sets of glosses known as *glossae collectae*.

¹ Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 104–59.

² Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 102.

³ For a description of the manuscript, see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 90–2.

⁴ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi; Best, 'Oldest Fragments', p. 302; Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 1.

⁵ Volume two = TCD H 2. 15A (1316), pp. 11–38, 39–66, 43–6; volume four = TCD H 2. 15A (1316), pp. 71–86.

⁶ For a full list of the legal texts included in this volume, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 24–5.

⁷ For a full list of the legal texts included in this volume, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 25–6.

2 EXTRACTION AND EXPANSION: FROM GLOSS TO GLOSSARY

Glossography is the annotation of texts. In the context of medieval texts, glossography includes the application, treatment, and purpose of ancillary material attached to main texts (namely in-text glosses, commentaries, glossaries, and digests). However, it has received relatively little research. As noted by Blom, ‘the study of marginalia, and of glosses in particular, is still rather a marginal area of philological study’.¹ In an Irish context, there has been much research on the Irish glossing of Latin texts, but relatively little has been said regarding the Irish glossing of Irish texts. Our understanding of the latter is consequently on less firm ground and more work is needed to appreciate this valuable but un-mined area of vernacular textual history.

Breatnach has set out the main categories of glossing in the law texts, which include: commentary, passages of continuous Old Irish texts are preserved in miscellanies of citations sourced from different texts, and continuous text which is broken up into smaller units with the relevant glosses and commentary interposed.² A word should also be said on digests, which – like *glossae collectae* – are in much need of further research. Digests of Irish law have received the least attention by scholars; a chapter is devoted to their description in Breatnach’s *Companion*, and this alone makes up the scholarship on them thus far.³ Four digests survive, denoted by Breatnach as A, B, C, and D;⁴ these are ‘convenient reference works for authoritative statements on various principles of Irish law’.⁵ All four Irish digests belong to the early modern Irish period. With the exception of Digest D, they are presented as small units of broken up continuous text, sometimes in Latin, with interposed glosses and commentary; Digest D, the longest of the digests, is accompanied by some interlinear glosses and differing script size. Breatnach’s analysis of the digests covers form as well as material, noting that where the source for a citation can be found, a citation might provide a passage of continuous text or be a fuller version of an

¹ Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 9.

² Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 338–53.

³ Breatnach includes a short discussion on the digests in his discussion of the law glosses in 2016 in Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, pp. 127–30, which is a condensed version of that found in Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 322–37. It is in this chapter that Breatnach establishes the term ‘digest’ to refer to these texts, though he gives no indication as to whether he favours a Justinian law model for the Irish scribes, or whether he simply uses ‘digest’ as a convenient term for these ordered revisions of earlier work.

⁴ Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 322–3. A = RIA 23 Q 6, pp. 1^a–6^b; B = Eg. 88, ff. 15^a–24^d and ff. 36^d–40^b; C and D = TCD H 3. 17 (1336), at pp. 431–44 and cols. 445^a–603 respectively.

⁵ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 336.

abbreviated passage elsewhere.¹ He also provides a summary of the way in which citations are introduced, and notes that later glosses or commentary may be introduced by a citation marker, in place of a citation of a core text.² Breatnach suggests that this type of legal glossarial material may have been used by an advocate preparing an address to a court;³ he draws attention to three late pleadings, in which all three are characterised by lengthy citations from early Irish texts as well as later commentary, and of which the majority are introduced by the type of markers found in Digests ABC (and part of D).⁴

The way in which a text is glossed reflects both how it was understood and how it was used. Glosses seeking to clarify, rephrase, or otherwise supplement the main text demonstrate the way in which legal information was transmitted. The following chapters focus on two aspects of legal ancillary material: in Part I, in-text glosses known as etymological glosses; in Part II, collections of glosses known as *glossae collectae*. As this study will be dealing predominantly with in-text glosses and glossing closely related to base texts, we will begin with a summary of in-text glossing to establish the parameters within which etymological glossing and *glossae collectae* will be examined.⁵

2.1 In-Text Glossing

In medieval Irish law texts, the basic function of a gloss is to comment on a word in the main text (the lemma).⁶ In-text glossing is added onto the same page as the word it is glossing, whether as interlinear glosses or marginalia. In the following example, the text in bold represents the large script on a manuscript page. This large script is the base text, the material with which the scribe is working. The non-bold text represents the smaller script used interlineally, which here is the gloss.

¹ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 325.

² Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 325–6.

³ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 336–7.

⁴ = *CIH* v.1582.26–1583.26; v.1619.1–1623.6; vi.2204.1–2208.19.

⁵ The following discussion limits itself to in-text glosses and glossaries, and does not include other ancillary material such as comments and digests (for which, see Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, pp. 121–31). For a description of commentaries and digests, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 322–53.

⁶ For a discussion of the term ‘gloss’ in a broader context, see Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, pp. 9–14.

TCD H 2. 15A (1316), p. 38b = *CIH* ii.478.28, 479.5 (*SM2*, 24 *Bretha im Gatta*)

.i. na eagalsa

da trian dond nemiud

‘i.e. the churches.’

‘two thirds to the *nemed*-rank’

In this example, the lemma in the base text is *nemiud* ‘*nemed*-rank’. Directly above the lemma has been added the gloss: *.i. na eagalsa* ‘i.e. the churches’. The gloss is written very closely to the lemma on the page, so that it is obvious to which word the gloss is referring; in this case the gloss has been added directly above the lemma. The gloss focuses the semantic range of *nemed*, which may otherwise have been understood more widely. The gloss clarifies the precise meaning of the lemma in the specific context of the main text using clear and accessible language: at this particular point in this particular text, ‘*nemed*-rank’ should be understood as ‘clerics of *nemed* rank’.

The language of glosses tends to be later than the language of the base text, because as one moves further away in time from the language of the base text, the more explanation and clarification is generally required.¹ Interlinear glosses can be very short, sometimes only one or two words or a short phrase, but they can be more complex and involve lengthy reworkings of passages of base text, etymology, and other languages. Lemmata are themselves generally complex or challenging vocabulary, often verbal forms, but – as in the above example – they can also be relatively simple, and it is important to bear in mind that a word does not have to be difficult or challenging to be worth attention.

It is usually the case that the gloss is lexical, reworking the base text for clarity of meaning. Glosses may also focus on grammar, context, and/or providing additional information from other sources. Defining gloss categories has proved difficult. Russell has noted that word-lists and glossaries can be ‘expanded *ad infinitum* by the insertion of batches of material from other word-lists’ and, conversely, they can also be abbreviated.² One gloss may consist of multiple elements added at various stages, and in this sense resists categorisation; however, a truly accurate categorisation system first demands the examination of all available ancillary material, and at least a broad framework of reference is required in order for such glosses to be discussed in the first place. In his discussion of the glossing of the poem *Genair Pátraicc*, Russell

¹ In the above example, for example, note Middle Irish features of the glide vowel and <g> for <c> in *eagalsa* (for *ecalsa*), contrasted with the Old Irish dative singular *nemiud* of the base text.

² Russell, ‘*Do Dbubhfhoclaihb*’ (forthcoming).

uses three categories: lexical (sub-divided into meaning and modernisation of verbs); grammatical; and explanatory (sub-divided into explanation of names and information supplied).¹ Breatnach does not use categorisation, but notes that glosses may be found in various forms including etymology, and notes a number of indicators of in-text cross-referring.² Mahon separates Irish glosses into four categories: lexical; etymological (consisting of two sub-categories); and comment glosses. Of these, he describes lexical glosses as a ‘single-word translation, synonym, or negated antonym of the lemma’.³ He divides etymology into two categories: those which reflect the method employed in Isidore’s *Etymologiae siue Origines*,⁴ and those which derive the Irish lemma from one or more of the *tres linguae sacrae* (i.e. Latin, Greek, Hebrew), which may be a linguistic derivation or an entirely new word made up for the purpose.⁵ The third category, comment glosses, he describes as providing context by elaboration.⁶

Even these broad categories cannot account for every gloss type. They do not, for example, accommodate localised glossing (i.e. separate glosses which relate to one another through content or style), nor etymological glosses which, as discussed below, are comprised of both etymology and context by elaboration (and often modernisation). The following example demonstrates a further gloss style which does not easily fit one of the above categories, in which the gloss turns a phrase in the main text into a question:

Caldron, § 15¹

*Coire Éрма*¹

¹ *.i. erma caiti a inntaithmigh*

‘The Cauldron of Éрма’¹

¹ ‘i.e. what is the analysis of éрма?’

This gloss belongs in part to a form of localised glossing, in which it leads on from the first gloss on the preceding passage: *cid a n-érmæ?* ‘What is the érmæ?’, glossed *.i. cid risi raíteir érma* ‘i.e. what is called éрма?’.⁷ As such, this gloss relates in part to lexical categorisation as it deals

¹ Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, p. 7.

² Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, pp. 121–6.

³ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 10.

⁴ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 11–12.

⁵ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 12–13.

⁶ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 13.

⁷ *Caldron*, § 14¹.

with meaning, but by using a question format the gloss itself is not a reworking of the lemma phrase.

In a recent discussion on the typology of glossing on the psalms, Blom noted that ‘all glossing typologies must be somewhat subjective, because they are superimposed on a fluent and amorphous phenomenon, and in the end absolute distinctions cannot be made between categories’.¹ Generally, broad categories are often more productive than narrow categories, as they do not restrict interpretation or misled the researcher. As noted by Russell with regard to the medieval Welsh glossing on Ovid, ‘sometimes glosses are doing more than one thing at a time, being both grammatical and lexical ... such tidy classifications, useful though they are in some respects in giving a general overview, do not satisfactorily capture the subtlety and multifaceted nature of such glossing’.²

Whatever its complexity, the primary function of a gloss is to explain the lemma in the context of the base text in which it occurs. It is this aspect which evolves the most in the transmission of legal ancillary material from in-text glossing to glossaries.

2.2 *Glossae Collectae* and Glossaries

Glossaries are independent, scholarly documents which have extracted and absorbed glosses from other sources and collated them. They are often presented as collections of continuous text with the lemmata and glosses occupying the same lines and written in the same size script. Research into the larger Irish glossaries by Russell has been relatively extensive, and an edition and translation of O’Mulconry’s Glossary has recently been published by Moran.³ Consequently the following discussion is intended to be a description of the glossarial process, rather than a survey of existing glossaries.⁴

While glosses are short explanatory notes added onto the same space as the word they describe, glossaries are the other end of the glossing spectrum; they have developed into independent, philological documents designed to bring together different sources. The focus of

¹ Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 26. For a brief discussion of Blom’s SUB3 category in relation to etymological glosses, see below, p. 82.

² Russell, *Reading Ovid*, p. 57.

³ Moran, *De origine Scoticae linguae*. For a discussion of the surviving glossaries, see Russell, ‘Sounds of a Silence’, pp. 1–9.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of glossaries, see Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, pp. 85–115, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 1–32, ‘Sounds of a Silence’, pp. 1–30, ‘*Fern do frestol*’, pp. 17–30, ‘*Dúil Dromma Cetta*’, pp. 142–74, ‘*Do Dhubhfhoclaihl*’ (forthcoming). See also Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 26–53. On linguistics in glossaries, see Russell, ‘*Quasi*’, pp. 49–62. On the use of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, see Moran, ‘Greek in Early Medieval Ireland’, pp. 172–92, “‘A living speech?’”, pp. 29–57, ‘Hebrew in Early Irish Glossaries’, pp. 1–21; and Russell, ‘*Graece... Latine*’, pp. 406–19.

the glosses has shifted from words in situ to words in a collection. In general, this is where identification of the glossarial process stops in modern scholarship. It leaves open the question: what comes in between?

One answer is *glossae collectae*. *Glossae collectae* form an interim stage between in-text glosses and multi-text glossaries, which in themselves consist of a number of stages in a variety of styles and layers. I use the term *glossae collectae* here as an umbrella term to refer to any document relating to this process, and distinct from the usage of the term in the glossing of Classical Latin texts. ‘Text-glossary’ is the term used for *glossae collectae* by Russell;¹ *glossae collectae* is the term used elsewhere, such as in Blom’s recent discussion of the glossing of the psalms.² To avoid confusion, I use the term *glossae collectae* (instead of text-glossary) to distinguish glossarial material in textual order with relatively lengthy gloss entries which relate primarily to one text from that in α -order which may form part of a larger document relating to any number of texts (a glossary).

The development of *glossae collectae* led to the compilation of glossaries, whose material mostly derived from pre-existing batches of *glossae collectae*. The process of absorption from gloss to glossary was not linear, but involved a number of stages and motivations. As Mahon notes, ‘an independent glossary is not the record of one learned man’s arcane vocabulary’.³ The basic method behind *glossae collectae* is that in-text glosses are moved onto a physically separate document, along with the word or words (i.e. the lemma) to which they were attached in the base text. In this new document, the structure of each entry is typically lemma + gloss. Lemmata are generally preserved in the same form as the base text, and in textual order. Accompanying glosses can be more or less complex, ranging from relatively elementary single-word glosses to extended entries which have drawn on additional material from external sources.⁴ The following examples demonstrate how the same gloss entry can be expanded:

Mat-GC (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 67^a = CIH v.1565.33)

bubta .i. imarba

‘Intimidation i.e. expulsion.’

¹ Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, 88–9, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 8–9, ‘*Do Dbubhfhoclaibh*’ (forthcoming).

² Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 51; see also Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 18–20.

³ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 19.

⁴ See also Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’. For the difference between ‘word-lists’ (consisting of lemma + gloss, generally single-word only) and ‘text-glossaries’ (fragmentary glossaries intended to be used alongside the base text, and/or including quotations of the text), see Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 8–9.

Gormac-*GC* (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 67B = *CIH* v.1569.13)

bubta .i. indarba no bag ut est bubta o fleid

‘Intimidation i.e. expulsion or threat, *ut est*: ‘intimidation while [leg. *oc*] feasting’.

The citation quoted in Gormac-*GC* comes from *BNT buftadh* [sic. leg.] *oc fleid* ‘intimidation while feasting’ (*CIH* vi.2230.14–15). The single-word gloss *innarba*, which presumably originated as an in-text gloss on a glossed copy of the base text *BNT*, is the full extent of the gloss entry in Mat-*GC*. In Gormac-*GC*, the original citation is longer, giving context to the lemma and single-word gloss.¹ Glosses could be abbreviated, as well as augmented, and it should not be assumed that the style of gloss in Gormac-*GC* was necessarily later than that in Mat-*GC*. The same entry also occurs in O’Dav. using a different single-word gloss, as part of a larger block of *BNT* material:²

O’Dav. § 211

Bubtad .i. bagar ut est bubtad og fleid

‘Intimidation i.e. a threat, *ut est*: ‘intimidation while feasting’.

Collectively, these entries demonstrate how glossarial material can evolve. Once these glosses begin to develop and the original citation is provided, the context is carried within the gloss entry and can be used independently of the base text.³

Although *glossae collectae* may accommodate more than one base text, while they remain in textual order they are relatively dependent on the base text for sense. Glossaries, as independent documents, are further removed from their base texts and so are no longer restricted to the context of the base text. The scribes can now start to be more creative and bring in other material from other sources in order to discuss a particular lemma. In the following example, the scribe discusses the homonyms of the word *triath*:

¹ For the purpose of illustration I have assumed here that the direction of transmission is from Mat-*GC* (or a version thereof) to Gormac-*GC*, but the reverse could equally be the case; glossarial material could be abbreviated as well as augmented.

² O’Dav. §§ 192–211; see Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 114.

³ See also Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, p. 89.

SC La.210 (Oxford Bodleian Library, Laud 610, p. 86) (transl. Russell)¹

triath dano tréde fordingair .i. triath .i. rí 7 triath muir 7 triath torc Deiligtir didiu inna rémendaib.
Triath rí didiu tríth a réim. Triath muir .i. trethan a réim. Triath torc dano tréith a réim.

‘*Triath* signifies three things: i.e. *triath* i.e. ‘king’; and *triath* .i. ‘sea’; and *triath* .i. ‘boar’. They are thus distinguished according to their cases: *triath* [meaning] king, then: *triath* [is] its inflection. *Triath* [meaning] sea i.e. *trethan* [is] its inflection. *Triath* [meaning] boar then: *tréith* [is] its inflection.’

The scribe is no longer interested in one, context-specific meaning of a word, but rather in all of the possible meanings of the word itself and how the homonyms may be distinguished.

A word should be said on the use of the term ‘scribe’. In the compilation of glossarial material, those writing out the material (i.e. the scribes) would have been responsible for copying, collating, and expanding where necessary. The extent of new material composed by a scribe would depend on the purpose of the text and the role of the scribe, such as whether his work was to revise and update or to preserve. The purpose of different styles of glossing has not yet been sufficiently set out and, owing to their compilatory nature, it is difficult to get a sense of an individual’s work in glossarial material. For the purpose of this discussion, I use the term ‘scribe’ to refer to the person who wrote out the material, who may have made additions but who was essentially collating pre-existing material.

As larger glossaries began to take form, pre-existing batches of glosses were extracted en masse and collated together. This process may have happened in one stage, or over a period of time in which space was left within the glossary for material to be added at a later point.² When a block of glosses arrived in a glossary, the glosses would be sorted by α -order, i.e. according to the initial of the lemma. Textual order as a whole was consequently disrupted, but preserved within the letter block.

Glossaries may extract blocks of glosses from multiple texts; O’Dav. is particularly useful in this respect as the blocks of source material are relatively clear and well preserved.³ Subsequently glossaries may be composed of letter blocks which contain blocks of glosses from particular texts, and within which the original textual order of the base text is generally

¹ The longer version found in SC Y.1202 is printed with translation in Russell, ‘*Read it in a Glossary*’, pp. 4–5.

² e.g. Gormac-GC (= CIH v.1568.1–1569.43) where a number of entries are lacking either a lemma (e.g. Gormac-GC = CIH v.1568.16) or gloss (e.g. Gormac-GC = CIH v.1569.22, 31). See Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, pp. 88–90.

³ See Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 100–59 and Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 66–76. Russell has discussed a similar process in SC (Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, pp. 96–110).

preserved. It is the alphabetisation of batches of glosses which is generally considered to mark the difference between *glossae collectae* (in textual order) and glossaries (in α -order; textual order preserved within letter-blocks). The process of alphabetisation involved more than one stage as glossarial material was drawn together and ordered. Gormac-*GC*, discussed in Chapter 8.8, is very clearly in partial alpha-order.¹ A further stage is the versification of a glossary (metrical glossaries), in which obscure words were collected and set in metrical form.²

Although they are the end product of the glossarial process, glossaries were not necessarily a finished product. As glossaries were transmitted and copied, they continued to grow and expand with additional material. They may themselves be excerpted to form new sets of *glossae collectae*.³ Glossaries may also generate entries within themselves;⁴ and they may be used as to house longer passages of text. For example, *SC* contains a number of long stories, some of which no longer survive elsewhere.⁵ These include the Caíer narrative, which occupies two columns in the YBL version of *SC* and which contains a number of literary aspects and layers.⁶ Though long narratives like the Caíer narrative stand out from the surrounding gloss entries for their length and its complexity, the basic unit of the gloss entry is still the straightforward lemma + gloss structure noted above. The point is that, however complex or developed a glossary entry may be, its starting point is always lemma + gloss.

The transmission of *glossae collectae* may involve several stages of copying and editing before reaching a glossary and, when the base text or exemplar has often not survived, it is challenging to understand exactly what motivations lay behind the creation of a set of *glossae collectae*. With this issue in mind, Mahon suggested that the key was to ‘establish the “human scenario” behind this process’.⁷ Quoting Bradshaw, he describes a scribe who, possessing one glossed copy of a text, then borrows another glossed copy: in order to make the most of the new glosses, and with no room on his own copy for additions, the scribe writes down in order all the words which are glossed (i.e. the lemmata) with their glosses, from which he then has a comprehensive set of glosses on the base text from multiple sources.⁸ Such a scenario is one possible motivation for the creation of *glossae collectae*. Other motivations may have included pure

¹ For a set of glosses which are partly in α -order, see Gormac-*GC*, Chapter 8.8.

² Metrical entries may also be found in prose glossaries. See Russell, ‘Sounds of a Silence’, p. 8; Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 44–8. Stokes and Mahon have asserted that metrical glossaries were the starting point for making word-list glossaries (Stokes, ‘Lecan Glossary’, p. 50; Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 48); for the converse argument, see Russell, ‘Do Dhubbhoclai?’ (forthcoming).

³ Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, p. 89.

⁴ See Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, pp. 89–90.

⁵ See Russell, ‘Poets, Power and Possessions’, pp. 9–43.

⁶ SC Y.698, translated by Russell, ‘Poets, Power and Possessions’, pp. 34–5. For the lost verse from the Caíer narrative in Aidbriugh-*GC*, see Chapter 9.1.7.

⁷ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 18.

⁸ Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 18 citing Bradshaw, ‘Appendix’, p. 462.

philological interest or the collation of glosses on different base texts which related to one broader theme. It is possible that a number of *glossae collectae* which relate to more than one base text were the product of mechanical copying – i.e. of collating separate batches into one document – without consideration of use.

The process of various stages involved in the expansion of *glossae collectae* and their subsequent evolution into glossaries has not yet received the attention it deserves. Though the use of *glossae collectae* in restoring lost material is invaluable, the focus is rarely on the *glossae collectae* themselves; research into their purpose and process has so far only been considered by Mahon and Russell.¹ Generally, where *glossae collectae* are discussed, it has been in terms of what they can contribute to restoring base texts or providing evidence for other lost or fragmentary texts.²

As a whole, the stages of the glossarial process in medieval Irish legal ancillary material are understudied. The present study is divided into two Parts. Part I looks at the in-text glossing method known as ‘etymological glossing’. As it is syllabic etymology which has drawn the most attention (negative or otherwise) in scholarship, it is this type of in-text glossing which forms the bulk of Part I. The main body of the discussion focuses on two core elements: process, in which methodological aspects of first and final syllable etymology are examined in detail; and the purpose and function of etymological glosses.

Part II moves beyond the immediate glossing context to the next stage in the glossarial process and considers the format and function of *glossae collectae*. It begins by providing a summary of the *glossae collectae* in *CIH*. The bulk of Part II then focuses on two *glossae collectae*: Aidbriugh *glossae collectae* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337) pp.61^a–62^b) (hereafter Aidbriugh-GC) and Adhmad *glossae collectae* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337) p. 422) (hereafter Adhmad-GC), for which I provide the text and provisional translation.³ Both *glossae collectae* use the same base text (*Bretha Nemed Dédenach*) but individually they represent different stages of development. As a result, they provide a point of comparison in how an ancillary document moves away from its primary textual focus and begins to incorporate material from other sources. Together, Parts I and II provide an overview of the methodology and thought processes behind the first stages from in-text glossing to independent bodies of glossarial material.

¹ See also Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 18–20; Russell, ‘Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries’, pp. 88–90, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 1–32, ‘*Do Dhubbhocaibh*’ (forthcoming). For the *glossae collectae* in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 467, 519–628, see Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 13–17.

² Borsje and Mills have both discussed one entry on foxes and demons from Aidbriugh-GC (Borsje, ‘The Terror of the Night’, pp. 88–9; Mills, ‘Glossing the Glosses’, pp. 65–82). Although Mills provides some manuscript information, the focus in both articles is on linking the material to the broader theme of supernatural women in Irish and Classical literature, not the gloss context.

³ See Appendices 2–3 and 4–5 respectively.

PART I

3 ETYMOLOGY IN THE LAW TEXTS

3.1 What is an etymology?

In its basic form, etymology seeks to understand a word using linguistic, historical, or semantic processes. As a modern scientific term, etymology refers to analysis of a word by reference to its development and origins (which will involve analysis into morphological units if necessary). This form of etymology has no room for multiplicity; it is simply correct or incorrect.

In medieval Ireland, etymology was understood in terms of the form of etymology popularised by the influential seventh century work *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville.¹ In contrast to the modern usage of the term, Isidorean-style etymology understands etymology as ‘the origin of words, when the force of a verb or a noun is inferred through interpretation’.² The aim of Isidorean-style etymology was to resolve a word into components in order to get closer to the *vis nominis* ‘force of a word’, and the word is described as a product of these elements.³ This may include historical reconstruction, but philology itself was not a primary focus. Therefore multiple definitions did not contradict each other in the way one might expect in modern philology. In the following example, two independent etymologies are given for the word *merula* ‘blackbird’:

Etymologiae lib. XII.vii.69 (transl. Barney & al., p. 268)⁴

Merula antiquitus medula vocabatur, eo quod modulet. Alii merulam aiunt vocatem quia sola volat, quasi mera volans.

¹ Edited by Lindsay, *Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus*, vol. 1 (books I–X) and vol. 2 (books XI–XX); English translation by Barney et al., *Etymologies*, pp. 39–406.

² ‘*Etymologia est origo vocabulorum, cum vis verbi vel nominis per interpretationem colligitur*’ *Etymologiae*, Lib. I. xxix ll. 1–2 (ed. Lindsay (*Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus* I) p. 71); transl. Barney & al., *Etymologies*, p. 54 xxix).

³ Discussed by Baumgarten, ‘Hiberno-Isidorian Etymology’, pp. 225–6; Russell, ‘Sounds of a Silence’, pp. 25–7; and Mahon, ‘Contributions’, pp. 11–13.

⁴ I have changed the American form ‘merle’ in Barney & al. to ‘blackbird’. This example is discussed by Russell, ‘*Read it in a Glossary*’, p. 7.

‘The blackbird (*merula*) was called *medula* in ancient times, because it ‘makes music’ (*modulare*). Others say the blackbird is so named because it flies alone, as if the term were *mera volans* (‘flying alone’).

Isidore provides two independent etymologies for the lemma *merula*: the first, from the older word *medula*, which is linked to the verb *modulare* by the shared consonant structure <m-d-l>. Isidore notes that *medula* was the historical term used *antiquitus* ‘in ancient times’, but his main interest is in connecting the lemma *merula* with the meaning *modulare* ‘make music’. The second etymology is the phrase *mera volans*, which describes the flight behaviour of a blackbird and which is also phonetically similar to *merula*, sharing the consonant structure <m-r-l>. Neither etymology is linguistic in the modern sense of providing historical morphological units, but they are perfectly valid for Isidore: combined, these two etymologies describe the blackbird and therefore get closer to the *vis nominis* of *merula*.

Isidore was not the creator of this type of etymologising; it can be traced back to biblical exegesis and the work of patristic commentators such as Jerome’s *Hebrew Names*.¹ However, Isidore’s work is likely to have been known in Ireland within a generation of his death in 673.² The Irish took the method of etymology employed by Isidore and applied it to their own language.³ Etymology occurs in various forms across several genres in Irish, including placename lore, grammatical tracts, and the law texts.⁴ Etymology within the law texts was used predominantly in glosses, and has thus far been largely neglected in scholarship.⁵ The most detailed description of etymological method in the law texts so far is that put forward by Binchy:

‘Even monosyllables were not immune from [the glossators’] misguided ingenuity. A preposition standing in proclisis as the first element of a compound verb is always interpreted as an independent word: in this position *as-* is glossed by *úais* ‘lofty, noble’; *im-* by *éim* ‘swift’, *ar-* by *fír* ‘true’, *con-* by *caoin* ‘fair’, &c. When practised by the earlier glossators, who were in no doubt as to the real meaning of the word they were

¹ Barney & al., *Etymologies*, p. 11. *Hebrew Names (Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum)* ed. de Lagarde, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, pp. 57–161. See Moran, ‘Hebrew in Early Irish Glossaries’, pp. 17–18, and Russell, ‘Sounds of Silence’, p. 17.

² Russell, ‘*Read it in a Glossary*’, p. 6.

³ Etymology is referred to elsewhere in Irish as *bérta etarscartha* ‘the language of separating’ and also *taithmech* ‘breaking up’ (see Russell, ‘*Read it in a Glossary*’, pp. 5–6, “What was the best of every language”, pp. 448–9).

⁴ For etymology in placenames and personal names, see Baumgarten, ‘Creative Medieval Etymology’, pp. 49–78, ‘Etymological Actiology’, pp. 115–22, and ‘Hiberno-Isidorian Etymology’, pp. 225–8; for etymology in grammatical texts, see *Auraicept*, e.g. ll. 1317–23.

⁵ Etymology was not limited to glosses, but it seems to have been rarely used in-text. Examples of in-text etymology include the beginning of *Bretha Comaithchesa* (= *CIH* i.64.6–9, currently being edited by Thomas Charles-Edwards) and *Crith Gablach* (*CG*, § 1 (transl. McLeod, ‘*Cid ara n-éperr Crith Gablach?*’, p. 42)).

interpreting, all this ‘separation’ was nothing worse than a harmless, though occasionally absurd, form of pedantry. Unfortunately, however, later jurists use [etymology] only too often as a cloak to hide their ignorance. An unfamiliar word is ‘explained’ by them in a series of alternative ‘etymologies’, one more fantastic than the other, the only condition being that the word-groups shall each bear some relation to the sound of the word glossed.’¹

This description of etymological method remains the only one in print. Aside from its inaccuracies, it is extremely simplistic. It focuses only on prefixes, overlooking the breadth of variation found within etymological glosses. Nonetheless, this description is generally followed when referring to etymological glosses in modern editions.² No one has yet separated out the different styles of etymologies, nor their respective purposes.

Etymologies in medieval Irish law texts can be constructed in a number of ways, which fall broadly into two categories: *Isidorean-style* and *syllabic*.³ The following will look at the features and context of Isidorean-style etymology and syllabic etymology in turn.

3.2 Identification and illustration: Isidorean-style etymology

Isidorean-style etymologies originate in the idea that a word can be pulled apart in multiple ways – through sound, semantics, or syllables – often in combination. In contrast to syllabic etymology (which, as we will see, is predominantly vernacular), the use of other languages (predominantly Latin, but also Greek and Hebrew) features heavily in Isidorean-style etymology, particularly in larger glossaries.⁴ As a whole they are far more visibly Latinate than syllabic etymology, focusing primarily on deconstruction and exploration of the lemma. Within the law texts, etymological glossing is most frequently found in those texts associated with the *Senchas Már*. The oldest of these occur in an independent body of glossing to the *Senchas Már*

¹ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, pp. 19–20.

² e.g. *CL*, p. 109 fn. b.

³ This is a working classification, and it is important to bear in mind that these categories have been created for convenience only; it should not be implied that the glossators were necessarily thinking about etymologies in these categories. They are not strictly defined, and they are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. For etymology working in combination with other glossing methods, see Chapter 4.2.7.

⁴ For an overview of first and final syllabic etymology, see Chapter 3.3. For the use of Hebrew in glossaries, see Moran, ‘Hebrew in Early Irish Glossaries’, pp. 1–21; for Latin and Greek, see Russell, ‘*Graece... Latine*’, pp. 406–19; and for Greek see Moran, ‘A living speech?’, pp. 29–57 and ‘Greek in Early Medieval Ireland’, pp. 172–92. Within the law texts, etymology is predominantly vernacular.

(OGSM).¹ OGSM contains a range of different types of gloss, including Isidorean-style etymology. In the following example of Isidorean-style etymology, the lemma *i mbailind* is etymologised twice, using the lemma consonant structure <b-l-d>:²

OGSM = SM1, 1. Introduction (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 362^b = CIH iii.880.40)

I mbailind .i. i mbo-ēlud, no baihud .i. bēl-ud .i. soud mbēl.

‘In madness i.e. in *ba*-evasion(?); or madness i.e. *bēl-ud* i.e. changing mouth.’

Because Isidorean-style etymology favoured multiple interpretations of a lemma, this led in some instances to lengthy etymological glosses with accompanying commentary. In OGSM PHP the word *senchus* (for *senchas*) is broken up using the etyma *sen-* and *-chus* in multiple ways, each of which is accompanied by a short commentary to explain the sense of the etymology:³

OGSM = PHP (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 359^{a-b} = CIH iii.876.28–37, my translation)

Iar senchaidib na gaidilge in so annas iar sencus in ecna ata so sīs senchus dano am^a sen fil and is onī is senex sen^b ata 7 a cas fil and is cuas^c .i. tucait .i. sentucait in sin o chein mair no dano a sen fil am is onnī is sensus ciall a cas fil and is onī is castigat^d .i. timairgthid .i. ciall timairgthid cach raoda ina dlige^e nó dano a sen fil and is onī is uen^e a greig 7 ratio a laidin 7 dlige^e a gaidbilg 7 a cas fil am is custodia .i. comēt ata .i. dlige^e comēda cach ain in sin .i. comēt dhgid cach duine in sin.

^a for *a* (neuter article).⁴

^b in *sen fil ann onni is sin.x*. TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 3 (= CIH v.1651.38).

^c for *causa* (= Harley 321, f. 3^b = CIH ii.345.32; TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 3 = CIH v.1651.39).

^d for *castigator*, to match *timairgthid* (*do-immairg* + agent suffix *-(th)id*).

^e *isueini* (for *is sueini*) TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 3 (= CIH v.1651.41).

¹ The fullest copy of OGSM is preserved in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 358^a–398^a (= CIH iii.874.35–924.31). For other versions, provenance, and the dating of OGSM, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 338–46.

² The passage from which this gloss is taken refers to the three times in which ‘madness’ descends on the world, one of which is *fuasluad cor mbel* ‘the dissolving of contracts’ (SM 1, 1. Introduction = CIH ii.350.26–351.7); this version does not contain the etymological gloss found in OGSM. The etymology *bēl-ud* ‘changing mouth’ presumably refers to the dissolving of contracts (i.e. a change in *bēl* ‘contract; mouth’).

³ There are three versions of this etymology of *senchas*: TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 359^{a-b} (= CIH iii.876.28–34); TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 3 (= CIH v.1651.37–1652.1) (cf. CIH v.1651.12–15); and Harley 432, f. 3^b (= CIH ii.345.30–7). They have been noted by Carey (PHP, p. 4) and McCone (‘Dubthach Maccu Lugair’, p. 2). All three versions are very similar with no significant variation; the following presents the text from TCD H 3. 18 (1337).

⁴ For the neuter singular article as a marker of Latin words, see Breatnach, ‘Citation of Words’, pp. 96–7.

‘This below [is] according to the historians of Irish, according to the *senchas* of wisdom¹, here follows: *senchas* moreover, the word *sen* which is from *senex* ‘old’; and from the word *cas* which is from *causa* i.e. ‘a cause’ i.e. an ancient cause from a long time ago; or moreover from the word *sen* which is from *sensus* ‘sense’; from the word *cas* which from *castigator* i.e. ‘critic’ i.e. sense-critic of everything according to law; or moreover from the word *sen* which is *ueni* in Greek and *ratio* in Latin and *dliged* in Irish; and from the word *cas* which is *custodia* i.e. ‘protection’ i.e. that is the law of protecting everyone i.e. that is the protecting of the law of every person.’

This passage reflects the Isidorean-style method of approaching a word from more than one angle – in this case, form and semantics – in order to provide a fuller understanding.² The word *senchas* is etymologised in two ways: first by a formal link, using consonant structure; and then by a semantic link, using synonyms from other languages. In the first, *senchas* is broken up by its syllables to give the etyma *sen-* and *-chas*. These etyma are interpreted in two separate ways to give two separate form-based etymologies. The first interprets *sen-* as ‘old’ by analogy with *senex*, and *-chas* as ‘cause’ by analogy with *causa* (Irish *tucait*), thus etymologising *senchas* as *sen-tucait* ‘ancient-cause’. The second interprets *sen-* as ‘sense’ by analogy with *sensus*, and *-chas* as ‘critic’ by analogy with *castigator*, thus etymologising *senchas* as *ciáll-timairgthid* ‘sense-critic’. These form-based etymologies (i.e. *sen-tucait* and *ciáll-timairgthid*) are vernacular, but have been reached through a Latinate matrix (*senex-causa* and *sensus-castigator* respectively). The text then provides a different type of etymology, giving synonyms for Irish *dliged* ‘law’ in Greek and Latin (*ueni* and *ratio* respectively).³ The second synonym, *ratio*, then generates a discussion – based on the etymology – on natural law and knowledge.⁴

Baumgarten has noted that ‘foreign languages, like Latin, are used on an equal basis with Irish [in etymology]’.⁵ The following two etymologies, taken from *SC* and *OM*, demonstrate

¹ Carey translates: ‘according to the lore of Latin’ (Carey, *PHP*, p. 1). This would suggest a contrast between native *senchaidi* historians and ecclesiastical *ecnai*.

² For a similarly lengthy series of etymologies in Irish on the word *cluais* in *OGSM SM 1. Introduction*, see TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 360^{a-b} = *CIH* iii.877.36–878.3.

³ The form *ueni* looks corrupted. In TCD H 3. 17 (1336), the reading is *isueini* (= *CIH* v.1651.41), for which Binchy suggests *isueini* (*CIH* v.1651 fn. j). The form *sueini* may come from *is ueni*, or it may have been influenced by Hebrew and Greek cited elsewhere in the same passage, all of which begin with *s-*: *bunadb do soene a ebra soene a greg t saeno a ebra soosa a greg ratio a laitín dliged a gaoidelg* (TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 2 (= *CIH* v.1650.31–1651.2) = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 359^b (= *CIH* iii.877.1–2, directly following on from the above passage)). One possibility is that the word was originally Greek *nomos* ‘law’, which became *ueni* through a misreading of minims and open vowels, and which then was changed following the pattern of the *s-* initial Hebrew and Greek etymologies. For the transmission and pronunciation of Greek in medieval Ireland, see Moran, ‘A living speech?’, pp. 29–57.

⁴ = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 359^b = *CIH* iii.876.34–41 (= TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 3 = *CIH* v.1652.1–8; Harley 432, f. 3^b = *CIH* ii.345.37–346.4).

⁵ Baumgarten, ‘Etymological Aetiology’, p. 116.

other languages used alongside Irish. The first example contains an Irish lemma glossed through Latin, using Latin and Hebrew derivations:

SC Y.28

Ab .i. ab eo quod est abas ⁊ a nomine ebraeico quod est aba .i. pater

‘*Ab* (‘abbot’) i.e. from that which is *abbas* (‘abbot’); or from the Hebrew noun, namely *aba* i.e. *pater* (‘father’).’

The next example contains an Irish lemma which is glossed through Irish, and uses both Latin and Irish terms:

OM 48

Ander .i. mulier .i. ní der, ní bingen; nó ander .i. an-fer .i. ní fer acht mulier.

‘*Ainder* (‘married woman’) i.e. a woman, i.e. not *der*, not a girl. Or *ainder*, i.e. *an-fer*, i.e. not a man, but a woman.’

The scribe provides two etymological processes for the Irish word *ander*: comparison with another language, and reworking of the lemma based on consonant structure. The lemma *ainder* is first glossed as Latin *mulier* ‘woman’. The lemma is then broken down into syllabic units (i.e. *ain-* and *-der*) whose consonant structures are used to give the meanings ‘not a girl’ (i.e. a woman) and ‘not a man’ (i.e. a woman) in Irish. The gloss closes with a phrase using both Irish and Latin (*ní fer acht mulier*).

It will be noted that, in all of the examples of Isidorean-style etymology covered so far, the focus of these passages are the etymologies themselves; there is little sense of from what context (i.e. what text) the lemma was extracted. Contextualisation is one of the main differences between Isidorean-style etymology and syllabic etymology; the following will look at the features and context of syllabic etymology.

3.3 Identification and Illustration: Syllabic etymology and terminology

Syllabic etymology refers to an etymological method which is based primarily on the consonantal structure of the etymon. It is found frequently in Isidorean-style etymologies as one method of breaking up a word into its constituent parts.¹ The aim of syllabic etymological construction is twofold: preservation of the consonant structure of the etymon; and drawing out the meaning of the lemma as part of a larger explanatory gloss in the context of the main text.

In the Irish law texts syllabic etymology was developed further, so that it was frequently applied to particular elements in a word, very often the preverb. A syllabic etymology would then be inserted into a larger gloss where it functioned as one element of a broader explanatory glossing apparatus.² It was often used in the glossing of *SM* texts – especially in later glossing of the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods – in which Isidorean-style etymology is otherwise comparatively rare. Syllabic etymology is less frequent in the Old Irish *OGSM*, which contains just one example of this style:³

OGSM, SM1, 1. Introduction (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 360^b = *CIH* iii.878.6–7)⁴

dichētal .f. .i. rocomēt dō in adbal-cantain do-radsad na filid i lecaib.

‘Chanting of poets i.e. the ‘great singing’ which the poets committed to slates also preserved it.’

Compared to the previous example from *OGSM*, the structure and style of this gloss is quite different. Where the previous example involved multiple interpretations, including syllabic etymology and other languages, here only one etymology is given; it is context-specific, rather than open-ended. The lemma *dichētal* is broken up into *di-* and *-chētal*, from which the etymon *di-* <d-> is expanded and recycled into the adjective *adbal* ‘great’;⁵ and the remaining lemma form *-chētal* is modified into the related verbal noun *cantain* ‘singing’. The etymology *adbal-cantain* is then placed in the context of a wider explanatory gloss.

¹ See the example of *merula* (p. 18 above), where *merula* is broken up into *mera* and *volans*.

² For the broader gloss context of syllabic etymology, see Chapter 4.2.

³ Breatnach has dated *OGSM* to a date not long after the middle of the eighth century (Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 344).

⁴ The main text to which this gloss relates has been edited and translated by Breatnach, ‘Early Irish Law Text’, pp. 4–5 § 1.

⁵ For other etyma which generate the etymology *adbal*, see Chapter 5.

Whereas the previous example from *OGSM* focused on exploring the meaning and composition of the word *senchas*, here only one meaning is given (understanding chanting as singing) and it is given within the context of a longer phrase; the etymology itself is no longer the sole focus of the gloss. The purpose of syllabic etymology in an Irish law context thus differs to traditional Isidorean-style syllabic etymology. The function of the Irish syllabic etymological gloss is not a broader exploration of the meaning of the lemma, but rather to place it within the comparatively narrow semantic range of its surrounding main text and gloss. Nor is the etymology the primary focus of the gloss. Instead, the method and purpose of Isidorean-style syllabic etymology have become normalised as a systematic process of reworking specific word elements within the specific context of the lemma; the Irish have taken Isidorean-style syllabic etymology and developed it into a related but distinct glossing method.¹ This difference in function may reflect a change in audience in which Isidorean-style etymology, with its emphasis on seeking deeper meaning, may represent an advanced stage in the interpretation of texts, whereas syllabic etymology has been absorbed by the gloss as a comparatively simplistic method of engaging with the language of the text.

Syllabic etymology within Irish law texts may be sub-divided into two broad categories: *whole-word syllable etymology* and *first/final syllable etymology*. Whole-word etymology typically etymologises every aspect of the lemma. In the following example, every element of the lemma *bésgnae* ‘discipline’ is accounted for in the etymology.

CB, § 13¹

Co astaiter¹ túatha i mbésgnu

¹ *.i. cindus astaithir na túatha do reir báfhese gnāe nō aibind*

‘How are peoples held fast to discipline¹?’

¹ ‘i.e. how are the people of kingdoms held fast in accordance with ‘delightful’ or pleasant ‘beneficial knowledge’?’²

¹ For the purpose and function of Irish syllabic etymology in the law texts, see Chapter 7.

² The phrase *nō aibind* ‘or pleasant [knowledge]’ (marked as an etymological gloss in *CB*, § 13¹) is an explanatory gloss attached to the etymology (see Chapter 5.7). This etymology also occurs at *CB*, § 1¹ and *BB*, § 14^c (glossing *bésaib* ‘customs’). There is a similar etymology and accompanying explanatory gloss at *CB*, § 26⁸ where *dagbésaib* ‘good practices’ is etymologised *deighés gnāe t aibind* ‘delightful or pleasant good practice’.

The etymological gloss has broken down all of the lemma into multiple units, and recycled them into independent, meaningful words. The consonant structure of the etymology (i.e. <b-ġ-s-g-n>) preserves that of the lemma (i.e. <b-s-c-n>), in which lenited f (i.e. <ġ>) is not pronounced and so may be treated as an invisible unit; and <g> is a voiced variant of <c>. The etymological is then inserted into the text as part of larger explanatory gloss, reworking the content and language of the main text.

In first/final syllable etymology, glossators extract an etymon from the beginning or end of a lemma.¹ The consonant structure of the etymon generates the etymology. Usually, this takes the format of a semantically-light prefix or suffix recycled into an independent, meaningful word. The form of the lemma left after the removal of the etymon is adapted where necessary to form an independent word. In the following example, the lemma *con-fodlat* ‘they divide’ is divided into its first syllable (i.e. *con-*) and the remaining lemma form (i.e. *-fodlat*) to give the etymological gloss *caín fodailid* ‘well that they divide’:

BB, § 45^e

Con-fodlat etarru uili letorad int saithi-sin co cenn téora mbliadnae^e

^e *.i. is caín fodailid aturru uile lethtoradh in saithe gu ceand txi mblíadan.*

‘They divide between them all half the produce of that swarm for three years^e.’

^e ‘i.e. it is ‘well that they divide’ between them all half the produce of the swarm for three years.’

The etymon *con-* has the consonant structure <c-n>, and this consonant structure forms the basis of the etymology *caín* ‘fine’. The prefix etymon *con-* <c-n> has thus been recycled as the meaningful adverb etymology *caín* <c-n> ‘fine’. The remaining lemma form *-fodlat* has not been etymologised. Instead, *-fodlat* is modernised from the compound verb *con-fodlai* into the simple verb based on the stem *fodl-*. Together, the etymology and the remaining lemma form render the form and meaning of the lemma.

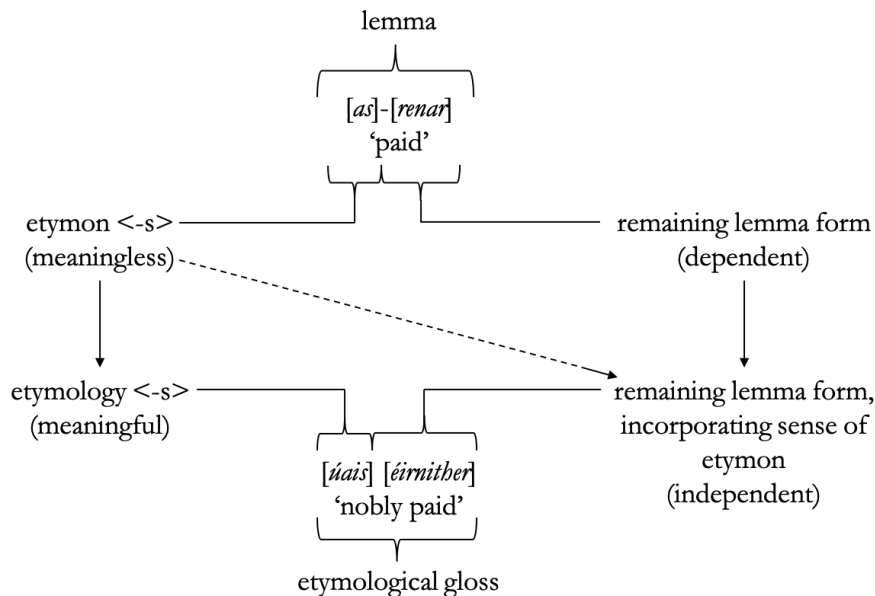
¹ This is referred to here as first/final syllable etymology, though etyma may be composed of more than or part of a syllable.

To summarise, the following terms are used to describe this process:

- **lemma** refers to the word in the main text which generates an etymological gloss, e.g. in the above example (*BB*, § 45^e), the lemma is *con-fodlat*.¹
- **etymon** refers to that part of the lemma which is used as the basis for the etymology, e.g. in the above example (*BB*, § 45^e), the etymon is *con-* <c-n>.
- **etymology** refers to the word which has been produced by recycling of an etymon into an independent, meaningful word based on the etymon's consonant structure, e.g. in the above example (*BB*, § 45^e), the etymology is *caín*.
- **remaining lemma form** refers to that part of the lemma which is left after the etymon has been extracted and which is re-incorporated into the gloss, e.g. in the above example (*BB*, § 45^e), the remaining lemma form is *-fodlat*, which is then re-incorporated as *fodailid*.
- **etymological gloss** refers to the combination of these two elements, e.g. in the above example (*BB*, § 45^e), the etymological gloss is *caín fodailid*.

Vowels of any length in an etymon may be altered or deleted in the etymology; as vowels are disregarded, the etymon may be illustrated as <-[consonant]>, representing <V-[consonant]>.²

The following diagram illustrates these terms using the lemma *as-renar* 'is paid away' and the corresponding etymological gloss *úais éirnitber* 'nobly paid' (*CL*, § 3⁵).



¹ Note that the term *lemma* is used differently in Part II, in which *lemma* refers to a headword in a set of *glossae collectae*.

² For a discussion of vowels in syllabic etymologies, see Chapter 5.1.

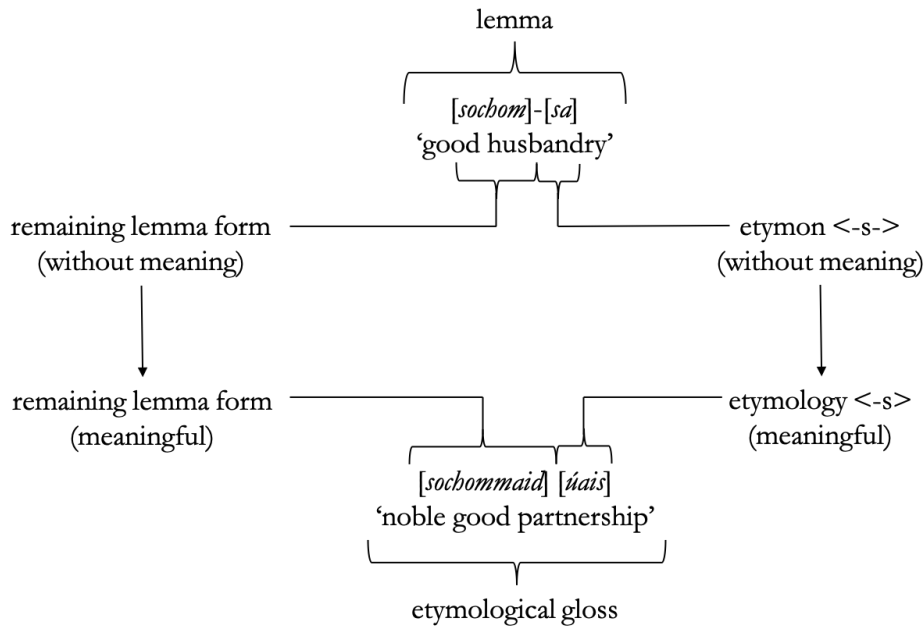
The consonant structure of the first syllable etymon *as-* is <-s> (representing <V-s>). Based on the consonant structure of the etymon (<-s>), the etymon *as-* has been recycled into an etymology: the independent, meaningful word *úais* ‘noble’. The compound verb *as-ren* became simplified in the Middle Irish period into *éirnid*, based on the prototonic form *-éren*. In this example, the etymological gloss renders the whole verb *as-renar* ‘pays away’ with *éirnither*. The role of the etymology *úais* is therefore to account for the presence of the preverb *as-* (whose meaning is now contained in *éirnither*) by supplying it with new meaning. The etymon and etymology are connected by the same consonantal structure (i.e. the etymon *as-* <-s> becomes the etymology *úais* <-s>). The reduced vowel of the original etymon <a- > /ə/ is then recycled into the diphthong <ua> /uə/, giving *úais*. As discussed in Chapter 5, one benefit of not having a fixed vowel quality between etymon and etymology is that it gave scribes greater flexibility when recycling an etymon into an independent, meaningful unit. Together, the etymology *úais* and the independent remaining lemma form *éirnither* provide the etymological gloss *úais éirnither* ‘nobly paid’, fully rendering the lemma *as-renar*.

Within the sample group, final syllable etymologies are far less frequent than first syllable, comprising only 21 final out of a total of 212 first/final syllable etymology examples.¹ They occur on only two etyma: <-m> and <-s>. Those in <-m> are treated identically to first syllable <-m> as *éim* ‘timely’;² for <-s>, see Chapter 5.

The methods governing the construction of etymology apply equally to both first and final syllables. In the following example, the etymon is the final syllable *-sa* <-s>, etymologised *úais* ‘noble’ <-s> in which the lemma *sochomsa* ‘good husbandry’ takes the etymological gloss *sochommaid úais* ‘noble good partnership’ (*CL*, § 9⁸). The process is exactly the same as a first syllable etymology. The etymon *-sa*, an emphatic suffix (and thus unstressed), is detached from the lemma and reduced to its consonant structure <-s> (representing <s-V>). By the same method used in the first syllable example above, the etymon <-s> is used as the basis to generate the etymology *úais* ‘noble’. The form of the lemma after the removal of the etymon is *sochom-*, which requires modification in order for it to have sense and be independent; the form *sochommaid* is supplied, which contains a similar consonant structure to the original remaining lemma form (i.e. *sochom* <-s-ch-m> > *sochommaid* <s-ch-m-d>). Together, the meaningful etymology *úais* and the meaningful remaining lemma form *sochommaid* provide the etymological gloss *sochommaid úais* ‘noble good partnership’.

¹ The number of final syllable etymologies does not include monosyllabic etyma.

² There are three exceptions in which a different sense of *ēm* is used: *ēm* ‘rough’ (*CL*, § 16⁴) and *ēm* ‘indeed’ (*BB*, § 1^a; *CA* = *CIH* ii.480.24, 481.4–5).



The prioritisation of maintaining the consonant structure of the etymon and – where possible – of the remaining lemma form in the etymological gloss in both first and final syllable etymologies may be demonstrated by a handful of examples.

<i>adblam</i> ‘prepared’	>	<i>adbal conach em</i> ‘rough that is not ready’. ¹
<i>adbl-</i> <-d-b-l>		<i>adbal</i> <-d-b-l>
<i>-am</i> <-m>		<i>em</i> <-m>
<i>con-fodlaiter</i> ‘divided’	>	<i>cáin-fodailter</i> ‘well divided’. ²
<i>con-</i> <c-n>		<i>cáin</i> <c-n>
<i>-fodlaiter</i> <-f-d-l-t-r>		<i>-fodailter</i> <-f-d-l-t-r>
<i>córus</i> ‘arrangement’	>	<i>coirseis</i> ‘proper-arrangement’. ³
<i>cor-</i> <c-r>		<i>coir</i> <c-r>
<i>-us</i> <-s>		<i>seis</i> <-s-s> ⁴

¹ CL, § 16⁴. Forms like *conach* that were required for sense in etymological glosses could be overlooked in terms of their consonantal value.

² D, § 20¹⁴.

³ CB, § 13¹¹.

⁴ The etymology *coirseis* may have been understood with a lenited <-s> as <coirseis>. The aspirate produced by the lenited <-s> could be considered negligible in the consonant structure, in which case the consonant structure of the lemma would be preserved in the etymological gloss.

<i>othrusa</i> ‘sick-maintenance’	>	<i>adoirithin uais</i> ‘noble appropriate assistance’. ¹
<i>oth-</i>	<-th>	<i>ada</i> <-d> ²
<i>-ru-</i>	<-r->	<i>oirithin</i> <-r-[th]-n> ³
<i>-sa</i>	<-s->	<i>uais</i> <-s>

The emphasis is on connecting the lemma and the etymology through consonant form (which may include phonological aspects). Often the consonant structure is preserved simply because the etymological gloss uses a later form of the lemma; *-fodlaiter* <f-d-l-t-r>, for example, becomes *fodailter* <f-d-l-t-r>. But this is not always the case; *adblam* becomes *adbal*, which is unrelated to *adblam*.⁴ In some instances, a phonological variant is used to recycle an etymon into an independent, meaningful word: *oth-* <-th> /θ/ becomes *ada* <-d> /ð/.⁵

It is important to bear in mind that the term *first/final syllable* is used for convenience only. Glossators were not restricted to extracting etyma from first and final syllables; rather, they were interested in consonant clusters which could be used as a base for an etymology.

The following examples demonstrate an etymon extracted from a monosyllabic lemma, and individual consonants from a first or final syllable extracted as the etymon. Underline indicates the full syllable.

Whole-syllable lemma:

<u>bēs</u> (<-s>) ‘annual food-rent’	>	<i>biad úais</i> (<-s>) ‘noble food’. ⁶
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Part-syllable etymon:

<i>adbl<u>am</u></i> (<-m>) ‘prepared’	>	<i>adbal conach ém</i> (<-m>) ‘rough that is not ready’. ⁷
<i>cumth<u>us</u></i> (<-s>) ‘joint economy’	>	<i>cumaidb úais</i> (<-s>) ‘noble partnership’. ⁸
<i>f<u>or</u>glana</i> (<f-r>) ‘discharged’	>	<i>f<u>ir</u>-glana</i> (<f-r>) ‘truly clears’. ⁹

¹ *CL*, § 27². I follow Breatnach’s translation; see above, p. 124 fn. 4.

² For the overlap between <th> and <d>, see Chapter 5.1.

³ If the sound /θ/ was no longer productive in Irish at the time of the etymology, the consonant structure of that lemma would be fully preserved in the etymological gloss. See Chapter 4.1.

⁴ The word *adbal* was presumably chosen because it shares the consonant structure of the remaining lemma form and supports the meaning of the lemma. See Chapter 5.6.

⁵ See Chapter 5.1.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.485.19 (lemma), 25–6 (gloss).

⁷ *CL*, § 16⁴.

⁸ *CL*, § 8⁴.

⁹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.494.34 (lemma), 495.4–6 (gloss).

Less frequently, an internal syllable or consonant may generate an etymology. The lemma *tairdbe* (< **do-airdben*) is etymologised in two ways: *aird-timchell* ‘high cutting around’; and *aird-eibi* ‘high lopping’.¹ The etymon is *-aird-* <-rd->, which represents the second part of the syllable *taird*; the linguistic prefix *do-* (represented by *t-* in *tairdbe*) is omitted. The omission of the first consonant in an etymology is unusual within the sample group, but this should not imply that it was considered unusual within the broader apparatus of etymological glossing across the law texts.²

3.4 Isidorean-style and Syllabic etymology: a comparison

The above discussion has looked at two methods of etymological glossing: Isidorean-style and syllabic. In broad terms, the difference between Isidorean-style and syllabic etymology may be summarised as follows:

Isidorean-style	Syllabic
Focus on multiple etymologies with different meanings.	One, occasionally two, etymologies generated with similar meanings.
Lemmata and their respective etymological glosses are the primary focus of the gloss.	Etymological gloss renders the lemma according to its context.
Surrounding glosses are often long, providing discussion which looks similar to commentary.	Etymological gloss is embedded in larger explanatory gloss which reworks the main text.

Within the sample group, Isidorean-style glosses are infrequent and – where they do occur – they have a distinct style from syllabic etymology, implying that syllabic etymology had a separate purpose to Isidorean-style etymology.³ Overlap between the lexicon of the two styles suggests a broadly similar environment for both. The beginning of *CL* contains a series of nouns which are provided with Isidorean-style etymological glossing (*CL*, § 2^{V-XVIII}), fitting one or more of the following traits: the etymology is the focus of the gloss, rather than rendering the main text (e.g. *CL*, § 2^{VIII}); more than one etymological gloss is provided (e.g. *CL*, § 2^{VI}); or the

¹ *BB*, § 15^{a, b}.

² A detailed study of all examples etymological glossing in the law texts would require a significant period of time, and is beyond the limits of this dissertation.

³ This should not imply that they were treated as a discrete etymological methods, as the same etymology can be used in different structures and styles.

etymological glosses are accompanied by lengthy commentary (e.g. *CL*, § 2^x). Two of these lemmata, *fithidir* ‘teacher’ and *felmac* ‘pupil’, and their etymological glosses also occur in *CA* but in the manner of syllabic etymology, where the etymological glosses are part of a larger explanatory gloss, rather than the focus of the gloss.¹ The two examples, from *CL* and *CA*, may then be compared to illustrate the different styles and uses of Isidorean-style and syllabic etymology.²

CL, § 2^{xv, xvi}

fithidir^{xv} *fria* *felmac*^{xvi}

^{xv} .i. *fethathair aithair fethaigi in ae in forcetail no athair na feide na belathan.*

^{xvi} .i. *fria boilmac .i. frisín mac da tabair a foglaim o boil no bis ac foglaim foilliusa na balathan aicce.*

‘a teacher^{xv} with his pupil^{xvi}’

^{xv} ‘i.e. ‘knowledge-father’, father of the knowledge of learning, ‘of instruction’, or the ‘father of knowledge’, of the artistic skill.’

^{xvi} ‘i.e. with his ‘mouth-son’ i.e. with the boy to whom he gives his ‘learning by mouth’ or who is learning the secrets of artistic skill with him.’

CA = *CIH* ii.491.24–5 (lemmata), 28–9 (gloss)

*cach felmac i n-amsir daire do fithithir*¹

¹ .i. *cach mac bis ic foglaim o bóil risín re suthain ina dær be da fethathair d’athair fethaigthi in ae in forcetail no d’athair na fēde na eladan.*

¹ *CIH* ii.491.24–5 (lemmata), 28–9 (gloss).

² In the example from *CA*, note also the etymological gloss *risín re suthain* ‘during the ‘long period’’, glossing *amsir*.

‘[Under notice is] every pupil at the time of servitude to a teacher¹.’

¹ ‘i.e. every son who is ‘learning from his mouth’ during the ‘long period’ in which he is subject to his ‘knowledge-father’, to a ‘father of the knowledge of learning’, of instruction; or to a father of knowledge, of the artistic skill.’

The foundation of the etymologies is identical in both cases: *fithidir* ‘teacher’ etymologised *feth-athair* ‘knowledge father’; and *felmac* ‘pupil’ as *óilmbac* ‘mouth-son’. Each of these etymologies is followed by etymological-explanatory glosses, making clear the sense of the etymology. Thus for *fithidir* synonyms are provided for *feth*: *in aí* ‘of learning’, *in fóretail* ‘of instruction’, and *na belathan* ‘of the artistic skill’.¹ For *felmac* context is provided for *fel*- as *óil*: *mac bis ag foglaim a bóil* ‘a son who is learning from his mouth’. *CL* goes one step further and provides another etymological reading for *felmac* as *ac foglaim foilliusa* ‘learning secrets’.

A comparison between these two passages reflects a difference in usage. In *CL*, the etymological gloss *óilmbac* is only the beginning of a much longer passage, including a further etymology for *felmac* and the additional etymology *uile-mac* ‘all-son’. There follows a discussion on the relationship between teacher and pupil, detailing the obligations of one to the other. Neither of this material is covered in the main text: the gloss provides supplementary information, introduced by two etymological glosses. Isidorean-style etymology has thus been employed as a basis for interpretation and further discussion of the lemmata *fithidir* and *felmac*, unrestricted by the context of the main text.

In *CA*, we see a different usage of etymology. Here the etymologies are embedded in a larger explanatory gloss which directly mirrors the syntax of the main text. The etymology *óilmbac* is not present on the page, but it is present in the scribe’s thought processes as he must pass through this stage to reach the etymological-explanatory phrase *foglaim o bóil* ‘learning from his mouth’. Unlike the example in *CL*, in which the etymologies are the focus of the sentences in which they appear, the purpose of this gloss is to break down the lemmata in the precise context of the main text.

Although syllabic etymology derives from the same thought processes as Isidorean-style etymologies, it has evolved in a different direction. Glossators remained interested in breaking up words, but focus has shifted from multiple interpretations – predominantly focused on the lemma itself – to the specific sense of the lemma in its immediate context. By using the pre-

¹ *fethathair aithair fethaigi* is another example of a compound followed by a decompound, as we see in *cóirséis séis chóir* (see Chapter 5.6).

existing flexibility of the language to create new lexical forms, the rôle of etymology has passed from an intellectual exercise into a method for engaging with the language of the main text on a relatively elementary, syllabic level.¹

Both styles are part of a larger glossing apparatus; they are simply different stages in the progression from etymology as in the *Etymologiae* to the in-context syllabic etymological glosses found so frequently in *SM*.² The comparative absence of Isidorean-style etymology in *SM* texts (compared to the quantity of syllabic etymology) suggests that it had a different purpose to syllabic etymology, and one which was not considered so relevant to the glossing on these law texts. It is suggested in Chapter 7 that the purpose of syllabic etymology was in elementary learning; Isidorean-style etymology, with its tendency towards multiple interpretations, may have been more useful for advanced students as the basis for more erudite scholarly discussion.³

On first appearance, and taken in a literal mindset, etymological glosses can appear to demonstrate a lack of understanding by the glossator. This is especially true of syllabic etymology, in which the meaning of the etymology does not always seem relevant to the lemma. The following discussion will look at previous scholarship on etymological glosses in the law texts, to consider what factors lay behind it and why etymological glosses have suffered such extraordinarily negative attitudes from scholarship.

3.5 ‘A Cloak to Hide Their Ignorance’

Scholarship on etymological glosses has generally focused on what they can tell us about the main text, rather than the etymologies themselves. One use for etymological glosses which has been well-documented is in the restoration of lost text. As they are based on the consonant structure of the etymon, etymologies may preserve a form of the lemma which has since been lost or corrupted in the main text. Etymologies have been used in this way to restore text by

¹ This is not to say that syllabic etymologies are necessarily later than Isidorean-style; they may have occurred at the same time as, or as a development of, the education and application of Isidorean-style etymology in the law texts. I hope to discuss elsewhere the distribution and locations more generally of Isidorean-style and syllabic etymology in the law texts.

² Russell has drawn attention to the fact that the earliest versions of OM and SC, which date to the seventh and ninth/tenth centuries respectively, contain a high proportion of entries wherein the ‘technical framework is Latinate even though the words under discussion are Irish’ (Russell, “What was the best of every language”, p. 447). In other words, a text could be entirely in Irish but retain a Latinate structure and matrix language.

³ It is likely that there is also a chronological dimension involved, as the process of etymology as a method of exegesis evolved within Ireland. This is an important question to return to once sufficient study into the relationship between different methods of etymology across the law texts has been undertaken.

several scholars, including Plummer, Binchy, Charles-Edwards, and Kelly.¹ However, Charles-Edwards and Kelly have observed that it is not always possible to rely on etymologies to restore main text, as in some instances a lemma can generate more than one etymology.² The problem in relying on etymological glosses to restore main text forms is that it relies in turn on the editor possessing not only a full awareness of the etymological options available to the glossator. For example, *adhachnuire* ‘duly puts’ occurs as a gloss on *friscuirithir* ‘who opposes’.³ *Ada* ‘suitable’ often etymologises the prefix *ad-*, not *fris-*. Were the lemma to be illegible or missing, it would be tempting to restore a form of *ad-cuirethar*, and not *fris-cuirethar*. Consequently the use of etymological glosses to restore text is one which first requires in-depth examination of the etymological gloss construction pattern, and this is something which is still lacking.

Consideration of etymological glosses in their own right has been scarce. The popular opinion of scholars in the twentieth century was that the Irish glossators ‘showed themselves only too apt pupils of Isidore’.⁴ Bergin, supported by Knott and Meyer, summarised this in 1938 as follows:⁵

‘The same fantastic analysis [as the *Etymologiae*] was applied to Irish words, and the patience of modern scholars is often exhausted in the endeavour to extract a few grains of real value to the lexicographer from the masses of ‘etymological’ glosses embedded in Middle Irish commentaries. Etymology was a game with no rules. It was a matter of guesswork, and one guess was as good as another.’⁶

The motivations for such a critical assessment of the glossators included a misunderstanding over the purpose of etymological glossing in the law texts; their mechanics; and their frequency of repetition. Arguably the most influential factor was a confusion over how glossators understood the purpose of etymology, particularly their seeming absence of linguistic awareness. As we have seen, a linguistic unit may serve as the basis for an etymology. However, in some instances the glossators appear – through the perspective of modern philological

¹ Plummer, ‘Fragmentary State’, pp. 161–2; e.g. Binchy, *CUT*, p. 82 n. § 10, Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, pp. 105–6 n. § 14.

² Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 18, discussing the lemma *bésgnae* ‘custom’ (*BB*, § 14c; see also *CB*, § 1¹, 13¹, and 26⁸). For multiple options in etymologising in this section of TCD H 2. 15A (1316), see Chapter 5.6.

³ *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.32 (lemma), 494.3 (gloss). See also *turgaib* ‘raises’ etymologised *fír-gabann* ‘truly takes’ (*CA* = *CIH* ii.484.6 (lemma), 9–10 (gloss)), in which *fír* more commonly etymologises the prefixes *ar-* or *fris-*, and may therefore lead to a faulty restoration based on *fír-gabann* of *turgaib* to *for-gaib* or *ar-gaib*.

⁴ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, p. 19. In-text etymologising has not received dismissive treatment.

⁵ Knott, ‘O’Clery’s Glossary’, p. 67; Meyer, ‘Sources’, p. 140. For a recent response to Meyer’s description of glossaries, see Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, p. 2.

⁶ Bergin, ‘Native Irish Grammarian’, p. 4.

etymology – to get the linguistic unit very obviously wrong. In the following example, the glossator takes *-derb-* as the etymon, rather than the linguistic prefix *de-*:

CL, § 28⁹

*arna imma nderbara*⁹

⁹ *.i. cona radeirbdiubra nech dib a cheile*

‘... so that there may not be mutual defrauding [between a couple at the point of separation].’

⁹ ‘i.e. so that one of them may not ‘truly’ deprive the other.’

The prefix of the lemma is *de-* (< *imm-* ‘mutual’ + *do-opir* ‘defrauds’). The glossator does not use *de-* as the basis for the etymology. Instead, he sections off the verbal stem unit as *derb-*. As a unit, *derb-* contains *de-*, the perfective particle *ro*, and *b-*, which is the first letter of the dependent verbal form *-bara*. It also includes the syncopated preverb *os*. To reach *derb-*, the glossator has spliced together a number of morphological units, including *de-*, to create a new word for the purpose of the etymology (i.e. *deirb* ‘truly’). The etymon *derb* is employed as if it were a prefix to give the etymology *deirbdiubra*: it is inserted between the perfective particle *ro* and *-diubra*, the dependent verbal form of the lemma base verb *do-opir*, giving it the position of a prefix. Further, the in *derbara* would not be lenited, whereas the in *derb* is lenited.

At first glance, etymologies appear to be generated mechanically as an automatic substitution process. This is the aspect picked up on by Binchy in his description of etymological method, quoted above, in which ‘a preposition standing in proclisis as the first element of a compound verb is always interpreted as an independent word’.¹ The implication is that the glossators used etymology unthinkingly, that a prefix is replaced by the set etymology irrespective of meaning or context. In some cases, this is harmless as the semantics of the etymology are vague enough to have no impact.² However, in some cases the seemingly mechanical nature of etymologising appears to interfere detrimentally with the meaning of the text. For example:

¹ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, pp. 19–20.

² See Chapter 6.

CA = CIH ii.491.13–14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss)

it dilsí seoit caich indacuirither indligid⁸.

⁸ *.i. is díles don fine seoit in caich roadbacuirister curu inddlighthecha do denam re fear fine t co taraister in cintach.*

‘The chattels of everyone are forfeit who puts [contracts] in unlawfully⁸.’

⁸ ‘i.e. the chattels of everyone who ‘suitably contracted’ making unlawful contracts are forfeit to the kin, until the guilty person is got hold of.’

The etymology is *ada* ‘suitable’, recycled from the infixed pronoun *-da-* in the lemma. The sense of the etymology therefore directly contradicts that of the main text: ‘unlawful contracts’ (*curu inddlighthecha*) are described as ‘suitable’ (*adha*). How can something be both ‘suitable’ and ‘unlawful’? It is a clear clash of meaning and gives support that the etymology was mechanically inserted without consideration of context, suggesting two possibilities: that the glossator did not understand the main text with which he was working; or that he did not understand the etymology itself.

At times an etymology is followed by an explanation which can itself be a repetition of the lemma. This can give the impression that the etymology was not understood. In the following example, the lemma *adnacul* ‘burial’ is repeated in the gloss directly after the etymological gloss.

CB, § 47¹

Cair¹ caité téchtae cach adnacail ó thúaithe, do cach grád íarna míad do eclais?

¹ *.i. comaircím caidē innī dlíges ó cach grád isin túaith fō náislidetaid don náim náis dánad ada int idnacul nō int adhnacul.*

‘A question¹: what is appropriate for every burial from the laity, from every grade in accordance with his rank, to the church?’

¹ ‘i.e. ‘I ask’: what is it which is due from every grade amongst the laity in accordance with his nobility to the ‘noble union’ for which ‘the conveying’ or the burial ‘is fitting’?’

The lemma *adnacul* ‘burial’ is etymologised in two parts: *ada int idnacul* ‘the conveying is fitting’, in which the prefix *ad-* has been removed from *adnacail* and etymologised *ada*, and the remaining lemma form *-nacail* has been modified into *idnacul*; and *int adbnacul*, which is simply a repetition of the lemma, introduced directly after the etymology by *nó* ‘or’. The explanatory appearance of the phrase *nó int adbnacul* suggests that there was a flaw somewhere in the logic of the glossator, and in the function of the etymology. It raises the question, if the glossator understood the lemma in the first instance, why the need for an etymology? Conversely, if the glossator understood the etymology, then why the need to repeat the lemma?

If working within the older paradigm of scholarship it is very easy to read etymological glossing in a negative or dismissive way. As the examples above show, applying a modern philological perspective and a lack of willingness to engage with etymology can give the impression that the glossators did not really know what they were doing. A dismissive and critical attitude towards the later glossators – in whose time the majority of etymological glosses were copied (and presumably created) – has proved enduring, largely through the influence of Binchy, a pupil of Bergin, whose comments on etymological glosses were in the same vein as Bergin’s view that these glosses were ‘worthless etymological glosses which disfigure the law commentaries’.¹ Binchy’s productivity in editing and translating Irish law texts resulted in greater accessibility to the legal material they contained, but also helped popularise the idea that the glossators and commentators were ‘just weaving a crazy pattern of [their] own invention’.² To illustrate the failings of the glossators, Binchy cites the most famous anecdotal example of etymological glosses in the Irish law texts, the following “spoof”-etymology which he attributes to Bergin:

‘He [Bergin] pictured [the glossators] confronted with the Shakespearian phrase, ‘darraign your battle’. Taking their cue from the familiar word ‘battle’, they would have ‘separated’ the word as follows: ‘*darraign*, that is, *do ruin*, from its destructiveness; or *die ere you run*, that is, they must not retreat; or *dare in*, because they are brave; or *tear around*, from their activity; or *dear rain*, from the showers of blood’.³

¹ Bergin, ‘Irish Grammatical Tracts’, p. i. Criticism of medieval etymology has not been restricted to Irish; Curtius, in a brief description of the development of etymology from the antique to the medieval period, describes medieval etymology as ‘more or less insipid trifling’ (Curtius (translated from the German by Trask), *European Literature*, p. 496).

² Binchy, *BDCb*, p. 9.

³ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, p. 20. For a more recent response, see Russell, ‘*Read it in a Glossary*’, pp. 3–6.

Binchy himself adds, ‘that this parody is in no way exaggerated could be proved by several layers of legal glossing in which the alternative explanations are more numerous still and just as far-fetched’.¹ This mindset was continued by Kelly and Charles-Edwards, the latter a pupil of Binchy, in whose edition of *BB* they note that etymology was ‘superfluous as an aid to understanding, and is perhaps best regarded as learned ornamentation’.² This is not greatly further advanced than Binchy’s comment on an etymological gloss in the medico-legal text *Bretha Déin Chécht*, on which he states: ‘The ‘etymological’ explanation [*quotation*] tells us nothing.’³ Kelly and Charles-Edwards also, however, note that ‘the use of an ‘etymological’ gloss does not necessarily prove that the glossator was unable to understand the Old Irish form’.

3.6 Etymology in the Law Texts: Risks and Re-assessment

Piecemeal efforts have been made since to reassess etymological glosses, but they have been largely a reaction to the negative attitude popularised by Bergin and then Binchy, rather than an in-depth analytical dismantling of how the glossators constructed etymological glossing in the law texts.⁴ As early as 1928, Plummer suggested that the Irish legal writings are ‘the fragmentary deposit of the oral teaching in the Irish Law Schools’.⁵ Although Plummer does not mention etymological glosses specifically, this type of attitude, in which glossing is investigated as a serious and functional part of Irish law, is one which did not resurface until the 1980s.

The 1980s saw the beginnings of a shift to look more positively at etymological glossing, and at glossing more generally. In 1983 Baumgarten produced an article which challenged the then current negative attitude towards such etymologies, in which he called for ‘a systematic appreciation of these, admittedly marginal, features of Irish literary tradition according to their own purpose and environment’.⁶ Baumgarten draws particular attention to the *Etymologiae* in which ‘uniqueness of the etymology is not a postulate’.⁷ This was supported by Russell in 1988 in an introduction to Irish glossaries, including a comparison of etymologies within the glossaries

¹ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, p. 20.

² Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 18 (their inverted commas).

³ Binchy, *BDCh*, p. 56 (his inverted commas). The etymology in question is *re firdécsin* ‘for truly looking’, glossing *forcsen* (for *caura forcsen*) ‘a young(?) sheep’ (*BDCh*, § 83), in which *for-* is etymologised *fír* ‘true’ and the remaining lemma form *-csen* is recycled into *decsin* ‘looking’.

⁴ See e.g. Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, pp. 82–3, 86. For a detailed discussion of the phonology of etymology in *SC*, see Russell, ‘*Quasi*’, pp. 49–60.

⁵ Plummer, ‘Fragmentary State’, pp. 161–2.

⁶ Baumgarten, ‘Hiberno-Isidorian Etymology’, pp. 225–8, at p. 226.

⁷ Baumgarten, ‘Hiberno-Isidorian Etymology’, p. 226. Although Baumgarten’s interest was primarily on placenames, his observation holds equally true for the law texts.

with the *Etymologiae* and biblical sources.¹ Running in parallel with Russell's research, in an unpublished doctoral thesis on glossaries in 1987 Mahon stressed the importance of approaching medieval etymology from the perspective of the time:

'One must remain aware of the fact that the modern conception of etymology (which is hardly older than the nineteenth century), in as much as it looks for historical accuracy, does not apply to the etymological activity of medieval scholar. Etymology for him was a form of linguistic exegesis, and admitted of multiple interpretations, none of which was necessarily "wrong". Indeed, the greater number of interpretations (vis-à-vis the derivational *nomina*), the deeper the understanding of the *res*.²

This was echoed by Patterson in 1989, who compared the use of etymology in the law texts to that in Roman law;³ and by Simms in 1990, who emphasised the need to place legal glosses and commentaries in the context of those added to civil and canon law texts elsewhere in medieval Europe, and reiterated in 1998 in which she argues that ancillary legal material 'deserve scrutiny *in their own right*, not as inaccurate exposition of the original texts'.⁴

In the early 2000s, Russell built on Baumgarten's discussion to provide detailed examples of etymological analysis in Cormac's Glossary and to directly compare such examples with Isidore's etymologies, and has since discussed the preservation and variation of consonant structure, formulaic differences in Latin and Irish glosses, and parallels of etymologies in the glossaries in Isidore.⁵ Russell has focused primarily on glossaries, but the same principle applies to the law texts; like Baumgarten, Russell's work removes etymological glossing from its earlier, negative associations, and seeks to establish it as a functional and integral part of medieval Irish glossarial tradition which ought to be given due consideration.

In 2016 Breatnach made several observations regarding etymology in the law texts: that etymological glosses take into account words which have specific technical meanings; that in his examples words are used in the explanation which phonetically reflect the syllables of the lemma; and that this echoing element can be elided or brought to a further stage of development.⁶ He

¹ Russell, 'Sounds of a Silence', pp. 16–27.

² Mahon, 'Contributions', p. 17.

³ Patterson, 'Brehon law in late medieval Ireland', pp. 57–9.

⁴ Simms, 'Brehons of later medieval Ireland', p. 74; Simms, 'Contents of later commentaries', p. 23.

⁵ Russell, 'Read it in a Glossary', pp. 2–11, 'Quasi', pp. 49–60, 'Fern do frestol', pp. 19–22.

⁶ Breatnach, 'Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts', pp. 122–4. The examples Breatnach uses are *aimsir*, which is first understood as *am* 'time' + *sir* 'long' to give the etymology *ré suthain* 'lasting period' (*SM1*, 6 *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.25 (lemma), 29 (gloss)); and *fo-crenur* 'who is hired', which is first etymologised *fó* + *-crenur* 'good' + 'hired' and then developed one stage further to give the final etymology *deg-* 'good' + *creic* 'purchase' (*SM2*, 9 *Sechtae* = *CIH* i.45.2 (lemma), 9 (gloss)).

noted that ‘the skill displayed in these etymologies is rather to be admired as evidence of the mastery of the Isidorean methodology’.¹ This renewed appreciation of the work involved in etymological construction in the law texts and elsewhere in Irish literature – and the premise that there must have been a point to it – is beginning to replace its previous, negative reception.²

Nonetheless, in-depth systematic investigation of the type called for by Baumgarten into etymological glossing in the law texts remains non-existent. Any discussion of such glossing requires the use of categorisation, which can itself create more problems. In 1993 Crigger published an article in which she identifies and categorises all the glossing methods in her sample texts (primarily *Di Dligind Raith 7 Somaine la Flaith*, with some examples from *CA*) into four groups: definition, paraphrase, interpretation, and comment.³ She then describes the construction of these gloss types in relation to the main text: as semantically free or bound; and as syntactically free or bound.⁴

The initial difficulty with Crigger’s conclusions is that they are based on readings predominantly from only one text, which is not sufficiently extensive to support the broad lexical categories she creates. The second, more crucial issue is that her fourfold division of glossing methods over-simplifies. Her discussion does not allow for localised glossing methods, which should affect the way in which glosses are viewed. The following example is taken from Crigger’s discussion, which she identifies as an ‘interpretation or comments’ gloss:

Di Dligind Raith 7 Somaine la Flaith (CIH ii.432.27 (lemma), 433.3 (gloss)) (transl. Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 87)

*fíneraith*²

‘kin-fie’

².i. *dobexar isin fíni tall*

‘i.e., that is given into the *fine* from outside’

¹ Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, p. 122.

² Awareness of glossing in general is increasing, and the ‘*To Frighten Off the Rude and Ignorant?*’ *Intentional obscuritas in Irish and Welsh literature (650–1650)* conference held in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (May 2019) showcased a variety of glossing aspects.

³ Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, pp. 84–90.

⁴ Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 90.

Crigger argues that ‘interpretation’ glosses differ from ‘definition’ and ‘paraphrase’ glosses in that they are ‘free as to their own syntax’.¹ In the gloss just cited, the gloss looks like a relatively free interpretation of the lemma. However, the syntax and lexical units of the gloss become clearly predetermined when viewed in the context of the surrounding text and glosses. The lemma and gloss form one part of a larger glossing section, in which a series of forms of *rath* are glossed using an identical structure:

Di Dligiud Raith 7 Somaine la Flaith (CIH ii.432.27–8 (lemmata), 433.3–4 (glosses))

Cia lin raith docuissin¹ fineraith² ineraith³ iarrath⁴ soerath⁵

¹ *.i. doberar and itir* ² *.i. doberar isin fini tall* ³ *.i. doberar inti amuich*

⁴ *.i. doberar leisín lenam* ⁵ *.i. dobeir flaith sarrraith*

‘How many fiefs are there¹ regarding kin-fief²: kin-fief³; fosterage-fee⁴; free clientship-fee⁵’

¹ ‘i.e. it is given there in general.’

² ‘i.e. it is given in the kin-group inside.’

³ ‘i.e. it is given into it [i.e. the kin] from outside.’

⁴ ‘i.e. it is given with the child.’

⁵ ‘i.e. the lord gives the free clientship-fee.’

Each gloss is a three- or four-word explanatory phrase, of which the first four begin with *doberar...* and the fifth with the related active form *dobeir...* (which in turn links to the pattern of the subsequent glosses). They mirror a larger pattern within the glossing of this section in which forms of *rath* + qualifying adjective are glossed using the structure *dobeir...*² These glosses *are* therefore syntactically bound, to the extent that they form a distinctive glossing pattern across one section of text.³

A similar example can be found elsewhere in the same text, in which the phrase *rêir fir ad-gialltar* ‘in accordance with the stipulation of the man who is submitted to in clientship [i.e. as the lord directs]’ occurs three times across three passages of text and is glossed identically in each

¹ Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 89. In the subsequent table Crigger then provides, ‘interpretation’ glosses are – presumably erroneously – described as ‘syntactically bound’ (as oppose to syntactically free) (Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 90).

² CIH ii.432.28–433.1 (lemmata = *rath naicille*, *rath irraith*, *raith i cuitriud chorach*), 433.5–7 (glosses)).

³ Further support for a deliberately structured use of *dobeir* to gloss *rath* in this section may be found in the absence of other glossing styles which one might have otherwise expected. For example, *cia lin* may be glossed with the etymology *cis lîr no cîa ler* and *do-chuisin* by *dîscnaithir nō taraister* (see Chapter 4.2.2).

instance with the gloss phrase *rēir ind fhir danad ada in cheillsine* ‘in accordance with the stipulation of the man for whom clientship is suitable’:

Main text: *rēir fir ad-gialltar*¹

‘in accordance with the stipulation of the man who is submitted to in clientship’

Glosses: *.i. do rēir ind fhir dānadh adba in cheillsine daberar sin .i. na flatba*²

‘that is brought in accordance with the stipulation of the man for whom clientship is ‘suitable’, i.e. of the lord.’

*rēir ind fhir dānadh adba in cheillsine*³

‘in accordance with the stipulation of the man for whom clientship is ‘suitable’.’

*.i. da rēir ind fhir dānad adba in cheillsine*⁴

‘i.e. in accordance with the stipulation of the man for whom clientship is ‘suitable’.’

In the example cited above, the glosses do not sit well in any of Crigger’s categories: they define the lemmata within their immediate context but they are relatively general in meaning; they are not paraphrases of the main text; they are – as we have now seen – syntactically bound, which places them beyond the ‘interpretation’ gloss category; and they are not independent commentary. Crigger may well be right that ‘paraphrase glosses are the *locus classicus* of legal etymologies’;⁵ but the matter is more complex than her categories allow for. In the case of the lemma phrase *rēir fir adgialltar*, we see repetition, etymology, and also choice. Twelve words on from the last example comes another instance of *adngialltar*, but it is not in the phrase *rēir fir adgialltar* and it is not glossed using any elements from the gloss shown above.⁶

While Crigger is undoubtedly correct that ‘legal glossaries and commentaries are far from being random compositions’, she takes it to the other extreme: ‘they are, rather, clearly rule-

¹ *rēir fir ad-gialltar* CIH ii.434.16, *rēir fir adngialltar* (*adngialltar* with <-n-> is presumably a variant relative form) CIH ii.435.11, *rēir fir ad-gialltar* CIH ii.435.34.

² CIH ii.434.25–6.

³ CIH ii.435.22.

⁴ CIH ii.436.5.

⁵ Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 86.

⁶ It is glossed instead with a more generally lexical paraphrase (*Di Dligiud Raith 7 Somaine la Flaith* (CIH ii.435.35 (lemma), 436.6–7 (gloss)).

governed in content, form, and structural relationship to elements of the main text’.¹ The implication is that, where a gloss does not fit into one of these four categories, it is anomalous. By restricting her schematics of glossing methods to her four categories, she inadvertently creates anachronistic complications. For example, having identified and isolated each of the four categories, she notes that: ‘paraphrases often expand upon the text head by incorporating additional information in optional embedded constituents. In this regard they resemble the third category of the legal apparatus [i.e.] interpretation or comment glosses’.² This overlap would not cause comment, were she not working within the artificial framework of her four categories; rather, one would be tempted simply to describe such a gloss as a combination of glossing methods.

Categorisation like this implies that the glossators were also thinking within this fourfold framework when there seems to have been a significant level of freedom, flexibility, and choice in gloss composition. Such systematic classification is an example of the dangers of over-specification; it suggests that the glossators were bound to a particular system in all circumstances, and has the potential to be every bit as misleading as Binchy’s generalisation of etymologies as exercises in nonsense.

It has been noted above that etymologies in modern editions are generally translated according to Binchy’s description of etymological process. The relevant passage is repeated here:

‘A preposition standing in proclisis as the first element of a compound verb is always interpreted as an independent word: in this position *as-* is glossed by *úais* ‘lofty, noble’; *im-* by *éim* ‘swift’, *ar-* by *fír* ‘true’, *con-* by *caoin* ‘fair’, &c.’³

One difficulty with this description is that it implies that these etymologies always carried these specific meanings. It is tempting to think that, because they are located in a legal text and may qualify legal terminology, etymologies should have a specific, technical meaning. However, giving a specific meaning to an etymology can lead to seemingly confused or incorrect glosses which are difficult to account for. To illustrate the problems which can be caused by attaching a specific meaning to an etymology, the following example looks at the etymon *im-* <-m> and considers how it is currently understood in editions and how applying a more general or variable understanding semantic weight may be more productive.

¹ Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 85.

² Crigger, ‘Crazy like a Fox’, p. 87.

³ Binchy, ‘Linguistic and Historical Value’, pp. 19–20

The the following example is taken from *BB* in which understanding *éim* as ‘quickly’ specifically causes problems in understanding the sense of the gloss.

BB, § 54^f

ní imdich cia beth cuit dó indib^f

^f *.i. nochon em-didnend gein fiachu gaide uaidh ge beith cuid do intib cona nescaire.¹*

‘He has no defence even though he has a share in them^f.’

^f ‘i.e. it does not ‘quickly protect’ him from [paying] fines for theft though he has a share in them with proclamation of them.’

As ‘quickly protect’, the etymological gloss implies that the glossator was thinking of a specific action not covered in the main text: what is a ‘quick’ protection? Or, that he did not know what *im-* in *imdich* meant, and the etymology *éim* was merely a guess to supply meaning, albeit unclear.

Clashes of meaning like these can be avoided if the etymology is understood to have a flexible, general meaning and variable semantic weight.² In the examples used here, the etymology is no longer quite so disjointed from the rest of the text if we understand *éim* to have the less specific meaning ‘timely’. ‘Timely’ may simply be understood as ‘in a timely manner’, which can apply to almost any legal process and to any timeframe. The above example may then be understood as follows:

¹ A second explanatory gloss is added at this point by Aodh (marked as Hand II in Charles-Edwards and Kelly’s edition) (*BB*, § 54^f): *Ma ruc amach iat gan fis d[ff]ir in feraind, gid les fen iat no cu tuctha in roind bud coir orro* ‘If he took them out without the knowledge of the owner of the land, though they are his own, until they be properly divided’.

² Editors have sometimes tried to account for etymologies by providing a different meaning for *éim* other than ‘swift’. The editors of *BB* understand the etymological gloss *eamnaidh* (for *em anaidh*) (*BB*, § 22^a) as ‘waits readily’ (as oppose to *éim* as ‘swiftly’, which is the translation used elsewhere in the edition) to describe a piece of land receiving a swarm of bees. In *CL*, the editor understands the etymology *éim* as ‘swift’ in six of out eleven instances. In the other five, the etymology is either not translated (*CL*, § 10^{1,2}) or understood as ‘timely’ (*CL*, § 67), ‘true’ (*CL*, § 97), or ‘not’ (*CL*, § 195). A confusion has arisen in *CL*, § 195, in which the etymological gloss is *éim-diupairt* ‘éim-defrauding’. The etymology *éim* has to be understood ‘not’ in order to match the normalised main text, in which the lemma phrase is *cen imdiupairt* ‘without mutual defrauding’ (therefore glossed *éim-diupairt* ‘not-defrauding’). The normalised version is based on TCD H 3. 17 (1336) (version B in the edition), but the etymological gloss is taken from the sample group manuscript TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (version A in the edition). In TCD H 2. 15A, the main text does not read *cen imdiupairt* ‘without mutual defrauding’, but conversely *cach nimdiubirt* ‘every mutual defrauding’. The etymological gloss *éim-diupairt* may therefore be understood as ‘timely defrauding’, referring to the ‘mutual defrauding’ in the main text as preserved in TCD H 2. 15A.

‘He has no defence even though he has a share in them^f.’

^f i.e. it does not ‘timely protect’ him from [paying] fines for theft though he has a share in them with proclamation of them.’

We are now dealing with ‘timely’ protection. While we are not much further forward understanding the meaning of the legal procedures described, the etymology no longer detrimentally impacts on the gloss as a whole. The semantic weight of the etymologies is much lighter, providing a general meaning of ‘in good time, in due course’ which may apply to almost any situation. A more general understanding allows formerly nonsensical etymologies to work within the broader context of the lemma. To this end, I emend translations of *éim* ‘quickly, swiftly’ to its broader sense ‘timely’ (which may in itself be quickly or swiftly) in etymological glosses for minimum interference with the data.

The difficulty – and danger – is in the tendency to generalise. For Binchy, all prepositions were mechanically replaced by words whose only connection to the lemma was in their sound; for Crigger, etymological glosses were part of a formalised set of glossing rules. Binchy’s description of how prefix etymologies were created continues to be cited without further advancement.¹ There is still a tendency to view etymological glossing in the law texts as a device which was treated differently to other glossing methods; and the term ‘standard’ is used to describe etymologies without a systematic study in place to ascertain exactly what such an etymology is.² The question therefore remains: what is a ‘standard’ etymological gloss?

¹ e.g. Eska, *CL*, p. 177 fn. a.

² e.g. *CB*, pp. 189 s.v. § 8¹, 190 s.v. §8⁴.

4 ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSES AND WHERE TO FIND THEM

4.1 Sample Group

Because of the wealth of data still to be looked at, it would be extremely problematic and impractical to make a study of the etymological glosses in early Irish law as a whole. No detailed account of glossing styles in the law texts currently exists, but it is suffice to say that etymological glosses are very frequent in *SM* texts; the following sample group of only eight texts from *SM* contains over 200 examples of syllabic etymology. The following study will consider first/final syllabic etymology within a sample group of law texts. First/final syllable etymology is the most frequent method of etymology used in *SM*, and owing to its distinctive pattern of construction it is also the most easily recognisable etymological method; where there is any modern scholarship on etymological glossing in the law texts, it is generally this category which is cited. As a result, it is this group which will form the basis of the following investigation of etymological process in the law texts.

The most suitable sample group is those texts in TCD H 2. 15A (1316), of which seven have been edited and translated:¹

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a)

- *Díre*-tract (*D*) ‘Tract on Penalty’ (Thurneysen, 1931)
- *Bandíre*-tract (*BD*) ‘Tract on Penalty regarding Women’ (Thurneysen, 1931)²
- *Becbbretha* (*BB*) ‘Bee Judgements’ (Charles-Edwards and Kelly, 1983)
- *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* (*CUT*) ‘Kinship of Conducted Water’ (Binchy, 1955)
- *Bretha im Gatta* (*BG*) ‘Judgements concerning Theft’ (Hull, 1956)

¹ The legal sections of TCD H 2. 15A (1316) are not currently available on the Irish Script on Screen (ISOS) online project (isos.dias.ie). A facsimile was produced in 1931 by Best and Thurneysen (*Senchas Már: Facsimile of the Oldest Fragments from MS. H. 2. 15 in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*). For the division of the manuscript, see further Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 4.

² Thurneysen’s edition of *Díre* includes *Bandíre*, the latter of which is now treated as a separate text in itself (see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 295–6). In Thurneysen’s edition, *Bandíre* begins at § 27 (Thurneysen, ‘Irishes Recht. I *Díre*’, p. 27). I follow Thurneysen’s paragraph numbering throughout.

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b)

- *Cáin Lánamna* (CL) ‘The Law of Couples’ (Eska, 2010)¹
- *Córus Bésgnai* (CB) ‘The Arrangement of Discipline’ (Breatnach, 2017)

To this sample group of texts I also add *Cáin Aicillne* (CA) ‘The Law of Base Clientship’, which covers all three legal texts contained within TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b).² Of those from TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a), the texts form a continuous block with the exception of *Bretha im Fhuillemu Gell* ‘Judgements concerning Pledge-Interests’. *Bretha im Fhuillemu Gell* has not been edited since *AL*, and, because of its length, it would be impractical to include it within the sample group.³

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) contains consecutive texts from the middle third of *SM* from *SM2*, 15 to *SM2*, 24.⁴ It incorporates five texts from the above group:

- pp. 17a–18b = *CIH* ii.436.33–440.31 (*SM2*, 19) *Díre*-tract
- pp. 18b–20a = *CIH* ii.440.32–444.11 (*SM2*, 20) *Bandíre*-tract
- pp. 20a–26a = *CIH* ii.444.12–457.10 (*SM2*, 21) *Bechbretha*
- pp. 26a–28a = *CIH* ii.457.11–462.18 (*SM2*, 22) *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne*
- pp. 38a–38b = *CIH* ii.477.31–479.22 (*SM2*, 24) *Bretha im Gatta*

The texts in TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) are in the same hand whose name and dates are not known, save that he worked at some point before 1350; the second glossator, Aodh mac Conchobair mac Aodhagáin, autographs the bottom of pp. 36–7 in this year.⁵ In the introduction to the facsimile, Best and Thurneysen suggest that TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) originated from the MacEgan law school at Duniry, co. Galway, and put forward the possibility that Aodh’s father wrote some of the manuscript, to which his son added certain notes and glosses; the glosses are, at any rate, not by the writer of the text.⁶

The majority of glosses are by one hand, identified as Lúcas Ó Dalláin.⁷ Very little is known about Lúcas, save that he worked on TCD H 2. 7 (1298) before AD 1347, and that he

¹ Previously edited by Thurneysen, *Studies in Early Irish Law*, pp. 1–80.

² The other extant version of *CA* (TCD H 3. 17 (1336) col. 198–233 = *CIH* v.1778.34–1804.11) has been edited and translated (main text only) by Thurneysen (‘Aus dem irischen Recht I’, pp. 338–93).

³ (TCD H 2. 15A (1316), p. 28a–38a = *CIH* ii.462.19–477.30) = *AL* v.376–422. This text is currently being edited by Jaqueline Bemmer.

⁴ TCD H 2. 15A (1316), pp. 11a–38b = *CIH* ii.423.1–479.22.

⁵ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. ix; Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 90–1.

⁶ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, pp. ix–x.

⁷ Best, ‘Oldest Fragments’, pp. 301–2; Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 4.

worked on the *SM* section of TCD H 2. 15A before AD 1351 as his hand precedes that of the second glossator, Aodh.¹ Both Lúcas and Aodh worked in the fourteenth century, with the former working in the first half, and the latter signing his name, age, and date as being twenty-one years old on Christmas Eve AD 1350 on pp. 36–7.² Aodh’s death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster nine years later, where he is described as *adbur suadh re breithembnus* ‘the makings of an expert of law’.³ The third glossator, who signs his name Cairbre on the bottom margin of p. 14 (*SM2, 17 Di Fódlaib Cenéoil Túaithe*), is less easy to identify. Best and Thurneysen note that Cairbre’s consistent use of *vi* for *ui*, of using a small high *v* with a dropped *i*, might indicate the fifteenth century, and that Cairbre places himself at Cluain Lethan, a MacEgan law school.⁴ Best also suggested that Cairbre may have been the son of a MacEgan named Flann mac Cairbre, who added a marginal note to p. 191 of the *Leabhar Breac* in AD 1514, which would place Cairbre in the sixteenth century.⁵ He may have been the same Cairbre Mac Egan who signed a legal document in AD 1584.⁶ It is clear nonetheless that Cairbre worked later than Aodh, as the top margin of p. 25 shows Cairbre fitting his commentary in between the text and Aodh’s commentary.⁷ There are four further glossators, who, with the exception of Aodhagán mac Conchobair, remain unidentified.⁸

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b) contains material from the first third of *SM*, consisting of the following:

pp. 39a–42b, 47a–53a = <i>CIH</i> ii.479.19–502.6	(<i>SM1, 6</i>) <i>Cáin Aicillne</i>
pp. 53a–59b = <i>CIH</i> ii.502.7–519.35	(<i>SM1, 7</i>) <i>Cáin Lánamna</i>
pp. 59b–66b = <i>CIH</i> ii.520.1–536.27	(<i>SM1, 8</i>) <i>Córus Bésgnai</i>

This section was the product of two anonymous scribes, who took turns copying the text.⁹ The first of these is also responsible for a tract in TCD H 3. 17 (1336), an O’Doran legal manuscript which had some of its material written by MacEgan scribes. This included the same Aodhagán Mac Conchobair who wrote the comment on p. 14 of TCD H 2. 15A (1316), noting

¹ Best, ‘Oldest Fragments’, p. 301. Best notes that Cairbre is a common name among the MacEgans (Best, ‘Oldest Fragments’, p. 302).

² Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 4; Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 90–1.

³ AU 1356.3 (ed. and transl. Mac Carthy, vol. I, p. 508) = ALC 1359 (ed. and transl. Hennessy II, p. 20).

⁴ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi.

⁵ Best, ‘Oldest Fragments’, p. 302.

⁶ Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 6.

⁷ Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, pp. 5–6.

⁸ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi.

⁹ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi. For a detailed list of the individual pages which each of these scribes copied, see Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi; for the same in *CL*, see Eška, *CL*, pp. 38–40; and for *CB*, see Breatnach, *CB*, p. 5.

that the manuscript was in a MacEgan school in AD 1575.¹ Very little information is available on the second scribe, but as they took it in turns to copy the texts, it would seem reasonable to assume that they were in the same place and so had connections with, or perhaps were present at, a MacEgan law school. Best and Thurneysen note that ‘there is no reason to date [TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b)] later than [TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a)]’.² There are a number of glossator hands for this section, which are all as yet unidentifiable;³ Best and Thurneysen identify four hands, as well as ‘some distinctly later hands’.⁴

The sample group may therefore be summarised as follows:

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a)

pp. 17a–18b = CIH ii.436.33–440.31	(SM2, 19) <i>Díre-tract</i> (D)
pp. 18b–20a = CIH ii.440.32–444.11	(SM2, 20) <i>Bandíre-tract</i> (BD)
pp. 20a–26a = CIH ii.444.12–457.10	(SM2, 21) <i>Becbbretha</i> (BB)
pp. 26a–28a = CIH ii.457.11–462.18	(SM2, 22) <i>Coibnes Uisci Thairidne</i> (CUT)
pp. 38a–38b = CIH ii.477.31–479.22	(SM2, 24) <i>Bretha im Gatta</i> (BG)

TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b)

pp. 39a–42b, 47a–53a = CIH ii.479.19–502.6	(SM1, 6) <i>Cáin Aicillne</i> (CA)
pp. 53a–59b = CIH ii.502.7–519.35	(SM1, 7) <i>Cáin Lánamna</i> (CL)
pp. 59b–66b = CIH ii.520.1–536.27	(SM1, 8) <i>Córus Bésgnai</i> (CB)

In terms of dating, for the most part the language of the main text is Old Irish with glossing in Middle and Early Modern Irish. Texts from *SM* can be dated to some time between 660 and 680 AD in Armagh.⁵ In the case of *BB*, Charles-Edwards and Kelly have assigned the language of the glosses and commentary to the 9th–16th century.⁶ The majority of glosses on TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) were added in the mid-14th century by Lúcas Ó Dalláin; and, as we have seen, at least one of the glossators on TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b) was working in the 16th century.

A brief survey of linguistic forms of the etymological glosses in the sample group suggest a late Middle/Early Modern period for their composition. Etymological glosses frequently replace compound verbs with simple verbs, which include the following:

¹ Eska, *CL*, p. 38.

² Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xi.

³ See Eska, *CL*, pp. 41–4.

⁴ Best and Thurneysen, *Senchas Már*, p. xii.

⁵ Breatnach, ‘Early Irish Law Text *Senchas Már*’, pp. 19–42.

⁶ Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 14.

<i>ad-len</i>	>	<i>lenaid</i> ¹
<i>as-ren</i>	>	<i>éirnitber</i> ²
<i>fo-ceird</i>	>	<i>cuirid</i> ³
<i>imm-fuich</i>	>	<i>fúaitrid</i> ⁴
<i>in-cuirethar</i>	>	<i>cuirid</i> ⁵

We also find instances in both (2a) and (2b) in which the 3rd sg. pres. ending *-nn* is used, a development which began in the Middle Irish period:⁶

<i>imid-chuirethar</i>	>	<i>inadacuirend</i> ⁷
<i>fo-rroí</i>	>	<i>fír-fuachtnaigend</i> ⁸
<i>conad fuirb</i>	>	<i>co fír-ēibeann</i> ⁹

In some etymological glosses there is evidence that the etymology was not pronounced exactly as it was written. For example, *frithfolā* ‘counter considerations’ is etymologised *fír-folā* ‘true consideration’.¹⁰ If all units of the etyma *frith-* were pronounced, we would expect <th> to be worked into the etymology. The omission of final <-th> from the etymology may be a by-product of the etymological process (in other words, omitting consonants which do not fit into the etymology), or it may be an indicator of dating. Similarly, <s> was thought of as leniting to zero (instead of /h/) in the etymologies *séis* (from *córus*) and *fír* (from *frís-*, among other forms of *frith-*). The dental fricative /θ/ <th> reduces to /h/ <th> at the beginning of the Early Modern period (c. 13th century).¹¹ Such a change had thus already occurred by the time of Lúcas Ó Dalláin (14th century), and the other scribes of sections of TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) and (2b), copied the texts in the sample group. These scribes would have pronounced <-th> as /h/ and, on analogy with lemmata like *córus* and *frís-*, could treat <-th> as having zero quality for the purpose of etymology, allowing for etymologies like *frith-* > *fír* (which share the consonant structure <f-r> in pronunciation by the 14th century). On this basis, and in lieu of a more comprehensive

¹ e.g. *CUT*, § 5³.

² e.g. *BG*, § 2j.

³ e.g. *CB*, § 56^{1,2}, 57¹.

⁴ e.g. *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.17 (lemma), 22 (gloss), 489.25 (lemma), 28 (gloss), 490.16 (lemma), 20 (gloss).

⁵ e.g. *BB*, §§ 12^c, 13^b.

⁶ *SnG* III § 23.12, IV § 7.3.

⁷ e.g. *BB*, §§ 12^c, 13^b.

⁸ e.g. *CUT*, § 14³.

⁹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.500.20 (lemma), 26 (gloss).

¹⁰ *CB*, § 63⁸.

¹¹ Discussed in detail by O’Rahilly (Notes on Middle-Irish Pronunciation, pp. 165–88). See also *SnG* IV § 2.11 (1).

study of etyma in word-final /h/, we can assign a terminus post quem to etymologies which treat word-final /h/ as zero to the 13th century. In terms of time-frame, it is possible that the scribes of TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) who worked in the 14th century were responsible for the creation of these etymologies. However, Russell has noted that /h/ may be treated as /Ø/ in etymological analysis in *SC*, and so we may be dealing with an etymological process, rather than an indicator of chronology.¹

A similar case can be made for the treatment <d>. At the end of the Middle Irish period, one sound was made of <dh> and <th> in unaccented syllables, and in the Early Modern period word-final <-dh> was falling out of use.² Thus we find *bés* ‘annual food-rent’ glossed *biad úais* ‘noble food’;³ *biad* was most likely pronounced as Modern Irish *bia*, in which case the consonant structure of the etymological gloss matches that of the lemma: *bés* <b-s> becomes *biad úais* <b-s>.⁴ Again, this points to these etymological glosses’ in the 13th century or later.

One of the core questions when dealing with texts is whether the person who wrote out the text was its author or a copyist. Of the surviving versions of texts in the sample group, it is often the case that syllabic etymological glosses occur predominantly – or solely – in the TCD H 2. 15A (1316) version.⁵ Indeed, the in-text glossing in general in TCD H 2. 15A (1316) is notably dense compared to other surviving versions of the texts.⁶ Both sections (2a) and (2b) were the work of multiple scribes, but in the case of (2a) the bulk of the glosses were written out by Lúcas Ó Dalláin, who is the first glossator to work on this section. Those glosses added afterwards by other scribes are for the most part corrections or explanatory additions to Lúcas’ glosses.⁷ Lúcas’ glosses as a whole show late Middle/Early Modern features, including the use of new simple verbs formed from the prototonic or verbal noun of compound verbs (see list above), petrified infixed pronouns, and independent subject pronouns.⁸ It is tempting to argue for Lúcas as the composer of the glosses (of those in his hand); but, as Mac Gearailt has discussed in detail, dating linguistic features of the Middle/Early Modern period is fraught with difficulties.⁹ Later scribes would often actively employ archaisms (such as compound verbs, the

¹ Russell, ‘*Fern do frestol*’, p. 22 n. 14.

² *SnG* IV § 2.11(2)

³ e.g. *CA* = *CIH* ii.480.12 (lemma), 18–20 (gloss).

⁴ For <s> /s/ as /f/, see Chapter 5.1.

⁵ This can be seen clearly in *BB*, where the glosses in TCD H 3. 18 (1337) pp. 397a1–398a3 are similar to those in TCD H 2. 15A (1316) but omit the etymological gloss, e.g. *BB*, § 10^c .i. *uair isi seo treas fine-duthaigh cæn-fodbailter fo choibdeiligudh na criob* (TCD H 2. 15 A (1316), .i. *confodlithter in deolat as sin* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337)).

⁶ This is particularly evident in *BB* and *CL*, in which the TCD H 2. 15A (1316) versions are heavily glossed in contrast to other surviving versions.

⁷ e.g. *BB*, § 25^{a,b,e,f}, *CUT*, § 9¹⁴. *BB*, § 32^a, *CUT*, § 12⁵ etymological gloss added by Aodh.

⁸ e.g. *BB*, § 6^c, 54^c (*inni daberar donir; dafintar air e*); *CUT*, § 12² (*is e ceannach daberaid air*); *BB*, § 30^{b,d} (*airilmigidh se; tuithidh se*).

⁹ Mac Gearailt, ‘Middle Irish archaisms’, pp. 57–116.

verbal particles *no* and *ro*, and infixed pronouns), effectively masking accurate chronological analysis.

The etymologies discussed below have been taken from this sample group except where stated otherwise. It is important to bear in mind that the following description of method and purpose can only be applied to this particular group of texts until such time as a study of all existing etymological glosses in the law texts is produced.

4.2 Sample Group: Glossing Styles

Etymology is part of a larger explanatory process in which glossators broke down and reworked main text. A number of different glossing styles – some formulaic, some specific to context – were used, with which etymology may combine. If one does not separate out or view etymological glosses in isolation from the rest of the gloss, then other glossing styles at once become apparent. In order to illustrate the fluidity with which etymology worked alongside other glossing methods within a glossator’s broader scholarly apparatus, a handful of these glossing styles will be looked at: positive and negative substitution; formulaic substitution; word pairs; localised glossing; the verb *do-gní* ‘does, makes’ + verbal noun; and finally, glosses which use a combination of styles. The possible applications of each of these glossing styles is also discussed. Note that these categories of glossing are aspects of a larger glossing apparatus and often overlap; they are not intended to be an exact reflection of how the glossator was thinking. The purpose of the following discussion is simply to demonstrate the variety of styles used in the sample group in order to better understand the context of etymological glosses.¹

4.2.1 Positive and Negative Substitution

For the purpose of the following discussion, the phrase *positive and negative substitution* refers to a glossing style in which the positive and negative prefixes *an-*, *do-*, *é-*, *mí-*, and *so-* are replaced by different prefixes with similar meanings.² The four prefixes, *an-*, *do-*, *é-*, and *mí-*, are treated identically, being replaced by *droch-* ‘bad’; *so-*, conversely, is replaced by *deg-* ‘good’. Other

¹ For the purpose of the following discussion, a maximum of three examples per point will be provided in the footnotes in addition to an in-text example.

² Note that only *mí-* is purely negative in meaning; *an-*, *do-*, and *e-* may take other meanings, such as an intensifier. The prefixes *an-* and *e-* are historically the same, deriving from the Indo-European negative prefix **h₂-*. See Thurneysen, *GOI*, pp. 542–4 (§§ 869–70), 872 (e). The negative prefix *in-*, also derived from this Indo-European stem, does not appear to be used as an etymological lemma in the sample group of texts.

than six exceptions, listed below, the lexicon of the lemmata in all these prefixes is restricted to one or more of three words: *cor* ‘contract’; *cubus* ‘conscience’; and *folud* ‘conduct; consideration’.

cor ‘contract’

<i>do-</i> > <i>droch-</i> :	<i>dochoru</i> ‘disadvantageous contracts’ >	<i>drochchor</i> ‘bad contracts’. ¹
<i>mí-</i> > <i>droch-</i> :	<i>michoru</i> ‘invalid contracts’ >	<i>drochchuru</i> ‘bad contracts’. ²
<i>so-</i> > <i>deg-</i> :	<i>sochor</i> ‘good contract’ >	<i>degcor</i> ‘good contract’. ³

cubus ‘conscience’

<i>é-</i> > <i>droch-</i> :	<i>éccubus</i> ‘bad conscience’ >	<i>drochchubus</i> ‘bad conscience’. ⁴
<i>so-</i> > <i>deg-</i> :	<i>sochubus</i> ‘good conscience’ >	<i>degcor</i> ‘good contract’. ⁵

folad ‘conduct; consideration’

<i>an-</i> > <i>droch-</i> :	<i>anfolad</i> ‘bad conduct’ >	<i>drochfolaid</i> ‘bad conduct’. ⁶
<i>mí-</i> > <i>droch-</i> :	<i>mifholaid</i> ‘bad consideration’ >	<i>drochfolaid</i> ‘bad consideration’. ⁷
<i>so-</i> > <i>deg-</i> :	<i>sofboltach</i> ‘good qualifications’ >	<i>degfoltach</i> ‘good qualifications’. ⁸

There are six additional lemmata which occur with a positive or negative substitution gloss:⁹

¹ *CL*, § 9³. Further examples: *CB*, § 5¹. An additional example may include *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.17 (lemma), 23–4 (gloss), in which the gloss *dochchuru* may represent *drochchuru* (see *CIH* ii.490 fn. d).

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.30 (lemma), 491.1 (gloss). Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.34 (lemma), 492.5–6 (gloss), 493.19 (lemma), 23–5 (gloss).

³ *CL*, § 6³. Further examples: *CB*, § 6¹.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.30 (lemma), 497.3–4 (gloss). Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.31 (lemma), 497.4–5; *CL*, §§ 1¹⁴, 28⁷.

⁵ *CL*, § 6³. Further examples: *CL*, §§ 1¹³, 9⁹.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.17 (lemma), 24 (gloss). Further examples: *BD*, § 37⁷; *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.9 (lemma), 16–17 (gloss); *CL*, § 33¹.

⁷ *CA* = *CIH* ii.499.14 (lemma), 19 (gloss).

⁸ *CA* = *CIH* ii.499.12 (lemma), 16 (gloss). Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.33 (lemma), 9–10 (gloss), 500.19 (lemma), 24 (gloss). 500.20 (lemma), 27 (gloss).

⁹ Note that positive prefix *so-* also occurs in the whole-word etymology *sofer* ‘good man’, etymologising *saer* ‘independent person’ (e.g. *CB*, § 3⁵).

Lemma		Etymology
<i>anflaithius</i> ‘misgovernment’	>	<i>drochfblaithius</i> ‘bad rule’. ¹
<i>sochamail</i> ‘well-being’	>	<i>degaccomul</i> ‘well-being’. ²
<i>sochla</i> ‘honourable thing’	>	<i>degchlu</i> ‘good reputation’. ³ <i>dagduine</i> ‘good persons’. ⁴
<i>sochraiti</i> ‘allies’	>	<i>deagcairding</i> ‘good alliance’. ⁵
<i>sochorp</i> ‘good of body’	>	<i>daccorp</i> (for <i>dagcorp</i>) ‘good of body’. ⁶ [is] <i>maith a corp</i> ‘[it is] of good body’. ⁷
<i>sogelta</i> ‘well-grazed’	>	[is] <i>maith geles</i> ‘[it is] well that he grazes’. ⁸

Note that *sochorp* and *sogelta* in the above list generate the positive substitute *maith*. As an independent adjective the syntax of these glosses are slightly different in that the copula and a relative verbal form are used respectively to accommodate it. Like *deg-*, *maith* means ‘good’ and preposes the remaining lemma form (i.e. *a corp* and *geles*) in the gloss.

In general, this glossing style simplifies the above prefixes into either *droch-* or *deg-*. In the majority of cases, there is almost no semantic change between the lemma and the gloss. There is little difference in meaning, for example, between *ecobus* ‘bad conscience; lack of conscience’ and *drochchubus* ‘bad conscience’. In some instances, however, positive and negative substitution may lose the specific meaning of the lemma and the reduction of the above prefix group into three prefixes (i.e. *droch-* and *deg-/maith*) appears counter-productive. This is particularly true of compounds of *cor* ‘contract’. *Míchor* is an ‘invalid contract’ while *dochor* is a ‘disadvantageous contract’. Glossing both compounds as *drochchor* ‘bad contract’ is therefore ambiguous. The sense of *drochchor* was presumably narrowed by the context of the main text, so that the user of the text would know to which type of contract *drochchor* referred. In the following example, the nature of the *drochchor* is specified in the gloss as being disadvantageous. Negative substitution is marked in bold.

¹ *BD*, §§ 36^{3,4}.

² *CL*, § 8⁴.

³ *CB*, § 24²¹. This gloss contains two instances of *degchlu* for the single lemma *sochla*.

⁴ *CB*, § 24²².

⁵ *CA* = *CIH* ii.488.34 (lemma), 489.3–4 (gloss). Further examples: *CB*, § 22¹⁸. For this section of *CA* and Digest B1, see Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, pp. 129–30.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.488.25 (lemma), 27–8 (gloss). For this section of *CA* and Digest B1, see Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, p. 128.

⁷ *CA* = *CIH* ii.482.3 (lemma), 14 (gloss).

⁸ *CA* = *CIH* i.482.3 (lemma), 15 (gloss).

CB, § 5¹

*dochor*¹

¹ .i. in **dro[*ch*]***chor do-niat na gaith i fetatar a ndiubairt do brith.*

‘a **disadvantageous** contract¹.’

¹ i.e. the **bad** contract which the wise persons make, when they are aware that they are losing out.’

Positive and negative substitution does not seem to have occurred where the lemma is one half of a word pair in the main text. The following examples are not glossed using positive and negative substitution, even though they contain the prefixes *mí-* and *so-*.

mignimaib 7 *michoraib* ‘with bad deeds and invalid contracts’.¹

sochor. 7 *dochor* ‘an advantageous contract and a disadvantageous contract’.²

somoíne 7 *domoíne* ‘services rendered by a client and arrears’.³

Positive and negative substitution was therefore not mechanical, but rather the choice of the glossator. As this glossing method reduces a group of prefixes into just two (with two instances of a third, *maith*), presumably it was the general semantic sense of the lemma, rather than its peculiarities, which was the focus. Provision seems to have been made to avoid confusion where possible. Where *míchor*, *dochor*, or *sochor* occur together in the main text, only one undergoes positive or negative substitution. This is the case for *CL*, § 9^{3,5} in which both *dochuru* and *sochuru* occur in the main text but of which only *dochuru* is glossed using this method as *drochchor*. In *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.16–17 (lemmata), 21–4 (glosses) the term *dochciuru* is used to gloss *docuraib*. *Dochciuru* is presumably an error for *drochuru*. If so, this is another example of selective glossing: both *micoraib* and *docuraib* occur in the main text, but only *docuraib* is glossed, avoiding any potential confusion caused by two identical glosses (i.e. *dochor*) glossing two distinct forms of contract.

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.16.

² *CB*, § 2.

³ *CL*, § 38.

There is a similarity between positive and negative substitution and syllabic etymology, in the sense that both attempt to maintain the structure of the lemma in the gloss and render the lemma using relatively non-specific meanings. Crucially, however, positive and negative substitution is primarily based on semantics, not form. Positive and negative substitution is therefore a related, but distinct form of etymological glossing.

One of the most striking features of positive and negative substitution glossing is that often the precise meanings of terms are lost, as is the case for *dochor* ‘disadvantageous contract’ and *míchor* ‘invalid contract’ (both rendered *drochchor* ‘bad contract’). The substitution process simplifies and generalises terminology as a result. This form of glossing would be useful for students who were relatively new to the legal language, perhaps as part of an introductory lesson in which core legal principles are being introduced before leading into technicalities and terminology. An absence of information on the page does not necessarily reflect a total absence, and the precise meanings of terms like *dochor* and *míchor* may have been accounted for orally. Positive and negative substitution may then be associated with the primary stages of learning, in which the sense of the legal point – rather than the specifics – is the focus.

4.2.2 Formulaic Substitution

Formulaic substitution refers to a set phrase in the gloss which has been generated by a specific lemma. The term *formulaic* denotes the set phrase or form of words; it should not imply that these glosses were produced mechanically or that they were particularly frequent. *Substitution* represents the method, in which the formulaic gloss replaces the lemma in the gloss.¹ Formulaic substitution may be subdivided into two categories: 1st sg. construction (copula or verb); and set phrases.

4.2.2.1 *Formulaic Substitution: 1st sg. construction*

There are three strands of commonly occurring formulaic substitution glosses which use a 1st sg. construction (copula or verb). These are generated from the lemmata *acht* ‘but; exception’, *cair* ‘question’, and enclitic *-ch-* ‘and’, and is particularly associated with predicative adjectives. In all strands, the lemmata function as a basis from which the glossator may construct

¹ Binchy describes this form of gloss as a ‘conventional gloss’ (Binchy, ‘IE. **que* in Irish’, p. 78).

a 1st sg. gloss. In the following examples, note that *ann* ‘there’ in the gloss corresponding to *acht* *mad* belongs to the set phrase, and occurs in all instances within the sample group.

ACHT

<i>acht</i> ‘but; exception’	>	<i>achtaigim</i> ‘I stipulate’. ¹
	>	<i>ata acht lium ann</i> ‘I have a proviso there’. ²
<i>acht mad</i> ‘if’	>	<i>ata acht lium ann</i> ‘I have a proviso there’. ³

CAIR

<i>cair</i> ‘question’	>	<i>comaircim</i> ‘I enquire’. ⁴
	>	<i>comaircim nó iarfaigim</i> ‘I enquire or I ask’. ⁵

-CH-

<i>-ch-</i> ‘and’	>	<i>seichim</i> ‘I say’. ⁶
	>	<i>seichim no indsaigim</i> ‘I say or I advance’. ⁷
<i>neoch</i> (for <i>in neoch mâ</i>) ‘if’	>	<i>seichim no indsaigim</i> ‘I say or I advance’. ⁸

Lemmata based on *acht* may use a copula form of the gloss; examples using *acht mad* only use the copula form within the sample group. Glosses on *cair* and enclitic *-ch-* (in which *neoch* is understood to contain *-ch-* for the purpose of the gloss) may generate a secondary stage of glossing in which an additional gloss has been attached, qualifying the first (i.e. *iarfaigim* and *indsaigim*). The formulaic gloss is thus composed of two elements: the primary gloss and the secondary explanatory gloss.

In the set of glosses above, the form and phonology of the lemma is reflected in the gloss. This pattern may be contrasted with formulaic set phrases, which generally are based on semantics. Just as with syllabic etymology and positive and negative substitution, the meaning of

¹ *BB*, § 17^c. Further examples: *BB*, §§ 23^a, 37^d; *BG*, § 5^g.

² *CL*, § 33¹³. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.498.2 (lemma), 8–9 (gloss).

³ *CB*, § 56⁵. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.11 (lemma), 14–15 (gloss), 494.33 (lemma), 495.3–4 (gloss).

⁴ *CB*, § 2¹. Further examples: *CB*, §§ 3¹, 15¹; *CL*, § 4².

⁵ *CL*, § 2¹.

⁶ *BB*, § 33^b. Further examples: *BB*, § 49^h.

⁷ *CUT*, § 12². Further examples: *BB*, §§ 32^a, 44^a; *CL*, § 22⁴. In *BB*, § 32^a *no indsaigim* was added by the second hand, Aodh.

⁸ *CUT*, § 9¹⁰. Further examples: *CUT*, § 9¹³.

the gloss contributes little information and presumably served as a form-based link between the main text and the gloss.¹

Formulaic substitution glosses using the 1st sg. construction may be more layered and involve multiple processes. We have seen that *cair* and enclitic *-ch-* may extend the formulaic gloss to include a secondary stage (i.e. *íarfaigim* and *indsaigim*). In the following example, the gloss begins as an explanation of the lemma, and the term used in the explanation then itself generates a formulaic gloss.

inge ‘but; however’ > *inge ar acht ata acht lium and ‘inge for acht, I have a proviso there’.*²

Examples like this are unusual in that the lemma for the formulaic substitution gloss is taken from elsewhere in the same gloss. The lemma for the gloss as a whole is *inge*, but the lemma for the formulaic substitution gloss is taken from the explanation of the lemma in the gloss (i.e. *acht*).

There are a number of less frequent examples of 1st sg. construction formulaic substitution gloss using the copula:

ní asúm ‘it is no easier’ > *nocon usu lium* ‘I do not consider easier’.³
fáenan ‘same’ > *is fon aen inunn lium* ‘I deem as the one, as the same’.⁴
gó ‘false’ > *is gó lium* ‘I deem it false’.⁵
nímhá ‘not so is...’ > *ní hinonn leam* ‘I do not regard it as the same’.⁶
ní téchta ‘not valid’ > *nocho dlíged lium* ‘I do not deem it lawful’.⁷

¹ For the connection between *-ch-* and *seichim*, Binchy, citing O’Brien, notes that the original meaning of *seo* (a dative form of the old verbal noun *sechid* ‘says’ from **scé* < **sq’iom*) was ‘with mention (of)’; he points out that this would help explain the connection between *-ch-* and *seichim* (Binchy, ‘IE. **que* in Irish’, p. 78). Binchy goes on to suggest that ‘if *seo* was the conjunction normally used after stressed words, then the earlier glossators of the law-tracts might well have been deluded into thinking that *-ch-* was just a ‘short’ form of this’ (Binchy, *idem*). I would argue that, like syllabic etymology, the substitution of *-ch-* with *seichim* was an exercise in preserving the lemma form by providing new meaning to any units which may be unclear or have lost their meaning (i.e. *-ch-*). Even if the glossators did understand the purpose of *-ch-*, *-ch-* ‘and’ is neither essential to the main text nor memorable; recycling *-ch* into *seichim* ‘I say’ would make the lemma form easier to remember.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.501.14 (lemma), 20–1 (gloss). Further examples: *CL*, § 5¹².

³ *BB*, § 36^a.

⁴ *CB*, § 9¹³.

⁵ *CB*, § 6⁵.

⁶ *CB*, § 62². Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.486.31 (lemma), 34 (gloss); *CB*, § 63². Note the positive *imtha* ‘it is so’ glossed *is inann leam* ‘I regard it as the same’ at *CIH* ii.479.8 (lemma); 14–15 (gloss).

⁷ *CUT*, § 6¹.

The lemma *nímbhá* may also generate an additional formulaic gloss: *noco n-amlaid sein atá...* ‘it is not thus that...’.¹ This gloss may have been influenced by *samlaid* ‘thus’, which often occurs with *imthá* (i.e. *imthá samlaid*) in main text and commentary outside the sample group.²

One further example worth noting is the lemma *amail roncara* ‘as he wishes it’, glossed *amail is carthanach leis* ‘as he deems desirable’ (CB, § 51²). Copula constructions expressing opinion are not common in the legal material, particularly those using the third person. It raises the question of purpose: here the gloss and main text match in person, where glosses using the first person do not. Such is the scarcity of first singular person forms generally in the law texts that it is tempting to associate their use with prompts for reading out loud.

4.2.2.2 Formulaic Substitution: set phrases

The term ‘set phrase’ denotes a type of formulaic substitution in which one or several words replace a lemma in the accompanying gloss. Unlike 1st sg. formulaic substitution, the emphasis is on semantics, rather than form. The set phrase may repeat elements of the lemma, or generate an entirely new lexicon. Often there is little difference between the meaning of the lemma and the set phrase. Such glosses are relatively common in the sample group; this discussion will focus on the following lemmata: *la Féniu* ‘according to Irish law’; *cáin* ‘law’; *miad* ‘rank’; *cis lir* ‘how many’; *dochuisin* ‘are’; and *mám* ‘yoke’.

la fene ‘according to Irish law’ > *do réir ind fenechais* ‘according to Irish law’.³

cáin lánamnae ‘the law of couples’ > *riagail in lanamnais* ‘the rule of couples’.⁴

¹ CB, § 62¹. Further examples: CA = CIH ii.486.31 (lemma), 34 (gloss); CB, § 63¹.

² e.g. CIH ii.340.32 (PHP), iii.1132.32 (BND), v.1555.6 (*Cáin Fúirthirbe*).

³ CUT, § 1³. Further examples: D, § 14¹; BB, § 12^a; CL, § 4².

⁴ CL, § 1¹⁵. Further examples: BB, § 39¹; CL, §§ 1¹. For other examples using *cáin* + noun with *riagal* + noun. see also: *cáin altruma* ‘law of fosterage’ > *riagail in altruma* ‘rule of fosterage’ (D, § 25¹); *chain cuise* ‘due of reparation’ > *riagail na dighe cuise* ‘rule of the [thirst-] quenching drink’ (BB, § 6^b); *cáin cach uisci thairidne* ‘the law of every water course’ > *riagail inn uisce tairngithir* ‘the rule of the water that is conducted’ (CUT, § 8¹). A more detailed study on formulaic substitution glosses is required.

[<i>asa/fó/íarna</i>] <i>miad</i> ‘[according to] rank’>	<i>uaisliatu</i> ‘nobility’. ¹
>	<i>fó uaislidetaidh</i> ‘in accordance with his nobility’. ²
<i>cis lir</i> ‘how many’	> <i>cía ler nō cia lín</i> ‘what abundance or how many’. ³
<i>do-chuisin</i> ‘are’	> <i>discnaithir nō taraister</i> ‘exist or are continued’. ⁴
<i>mám</i> ‘yoke’	> <i>móam t greamam</i> ‘greatest or most dutiful’. ⁵

The noun *miad* ‘rank’ is an example of a lemma which generates new meaning in the set phrase gloss: the primary stage of the formulaic substitution is the noun *uaisletu* (also *uaislidetetu*) ‘nobility’, which is related semantically, rather than formally, to the lemma *miad*.

The lemmata *cis lir*, *do-chuisin*, and *mám* represent different stages in the glossing process. The formulaic set phrase *cía ler* generated by *cis lir* is an illustration of how a relatively simple gloss may grow to involve multiple stages of thought process. It contains two elements: a whole-word etymology (*cis lir* <c-l-r> > *cía ler* <c-[s]-l-r>);⁶ and the etymological-explanatory gloss *cía lín*. These elements combine and are used together as one unit. A similar situation led to the formulaic set phrase *discnaithir t taraister* generated by *do-chuisin*, which has combined *discnaithir*, a modernisation of the lemma (i.e. *discnaithir* < *do-airissedar*), and *taraister*, an alternative – and better attested – verb which expresses the same meaning.⁷

The lemma *mám* ‘yoke’ represents a stage further, in which a variety of formulaic set phrases may be generated based on the primary stage *móam* ‘greatest’, which is a whole-word etymology.

¹ CL, § 25². The gloss on *miad* may be expanded in this example to *airmitiu t uaisliatu* ‘honour or nobility’, of which *airmitiu* is explanatory and *uaisliatu* a formulaic substitution gloss. It is possible that *uaisliatu* was added from a separate manuscript witness.

² CB, § 46¹. Further examples: D, § 13³; CA = CIH ii.480.13 (lemma). 18–20 (gloss); CL, § 20³. Where *miad* occurs in the phrase *asa/fó/íarna miad* ‘according to rank’, this is reflected by *fó* ‘in accordance with’ in the set phrase. The gloss *.i. fó uaisletaid* ‘i.e. according to his nobility’ occurs at CB, § 22¹⁵, where the lemma *miad* does not occur in the main text. It is extremely unusual within the sample group to find a formulaic substitution gloss which is not part of a larger explanatory gloss. It suggests that the formulaic substitution gloss was copied from another manuscript witness. This gloss also occurs at BB, § 13^d under the lemma *fó suire* ‘depending on the status’, which presumably is a further variation on *fó miad*.

³ CB, § 15¹. Further examples: D, § 27²; CL, § 2¹; CB, § 2¹.

⁴ CB, § 15¹. Further examples: CL, §§ 1¹, 4²; CB, § 19¹.

⁵ D, § 26¹².

⁶ I have put square brackets around <-s> to indicate that an <s> may be considered as lenited (and thereby essentially unheard) in syllabic etymology.

⁷ This type of layering of glossing styles and elements is relatively frequent within the sample group: see Chapter 4.2.

MÁM ‘yoke’

- Primary stage: > *mōam nō greamam* ‘greatest or most dutiful’.¹
- Secondary stage: > *ina mōamud nō ina greim dligthech* ‘greatest or most properly [does] service’.²
- > *moamugud t in greim dlegar de* ‘greater overwhelming or the duty that is required of him’.³
- Variation [+ noun]: > *mōamugud t isin gbreim chrabaid dleghair de* ‘greater overwhelming or the duty of religious devotion that is required of him’.⁴

In the primary stage, the gloss consists of the whole-word etymology *moam* and the etymological-explanatory gloss *nō greimm*. Breatnach has suggested that the secondary stage *mōamugud* consists of the comparative of *mór* and a variant of the vernal noun *mudugud* (DIL s.v. *mudaigid*).⁵ The next stage brings in additional qualification to the etymological-explanatory gloss, either by the adjective *dligthech* or the verb *dligid* and the preposition *de*. Save for the person of the preposition, this set phrase does not provide any additional information from the topic of the main text. In the next stage, variation is incorporated into the set phrase by the addition of a relevant noun, which is *crábud* ‘religious devotion’ in the example quoted above. What began as a whole-word etymology has grown into a multi-stage formulaic set phrase.

4.2.2.3 Formulaic Substitution: gloss context

Formulaic substitution glosses are typically embedded as part of a larger explanatory gloss. This affects both 1st sg. construction and set phrases. In the following examples, the formulaic substitution and the corresponding lemmata are marked in bold.

¹ *D*, § 26¹².

² *CL*, § 33⁵. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.31 (lemma), 4–5 (gloss).

³ *CB*, § 27¹.

⁴ *CB*, § 29³. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.484.6 (lemma), 11–12 (gloss) (+ *fognuma* ‘learning’); *CB*, § 40¹⁵ (+ *daire* ‘servitude’).

⁵ Breatnach, *CB*, p. 201.

BB, § 14^e

amal rosuidiged la Féniur^e

^e *.i. amail rosuidiged e do reir ind enechais*

‘as established in Irish law^e.’

^e ‘i.e. as it has been established according to Irish law.’

BB, § 23^a

acht dlegar donaib crichaib seo na rré sorche fo-cerdad in bech saithe^a

^a *.i. achtaigim gu ndleagar do lucht na fearandsa na ree solusta i cuirid beich saithe uaithib*

‘But it is required of these lands at any period of brightness in which the bees put out a swarm^a.’

^a ‘i.e. I stipulate that it is required of the owners of these lands at the bright periods in which the bees put out swarms.’

CL, § 20³

Fothud fuiririud do chechtar dá lina fo míad^f

³ *.i. do cechtarde in danad imatsin fo uaisligiataide.*

‘Hospitality [and] refectation [are due] from each of the two parties according to status³.’

³ ‘i.e. each of those two parties according to nobility.’

Note also the formulaic substitution gloss *cach richt duine* ‘every shape of person’, glossing *cach recht* (also *richt*) ‘any person’ in the following example.¹

¹ This formulaic gloss does not occur elsewhere in the sample group, but see e.g. *SM2*, 9. *Sechtae* (CIH i.1.11 (lemma), 12 (gloss)), *SM* 2, 14. *Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid* (CIH i. 241.19 (lemma), 30–1 (gloss)), *Bretha Éitgid* (CIH ii.357.26 (lemma), 33–4 (gloss)).

CB, § 27¹

Cach recht¹ *nád ógi dliged a mámae.*

¹ *.i. cach richt duine nā comōigenn in mōamugud nō in greim dlegar dē.*

‘**Any person**¹ who does not fulfil the requirements of his **obligations**.’

¹ *i.e. every shape of person* who does not fulfil the **greater overwhelming or the duty that is required of him**.’

As with positive and negative substitution, there is a tendency in modern editions of texts to mark formulaic substitution glosses in inverted commas in the same manner as etymological glosses.¹ To a degree, etymology and formulaic substitution glosses overlap. In some glosses, the form of the lemma often governs the form of the formulaic substitution gloss in a similar way to etyma and etymologies, and etymology may be a component of the set phrase (such as in *cía ler nó cía lín*, comprised of etymology + etymological-explanatory gloss). However, formulaic substitution required a slightly different thought process to etymology: formulaic substitution glosses are frequently much longer than an etymological gloss; they are not as context-based as etymology; and there is comparatively little flexibility in the rendering of the lemma (as oppose to the modification of the remaining lemma form in etymological glosses).

Formulaic substitution glosses, both form-based 1st sg. and semantics-based set phrases, reworks lemmata into new, often longer, phrases. Again, the target audience would seem to be novice learners, who might require methods to breakdown the main text into a more accessible format as a way of engaging with older or rare terminology.

4.2.3 Word Pairs

Word pairs are a style of gloss in which typically two descriptions are provided to qualify a word in the main text. Two words are most frequently occurring within the sample group, but may extend to three or four items (i.e. two groups of two). The following discussion will look at the following aspects: that word pairs may be exemplary or contrastive; that word pairs often

¹ e.g. BB, § 17^c; CUT, § 10³; CB, § 27¹.

appear on their own, without being incorporated into a larger explanatory gloss; and that word pairs may occur where a different glossing style may otherwise be expected.

In the following example, three lemmata are glossed solely with word pairs. The lemmata are *finib aicnetaib* ‘with natural kin-members’; [*finib*] *ecraidaib* ‘with adopted kin-members’; and *neoch arascuiret* ‘those whom they exclude’.

CB, § 17²⁻⁴

Córus fine fodlaib selb cond² finib aicnetaib 7 ecraidaib³ co neoch⁴ ara-scuiret.

² .i. a mic 7 a n-ua.

³ .i. a mic fáesma 7 a ngoirmic.

⁴ .i. a ndéoraid 7 a murcairtbe.

‘The arrangements of the kin [pertain] to shares of [landed] properties, together with its² natural and adopted³ kin-members, together with those⁴ whom they exclude.’

² ‘i.e. their sons and grandsons.’

³ ‘i.e. their adopted sons and their sisters’ sons.’

⁴ ‘i.e. their aliens and their castaways’.

These word pairs are exemplary, rather than definitive: e.g. ‘natural kin-members [such as] their sons and their grandsons’.¹ Word pairs or triads may also be used to give a sense of semantic completeness, by providing a full definition of the lemma (i.e. ‘all’, ‘X + Y together’). The terms *fuba* ‘repelling’ and *ruba* ‘patrolling’, which frequently occur as a pair in main text, may generate semantically complete sets of three words which give a precise description of the lemma:²

¹ In the case of the familial terms used here, these pairs also mark stages of distance: a son and a grandson, and an adopted son and a sister’s son.

² Pairs of words in the main text are often not glossed with pairs; for example, *sochar* ‘advantageous contract’ and *dochor* ‘disadvantageous contract’ (e.g. CB, § 2) and *somoine* ‘services rendered’ and *domaíne* ‘loss’ (e.g. CL, § 38) are not glossed with word pairs.

<i>fuba</i> ‘repelling’	>	<i>.i. na trí fuba .i. fo loingsechu 7 ehtáitiu 7 maca tíre.</i> ‘i.e. the three repellings i.e. of bandits and horse-thieves and wolves’. ¹
<i>ruba</i> ‘patrolling’ ²	>	<i>.i. na trí ruba .i. roíme fri raind 7 bēlada 7 crīcha.</i> ‘i.e. the three patrollings i.e. a great barrier against a promontory and crossways and boundaries’. ³

These glosses are specifying a narrower context of application, explaining exactly what it is to which they refer. It is not always possible to tell the difference between exemplary word pairs and word pairs which provide semantic completeness. The following examples are ambiguous, in that they could be examples or a complete description of the lemma:

<i>cor</i> ‘contract’	>	<i>do choraib 7 do chunnarthaib</i> ‘of contracts and of bargains’. ⁴
<i>dán</i> ‘a gift’	>	<i>dechmada 7 prīmite 7rl.</i> ‘tithes and first-fruits &c.’. ⁵
<i>do cach lesugud</i> ‘by means of every solicitude’	>	<i>do biud coimiteacht</i> ‘with refection and attendance’. ⁶
<i>eclais</i> ‘church’	>	<i>baithes 7 comna 7 imna n-anma 7rl.</i> ‘baptism and communion and hymns for the soul &c.’. ⁷
<i>gairm cailig cercc</i> ‘the crowing of a cockerel’	>	<i>do bringaid 7 filid</i> ‘from a hospitaller or a poet’. ⁸
<i>idnacul</i> ‘bestowing’	>	<i>do commainib 7 d’aiscedaib 7 durgaisib</i> ‘of obligations and of gifts and of exchanges’. ⁹

¹ *CB*, § 23⁸. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.486.33 (lemma), 487.2 (gloss).

² Note the whole-word etymology *roíme* ‘a great barrier’, glossing *ruba* ‘patrolling’.

³ *CB*, § 23⁹. Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.486.33 (lemma), 487.2–3 (gloss).

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.32 (lemma), 492.1 (gloss).

⁵ *CB*, § 20⁷.

⁶ *CB*, § 24⁷.

⁷ *CB*, § 43¹⁰.

⁸ *BB*, § 46^c.

⁹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.32 (lemma), 2 (gloss).

Less frequently, contrasting word pairs also occur. Contrastive word pairs often act as merisms representing semantic completeness, as the following examples illustrate:¹

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <i>do cach móiniugud</i> ‘by means of every enrichment’ | > | <i>.i. do bēodilib 7 mairbdilib</i> . ‘i.e. with animate and inanimate chattels’ [i.e. all chattels]. ² |
| <i>faithchi</i> ‘the green’ | > | <i>iter fáiche 7 diraind</i> ‘between green and unshared land’ [i.e. all land]. ³ |
| <i>fuidri</i> ‘semi-freemen’ | > | <i>cid sāerfuidre, ci dāerfuidre</i> ‘whether independent semi-freemen or base semi-freemen’ [i.e. all semi-freemen]. ⁴ |
| <i>nilib</i> ‘by them all’ | > | <i>on tsluag no ona ropuib</i> ‘by the crowd or by the animals’ [i.e. all who were present]. ⁵ |

In some instances, word pairs are used in place of another glossing style. In the following example, those lemmata beginning *so-* could theoretically have been glossed with positive substitution;⁶ instead, they are glossed with word pairs.⁷

CB, § 24^{11, 14, 18, 20}

Main text:

Gloss:

fri sobés ‘with regard to good conduct’ *.i. athgabail nō nōs* ‘i.e. distraint or a course of action.’

fri soairli ‘with regard to good counsel’ *.i. urradais nō nōs dligthech* ‘i.e. of ordinary law or a lawful course of action.’

cach somóine ‘every revenue’ *.i. do biathad 7 do manchuine*. ‘i.e. consisting of refecton and personal service.’

¹ Inclusive and contrasting word pairs occur frequently elsewhere, including the Old Welsh legal text *Breint Teilo* in which word pairs occur in both Latin and Welsh (see Russell, ‘Priuilegium’, pp. 58–9).

² *CB*, § 24⁶.

³ *BB*, § 48^a.

⁴ *CB*, § 9².

⁵ *BB*, § 35^a (added by the third hand, Cairbre).

⁶ See Chapter 4.2.1. In the following examples, note the whole-word etymology *socindiudh* ‘good defining’, glossing *saescuir* ‘every noble thing’.

⁷ Note that another lemma in the same main text section, *sochla* ‘honourable thing’, is glossed using positive substitution: *degchlu* ‘good reputation’ (*CB*, § 24²¹). For glossing style combinations, see Chapter 4.2.6.

cach shóescuir ‘every noble thing’ *.i. cach socindiudh dib sin d’eachaib 7 do srianaib* ‘i.e. every good defining of those things consisting of horses and bridles.’

The following example also contains a series of lemmata which begin with *so-*, and therefore could be glossed as a form of *deg-*; however, only one takes positive substitution: *sochorp* ‘of good body’ is glossed *daccorp* (for *dagcorp*) ‘good body’. The remaining lemmata are instead all glossed with word pairs.¹

CA = *CIH* ii.488.25–6 (lemmata), 27–31 (glosses)

Main text:	Gloss:
<i>sochorp</i> ‘good of body’	<i>ma daccorp cen guforgell cen gufiadnaise</i> ‘if it is good of body without false testimony, without false witness.’
<i>sognimach</i> ‘good of deeds’	<i>cen guin cen forloscad</i> ‘without wounding, without arson.’
<i>sobésach</i> ‘good of manners’	<i>cen gait cen brath</i> ‘without theft, without robbery.’
<i>sofholtach</i> ‘good of behaviour’	<i>im eirrech 7 im óin 7 im aithne 7 airlicud</i> ‘regarding forced loan and loans and deposit and lending.’
<i>socumais</i> ‘good of authority’	<i>im echaib 7 im srianaib .i. socomse</i> ‘regarding horses and bridles i.e. good partnership.’ <i>im naidm 7 raith</i> ‘regarding enforcing surety and paying surety.’

The first lemma, *sochorp*, is occurs earlier in *CA* where it takes the positive substitution gloss *maith a corp* ‘its body is good’;² one might have expected all the above *so-* lemmata to take positive substitution accordingly. A conscious choice has been made to switch glossing styles from positive substitution to word pairs.

¹ Worth noting here is that the first three sets of pairs in the following example are phrased in terms of being ‘good’ by the ‘absence’ (*cen*) of negative features.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.482.3 (lemma), 14–15 (gloss).

Word pairs or triads occur relatively frequently within the sample group, and they provide additional information to the main text. This differs from the above glossing styles, which break down and contextualise lemma, often without providing any legal information. Switching between gloss styles, as in the above examples, may represent different layers of glossing, but it may also represent the glossators' awareness of different glossing methods and when to use them.

4.2.4 Localised Glossing

The term *localised glossing* denotes a glossing style in which particular words or structures occur across a number of glosses and are localised to a specific passage of text. This form of glossing may be relatively simple or layered and complex, and are lexically freer but more text- or passage-specific than formulaic substitution.

Often they are straightforward explanatory glosses whose wording and/or structure is then repeated.¹ Even where the same lemma occurs elsewhere in that text, the repetition gloss usually does not occur. In the following example, forms of the verb *fris-gní* 'perform; exercise' are each glossed with a variation of a set phrase: *má tháinic aimser in fognama* 'if the time of service came'. The verb *fris-gní* occurs elsewhere in *CA*, but the set phrase is specific to this passage.²

CA = *CIH* ii.497.16, 18 (lemmata), 22, 23, 25–6 (glosses)

Main text	Gloss
<i>frisrognaither</i> 'service provided'	<i>mā tāinic aimser in fognuma imin mbiad</i> 'if the time of service came regarding the food'.
<i>frithrognaither</i> 'service [not] provided'	<i>muna thāinic aimser in fognuma</i> 'if the time of service has not come'.
<i>frirognaither</i> 'service [not] provided'	<i>muna thāinic aimser in firfognuma</i> 'if the time of 'true service' has not come'.

¹ The case might be made that the repetition of phrases is coincidence; there are only a certain number of ways in which a particular meaning may be expressed. However, where a particular phrase or structure occurs in succession, it may be treated as deliberate.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.496.2, 14.

Localised glossing may also be used where one might have expected another type of glossing, with the result that the glossing style of that particular passage may differ from the glossing style of the text as a whole. In *CL*, the etymon <-s> is often etymologised *úais*: e.g. *as-renar* ‘is paid away’ > *úais eirnithir* ‘is nobly paid away’.¹ In one passage, two instances of the lemma *as-renar* are not etymologised, but instead use localised glossing based on the structure *dire eirnither don fine ina .s.aib* ‘penalty-fine paid to the kin-group for [her/their] valuables’.

CL, § 36^{7,11}

co lethdire as-renar⁷ mad na mná a ndo-rata; ma beith cuit and do neuch ailiu, is cona lándire as-renar¹¹

⁷ *.i. co lethdire eirnither don fine ina .s.aibsi*

¹¹ *.i. is lándire eirnither don fine ina .s.aib budein*

‘It is paid⁷ with half penalty-fine if the woman owns what she has given; if someone else has a share in it, it is paid with full penalty-fine¹¹.’

⁷ ‘i.e. with half penalty-fine it is paid to the kindred for her valuables.’

¹¹ ‘i.e. it is the full penalty-fine that is paid for the kindred for their own valuables.’

These glosses were added by the same hand that also added a number of <-s> > *úais* etymologies to this version of *CL*.² They may have been copied from a separate manuscript witness to that containing etymological glosses of the etymon <-s>, but this seems unlikely; the glossing style switches fluidly and without negative impact on the surrounding text. The implication is that there was an active choice to use a form of localised glossing in place of etymology in this particular instance.

Repetition of structure also occurs; the following two examples appear as two-word glosses which correspond to a series of nouns in the main text:

¹ *CL*, § 37⁵.

² Hand III in Eska’s edition.

BB, § 3^{b-d}

Main text

Gloss

i tairsce ‘for trespass’

.i. ima ngleith ‘i.e. about the grazing’.

i cinaid ‘for injury’

.i. iman cæchad ‘i.e. about the blinding’.

i llóige ‘for earnings (?)’

.i. imun saithe ‘i.e. about the swarm’.

CB, § 29⁷⁻⁹

Main text

Gloss

áirilliud ‘merit’

.i. im thochus ‘i.e. with regard to assets’.

indrucus ‘integrity’

.i. i mbreithir ‘i.e. with regard to word’.

enngé ‘innocence’

.i. i ngnimradhaib ‘i.e. with regard to deeds’.

Individually, the glosses are simple interpretations of the lemma, specifying context; collectively, they form a distinct pattern. In the following two examples, localised glossing is used on a series of consecutive lemmata. In the first example, the basic gloss structure is *na dernas* ‘who do not make’ + noun.¹ In the second example, the phrase *cuir dlegait* ‘the share they are entitled to’ is used to qualify and connect three descriptions.

Localised Glossing: *na dernas* + noun

CA = CIH ii.486.2 (lemmata), 6–7 (glosses)

Main text

Gloss

nacha rubat ‘who do not wound’

.i. na dernas guin na flatha ‘i.e. who do not make wounds of the lord’.

nacha romrat ‘who do not betray’

.i. na dernas a mbrath ‘i.e. who do not make their betrayal’.

nacha torcriaat ‘who do not
forepurchase’

.i. na dernas creic is tar darrath do gabail o flaith echtrand ‘i.e. who do not make a purchase ‘which is a disgrace’, to take the fief of a base client from a foreign lord’.

Localised Glossing: *cuir dlegait*

CL, § 35⁷⁻⁹

Main text

Gloss

fo chuit tire ‘according to the
portion of land’

.i. is cain fodeiligit etaru be fon cuir dlegait don fèrann 7lr.
‘i.e. it is ‘well that they distribute it’ between them

¹ For the use of *do-gní* in glosses, see Chapter 4.2.5.

according to the share that they are entitled to from the l and &c.’.

7 *aurgnama* ‘and labour’

.i. *in cuit dleghait donn uasalfognum* ‘i.e. the share that they are entitled to from the ‘noble work’.

7 *bunaid cethrae* ‘and original stock of cattle’

.i. *in chuit dlegait na cethra a bunad* ‘i.e. the share that the cattle from the original stock are entitled to’.

Localised glossing may also highlight contrastive aspects of the same topic through repetition of syntax. The following examples illustrate how two contrastive concepts (a positive and negative form of the verb *imm-fuich*) may be emphasised in this way.

CB, § 61^{1,6}

Main text

Gloss

imm-fuich ‘contests’

.i. *cē rīstar a les, cinco rīstar*. ‘i.e. whether there is need for it or not’.

imm-fuich ‘contests’

.i. *cē rīstar a les, cinco rīstar*. ‘i.e. whether there is need for it or not’.

Compare:

CB, § 61^{3,7}

Main text

Gloss

n’immfuich ‘does not contest’

.i. *nō cu rī a les*. ‘i.e. until he needs to’.

n’immfuich ‘does not contest’

.i. *nō co rī a les*. ‘i.e. until he needs to’.

Examples like these demonstrate the different uses of localised glossing. Localised repetition may be used to highlight exemplary or collective attributes, and to draw attention to positive or negative meaning. On their own, such phrases do not immediately strike one as being especially formulaic or stylistic. However, when considering the wider patterns of glossing of a passage it becomes clear that there was an active engagement both with the lemma and with the context of the main text passage more generally.

4.2.5 *do-gní* + verbal noun

The purpose of explanatory glosses was to break down the main text into a clearer and more accessible format. One method to achieve this was to use the commonly-occurring verb *do-gní* ‘does, makes’ + verbal noun. In the following examples, forms of the verb *do-gní* and the corresponding verbal noun are in bold.

CL, § 34⁸

cía fbo-rríastar fríd⁸

⁸ .i. *cidbed d’fir**fuachtain** fogla **donethar** ria*

‘Though it is committed against her⁸.’

⁸ ‘i.e. though it might be from a ‘true-**offence**’ of injury **that may be done** against her.’

The lemma is the 3rd sg. perfect present subjunctive passive of the compound verb *fo-fích* ‘commits an injury; trespasses’. In the gloss, this is simplified into *do-gní* + verbal noun phrase (i.e. *fuachtain fogla* ‘offence of injury’ + *donethar* ‘that may be done’, also a present subjunctive passive). This allows the meaning of the lemma to be preserved while breaking down its form into a more readily comprehensible unit.

Further examples:¹

Main text	Gloss
<i>cor</i> ‘contract’	<i>cor doniat</i> ‘the contract which they make’. ²
<i>foda-comilset</i> ‘supports them’	<i>dénat nō bít a degcomimulang</i> ‘let them do or be ‘maintaining well’’. ³

¹ See also the example at CA = CIH ii.486.2 (lemmata), 6–7 (glosses) in which the lemmata *nacha rubat*, *nacha romrat*, and *nacha torvriat* are glossed using both localised glossing and the *do-gní* + verbal noun structure (i.e. *na derrat guin*, *na derrat a mbrath*, and *na derrat creic* respectively) where one might otherwise have expected synthetic verbal forms.

² CA = CIH ii.489.17 (lemma), 23–4 (gloss). Further examples: CA = CIH ii.489.8 (lemma = *imusfuich*), 10–11 (gloss); CB, § 37; CL, § 91 and CB, § 41 (*cor* > *cundrad dogenat* ‘the contract that they will make’).

³ CB, § 20²⁰.

fo-ēige ‘objects’

dēine fīr-ēigium ‘let you make a ‘true outcry’’.¹

imscarad ‘mutual separation’

int imscarad doniat ‘the mutual separation which they make’.²

mairnnes ‘betrays’

doni brath ‘who makes a betrayal’.³

tairdbe ‘lopping’

artimchell doneter ‘high cutting around’ which is done’.⁴

The use of *do-gní* + verbal noun allows main text phrases to be broken down into a simpler, more accessible structure, providing emphasis and parallelism in the structure. If the main text were understood, this type of elementary glossing would be unnecessary; presumably this glossing style was designed to aid novice pupils.

4.2.6 Glossing Style Combinations

Glossing styles were not mutually exclusive; different glossing styles could – and did – work alongside one another or together as part of the same gloss. The following example demonstrates a gloss which contains multiple glossing styles working in combination.

CB, § 16¹⁰

*cundurthae*¹⁰

¹⁰ .i. *tiagait cuind 7 ratha*.

‘Contracts’¹⁰.

¹ *CB*, § 61⁴.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.14 (lemma), 19 (gloss). Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.498.1 (lemma), 6 (gloss) and *CL*, 36³ (n.b. noun *imscar*). See also *CA* = *CIH* ii.495.29 (lemma), 32 (gloss) and *CL*, §§ 10¹ and 28^{1,2} (*scarad* ‘separation’ > *scarad dogēnat* ‘separation that they will make’).

³ *BG*, § 1^h. Note the whole-word etymological gloss *artimchell* ‘high cutting around’, glossing *tairdbe* ‘lopping’ (i.e. *t-aird-be* > [*-aird-* > *ard* ‘high’] + [*t-be*] > recycled into new word *timchell* ‘cutting around’] = *artimchell* ‘high cutting around’). Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.16 (lemma), 20 (gloss). See also *CIH* ii.486.2 (lemma = *romrat*), 6 (gloss).

⁴ *BB*, § 15^a.

¹⁰ i.e. which ‘superiors and paying-sureties’ go guarantor for.’

There are three glossing styles here: formulaic substitution, word pairs, and etymology. The entire gloss is a formulaic substitution phrase.¹ Within the set phrase is a word pair (*cuind 7 ratha*), and the word pair itself is a whole-word etymology of *cunnrad* (*cunn-* <c-n> /k-n/ + *-rad* <r-d> /r-ð/ > *cuind* <c-nd> /k-n/ + *ratha* <r-th> /r-θ/).

It is relatively common within the sample group to find a number of different styles used in one set of glossing on a particular passage of main text, as localised glossing.² In the following examples, combinations of glossing styles and thought processes are used.³ It will be noted that etymology – far from being treated differently – is a fully integrated part of the glossing apparatus.

For the purpose of illustrating the different glossing methods, the following conventions are used (note that alliteration is not represented in the translation):

- formulaic substitution is marked in **blue**. Set phrases which use a combination of glossing styles are marked in **blue** square brackets i.e. **[]**.
- etymology (both first/final and whole-word syllable) is marked in **bold**.
- the remaining lemma form of an etymological gloss is marked by underline.
- etymological-explanatory glosses are marked in **green**. This includes explanatory glosses which combine with other styles (e.g. etymology, word pairs, or modernisation) to form a set phrase.
- localised glossing is marked in round brackets i.e. ().
- use of the verb *do-gní* is marked in curly brackets i.e. {}.
- word pairs are marked by double curly brackets i.e. {{}}.
- modernisation within a set phrase is marked in **red**.
- positive and negative substitution is marked in **purple**.

Each example is followed by a table (marked ‘Commentary’) setting out which glossing techniques have been used and the words to which they have been applied.

¹ Further examples: *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.1 (lemma), 9 (gloss).

² A similar pattern of glossing has been noted by Russell in the medieval Welsh glosses on Ovid (Russell, *Reading Ovid*, p. 56).

³ Although not considered here, alliteration and assonance is present in a number of glosses in the sample group (e.g. *CB*, §§ 46¹, 47¹, 61⁴). Alliteration and assonance would make a gloss well suited to speech, and as such could also act as an educative tool for memorisation.

CUT, § 9^{10–13}

*Neoch ma ‘d-romatar dlega[i]r a mb[u]ith samlaid¹⁰ co bráth im déolaid¹¹ fa lóg dlegar a réir
brithemon^{12,13}*

¹⁰ .i. ([*seichim nó indsaigim*] gu ndlegar a mbeith amlaidhsin)

¹¹ .i. { {gid i naisgidh

¹² .i. gid i logh}} dabertthar da cind

¹³ .i. ([*seichim nó indsaigim*] gu ndlegar a mbeith amlaidhsin) da réir in breithoman

‘If they have been acknowledged¹⁰, they are to remain so for ever¹¹, whether they be gratis or whether a fee¹² is due¹³(?) according to the decision of a judge.’

¹⁰ i.e. ([I say or I advance] that they should be thus).’

¹¹ i.e. { {though it be gratuitously.’

¹² i.e. though it be a fee}} given in return for them.’

¹³ i.e. ([I say or I advance] that they should be thus] according to the judge’s decision.’

Commentary

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>neoch ma</i> ‘if’	formulaic gloss: 1 st sg. construction + explanatory gloss	<i>seichim</i> ‘I say’ <i>nó indsaigim</i> ‘or I advance’
<i>im déolaid fa lóg</i> ‘whether they be gratis or whether a fee is due’	word pairs + localised glossing	<i>gid i naisgidh</i> ‘though it be gratuitously’ <i>gid logh</i> ‘though it be a fee’

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>nach</i> ‘according to’	formulaic gloss: 1 st sg. construction + explanatory gloss	<i>seichim</i> ‘I say’ <i>nó indsaigim</i> ‘or I advance’
	localised glossing:	<i>seichim t indsaigim gu ndlegar a mbeith amlaidhsin</i> ‘[I say or I advance] that they should be thus’

CL, § 1^{12–15}

*Slán cach socomsa*¹², *cach socubus*¹³; *eslán cach n-éccubus*¹⁴ *i cáin lánammae*¹⁵

¹² .i. *slán doib* {(cach *sochomaid uais*) *dom*} *cach dib re cheili* (*imín comlogudh*) .i. *do* {{*bind 7 etach*}}

¹³ .i. (cach *deacubus uais* *imín comaititín*) .i. *ima atmail*

¹⁴ .i. *is eslan do neoch dib drochcubus* {*gaiti do denum*} *ara cheile*

¹⁵ .i. *don lanamain do reir riaghla t riagail in lanamnais*

‘Exempt is everything [done for the] benefit¹² [and] everything [done in] good conscience¹³; not exempt is everything [done in] {bad conscience} in the law of couples¹⁵.’

¹² ‘i.e. exempt for them is {(every **noble** good protection) that each of them makes} to a client (regarding the mutual concession) i.e. of {{food and clothing}}.’

¹³ ‘i.e. (every **noble** [thing done in] **good** conscience regarding the mutual acknowledgement) i.e. regarding acknowledging it.’

¹⁴ ‘i.e. it is not exempt for one of them to {make an act of robbery} in **bad** conscience against the other.’

¹⁵ ‘i.e. regarding the married couple according to rule, or in **the rule of marriage**.’

Commentary

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>socomsa</i> ‘benefit’	final syllable etymology	<i>sochomaid uais</i> ‘noble good protection’
	word pairs	<i>bind 7 etach</i> ‘food and clothing’
	<i>do-gní</i> + verbal noun	<i>sochomaid doni</i> ‘protection that [they] make’
<i>socubus</i> ‘good conscience’	positive substitution + final syllable etymology	<i>deacubus uais</i> ‘noble good protection’
<i>écubus</i> ‘bad conscience’	negative substitution	<i>drochcubus</i> ‘bad conscience’
	<i>do-gní</i> + verbal noun	<i>gaiti do denum</i> ‘make an act of robbery’
<i>cáin lánamnae</i> ‘law of couples’	formulaic substitution: set phrase	<i>riagail in lanamnais</i> ‘rule of marriage’
	localised glossing: <i>cach</i> + noun + <i>uais imin</i> + [<i>com-</i> + noun]	<i>cach sochomaid uais imin comlogudh</i> ‘every noble good protection regarding the mutual concession’ <i>cach deacubus uais imin comaititin</i> ‘every noble [thing done in] good conscience regarding the mutual acknowledgement’

CL, § 4²

Cair: cis lir lánamnai cumhtusa compertae do-chuisin la Féiniú².

² *.i. comaircím [cia ler no cia lín] do lanamnaib [discnaitbir nó tarister] re breth comperta doib do reir in fenechais.*

‘Question: how many couples of joint economy [and] of procreation are there according to Irish law²?’

² ‘i.e. I enquire: what abundance or what number of couples exist or are continued for bearing children by them according to Irish law.’

Commentary

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>cair</i> ‘question’	formulaic substitution: 1 st sg. construction	<i>comarcim</i> ‘I enquire’
<i>cis lir</i> ‘how many’	formulaic substitution phrase: whole-word etymology + explanatory	<i>cia ler</i> ‘what abundance’ <i>nó cia lín</i> ‘or what number’
<i>do-chuisin</i> ‘are’	formulaic substitution: modernisation + explanatory	<i>discnaitbir</i> ‘exist’ <i>nó taraistir</i> ‘or are continued’
<i>la Féiniú</i> ‘according to Irish law’	formulaic substitution phrase	<i>do reir in fenechais</i> ‘according to Irish law’

CB, §§ 46¹, 47¹

(§ 46) *Cach n-adnacal cona airthéchtú innai do eclais cháich íarna míad.* (§ 47) *Cair¹, caité téchtáe cach adnacail o thúiaith, do cach grád íarna míad do eclais*

(§ 46¹) *.i. cach imna ūasaldligtech do cāch (fō ūaislidetaidb don ūaim ūais dānad adha in tidnucul nó int adnacul).*

(§ 47¹) *.i. comaircim caidē in nī dlíges ō cach grād isin tñaitb (fō ūaislidetaid don ūaim ūais dānad ada in tidnucul nó int adbnacul).*

(§ 46) ‘Every¹ burial with its prior appropriateness of bequest to every person’s church in accordance with his rank. (§ 47) Question¹: what is appropriate for every burial from the laity, from every grade in accordance with his rank, to the church?’

(§ 46¹) ‘i.e. every **noble** lawful bequest [given] by everyone in (accordance with his nobility to the **noble** union for which the conveying or the **burial** is fitting).’

(§ 47¹) ‘i.e. **I enquire**: what is it which is due from every grade amongst the laity (in accordance with his nobility to the **noble** union for which the conveying or the **burial** is fitting)?’

Commentary

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>adnacal</i> ‘burial’	first syllable etymology + explanatory	<i>adba in tidnucul</i> ‘the conveying is fitting’ <i>nó int adnacul</i> ‘or the burial’
<i>airtéchtu</i> ‘prior appropriateness’	first syllable etymology	<i>úasaldligtech</i> ‘noble lawful bequest’
<i>eclais</i> ‘church’	final syllable etymology	<i>uaim uais</i> ‘noble union’
<i>miad</i> ‘rank’	formulaic substitution: set phrase	<i>fó uaislidetaidh</i> ‘in accordance with his nobility’
<i>cair</i> ‘question’	formulaic substitution: 1 st sg. construction	<i>comaircim</i> ‘I enquire’
<i>miad/eclais/adnacal</i>	localised glossing + alliteration of <uə> and <(a)d> / <(a)ð>:	<i>fó uaislidetaidh don uaim uais dānad adba in tidnucul nō int adnacul</i> ‘in accordance with his nobility to the noble union for which the conveying or the burial is fitting’

The above examples have focused on a handful of individual glosses. Not all glossing passages are so dense in glossing styles, and the following example demonstrates a longer passage of text over which a handful of glossing styles occur. Note that localised glossing runs across more than one gloss.

CA = CIH ii.500.19–21 (main text), 24–28 (glosses)

Nach cēle sofaltach¹ 7 mada anfaltach in flaith² esinric³ gūach⁴ gubreathach⁵ conad fuirb amires⁶ 7 bid indric⁷ in cēle sofaltach⁸ is ē dotoing cach n-imresan bis eturru 7 a flaith⁹

¹ .i. bes *degh*faltach im comallad a dligid

² .i. ma *droch*faltach in flaith im eisinrucus 7 im indliged do denum

³ .i. {{i mbreithir .i. {{im brath

⁴ .i. i luighi}} .i. im fiadnaisi}}

⁵ .i. beirius bretha gua

⁶ .i. co **fir**eibean a fis umaras bē

⁷ .i. { {o briathraib

⁸ .i. degfoltach be o gnīmraib}}

⁹ .i. is ē {donī imdēnum} cach imresna bis eturru 7 a thigherna

Commentary

Lemma	Glossing Style	Gloss
<i>sofoltach</i> ‘well behaved’	positive substitution	<i>degfoltach</i> ‘well behaved’
<i>anfoltach</i> ‘badly behaved’	negative substitution	<i>drochfoltach</i> ‘badly behaved’
<i>esinric</i> + <i>giuach</i>	word pairs	<i>i mbreithir</i> <i>i luighi</i>
	localised glossing	<i>i mbreithir .i. im brath</i> <i>i luighi .i. im fiadnaisi</i>
<i>fuirb</i>	first syllable etymology	<i>fir-eibean</i>
<i>sofoltach</i> ‘well behaved’	positive substitution	<i>degfoltach</i> ‘well behaved’
<i>indric</i>	word pairs + localised glossing	<i>o briathraib... o gnimraib</i>
<i>dotoing</i> ‘who swears’	<i>do-gní</i> + verbal noun	<i>doni indenum</i>

4.2.7 Glossing in the Sample Group

For all of these glossing styles, a number of general observations may be made. Firstly, there is no evidence that any of these glossing styles were used mechanically; conversely, it seems to be the case that it was the choice of the glossator. Choice of glossing style was influenced by context, and also by surrounding glossing styles. This flexibility of application allowed clashes of meaning to be prevented.

These glossing styles appear to target novice learners. The focus is for the most part on breaking down passages of text into accessible, understandable, and contemporary language, sometimes by generalising the meaning of the lemma. One reason why earlier scholars such as Binchy dismissed the later material is because of the later scribes’ seeming confusion when dealing with Old Irish forms. Glossing styles like those summarised here may represent how

legal scholars were taught to bridge that language gap, by providing easily accessible, context-based methods of memorisation and engagement.

A number of the above glossing styles suggest a more advanced audience. Exemplary word pairs and contrastive structures in localised glossing move away from the individual gloss to the broader context of the passage of main text as a whole, drawing on other lemmata and glosses. Localised glossing over a phrase or passage of main text was presumably intended for individual study in which the pupil or teacher has the text in front of him and so the repetition patterns are visible.

Etymological glosses – comprised of etymon, etymology, reworking of the remaining lemma form, and placement in a larger explanatory gloss – illustrate a variety of processes. Neutral and variable semantics, active choice over whether or not to use etymology, and repetition draw attention to and preserve the etymon form. By using consonant-based etymology and context-based lexical rephrasing, collectively they account for the form, meaning, and context of the lemma in the phrase in which the lemma is embedded. Modern glossing classification does not easily allow for such a variety of functions. Blom's proposition relating to the predominantly Latin glossing on the psalms that 'a gloss substitutes, supplements, or comments on its lemma' would not hold quite true for etymological glosses;¹ the process of syllabic etymology was substitution of a kind, but based on the phonetic rather than the lexical form of the lemma. The glosses in which etymological glosses are embedded may be described as 'paraphrase', a version of Blom's SUB3 category;² they are predominantly lexical, breaking down the phrasing of the main text into updated or otherwise simplified language. 'Paraphrase', which does not require any specific feature other than a reworking of the main text – as oppose to directly reproducing the exact meaning of the main text – is perhaps a more suitable term for explanatory glosses containing etymological glosses, but not the gloss (comprising both etymology and explanatory material) as a whole.

This section has looked at the different glossing methods used in the sample group, and demonstrated that the glossator's apparatus could be relatively complex. The next section will focus on etymological glossing in the sample group.

¹ Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 29.

² Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 32.

4.3 Sample Group: Etymological Gloss Types

The sample group lacks the variety of etymological styles found in *OGSM*. Isidorean-style and Latin-medium etymologies are very rare; conversely, syllabic etymology is frequent. The low frequency of Isidorean-style and Latin-medium etymologies presumably reflects a difference in the way these texts were being used. The following two examples taken from the sample group illustrate the difference between Isidorean-style and syllabic etymology respectively:

CL, § 2^{vi}

eclais^{vi}

^{vi} .i. *ecan-chlas*, *clas* in *ecna*; *nō eclas*, *īclas*, *clas īcca cāich* in *eclas iminnī* recait a *leas*. *nō eclas ūag-clas*, *clas ūaighitir ar cāch* in *eclas*; *nō eclais*, *ēcen-leas*, *baili i ndēntar les neich* in *ūair bīs i n-ēcin*; *nō eclais ōnī* is *eclesia*.

‘church’^{vi}

^{vi} ‘i.e. *Ecan-chlas*, the assembly of wisdom, or *eclas*, “healing assembly”, the church is an assembly which heals everyone who needs to be; or *eclas*, “whole assembly”, the church is an assembly which is joined together for all; or *eclais* “need-enclosure”, a place where a person is provided for when he is in need; or *eclais* from the word *eclesia*.’¹

CB, § 47¹

*Cair*¹ *caité téchtae cach adnacail ó thúaithe, do cach grád íarna míad do eclais?*

¹ .i. *comaircim caidē in nī dligeas ō cach grád isin túaithe fō ūaislidetaid don ūaim ūais dānad ada int idnacul nō int adhnacul.*

‘A question¹, what is appropriate for every burial from the laity, from every grade in accordance with his rank, to the church?’

¹ The translation of this passage has been taken from Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, p. 123. It differs from Eska’s edition in understanding *īclas* as ‘healing’, rather than ‘supplying’, and *ēcen-leas* as ‘need-enclosure’, rather than ‘need-relief’.

¹ i.e. ‘I ask’: what is it which is due from every grade amongst the laity in accordance with his nobility to the ‘noble union’ for which the ‘conveying’ or the burial is ‘fitting’?

In *CL* § 2^{vi}, the focus is on generating multiple and different meanings from the lemma *eclais*, interpreting the lemma in four individual ways: *ecan-chlas*, *īclais*, *īag-clas*, *ēcen-leas*, and *ecclesia*. There is no mention of the main text or the context in which the lemma appears. In *CB* § 47¹, by contrast, the etymology is embedded in an explanatory gloss. This explanatory gloss is a reworking of the main text, and as such the etymological gloss contextualises the lemma within the specific circumstances discussed by the main text as a ‘noble union’. The etymological gloss itself is also different.

Rather than generate a multitude of etymological glosses for *eclais*, *CB* § 47¹ provides only one: *uūim ūais* ‘noble union’. This etymological gloss is composed of the etymology *uais*, glossing the etymon *-ais* <-s> of *eclais*, and the word *uaim*, representing the remaining lemma form. Whereas the consonant structure of the remaining lemma form is frequently preserved in the etymological gloss, the word *uaim* looks unusual in that it has no phonological connection to the remaining lemma form <-cl-> (i.e. *ecl-ais*), nor to *eclais* as a whole. It may simply have been easier to use a completely new word rather than modify the consonant cluster <-cl->, which is the method one might expect of a syllabic etymology. However, the most likely solution is that there was an additional stage of thought process, not present on the page, in which a word was generated through phonological or semantic similarity to the consonant structure <-cl->; this word was then replaced by *uaim*.¹ One option is *comal* ‘agreement; union’, which contains just one additional consonant (i.e. <-m->). In this case, the thought process would run as follows: *ecl-* <-cl-> > *comal* <c-m-l> ‘agreement; union’ > *ūaim* ‘union’.² The choice of *ūaim* over a more phonologically similar word to <-cl-> may be the result of the alliteration which runs throughout the second half of this gloss, in which /uə/ occurs three times in close succession.³

Latin language-based etymologies are extremely uncommon within the sample group, and any additional information provided in the same gloss is in the vernacular. There are only three examples of Latin used in an etymology. Two of these are adjacent examples which occur in *CL* within a passage of vernacular Isidorean-style etymologies:

¹ For other examples of additional stages in thought process in etymologies, see Chapter 5.6.

² Another possibility is *comūaimm* ‘joining together’, which occurs elsewhere in the law texts in reference to a union between church and state (e.g. *PHP* = *CIH* ii.342.14). However, *comūaimm* is less phonologically similar to <-cl->.

³ i.e. *fō ūaislīdetaid don ūaim ūais* (alliteration marked in bold). For a note on the term *ūaim*, see Breatnach, *CB*, p. 209 s.v. § 46 n. 1 *ūaim ūais*.

CL, § 2^{xvii, xviii}

fer^{xvii} fria bein^{xviii}

^{xvii} .i. *Onni is uirtuti o nirt*

^{xviii} .i. *Fri boin, fria maith, frisinni is maith leis .i. ria mnai; no oni is ^abonum ilitat^a, ont*

[s]ainemlataid, no on miadamlataidh ferdатаid, 7 aca rochtain fein robas and; 7 Is bi lanamandacht [f]uil ataru: toil 7 genus 7 bangnim uaithisi dosom, 7 fergnim uadh-sum di-si; 7 trian tinoil aicce-si masa bingen graidh feine co mac graid feine, t ingein graidh fhlatha co mac grad flatha, t b-ingen graid flatha co mac graid feine, 7 da trian tinoil acan fhir. Masa ingean graid fene immurgu co mac graid fhlatha da trian tinoil uaithe-si 7 triantínol o mac in graidh fhlatha; 7 comdenum a selba doib, 7 is as gabair eiseic: cu n-aititin for teacht muighe 7 tighe 7 ar-fogni tech(t) do muigh; 7 sena in fhir don mnai masa comindlighthech iat t masa dlighthechu in bean, uair dlíged cennachta [f]uil eturru; 7 ge airmid dlíged chendachta acan fhir ar ferrdacht t ar foruaisle, noco moidi rosia imdenam do arin mnai ce beit amlaidh-sein uair is cundradh fuil eturru.

^{a-a} for *benignitate*.

‘a man^{xvii} with his wife^{xviii}’

^{xvii} ‘i.e. from the one who is *uirtuti* ‘from manliness’, from strength.’

^{xviii} ‘i.e. with *boin* ‘good’, with his good [thing], with that which he likes, i.e. with his wife; or that which is *bonum ilitate* ‘good kindness’, from the excellence [of the woman], or from the dignity of manhood, and [it is] to obtain those [qualities] that they exist and this is the relationship that exists between them: affection and chastity and [the] female act [are due] from her to him, and [the] male act [is due] from him to her; and she has one-third of the marriage contribution if she is the daughter of a freeman [who gets married] to a son of a freeman, or a daughter of a noble [who gets married] to a son of a noble, or a daughter of a noble [who gets married] to a son of a freeman, and the man has two-thirds of the marriage contribution that consists of cattle. If she is the daughter of a freeman, however, [who gets married] to a son of a noble, two-thirds of the marriage contribution [is due] from her and one-third from the son of a noble; and they equally prove their possessions, and this is where it originates: with acknowledgement on [taking] possession of field and of house, and a house ministers to [the]

land; the woman [may] oppose the man if they are equally lawful or if they are equally unlawful or if the woman has a greater legal standing, since there is a rule of headship between them; and though the man may be reckoned to have the rule of headship on account of [his] manhood or on account of superior rank, he is not greater though he may have [power of] proof by oath over the woman so long as they are thus, because there is a contract between them.’

In the first gloss, *fer* ‘man’ is etymologised using Latin *uirtuti* ‘from manliness’ based on the linguistic and consonantal phonological connection between Irish *fer* ‘man’ and Latin *uir* ‘man’.¹ The second gloss takes *ben* ‘woman’ as its lemma, and uses the consonantal phonological connection between *ben* ‘woman’ and *bon* (for Latin *bonus*) ‘good’ to provide two etymologies: *boin* ‘good’ and *bonum ilitate* (for *benignitate*) ‘good kindness’.

The third example is the only instance in which a Latin phrase is employed in an etymological gloss on the Latin loanword *puipir* ‘mendicants’. Two glosses accompany this lemma, as superscript and subscript respectively; both are provided for context. The subscript gloss is incomplete due to trimming of the margin.²

CB, § 20¹⁶ (superscript), 17 (subscript)

puipir do bíathad^{16, 17}

¹⁶ .i. *qui pera pascitur* .i. *sāstar ō tēigh*.

‘feeding mendicants’¹⁶

¹⁶ i.e. ‘*who is nourished by a bag*’ i.e. ‘who is nourished by a bag’.

This example is exceptional within the sample group as the only example of a Latin etymological gloss. The etymological gloss is *qui pera pascitur* ‘who is nourished by a bag’, etymologising *puipir* ‘mendicants’.³ This process reverses the syllabic units of *puipir* (i.e. <p-> +

¹ For a note on *uirtus*, see Eska, *CL*, p. 99 fn. b. The link between <f> and <u> is well attested in Irish; see Russell, *Fern do frestol*, pp. 21–4.

² See Breatnach, *CB*, p. 198 s.v. § 20 n. 17.

³ *Pera* occurs in the *Etymologiae* in reference to leather clothing required for labouring, presumably as an extension of the more general meaning of *pera* as a leather bag: *Melotes quae etiam pera uocatur pellis est caprina [a] collo pendens praecincta usque ad lumbos: est autem habitus proprie necessarius ad operis exercitium* ‘The *melotes*, which is also called a *pera* (lit. “bag”), is the skin of a goat which hangs from the neck and covers as far as the loins. Strictly speaking, this is the outfit needed for labouring’ (Lib. XIX xxiv) (ed. Lindsay, *Etymologiae*, (no page nos.); transl. Barney et al., *Etymologies*, p. 387 n.19).

<-p-r>) to give <p-r-p>, which provides the structure for the etymology *pera pascitur* (i.e. <p-r-p-s-c-t-r>).

We have already seen examples of Latin in etymologies from *OGSM*. In that context, the focus of the passage was on the use of other languages to interpret the main text. The use of Latin in this passage of *CB* differs in that it is the only switch into another language in an otherwise vernacular glossing apparatus. The composer of the gloss was evidently capable of creating etymological glosses in both Latin and Irish. What was the reason for Latin as the medium of etymology in this example? Given the relative scarcity of words in Irish with an initial <p->, it may have been more convenient to use Latin in the consonant-based etymology, with an Irish translation then supplied. The use of Latin in the gloss may also have been influenced by the lemma *puiþir*, which is a Latin loanword (*pauper*).

First/final syllable etymology is the most frequent etymological style within the sample group. The following table provides a full list of first/final syllable etyma with their corresponding etymologies within the sample group.

4.4 Etyma and Etymologies

In the following table, below each etymon are listed the orthographic forms of the etyma found within the sample group (i.e. *im-* for <-m->), with the corresponding etymology marked in bold in the adjacent column. This table is intended to be used for quick reference; lemmata and etymological glosses are listed in Appendix 1. Note that the etyma <f-> and <r->, which may both be etymologised *fīr* ‘true’, are listed with the etymon <f-r> under <[f]-[r]>.

<-c-> <-g-> /g/	
<i>aic-</i> <i>aig-</i> <i>fog-</i>	óg ‘complete; perfect’
<c-m> <c-b> /k-v/	
<i>com-</i> <i>coib-</i> <i>cum-</i>	cáem ‘fair, well’
<c-m> /k-m/ /k-v/ <c-n> /k-n>	
<i>com-</i> <i>con-</i>	cuma ‘equal’
<c-n> /k-n/	
<i>con-</i>	caín ‘fine, well’
<-d-> /d/ /ð/	
<i>ad-</i> <i>a-</i> (for base preverbal particle <i>ad-</i>) <i>-da-</i> <i>-id-</i>	ada ‘suitable, fitting’
<d-> /d/	
<i>di(u)-</i> <i>do-</i>	uráin ‘excess’
<d-r[b]> /d-r[b]/	
<i>dor-</i> <i>deirb-</i>	deg- ‘good’ deirb ‘truly’
<f->	
<i>fó-</i>	fó, deg-, maith ‘good’ ada ‘suitable’

<[f]-[r]>	
<i>ar-</i> (<i>a</i>) <i>ur-</i> <i>fo-</i> <i>for-</i> (<i>i</i>) <i>ar-</i>	<i>fír</i> ‘truly’
<f-r-[s/th]>	
<i>frith-</i> <i>fris-</i> <i>fri-</i>	<i>fír</i> ‘truly’
<i>fris-</i> (see p. 134)	<i>ada</i> ‘suitable’
<-m->	
<i>im-</i>	<i>éim</i> ‘timely’
<i>-om</i>	<i>éim</i> ‘indeed’
<i>-em</i>	<i>éim</i> ‘ready’
<-r->	
<i>air-</i> (<i>a</i>) <i>ur-</i>	<i>úasal</i> ‘noble’
<i>air-</i>	<i>uráin</i> ‘excess’
<i>-r-</i>	<i>éra-</i> ‘noble’ <i>ro-</i> ‘great; complete’
<-s->	
<i>-ais</i> <i>as-</i> <i>-es(a)</i> <i>-sa</i> <i>-us(a)</i>	<i>úais</i> ‘noble’
<i>-as-</i>	<i>úasal</i> ‘noble’
<i>-us</i>	<i>fis</i> ‘knowledge’ <i>séis</i> ‘arrangement’
<t->	
<i>do-</i>	<i>deg</i> ‘good’
<i>do-</i> <i>to-</i>	<i>toich</i> ‘naturally, timely’

<t-r>	
<i>tur-</i>	<i>tár</i> ‘shame; disgrace’ <i>tóirithnech</i> ‘helping’ <i>fír</i> ‘true, truly’ (see note, p. 149 fn. 2)

5 ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSES: METHOD

The following section will deal with the grammatical and morphological aspects of first and final syllable etymologies (including monosyllabic lemmata). The examples in the following sections are intended to be exemplary, and not exhaustive; a maximum of three examples will be used per point; the remaining examples may be found in Appendix 1.

5.1 Phonology

The core of all etymological glosses is the consonant structure of the lemma. Within this framework, the glossators were relatively free in how they treated consonants, and we find a number of variations in how they understood form and sound for the purpose of the etymology in which sound changes were used to accommodate the etymology.

Consonant quality in etymological glossing was extremely flexible. Lenited variants of a particular consonant could be grouped together and viewed as the same consonant in order to maintain the consonant structure of the lemma in the etymology. This affects four consonants:

<d>/<th> = /d/, /ð/, /θ/¹

<m> = /m/, /v/

<s> = /s/, /ʃ/

<t/d> /t/, /d/

The following examples demonstrate these phonological changes in etymological glosses.

¹ Binchy notes that *adba* ‘suitable’ is used as an etymology for both preverbs *ad-* and *aith-* (Binchy, *CUT*, p. 79 s.v. § 5).

<d>

in-da-cuirither (<-d> /d/) ‘imposes it’ > *ada-cuires* (<-d-> /ð/) ‘suitably contracts’.¹
adnacal (<-d> /ð/) ‘burial’ > *ada in tidnucul* (<-d-> /ð/) ‘the conveying is fitting’.²

<th>

othrusa (<-th> /θ/) ‘sick-maintenance’ > *ad[a]oirithin úais* (<-d> /ð/) ‘noble appropriate assistance’.³

<m>

imfuigell (<-m> /m/) ‘lawsuit’ > *ēmb-fuigell* (<-m> /v/) ‘timely judgement’.⁴

<s>

cumthus (<-s> /s/) ‘joint economy’ > *cummaid úais* (<-s> /ʃ/) ‘noble partnership’.⁵

<t/d>

toglen (<t-g> /t/) ‘pursues’ > *deg-lenand* (<d-g> /d-g/) ‘well follows’.⁶

There is also merging between the bilabial nasal <m> /m/ and the alveolar nasal <n> /n/ with <m> /m/ and <m> /v/. These changes mainly affect voiced lenited variants; there are no examples of <d> treated as /θ/ within the sample group.

<m> <n>

comraind (<c-m> /k-v/) ‘dividing’ > *cuma roinn* (<c-m> /kəmə/) ‘equally divide’.⁷
congillne (<c-n> /k-n/) ‘mutual pledging’ > *cuma trebair* (<c-m> /k-m/) ‘equivalent suretyship’.⁸

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma), 24–6 (gloss); see also the related form *inda coraib cuirither* (etym. *roadacuirister*) (*CA* = *CIH* ii.491.33 (lemma), 492.4 (gloss)).

² *CB*, § 47¹.

³ *CB*, § 16¹². I follow Breatnach’s translation; see above, p. 124 fn. 4. Note *uais* ‘noble’ etymologising *-sa*. See elsewhere e.g. *athgabail* (<-th> /θ/) ‘distrain’ > *athgabail aith no edba* (<-th> /θ/ <-d-> /ð/) ‘sharp or suitable distrain’ (*CIH* = ii.407.27 (lemma), 35 (gloss) (*SM1*, 2. *Cethairšlicht Athgabálae*)).

⁴ *BD*, § 36³.

⁵ *CL*, § 8⁴.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.500.33 (lemma), 501.1–3 (gloss).

⁷ *CL*, § 36³.

⁸ *CB*, § 16¹¹.

Consonant structure, and its preservation, was the primary focus of the etymology. In the majority of cases, this was relatively straightforward; the etymon *con-*, for example, may generate the etymology *caín* ‘fine; well’, in which the consonant structure remains unchanged: <c-n> > <c-n>. In order to provide meaning as well as form to the etymology, the glossators were able to work with phonological and morphological variants of an etymon consonant. Consonants which lenite to zero or reduce to /h/ (<f> and <s> respectively) can be understood as present or absent for the purpose of the etymology, so that they can effectively be construed as a silent and invisible unit of the lemma (<f> /Ø/, <s> /h/). Although <s> never lenited to zero, it seems to be treated as such in etymological glosses, as demonstrated in the example *cóir séis* below. Etyma in *fris-* <-s> also often omit <s> from the etymology, as demonstrated in the example *fír-dreimnigtir* below.

Addition of lenited <f/s> (i.e. <ċ/š>:

<i>córus</i> (<-s>) ‘arrangement’	>	<i>a fīs chóir</i> (<f-s>) ‘according to proper knowledge’, <i>cóir séis</i> (<s-s>) ‘proper arrangement’. ¹
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Omission of s:

<i>fris-drengar</i> (<f-r-s>) ‘descending grading’	>	<i>fír-dreimnigtir</i> (<f-r>) ‘truly advanced’. ²
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In the first example, the etymon *-us* is understood for the purpose of the etymology as *-fūs* and *-śūs* to allow the glossator to understand the lemma <corus> /kōrəs/ as <corċūs> /kōrəs/> or <corśūs> /kōrhəs/ and provide the glossator with the consonantal basis to etymologise as *fīs* and *śéis*.

Further examples:³ <r> understood <ċ-r>:

<i>aurfocru</i> (<ċ-r>) ‘notice’	>	<i>fír-urfōgra</i> <f-r> ‘true notice’. ⁴
<i>urfæmtar</i> (<ċ-r>) ‘accepted’	>	<i>fír-fæmtar</i> <f-r> ‘truly accepted’. ⁵
<i>urġlan</i> (<ċ-r>) ‘clean’	>	<i>fír-ġlanad</i> <f-r> ‘truly cleaned’. ⁶

¹ *a fīs chóir* = CB, §§ 16¹, 17¹; *cóir séis* = CB, §§ 1¹, 13¹¹, 14⁹, 15¹, 18¹.

² CUT, § 82.

³ In whole-word etymologies: e.g. *saer* (<s-r> > <s-ċ-r>) ‘independent person’ > *sofear* (<s-f-r>) ‘good men’ (CB, § 3⁵); in Isidorean-style etymologies: e.g. *flaith* ‘lord’ (<f-l-th> > <f-ċ-l-th>) > *fo a folaíd* (<f-f-l-d>) ‘his property is good’ (CL, § 2²). cf. *SC* lenited <f>: e.g. *SC* YAdd.158 *bradan* ‘salmon’ (<b-r-d-n> > <b-r-ċ-d-n>) > *bir fud en* (<b-r-f-d-n>); *SC* Y.1133 *sanas* (<s-n-s> > <s-n-ċ-s>) > *sain fīs*. Lenited <s>: e.g. Y.611 *fasach* (<f-s-ch> > <f-ċ-s-ch>) ‘maxim’ > *fesosech* (<f-s-s-ch>) ‘leads astray’; Y.604 *flechnud* (<f-l-ch-d> > <f-l-ch-ċ-d>) > *flinuch suth* (<f-l-ch-s-th>).

⁴ CA = CIH ii.491.14 (lemma), 22–23 (gloss); 491.35 (lemma), 492.7–8 (gloss).

⁵ CA = CIH ii.493.10 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss).

⁶ CA = CIH ii.499.25 (lemma), 30 (gloss).

There are no further examples of <f> or <s> being omitted in a first or final syllable etymology within the sample group.¹

Examples of lenited <t> occur with only with forms of the prefix *frith-*. When at the beginning of a prototonic verb, the preposition *frith-* takes the forms *fress-*, *fre-*, or *frith-*, and *frith-* also occurs in compound nouns. For example, *frithfol* ‘counter considerations’ is etymologised *fír-fola* ‘true consideration’;² the prefix *frith-* ‘against’ has been reduced to its consonant structure with the omission of the final <-th>: <f-r>, and it is <f-r> which forms the basis of the etymology *fír*.³

We do not find lemma vowels accounted for in the etymology in the same way as the consonant structure. Vowels could be recycled into whichever sound was required to construct the etymology and could be removed, added, or altered accordingly. By virtue of the fact that the majority of etymologies created an independent monosyllabic word from an unstressed unit of the lemma, most etymological glosses recycle short (unstressed) etyma vowels into long (stressed) vowels. Both stressed and unstressed vowels could be recycled into whichever vowel quality was required to create the etymology and maintain the consonant structure of the lemma, or they could be omitted entirely. This is striking, as one would expect only unstressed reduced vowels to undergo such changes.

unstressed vowel > stressed vowel:

<i>annsam</i> (<-m> /əv/) ‘most difficult’	>	<i>ansae ēm</i> (<-m> /e:v/) ‘difficult indeed’. ⁴
<i>con-fodlai</i> (<c-n> /kən/) ‘divides’	>	<i>caín fodailes</i> (<c-n> /kain/) ‘well divide’. ⁵
<i>do-coislet</i> (<t-c> /dəx/) ‘they escape’	>	<i>toich as-laiet</i> (<t-ch> /təx/) ‘timely they escape’. ⁶

unstressed vowel > diphthong:

<i>as-renar</i> (<-s> /əs/) ‘is paid away’	>	<i>úais eirnithir</i> (<-s> /uəʃ/) ‘is nobly paid away’. ⁷
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¹ In whole-word etymologies: e.g. *cis lír* (<c-s-l-r>) ‘how many’ > *cía ler* (<c-š-l-r>) ‘what abundance’ (*D*, § 272); in Isidorean-style etymologies: e.g. *flaith* (<f-l-th>) ‘lord’ > *laith* (<ġ-l-th>) ‘ale’ (*CL*, § 22) (cf. *SCY*.575+*M*.343 s.v. *flaith*).

² *CB*, § 63⁸.

³ For the reduction of <th>, see above, pp. 51–2.

⁴ *BB*, § 1^a.

⁵ *D*, § 25³.

⁶ *BB*, § 39^b.

⁷ *CL*, § 18⁵.

stressed vowel > different stressed vowel:

coibne (<c-b> /kɒv/) ‘kinsmen’ > *cáem-fine* (<c-m> /kaiv/) ‘noble kindred’.¹

stressed vowel > diphthong:

bés (<-s> /e:s/) ‘annual food-rent’ > *biad úais* (<-s> /uəf/) ‘noble food’.²

Note the treatment of the vowel in *bés* ‘annual food-rent’. As a monosyllable, the vowel carried full stress; the fact that a stressed and fully sounded vowel was treated in exactly the same flexible manner as a short unstressed vowel demonstrates the glossators’ preoccupation with consonant structure over vowel quality.

5.2 Morphology

To render the lemma fully, the etymology works on two related but distinctive levels: form and meaning. Glossators were able to expand and adapt pre-existing features of the Irish language in order to construct an etymology. We have already seen that vowels which retained their full quality in the lemma could be replaced with a different vowel altogether in an etymology. Because the etymology was consonant-based, rather than morphology-based, it was not restricted to one type of lexical unit. As a result, we also find variation between the types of morphological unit taken as the basis for the etymology. The following sections will look at the ways glossators played with the language to establish both the form and the meaning of the lemma. It will focus primarily on first syllable etymologies, as there is only one example within the final syllable category in which the etymon is a detachable morphological unit: *annsam* ‘most difficult’ (*BB*, § 1^a), which contains the superlative suffix ending *-om* (for *-am*).

In the majority of first syllable etymological glosses, the first syllable of the lemma is a prefix and it is this prefix which is used as the basis for the etymology. The prefix can be recycled into an adjective or adverb, monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Less commonly, a prefix is recycled as a noun.

¹ *CL*, § 5¹⁶.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.480.12 (lemma), 18–20 (gloss).

adjective:	<i>fochraicc</i> ‘fee’	>	<i>deicreicc</i> (for <i>deg-creic</i>) ‘good purchase’. ¹
	<i>imthoga</i> ‘mutual consent’	>	<i>ém-togaide</i> ‘timely choice’. ²
	<i>tairgille</i> ‘forepledge’	>	<i>gell tóirithnech</i> ‘a helping pledge’. ³
adverb:	<i>ad-cuirter</i> ‘is restored’	>	<i>ada-curthair</i> ‘suitably put’. ⁴
	<i>air-biathar</i> ‘supplied’	>	<i>úasal-biatar</i> ‘nobly fed’. ⁵
	<i>imm-dích</i> ‘protects’	>	<i>ém ditnes</i> ‘timely protects’. ⁶
noun:	<i>comdílse</i> ‘same title’	>	<i>cuma dílsi</i> ‘identity of ownership’. ⁷
	<i>turchluidé</i> ‘forepurchase’	>	<i>ar clód i tár</i> ‘for stooping into baseness’. ⁸
	<i>torcraiat</i> ‘they forepurchase’	>	<i>creicc is tár</i> ‘a purchase which is a disgrace’. ⁹

Infixed pronouns may be treated in the same way in forms of *in-cuirethar*, the etymon simply requires a suitable consonant structure on which an etymology can be formed. In the following examples, the structure is <-d->.

Class B 3rd sg. fem./pl. infix. -*da*:-

inda-cuirither ‘imposes it’ > *ro-ada-cuirister* ‘who suitably contracted’.¹⁰

Class C 3rd sg. neut. infix. -*id*:-

inid-chuirethar ‘puts it in’ > *in-ada-cuirend* ‘suitably puts in’.¹¹

The distinction between the unvoiced consonant in Class B <da> (i.e. /d/) and voiced consonant in Class C <id> (i.e. /ð/) is not observed in the etymologies, in which both are recycled as /ð/.

¹ *CUT*, § 12¹.

² *CL*, § 28².

³ *BB*, § 26^a.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.33 (lemma), 494.6–7 (gloss).

⁵ *CUT*, § 7⁹.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.488.25 (lemma), 27 (gloss).

⁷ *CB*, § 55⁵.

⁸ *CA* = *CIH* ii.484.33 (lemma), 485.5–6 (gloss); see further *CUT*, § 7⁷. For a discussion of *tur-* as *tár* ‘shame’, see Chapter 5.3.3.

⁹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.486.2 (lemma), 6–7 (gloss).

¹⁰ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss); see also related forms: *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma), 24–5 (gloss); *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.33 (lemma), 492.4–5 (gloss). Note that this is an example of a lenited variant of /d/, which is unlenited in the lemma *inda-* /inda/ and lenited in the etymology *ada* /aðə/.

¹¹ *BB*, §§ 12^c, 13^b.

There are two examples within this subgroup in which the etymology *ada* ‘suitable’ occurs on a form of *in-cuirethar* without an infix pronoun.¹ The presence of the etymology *ada* suggests one of two possibilities: that the main text should be restored to *inid-chuirithar* or *inda-cuirithar*; or that the gloss was taken from a different manuscript witness containing a form with the infix pronoun.²

The above examples only occur on forms of *in-cuirethar*. Where an infix pronoun occurs elsewhere, it is not etymologised; where there is a prefix, this is etymologised instead.³ In the following examples, underlined letters mark the infix pronoun, and letters in bold the etymon and corresponding etymology.

Class A fem. sg./pl. infix. *-s-*:

<i>imus-<u>fu</u>ich</i> ‘annuls it’	>	<i>ém <u>fu</u>aitred</i> ‘timely impugn’. ⁴
<i>imus-<u>coi</u>tget</i> ‘swear [it] mutually’	>	<i>ém <u>téi</u>t</i> ‘timely goes’. ⁵
<i>imus-<u>cob</u>raithar</i> ‘help [them]’	>	<i>ém <u>cob</u>foirithniges</i> ‘timely help’. ⁶

Class B fem. sg./pl. infix. *-da-*:

<i>arda-<u>f</u>ogna</i> ‘serve it’	>	<i>úasal <u>f</u>ognam</i> ‘nobly serving’. ⁷
<i>foda-<u>(f)</u>ocair</i> ‘denounces them’	>	<i>fír-<u>o</u>gra</i> ‘truly denouncing’. ⁸
<i>foda-<u>com</u>ilset</i> ‘supports them’	>	<i>is maith int a<u>com</u>ul-sin... deg<u>com</u>imulang</i> ‘that joining is good... maintaining well’. ⁹

Class C neut. sg. infix. *-id-*:

<i>imid-<u>ch</u>omba</i> ‘destroys it’	>	<i>ém-<u>cu</u>imbges</i> ‘timely destroys’. ¹⁰
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¹ *BB*, § 12^d; *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.18 (lemma), 23 (gloss). Etymologies of *in-cuirethar* in *CA* all omit the prefix in the etymological gloss (i.e. treating the etymology *ada* syntactically as if it were the prefix).

² Charles-Edwards and Kelly emend *incuirithar* to *inid-chuirethar* on the basis of the etymology, since ‘*ada* ‘lawful, proper’ is a frequent ‘etymological gloss’ on *-id-*’ (Charles-Edwards and Kelly, *BB*, p. 105). While *ada* does occur as an etymology for *-id-* (properly <-d>), examples in *CA* demonstrate that *ada* also occurs as an etymology for *-da* (also <-d>) (e.g. *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma), 24–5 (gloss), 491.14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss), 491.33 (lemma), 492.4–5 (gloss)).

³ e.g. *CUT*, § 5^d; *CL*, § 37¹³; *CB*, § 20²⁰.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8 (lemma), 10 (gloss); see also related form: *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8 (lemma), 11–12 (gloss).

⁵ *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss).

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8 (lemma), 13–14 (gloss).

⁷ *CUT*, § 12⁵.

⁸ *CUT*, § 5⁴.

⁹ *CB*, § 20²⁰.

¹⁰ *BB*, § 14^a.

There are no examples in which a prefix and an infix pronoun are both etymologised. Syllabic etymological glosses focus on one unit on which to construct an etymology, and presumably etymologising two units was not felt necessary.

Glossators were also able to create new units from the lemma and treat them as if they were pre-existing linguistic units:

Further examples:

nad alet (<-d->) ‘does not adhere’ > *nochon adha lenas* (<-d->) ‘does not suitably follow’.¹

The final consonant of the negative particle (<-d->) forms the basis of the etymology (*adha*) and a replacement negative particle is supplied (*nochon*). The etymology is placed in prefix position between the verb and the new negative particle.

arnacon derbarthar (<c-n>) ‘may not be defrauded’ > *arnara caïn-diubarthar* (<c-n>) ‘may not be well defrauded’.²

The lemma unit is the final syllable of the negative particle *nacon* (for *nochon*).

airliter (<-r->) ‘which are arranged’ > *ēra-luaidbtir* (<-r->) ‘nobly mentioned’.³

The linguistic prefix is *ad-* (from *ad-roilli*), not *ar-*; the etymology is concerned with the form of the lemma as it exists in the text.

ardamat (<-r->) ‘acknowledge’ > *ró-aididin* (<-r->) ‘complete admission’.⁴

The infix perfective particle *ro* has been extracted from the lemma verb *ad-daim* ‘acknowledges’, then recycled as the intensifying prefix *ró-* ‘great, complete’ before being reattached the remaining lemma form *aididin*.⁵

tairmtecht (<t-r>) ‘sin’ > *imtecht is tár* (<t-r>) ‘a proceeding which is base’.⁶

The etymon is part of the preverbal particle *tarmi-* (from *tarmi-téit*).

¹ *CUT*, § 53.

² *BB*, § 49i. *derba* | *thar*, for *derbarthar* (MS p. 25^b = *CIH* ii.455.4).

³ *CB*, § 29¹⁰; see also *CB*, § 84.

⁴ *CUT*, § 97.

⁵ This etymological gloss is an example of glossators constructing etymologies on the textual lemma form; in other words, the form in front of them as oppose to dictionary form. This suggests that they were working directly from the manuscript.

⁶ *BG*, § 1i.

taschnai (<-s->) ‘affect’ > *úasal-indsaigter* ‘nobly enforced’.¹

The first consonant of *-aschnai* (from *do-aschnai*) is used as the etymon, and the lemma initial <-t-> is not included.

to-choislet (<t-ch>) ‘escape’ > *toich as-laiet* (<t-ch>) ‘it is timely that they escape’.²

The prefix consonant (<t->) and the first consonant of the verbal form (<ch->) are merged to form an etymology with *toich*.³

Independent prepositions and sometimes relative particles could be etymologised on the same basis as verbal and nominal forms when used in relative clauses. Etymologies of independent prepositions only occur with forms of the compounds in *-tá*. The preposition in each instance can be reduced to the consonant structure <f/ǫ-r>, giving the etymology *fír* <f-r> ‘true, truly’.

<i>ar</i> ‘on; for’:	<i>arabí</i> (<ǫ-r> for <-r->) ‘which is’	> <i>fír bíd</i> ‘which truly is’. ⁴
<i>for</i> ‘on’:	<i>fordobe</i> (for <i>fordabê</i>) (<f-r>) ‘on which is’	> <i>fír bís</i> ‘which truly is’. ⁵
<i>fri</i> ‘against’:	<i>frisa mbí</i> (<f-r>) ‘to which he is’	> <i>ír bís</i> (<ǫ-r>) ‘which truly is’. ⁶
	<i>frisi mbí</i> (<f-r>) ‘who is’	> <i>ír bís</i> ‘which truly is’. ⁷
<i>íar</i> ‘after’:	<i>íarmabiad</i> (<-r>) ‘after which’	> <i>fír bis</i> ‘which truly is’. ⁸

Just as with preverbal particles, in the above examples the basic unit the preposition. Both are treated identically for the purpose of etymological construction, illustrating that glossators viewed different morphological units primarily as consonantal structures which could be etymologised accordingly.

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.13 (lemma), 18–20 (gloss). This is the only example within the sample group of <-s-> generating the etymology *úasal* instead of *úais*.

² *BB*, § 39^b.

³ Note that the lemma verb form is modified into a compound verb in the etymological gloss. There are also examples of lemma modification which use compound verb forms in the etymological gloss (e.g. *-gní: -rognáithir* > *-fognama*). Although the verb *as-laiet* preserves the consonant structure of *-choislet* (i.e. <s-l-t>), it is uncommon to substitute a different compound verb in etymological glosses. The gloss on *to-choislet* was added to *BB* by the third hand, Cairbre, who worked on *BB* at some point after 1350 AD. This etymology may reflect an older stratum of etymologising belonging to an earlier manuscript witness, added to the TCD H 2. 15A (1316) version by the scribe Cairbre.

⁴ *CL*, § 30⁴.

⁵ *CL*, § 37¹³.

⁶ *BB*, § 49^g.

⁷ *CL*, § 11⁴.

⁸ *CL*, § 30⁷.

5.2.1 Meaning: supply and demand (inclusion)

In some instances the first or final syllable carries active meaning which affects the meaning of the lemma.¹ Substituting an etymology for the first or final syllable causes that meaning to be lost. Often the meaning is supplied or inferred elsewhere in same gloss as the etymology:² e.g. *imdiupairt* ‘mutual defrauding’ is glossed *ém díubairt neich díb aca cheile* ‘timely defrauding of each of them by the other’.³

Further examples:

prefixes:

aith ‘re-, ex-’:

ad-cuirter ‘restored’ > *adba churthair and ón fine* ‘suitably contracted’ there from the kin-group’.⁴

com- ‘mutual’:

comattraib ‘common household’ > *ina cumaidh úais a caēmad a n-aitrib* ‘regarding their ‘noble partnership’ in beloved-properness of their house’.⁵

comsa ‘joint husbandry’ > *cach caēmam úais lānamais* ‘every noble dear-obligation of the couple’.⁶

frith ‘against’:

fris-cuirither ‘who opposes’ > *adbachuirs... dhe* ‘duly puts out’.⁷

¹ This can also apply to units which are not etymologised; for example, *foda-comilset* ‘which supports them’ glossed *is maith int acomul-sin 7 denat no bit a degcomimulang a mbochta ar Dia* ‘that joining is good’ and let them do or be ‘maintaining well’ their poverty for the sake of God’ (CB, § 20²⁰). The etymological gloss is *maith int acomulsin* and *degcomimulang*, where the empty prefix *fo-* is semantically extended to *maith* and *deg*, both meaning ‘good’ (see Chapter 5.6); the object represented by *-da-* in the lemma is supplied by the 3rd pl. pronoun *a* ‘their’ in the gloss.

² Note that in the following examples, bold font indicates an etymology, and underline indicates the meaning of the lemma unit in the gloss. Examples which contain no bold font deal with a lemma unit which is not etymologised. For examples of how etymological glosses are embedded in larger explanatory glosses, see Chapter 5.7.

³ CA = CIH ii.497.15 (lemma), 20 (gloss).

⁴ CA = CIH ii.493.33 (lemma), 6–7 (gloss).

⁵ CL, § 8⁴.

⁶ CL, § 9⁶.

⁷ CA = CIH ii.493.32 (lemma), 494.3 (gloss).

imm ‘mutually’:

imdiupairt ‘mutual defrauding’ > *ém diubairt neich díb aca cheile* ‘timely defrauding’ of any one of them by the other’.¹

imaititíu ‘mutual acknowledgement’ > *ém aítitínigud in neich rocennaiged amuich do comroind etarru* ‘timely acknowledgement’ that what has been bought from outside is to be divided between them’.²

immamainsi ‘mutual sharpness’ > *ém amainsi i mbriathraib iter in lánamain* ‘timely sharpness of words’ between the couple’.³

infixed pronouns:

Class B fem. sg./pl. prefix *-da-*:

arda-fogna ‘serves it’ > *aca úasal-fognam* ‘nobly serves it’.⁴

inda-cuirithir ‘puts them in’ > *séoit in cáich ro adha-cuirister* ‘the chattels of the person who ‘suitably contracted’’.⁵

Occasionally, the lemma verb is modified by the addition of a new prefix to preserve the lemma meaning, in combination with the form-based etymology. At the period of glossing, the simple verb had not retained the same semantics and consequently another compound was required.

frithcor (*fris-cuirethar*) ‘returning’ > *fír-achchor* (for *fír-atbchor*) (< *ad-cuirethar*) ‘true returning’.⁶

[f]rithrolat (*fris-cuirethar*) ‘they dispute’ > *fír-atbchuired* (< *ad-cuirethar*) ‘truly reject’.⁷

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.15 (lemma), 20 (gloss). See further *CA* = *CIH* ii.495.10 (lemma), 20–1 (gloss). 498.29 (lemma), 34–5 (gloss); *CL*, §§ 10¹, 19⁵.

² *CL*, § 6⁷.

³ *CL*, § 9⁶.

⁴ *CUT*, § 12⁵. For etymologies which can be extended semantically, see Chapter 5.6. This gloss was added by the second glossator, Aodh mac Conchobair mac Aodhagáin (n.b. Binchy’s edition of *CUT* (p. 55) dates Aodh’s autograph on pp. 36–7 to Christmas Eve 1550 AD, which should be corrected to 1350 AD).

⁵ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss); see further *CA* – *CIH* ii.491.33 (lemma), 492.4–5 (gloss). The ‘in’ sense of *in-cuirethar* is not represented in the gloss, presumably because it is clear from the context that it refers to forfeited chattels.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.10 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss).

⁷ *CUT*, § 9⁶; see further *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.10 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss).

frithrognaithe (*fris-gñ*) ‘[services] rendered’ > *fírfognama* (< *fo-gñ*) ‘true service’.¹

The lemma may also be fully preserved in the etymological gloss alongside the etymology where the lemma prefix is required for sense.

forcomol ‘seizure’ > *fír forcomul* ‘true seizure’.²
airfhógra ‘[on] proclamation’ > *fír urócra* ‘true proclamation’.³

Also worth noting is a small group of lemmata which retain both the form and meaning of the prefix unit *com-* (less commonly, *con-*) ‘mutual; equal’. Generally, the prefix *com-* is etymologised *cáem* ‘fine’: e.g. *comúaimm* ‘joining’ > *cōemúaim* ‘fine joining’ (CB, § 37¹⁰). Where the lemma retains the ‘mutual’ meaning, the lemma unit *com-* occurs etymologised as either a noun or a verb.

commáin ‘mutual obligation, exchange’ > *maíne cumthar* ‘possessions that are equalised’.⁴
cuma maíne ‘equivalence of valuables’.⁵
comrann ‘dividing’ > *cuma roinn* ‘mutually divide’.⁶
congillne ‘mutual pledging’ > *cuma trebair* ‘equivalent suretyship’.⁷
comdílse ‘same title’ > *cuma dílse* ‘identity of ownership’.⁸

Although the use of nouns as etymologies marks these examples as unusual within the broader syllabic etymology group, they are important for two reasons. First and foremost, they are a reminder that glossators did not view glossing techniques as being mutually exclusive of each other. These examples begin by isolating the prefix unit, just as in the first and final syllable group, but use related forms of the prefix to render the lemma in a new way.

¹ CA = CIH ii.494.17 (lemma), 23 (gloss); see further CA = CIH ii.497.26.

² CL, § 18⁴.

³ CB, § 9⁵. The lemma is preceded by the preposition *for* ‘on’, and as such one might make the argument that *fír* is an etymology of *for*, and not *air-*. However, there are no examples of etymologies on independent prepositions in this group of texts which makes *for* unlikely to be the lemma.

⁴ CUT, § 7⁵.

⁵ CB, § 22²⁴; see further CB, § 16⁷.

⁶ CL, § 36³.

⁷ CB, § 16¹¹.

⁸ CB, § 55⁵.

5.2.2 Meaning: supply and demand (omission)

If the meaning of the etymon is not required for sense (e.g. through prolepsis, replacement with a simple form of the same verb, or substitution of an infixed pronoun for an independent object pronoun), it can be omitted. For example, *cuindligind* ‘joint obligation’ is etymologised *cain dliged* ‘fair rightful order’ (CB, § 38²), where the ‘joint’ sense of *cuin-* has been omitted. The subjects of the joint obligation are stated in both the accompanying main text and glosses as *in tuath donn eclais* ‘the laity [in relation to] the church’. Consequently there is no need to draw out the ‘joint’ sense of *cuin-* in the gloss, as it is already implied.¹ The prefix *tur-* (<*to-ar), which contains the preposition *air* ‘before; for’, may be etymologised *tóirithnech* ‘helping, relieving’ which omits the ‘before’ sense embedded in the prefix *tur-*. For example, *tairgille* ‘forepledge’ is etymologised *gell toóirithnech* ‘a helping pledge’ in a gloss which contains no reference to the ‘fore’ sense of the lemma.² However, the gloss clearly refers to forepledges; *tair-* meaning ‘fore’ does not need to be present in the gloss for it to make sense.

Further examples:

prolepsis:

<i>inidcuirethar a torad</i> ‘it deposits it, the fruit’	>	<i>adacuirend sē a thorud</i> ‘it deposits its fruit’. ³
<i>indacuirither anfine</i> ‘brings them in [i.e.] outsiders to the kin-group’	>	<i>ada cuireb bē fo tāeb meic fāesma d’anfine</i> ‘who suitably puts it’ in favour at the disposal of an adopted son from a stranger kin’. ⁴

Modernisation:

<i>ad-geinithir</i> ‘restored’	>	<i>ada geinit</i> ‘suitably restored’. ⁵
<i>con-rannatar</i> ‘shared’	>	<i>cáem fódailtir</i> ‘finely shared’. ⁶

Superlative suffix *-am-*:

<i>annsam</i> ‘most difficult’	>	<i>annsa ém</i> ‘difficult indeed’. ⁷
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¹ See also CB, § 51⁵, where the prefix *imm-* of *imuilledaib* is not required in the gloss for the gloss to follow the meaning of the main text.

² BB, § 2^a.

³ BB, § 12^c.

⁴ CA = CIH ii.490.18 (lemma), 24–5 (gloss).

⁵ CA = CIH ii.495.9 (lemma), 17–18 (gloss).

⁶ BD, § 30².

⁷ BB, § 1^a. The superlative sense of *annsom* (for *annsam*) is lacking in the gloss. However, the point of the gloss is to draw attention to the complexity of the subject discussed in the main text (i.e. forepledges for bees), and presumably

Omission in respect of meaning also applies more generally to glosses in cases where the lemma contains multiple units, of which not all need to be preserved. The following example demonstrates a lemma which holds three distinct morphological units: the reciprocal prefix *imm-*; the infixed object pronoun *-us*; and the prototonic *-cumdaiget* ‘they provide equipment’. The phrase *cāch dīb a cēile* ‘each one for another’ renders both the meaning of the etymon *imm-* ‘mutual’ and the infixed pronoun.

CA = *CIH* ii.489.9 (lemma), 14–15 (gloss)

*imuscumdaiget fine*¹

‘The kin-group, they mutually provide equipment for each other.’

.i. is ēm cumdaiges in fine cāch dīb a cēile

‘It is timely that the kin-group provides equipment, each one for another.’²

5.2.3 Form and Meaning: process and preservation

The above example *imuscumdaiget* demonstrates four stages in the process of constructing a gloss which contains an etymology based on a lemma with multiple units. These stages are as follows:

- 1) separation of the lemma units and isolation of the unit to be etymologised:
im-us-fuich.
- 2) deconstruction of prefix in form and meaning:
 - reciprocal meaning *imm-* retained in gloss by *cāch dīb a cēile* ‘each one for another’.
 - form <-m-> retained by *em* ‘timely’, which replaces the position of the etymon prefix.
- 3) modification of remaining lemma form *-usfuich*: omission of Class A 3rd pl. masc. infix. *-us*, which is superfluous because the mutual sense is held by *cāch dīb a cēile*; *-cumdaiget* is replaced by the later simple form of the same verb (*cumdaiges*).³

it was not necessary for the glossator to pinpoint the difficulty level as ‘most’ difficult; *amnsa* ‘difficult’ alone would have sufficed.

¹ fi | ine (MS p. 47b = *CIH* ii.489.9).

² See further *-da-*: *CB*, § 20²⁰; *-s-*: *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8 (lemma), 10 (gloss), 489.8 (lemma), 11–12 (gloss) 489.8 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss), 489.8 (lemma), 13–14 (gloss), 495.7 (lemma), 14–15 (gloss); *-a-*: *CA* = *CIH* ii.495.9 (lemma), 18–19 (gloss); *-ad-*: *CA* = *CIH* 489.17 (lemma), 23–4 (gloss).

³ DIL s.v. *imm-cumtai(n)g*. Treatment of the remaining lemma form is discussed in Chapter 5.5.2.

- 4) compilation of gloss using the above units: it preserves the form of the lemma prefix alongside rendering the main text phrase in a simpler and more accessible way.

The important point is that, although form or meaning specific to the lemma may be lost, the sense of the main text as a whole remains fully represented in the gloss. In other words, nothing is lost from the main text because of the etymology.¹

The glossators' awareness of both the form and meaning of the lemmata with which they were working can also be seen in instances in which the etymology is based on a consonant which is omitted in the lemma:² e.g. *rithrolat* (for *friθrolat*) (<f̣-r-θ>) 'they dispute' > *fīr athcuired* (<f-r>...<θ>) 'truly reject'.³ The glossator bases the etymology on a form which is not visually present in the lemma (i.e. <f-r>), but which he knows ought to be there grammatically. Likewise the etymology *toich* (<t-ch>) is attached to the lemma *docoislet* (<d-ch>) (for *to-choislet*);⁴ the etymology reflects the earlier form of the verb. Examples like these are not common and may have been copied from another manuscript witness, but the implication is that the glossator was conscious of the connection between lemma and etymology: e.g. *frisa mbi* (<f-r>) 'which is' > *īr bīs* (for *fīr bīs*) (<f̣-r>) 'truly is'.⁵

5.3 Syntax

Glossators were also able to be relatively flexible with where and how they positioned the etymology in a gloss. They could insert the etymology into the etymological gloss in prefix or medial word position ('direct replacement'); separate the etymology from the remaining lemma form within the gloss as a whole ('indirect replacement'); and modify the remaining lemma form on the basis of the etymology ('lemma modification'). While all of these processes require the extension of standard syntactic convention, the glossators adhere to basic grammar rules. The following section will look at each of these methods in turn.

¹ Examples like this are also illustrative of the relative freedom the glossators had in constructing etymologies. Given that the consonant structure <-s> can be etymologised *ūais* and that infixed pronouns can also be etymologised, one might expect the infixed pronoun *-us-* (<-s>) to form the basis of an etymology. The fact that it is not implies that the process of creating etymologies was not mechanical.

² The following example *friθrolat* demonstrates two further aspects of the process of etymological construction: the insertion of a new prefix to the lemma to retain meaning; and the mirroring of the original prefix consonant structure (i.e. <f̣-r-θ>) across the etymology and the new prefix (i.e. *fīr ath-* <f-r-θ>). The continuation of the lemma prefix form across the etymology and the new prefix is marked by an ellipsis.

³ *CUT*, § 96.

⁴ *BB*, § 39^b.

⁵ *BB*, § 49^g.

5.3.1 Syntax: direct replacement

The most frequently occurring syntactic pattern is for the etymology to maintain the position held by the etymon in the lemma. Direct replacement works identically for both first and final syllables: e.g. *con-fodlaiter* ‘divided’ > *caín-fodailter* ‘well divided’;¹ *bésa* ‘customs’ > *biad úais* ‘noble food’.² As the latter example illustrates, direct replacement is not restricted to the substitution of defined lexical units; it can simply reflect the word order of the main text e.g. *nad alet* ‘do not adhere to’ > *nochon adba lenas* ‘does not suitably follow’.³

The following list illustrates the direct replacement of an etymon with an etymology. This includes a noun etymology, *séis* ‘arrangement’. The etymologies *deg-* and *nó-* are not included as they are themselves a prefix. The etymologies *fó* and *maith*, which are both nouns meaning ‘good’, are dealt with below; for the etymologies *fis*, *tár*, and *tóirithnech*, see Chapter 5.6.

<i>ada</i> ‘suitably’:	<i>ad-geinithir</i> ‘restored’ > <i>ada geinit</i> ‘suitably made good’. ⁴ <i>fo-ceird</i> ‘puts’ > <i>ada-cuiridh</i> ‘suitably puts’. ⁵ <i>inda-cuirither</i> ‘imposes it’ > <i>ada-cuïres</i> ‘suitably contracts’. ⁶
<i>cáem/cáin</i> ‘finely; well’:	<i>comairle</i> ‘advice’ > <i>cáem-airle</i> ‘fair advice’. ⁷ <i>confodlaiter</i> ‘divided’ > <i>caín-fodailter</i> ‘well divided’. ⁸
<i>cuma</i> ‘equally’:	<i>comraind</i> ‘mutually dividing’ > <i>cuma roinn</i> ‘equally divide’. ⁹
<i>éim</i> ‘timely; indeed’:	<i>annsam</i> ‘most difficult’ > <i>annsa éim</i> ‘difficult indeed’. ¹⁰ <i>imcim</i> ‘arise’ > <i>ém-cemnigud</i> ‘timely advancing’. ¹¹ <i>imfuigill</i> ‘lawsuit’ > <i>ém-fuigell</i> ‘timely judgement’. ¹²

¹ *D*, § 20¹⁴.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.488.1 (lemma), 4–5 (gloss).

³ *CUT*, § 5³.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.495.9 (lemma), 17–18 (gloss).

⁵ *CB*, § 56¹.

⁶ *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma). 24–5 (gloss). The prefix *in-* is omitted in the etymological gloss.

⁷ *CL*, § 31⁹.

⁸ *D*, § 20¹⁴.

⁹ *CL*, § 36³.

¹⁰ *BB*, § 1^a.

¹¹ *CL*, § 31¹.

¹² *BD*, § 36³.

<i>ér(a)</i> ‘nobly’: ¹	<i>áirilliud</i> ‘merit’ > <i>éra-lúad</i> ‘noble mention’. ² <i>airliter</i> ‘arranged’ > <i>éra-lúaidhtir</i> ‘nobly mentioned’. ³
<i>fír</i> ‘truly’:	<i>foda-(f)ocair</i> ‘denounces them’ > <i>fír-ogra</i> ‘truly denouncing’. ⁴ <i>fo-éige</i> ‘objects’ > <i>fír éigium</i> ‘true outcry’. ⁵ <i>frith-fola</i> ‘considerations in return’ > <i>fír-fola</i> ‘true consideration’. ⁶
<i>óg</i> ‘complete’:	<i>aicillnib</i> ‘base clientships’ > <i>uca togaidhe</i> ‘complete choice’. ⁷ <i>áigi</i> ‘chief’ > <i>óg-ai</i> ‘complete one’. ⁸ <i>foguirrind</i> ‘opposition’ > <i>óg-fuaitred</i> ‘complete opposing’. ⁹
<i>séis</i> ‘arrangement’:	<i>córus</i> ‘arrangement’ > <i>cóir séis</i> ‘proper arrangement’. ¹⁰
<i>toich</i> ‘natural; timely’:	<i>do-coislet</i> ‘escape’ > <i>toich as-laiet</i> ‘timely escape’. ¹¹
<i>úais</i> ‘nobly’:	<i>bés</i> ‘food-rent’ > <i>biad úais</i> ‘noble food’. ¹² <i>eclais</i> ‘church’ > <i>úaim úais</i> ‘noble union’. ¹³ <i>laichesa</i> ‘laywoman’ > <i>laech úaisi</i> ‘noble lay persons’. ¹⁴
<i>úasal</i> ‘nobly’:	<i>airthach</i> ‘vicarious oath’ > <i>úasal-teastughudh</i> ‘noble testimony’. ¹⁵ <i>aurgnam</i> ‘labour’ > <i>úasal-fognum</i> ‘noble work’. ¹⁶ <i>airdliged</i> ‘inherent right’ > <i>úasaldliged</i> ‘noble entitlement’. ¹⁷

¹ I follow Breatnach in reading *éra-* as a form of the adjective *ér* ‘noble, great’ (*CB*, p. 190 s.v. *ēralúad*).

² *CB*, § 8⁴.

³ *CB*, § 29¹⁰.

⁴ *CUT*, § 5⁴.

⁵ *CB*, § 61⁴.

⁶ *CB*, § 63⁸.

⁷ *CA* = *CIH* ii.495.7 (lemma), 12–14 (gloss)

⁸ *BB*, § 49^f.

⁹ *CL*, § 22⁶.

¹⁰ *CB*, § 1¹.

¹¹ *BB*, § 39^h.

¹² *CA* = *CIH* ii.480.12 (lemma), 18–20 (gloss).

¹³ *CB*, § 46¹.

¹⁴ *CB*, § 14².

¹⁵ *BB*, § 34ⁱ.

¹⁶ *CL*, § 35⁸.

¹⁷ *CB*, § 40⁴.

uráin ‘excess’:

airdig ‘additional servies’ > *uráin-dig* ‘excess drink’.¹

That etymologies were intended to replace the position of the etymon can also be seen in examples in which the etymology sits between the verb and any additional infixes. In the following examples, the additional infix marked in bold.

<i>con-ammes</i> ‘has been prescribed’	>	ro <i>cainamsiged</i> ‘has been finely aimed’. ²
<i>arnacon derbathar</i> ‘may not be defrauded’	>	<i>arnara</i> caín - <i>diubartbar</i> ‘may not be well defrauded’. ³
<i>inda-cuirithar</i> ‘puts it’	>	ro - <i>adha-cuirister</i> ‘suitably contracted’. ⁴
<i>inid-cuirethar</i> ‘puts it’	>	in - <i>ada-cuiriter</i> ‘suitably puts’. ⁵
<i>imm-derbara</i> ‘mutual defrauding’	>	ra - <i>deirb-diubra</i> ‘may [not] truly deprive [the other]’. ⁶

The etymology is treated syntactically as if it were a verb prefix or infixed pronoun. It belongs to the verb lexically while possessing its own semantic meaning. Examples like these demonstrate that there was a conscious effort to retain the etymology in the syntactic position of the unit which it replaced.

Further examples include preposition-based etymologies which are attached to, and qualify, relative forms of the compound verb *ar-tá*: e.g. *ara-bí* ‘which is’ > *fír bís* ‘truly is’.⁷

The adjectives *caín* and *ada* belong to a handful of predominantly monosyllabic adjectives which can be attached to the verb like prepositions, but used adverbially.⁸ Thurneysen notes that in poetry and later rhetorical prose, similar compounds are formed, often using *bith-* ‘ever’, but that these are modelled on pre-existing nominal compounds such as *bithbéo*.⁹ Formations like these in etymological glosses are, contrastingly, both relatively common and relatively free in their construction; unlike Thurneysen’s examples, they do not appear to be based on pre-existing forms. The pattern found in Old Irish of adding adverbs to verbs was not common, but the principle existed, and it is this which the glossators exploit; they expand a pre-existing syntactic

¹ *CUT*, § 78 (translation adapted). Binchy understands *uráindig* as ‘extra drink’; the remaining gloss supplies the additional explanation *imarraid biata 7 mancaine* ‘excess food-rent and service’. While *uráin* can mean ‘extra’, it can also mean ‘excess’, and understanding *uráin* as ‘excess’ here would give both the etymological gloss and the explanatory gloss the same meaning.

² *CB*, § 50².

³ *BB*, § 49i.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss).

⁵ *BB*, § 12^c.

⁶ *CL*, § 28^o.

⁷ These examples have been listed above at p. 100.

⁸ *GOI*, pp. 240–1 (§ 384).

⁹ *ibid.*

structure to create etymologies using both adverbs and adjectives in prefix position. This includes disyllabic adjectives used adverbially in prefix position: e.g. *airbiathar* ‘supplied’ > *nasal-biatar* ‘nobly fed’ (*CUT*, § 7⁹).

In some cases, a cleft structure with a copula is used to accommodate an etymology that functions as an adverb in a prefix position.

<i>as-renar</i> ‘is paid away’	>	<i>is úais eirniter</i> ‘it is nobly that it is paid away’. ¹
<i>con-fodlat</i> ‘they divide’	>	<i>is caín fodeiligtir</i> ‘it is well that it is divided’. ²
<i>imm-dích</i> ‘protects’	>	<i>is éim ditnes</i> ‘it is timely that it protects’. ³

Although the etymology then acts as an adverb both grammatically and functionally, it nonetheless retains the position of the prefix phonologically; the consonant structure and position of the etymology continue to reflect that of the lemma.

Examples which use a cleft structure with a copula are far less frequent than those which simply prepose the adverb. The former method necessitates modifying the rest of the lemma into a relative form: e.g. *éim ditnes* ‘timely that it protects’.

Unstressed units, such as the copula, can occur in between the etymology and the remainder of the lemma, effectively separating them. This is primarily for reasons of sense, in order to accommodate the etymology grammatically while maintaining the consonant structure of the lemma.⁴

adjectival predicate:	<i>cumtus</i> ‘joint economy’ > <i>cumaid co búais</i> ‘partnership, ‘nobly’’. ⁵
	<i>tochumlat</i> ‘swarming’ > <i>comimluaiddid ... gu toich</i> ‘they move together... ‘naturally’’. ⁶

article:	<i>adnacal</i> ‘burial’ > <i>adha in tidnacul</i> ‘the conveying is ‘fitting’’. ⁷
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copula:	<i>fosuid</i> ‘steadies’ > <i>is maith is astaigthe</i> ‘‘well’ held fast’. ⁸
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¹ *BG*, § 2j.

² *CL*, § 10³.

³ *CA* = *CIH* ii.488.25 (lemma), 27 (gloss).

⁴ For etymologies which are derivative adjectives or nouns, see Chapter 5.3.3.

⁵ *CL*, § 7⁶.

⁶ *BB*, § 27^c. Note that *comimluaiddid* is an example of a remaining lemma form (i.e. [*ch*]umlat) generating a new verb based on the consonant structure of the lemma.

⁷ *CB*, § 46¹.

⁸ *CB*, § 8¹. This is an example of a semantically advanced etymology based on *fó* ‘good’. See Chapter 5.6.

negative particle: *adblam* ‘prepared’ > *adbal conach ēm* ‘rough that is not ‘ready’’.¹

possessive pronoun: *foma* ‘choice’ > *is fō a maith* ‘good’ is his good’.²

article + copula: *foda-comilset* ‘supports them’ > *is maith int acomul-sin* ‘that joining is ‘good’’.³

Etymologies may also follow a preposition with a relative particle: e.g. *airbiathar* ‘supplied’ > *dia níasalbiatar* ‘for which is ‘nobly’ fed’.⁴

Such units must have been overlooked for the purposes of the etymology in order that they do not disrupt the consonant structure of the lemma unit and the connection between the etymology and the remainder of the lemma, and therefore do not affect the function of the etymological gloss.

The position and phonology of such units in etymological glosses can additionally further cement the structure and sounds of the lemma: e.g. *fodacomilset* ‘supports them’ > *is maith int acomulsin* ‘that joining is good’.⁵

The primary focus on maintaining the structure of the etymon in the etymological gloss – as oppose to directly replicating its meaning – does not necessarily mean that the etymon must remain attached to the remaining lemma form in the gloss. This is the case for the lemma *cumtus* ‘joint economy’, etymologised *cumaid co buais* ‘partnership, ‘nobly’’.⁶ Although the etymology replaces the position of the etymologised element *-us* <-s>, the sense of the etymology does not qualify *cumaid*, but instead qualifies a different word elsewhere in the same gloss. In the following examples, the word qualified by the etymology is marked in bold.

CL, § 5¹²

cumthus

*i. inge ar acht ata acht lium ann acht na cuir **lesaiges** iat ima cumaid co buais.*

¹ CL, § 16⁴.

² BB, § 26⁶. In this example, the possessive pronoun contains a vowel sound only, and therefore would not affect the consonant structure of the etymological gloss. However, this is nonetheless worth noting as an example of a morphological unit which has secondary importance to the consonant-based construction of an etymology.

³ CB, § 20²⁰.

⁴ CUT, § 7⁹.

⁵ CB, § 20²⁰.

⁶ CL, §§ 5¹², 7⁶.

‘joint economy.’

‘i.e. *inge* ‘except’ means *acht* ‘except’; I have a condition here, except the contracts that ‘nobly’ **benefit** them regarding their partnership.’

CL, § 7⁶

cumthusa

*.i. uair noco choir do nechtarde don lanamain etlod in neich **tinecairthir** ina cumaid co buais co hinndligthech amach can a comlogud o cach dib a ceile*

‘joint economy’

‘i.e. because it is not proper for either one of the couple to take away unlawfully what is ‘nobly’ **contributed** for their partnership without it being mutually permitted by each of them to the other.’

5.3.2 Syntax: indirect replacement

A secondary development of the syntax of an etymological gloss is to separate the etymology from the rest of the lemma. Separation occurs where further modification is required to contextualise the remaining lemma form. In such cases, the consonant structure and position of the lemma units become disrupted. In the following examples, the remaining lemma form (as oppose to the etymon) is marked in bold.

BB, § 27^e

*ind amsir i to**chumlat***

*.i. isan re *Šuthain* i **comimluaidid** beic saithe do cur gu toich *†* gu luath*

‘... at the time when they are swarming.’

‘i.e. in the ‘long period’ in which bees ‘**move together**’ to send out a swarm ‘properly or quickly’.’

The etymology *toich* occurs as an adverb marked by *gu* (for Old Irish *co*). This allows the etymology to stand independently of the remaining lemma form *comimluaidid*, and to qualify the gloss more generally rather than restricting itself to qualifying *comimluaidid*. The form *imluaidid* is taken as the basic form of the verb in this example, to which the prefix *com-* is attached, giving a compound form containing two prefixes (i.e. *imm-* and *com-*).

CB, § 51⁵

*nó cuitir dara éisi i n-imm**fhuilnedaib** fine*

*.i. in bail is eim don fine **foilethad** air.*

‘Or an equivalent portion in its place in the mutual **suppletions** of the members of the kin.’

‘i.e. where **extending** is ‘timely’ on it for the kin.’¹

In this gloss, the etymology *eim* has been separated from the remaining lemma form by the prepositional phrase *don fine* ‘for the kin’.

5.3.3 Syntax: derivative adjectives and nouns

Etymologies had to be comprehensible. Therefore while the glossators were able to be relatively free with otherwise standard morphological and syntactic rules when constructing an etymological gloss, they continued to work within basic grammar rules. This is most clearly seen in when dealing with derivative adjectives and nouns, both of which are treated differently to short adjective etymologies.

The pattern of constructing first and final syllable etymologies, in which the primary method is for the etymology to directly replace the position of the etymon, could be altered and

¹ This gloss occurs in a slightly different format in O’Dav. § 955 (also printed with translation in Breatnach, *CB*, p. 316): *.i. baile i fothleathnait in fine co heim i taobh no a naircenn* ‘i.e. where the kin timely extend on the side or in front’. The idea of *i taobh no a naircenn* is presumably word-play on *fothleathnait* in which it is understood to contain *leth* ‘side’.

adapted when direct replacement would cause grammatical difficulties. A derivative adjective cannot grammatically precede that which it qualifies. In etymological glosses, derivative adjectives do not appear in prefix position; instead they follow basic grammatical rules and come after the modified remaining lemma form. Within the sample group there is only one trisyllabic etymology (*tóirithnech*), but it is attested across three texts (*BB*, *CUT*, *CA*; see Appendix 1) and two lemmata (*taurgille* and *turcreicc*):

<i>taurgille</i> ‘forepledge’	>	<i>gell</i> <i>tóirithnech</i> ‘helping pledge’. ¹
<i>turcreicc</i> ‘fief’	>	<i>creicc</i> <i>thóirithnech</i> ‘helping pledge’. ²

The first stage of this etymology is to understand the lemma unit as a noun, and then to use the related adjectival form. Hence *tair-* (<t-r>) > *tóir* (<t-r>) ‘help’ > *tóirithnech* ‘helping’. The glossator does not take **tóir-gell* or **tóir-chreicc* as the etymology, both of which would preserve the consonant structure and unit order of the lemma. Instead, the derivative adjective *tóirithnech* is used, which cannot grammatically precede the noun it qualifies. This necessitates a reverse order of etymological gloss units to accommodate the basic grammar rule. As a result, the consonant structure of the lemma has become disordered in the etymology and additional consonants occur: *taurgille* (<t-r-g-l>) > *gell* *tóirithnech* (<g-l-t-r-[th-n-ch]>); *turcreicc* (<t-r-c-r-c>) > *creicc* *thóirithnech* (<c-r-c-th-r-[th-n-ch]>).

There are no examples of a nominal etymology forming a compound in an etymological gloss, even in instances where a nominal form is the only form that would preserve the structure of the lemma. The following examples use a prepositional phrase and a copula construction respectively to avoid a nominal compound etymological form.

<i>turchlaide</i> (<t-r-c-l-d>)	>	<i>ar clódh i tār</i> (<c-l-d-t-r>) ‘for stooping into
‘chattels of submission’		baseness’. ³
<i>torcraiat</i> (<t-r-c-r-t>)	>	<i>creicc is tār</i> (<c-r-c-t-r>)
‘they forepurchase’		‘a purchase which is a ‘disgrace’’. ⁴

Forms such as **tār-clód* and **tóir-chreicc* would follow the consonant structure and unit position of the lemma, but they are unattested; they are grammatically incorrect. It is to avoid

¹ *BB*, § 2^a.

² *CUT*, § 7⁹.

³ *CUT*, § 7⁷.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.486.2 (lemma), 6–7 (gloss).

basic incorrect forms that the glossator chooses an adjectival etymology, even though the adjectival form requires the structure of the lemma to be disrupted. In this respect, basic grammar may (or perhaps has to) override the flexibility of etymological construction.

5.3.4 Syntax: *fīs* and *sēis*

Expansion of grammatical rules can be seen in the etymological gloss *cōirseis* ‘proper arrangement’. The final syllable unit <-s-> in the lemma *córus* ‘arrangement’ may be etymologised as one of two nouns: *fīs* ‘knowledge’ and *sēis* ‘arrangement’; exceptionally, the remaining lemma form *cor-* is modified into an adjective qualifying the etymology (*cōir* ‘proper’).

<i>córus</i> (<-s->) ‘arrangement’	> <i>cōirseis</i> (<s-s> for ><š-s>) ‘proper arrangement’. ¹ > <i>a fīs chōir</i> (<f-s> for <š-s>) ‘according to proper knowledge’. ²
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In the case of *cōirseis*, the adjective (i.e. *cōir*) precedes that which it qualifies (i.e. *sēis*); *cōirseis* <c-r-š-s> is an exact reflection of the consonant structure and unit position of the lemma.³ Examples like *a fīs chōir* begin in the same way, by taking **cōir-fīs* as the first stage, but are then modified into a compound; they illustrate a further stage in the process of embedding an etymological gloss in a larger explanatory gloss.⁴

Collectively, these examples demonstrate the extent to which glossators could adapt pre-existing syntactical rules in order to construct an etymology which preserves the consonant structure and position of the etymon as accurately as possible.

¹ *CB*, § 11.

² *CB*, § 16¹.

³ *Cōirseis* etymologies are accompanied by a following explanatory gloss; see Chapter 5.7.

⁴ For *a fīs* etymologies, see Chapter 5.6.

5.4 Distribution

The distribution of etymological glosses has not previously been commented on. This is in part due to the categorisation of etymologies by Binchy and others, as essentially nonsensical and without purpose. Key to understanding how and why etymologies occur is the fact that they were not generated mechanically; they could appear in clusters, or be entirely absent. By way of illustration, this section will begin by a reassessment of the notion that etymologies cluster most densely at the beginning of texts, before dealing with the frequency with which lemmata are etymologised.

5.4.1 Distribution: Isidorean-style vs Syllabic Etymology

It is easy to get the impression that etymological glossing is most dense at the beginning of a text. The text *Bretha Comaithcheso* ‘Judgements on Neighbourhood Relations’, for example, begins with a discussion which etymologises the title *Bretha Comaithcheso* in two different ways, based on the form of *comaithcheso*: first as *cuma gnás* ‘equal custom’; and then as *comaithches* (i.e. *aithechus cumaidhe* ‘proportionate community’), as follows:

Bretha Comaithcheso (Rawl. B 487 f.64^a) (ed. and transl. Charles-Edwards)¹

Bretha Comaithcheso in-só. Cid ara n-eperr comaithches? Cumagnás and-sin, arindí is comaith gnás cáich diarailiu do lomrud smachtae 7 caithche; arailiu, is comaithche⁸ arindí as cumae noda-gaib aire fri aithech 7 airchinnech fri bachlach.

‘Judgements on neighbourhood here. Why is neighbourhood so called? There is equal custom in it⁶, for the custom by which each man exacts from his fellow fines and penalties is equally good; alternatively, it is neighbourhood because a noble receives them (sc. fines and penalties) in the same way as a commoner, and an ecclesiastical superior as a (mere) cleric.’

Looking at the main text alone conveys the sense that etymology occurred at the beginning of the text, as a related but separate branch of learned discourse from the legal information proper. However, there are two different levels of etymology in this section:

¹ *Bretha Comaithcheso* is currently being edited by Thomas Charles-Edwards. I am grateful to him for providing me with a draft copy. For a comparison between this passage and the opening of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, see Charles-Edwards, *Bretha Comaithcheso* (forthcoming).

etymology in the main text; and etymology in the glosses. While the main text provides Isidorean-style etymologising on the title of the text (i.e. *Bretha Comaithcheso*), the glossing takes the etymologies set out in the main text and embeds them in a series of glosses which rework the main text as follows:

Bretha Comaithcheso (Rawl. B 487 f.64^a) (ed. and transl. Charles-Edwards)¹

Bretha Comaithcheso in-só^a. Cid ara n-éperr comaithches^b? Cumagnás and-sin^c, arindí is comaith gnás cáich diarailid^d do lomrud smachtae^e 7 caithche^f; arailiu, is comaithches^g arindí as cumae noda-gaib aire fri aithech 7 airchinnech fri bachlach^h

^a .i. breithemnus so berar umun cumaithebus, umun aithebus cumaidbe.

^b .i. uman gnathugud cumaide, .i. cid ara raiter no ara n-aisneidter int aithebus cumaide?

^c .i. gnathugud cumaide ann sin.

^d .i. ar is commaith gnathugud caich dib re chéili.

^e .i. na meich.

^f .i. in fiach duinecaithi muna dentar go dligtech in comaithces.

^g .i. gne .ii., is aithebus cumaidbe.

^h .i. arin fath is comméitt no is cutruma dlegar don aire graidh flatha a gabail risin airig graidh feine 7 aircinnech na cilli a gabail re bachlach isin chill.

‘Judgements on neighbourhood here^a. Why is neighbourhood so called^b? There is equal custom in it^c, for the custom by which each man exacts from his fellow^d fines^e and penalties^f is equally good; alternatively, it is neighbourhood^g because a noble receives them (sc. fines and penalties) in the same way as a commoner, and an ecclesiastical superior as a (mere) cleric^h.’

¹ A truncated form of these etymological glosses also occurs in the fragmentary version TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 304 = CIH v.1854.37–8, and a shorter version in O’Dav. § 524.

^a ‘i.e. this is judging that is given about ‘joint-commonership’, about ‘proportionate commonership’; or about ‘equal-custom’, about ‘proportionate custom’.’

^b ‘i.e. about proportionate custom, i.e. why is ‘proportionate commonership’ spoken of or mentioned?’

^c ‘i.e. proportionate custom there.’

^d ‘i.e. for the custom of each of them in relation to the other is equally good.’

^e ‘i.e. the bushels.’

^f ‘i.e. the debt for human trespass if a neighbourhood group is not established lawfully.’

^g ‘i.e. another version, it is ‘proportionate commonership’.’

^h ‘i.e. for the reason that it is at an equal rate or it is in an equally balanced way that a freeman of a lordly grade is obliged to take it as is a freeman of a commoner grade, and the superior of a church to take it as a mere cleric in that church.’

The glossator approaches the text in a different way to the scribe of the main text. The glosses begin etymologising from the very beginning of the text and, rather than using the first etymology in the main text (i.e. *cuma gnás*), they use the second etymology (i.e. *comaitches* as *aithebus cumaidhe*) to gloss the first half of the passage. As a result, they answer their own question: where the question *cia ara neibenar comaitches* is answered by etymology in the main text, in the gloss the question *cia ara raiter t ara naisneidter int aithebus cumaide* itself contains the etymology and is answered by a second etymology (*gnathugud cumaide*). Each etymology in the main text is accompanied in the glosses by a reworking in which the units of etymology are clarified and placed in correct syntactical order; thus *cumagnás* is clarified as *gnas cumaide* and *gnathugud cumaide* ‘proportionate custom’; and *comaitches* (*cumaithebus* in the gloss) as *aithebus cumaidhe* ‘proportionate commonership’.¹ These reworked etymologies take the place of the

¹ It is suggested elsewhere in this study that these forms of reworked etymologies are ‘etymological-explanatory’ which are derived from the etymology but whose purpose is lexical (i.e. explanatory) rather than form-based (i.e. etymological) (see Chapter 5.7). In this respect my understanding of etymological process differs from that of

original etymology (i.e. *gnathugud cumaide* and *aithechus cumaide* instead of *cumagnas* and *comaithches*). The glosses also provide additional etymologies in glosses d and h.

Unlike the main text, in which etymology is restricted to this opening passage, the reworked etymology *aithechus cumaide* does occur elsewhere in the same text and consistently replaces *comaithches* in this version of *Bretha Comaithcheso*.¹ *Bretha Comaithcheso* is etymologised heavily at the start of the text because that is where most examples of the word *comaithches* occur; where the same word occurs elsewhere, it is also etymologised. The etymology *aithechus cumaide* has therefore begun as an Isidorean-style etymology, as a gloss derived from a wider discussion of the meaning of the word *comaithches*, and developed into a syllabic etymology, used as part of a broader glossing framework in which the overall aim was to rework the main text.

The above example has looked at etymology in main text and etymology in glossing. These two levels of glossing have related but separate purposes: the former to provide Isidorean-style etymology, using multiple methods of interpretation; and the latter to contextualise and clarify the same. The following examples will look at passages in which etymological glossing appears to occur heavily at the beginning of texts in the glosses (as oppose to the main text).

The sample group contains predominantly syllabic etymologies. It has only one passage of Isidorean-style glosses (*CL*, § 2vi–xviii). Like those in *Bretha Comaithcheso*, the series of Isidorean-style etymologies in *CL*, § 2 occur towards the beginning of the text. They appear en bloc, and were most likely copied from a separate manuscript witness to the other glosses. The stylistic contrast between the beginning of *CL* in the sample manuscript (i.e. TCD H 2. 15A) with the version in TCD H 3. 17 demonstrates the difference between the glossing style of the beginning of the text: that in TCD H 2. 15A is an explanatory gloss; and that in TCD H 3. 17 uses Isidorean-style etymology.²

<i>CL</i> , § 1 ¹	<i>Cáin Lánamnae</i> ³	‘The Law of Couples’
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TCD H 2. 15A .i. <i>riagul na lanamna</i>	‘i.e. the rule of couples.’
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Charles-Edwards, who marks only *aithechus cumaide* as etymologies (in this version of the text) in this passage in his edition.

¹ Where glossing occurs; there are two examples of *comaithches* in passages which are unglossed (= *CIH* i.75.1–2, 78.12–14).

² *CL* TCD H 3. 17 (1336) cols. 233–43 = *CIH* v.1804.12–1812.32.

³ normalised (TCD H 2. 15A = *cain lanamna*; TCD H 3. 17 = *cain lanuma*).

TCD H 3. 17	<i>.i. arani is lanboma plenús oma .i. duine</i>	‘i.e. because he is <i>lán-homo</i> “a
	<i>comlan no .i. fer 7 bean qí fuit adam</i>	complete man”, <i>plenús homo</i> “a
	<i>7 éua¹</i>	complete man”, i.e. a complete man, or i.e.
		a man and a woman who were Adam
		and Eve.’

The etymology of *lanámma* in TCD H 3. 17 is also quoted in O’Dav. § 1189a. There are no further examples of Isidorean-style etymology in the TCD H 3. 17 version, and one might argue that the occurrence of Isidorean-style etymology at the beginning of these versions of *CL* occur is by coincidence, rather than design.

A similar situation is found in the same manuscript at the beginning of *Cáin Íarraith*:

Cáin Íarraith = TCD H 3. 17 (1336), col. 163 = *CIH* v.1759.6 (lemma), 6–8 (gloss)

Cáin Íarraith

.i. rath do berur lais iarna breith .i. iarum rath iar mbreith in linim for altruma nō is rath tét iarum
nō riaguil in ratha iarum doberur i n-altrum

‘The Law of Fosterage Fee.’

‘i.e. a fief which is given by him ‘after his being brought away’ [on fosterage] i.e. ‘after-fief’ after the child has been brought away on fosterage; or it is ‘a fief which goes afterwards’; or a rule of ‘fief after’ he is brought into fosterage. ‘

As this gloss reworks the lemma several times, it is more Isidorean than syllabic in style, and it is the only Isidorean-style gloss in this version of *Cáin Íarraith*.

Consequently there is some evidence for Isidorean-style etymologies clustering at the beginning of texts. However, the same cannot be said for first/final syllable etymology. Within the sample group there is no evidence that any type of etymological glossing occurs more frequently at the beginning of a text. Where the beginning of a text does contain a syllabic etymology, it is in order to breakdown difficult or otherwise important vocabulary, rather than specifically because it is the beginning of the text. In some instances, the title itself is a difficult

¹ *qí* sic.

or important word; and because the title occurs at the beginning, that is why we find the etymology there.

This is the case in *CB*, in which the glossing on the initial passage uses etymology to break down both the title (i.e. *Córus Bésgnai*) and a number of other words in the same passage, as the following example demonstrates:¹

CB, § 1¹⁻³

*Córus*¹ *Bésgnai co báragar*²? *I coraib bél, ar is bailedach*³ *in bith muna astatais cuir bél*

¹ *.i. cōirseis seīs choir, in báfesa gnāe nō aibind*

² *.i. cindus āirgithir bē for trebaire co coir o belaiḃ*

³ *.i. air robad ēlothach a bā, a maith, isin bith muna tīsdais co hūais dā astudh na cuir thucad ris co coir o belaiḃ*

‘The arrangement¹ of discipline, how is it secured?² By contracts, for it would indeed be a chaotic world³ if contracts were not held fast.’

¹ ‘i.e. the ‘arrangement properly’, ‘proper arrangement’ of the ‘delightful’ or pleasant ‘beneficial knowledge’.’

² ‘i.e. how is it secured on a surety ‘properly by mouth?’

³ ‘i.e. for its ‘benefit’, its good, would be ‘fleeting’ in the world unless the guarantors which were given for it ‘properly by mouth’ ‘nobly came’ to hold it fast.’

This is dense etymologising, and there are a number of different etymological methods:

first syllable: *astatais* > *tīsdais co hūais*

final syllable: *cōrus* > *cōirseis*

whole-word: *bēscna* > *bāfesa gnāe*; *bailedach* > *robad ēlothach a bā*

¹ Note also the formulaic substitution phrase *co coir o belaiḃ* ‘properly by mouth’, glossing *cor* ‘contract’ (see Chapter 4.2.2).

At first this example appears to support the idea that etymologies cluster at the beginning of the text. However, when one considers the distribution of etymologies across the text as the whole, we see a different pattern forming. Each of the above lemmata – with the single exception of *astatais* – occur later on in *CB* and are etymologised identically to this section.¹ The etymologies are lemma-specific and not location-specific; dense etymologising has occurred at the beginning of *CB* simply because that is where the lemmata are. The lemma *bescna* is also etymologised in other texts.² It is therefore not specific to *CB*, and subsequently not specific to titles or the beginning of texts.

A converse argument could be made that the reason why these lemmata are etymologised later in the text is precisely because they were etymologised at the beginning. However, this would be misleading. Motivation for adding an etymology was not based on the location of the lemma within the text as a whole. If one were to read a text from start to finish, and if the beginning were to be highlighted through etymologies, one would not expect the same etymologies to then be repeated later on.

5.4.2 Distribution: choice and absence of etymologies

Etymologies were not generated mechanically; there are instances in which just one of a number of identical or otherwise related lemmata is etymologised. For example, the first syllable *im-* may be etymologised *éim*, and this occurs relatively frequently in *CL*: e.g. *imdiupairt* ‘mutual defrauding’, etymologised *emdiupairt* ‘timely defrauding’;³ *imtucu* ‘mutual consent’, etymologised *emtoghaide* ‘timely choice’.⁴ There are six examples in *CL* of the verbal noun *imscarad* ‘separation’, and in all six examples the context of *imscarad* is the same: *fri himscarad* ‘[the time of] mutual separation’.⁵ Of the six instances of *imscarad*, only one is etymologised as *ēm-scarad* ‘timely separation’ (*CL*, § 28³). Note that all the glossing in these sections of *CL*, with the exception of three glosses, are by the same hand (Hand III).⁶

¹ *cōrus* > *cōirseis* = *CB*, §§ 13¹¹, 14⁹, 15¹, 18¹; *cuir bēl* > *co cōraib o bēl* (formulaic gloss, see Chapter 4.2.2) = *CB*, § 11⁴; *bescna* > *bāfesa gnāe* = *CB*, §§ 13¹, 26⁸ (*dagbēsaib* > *deigbēs gnāe*).

² *bescna* = e.g. *SM2*, 9 *Sechtae* = *CIH* i.61.8 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss); *BB*, § 14^c; *Ántécha* = *CIH* iv.1253.15 (lemma), 17 (gloss).

³ *CL*, § 10¹.

⁴ *CL*, § 32⁷.

⁵ *CL*, §§ 28(×2), 32, 33, 34, 36.

⁶ The exceptions being *CL*, §§ 32⁶ (Hand I), 33¹⁰ (Hand VII), and 34¹¹ (Hand VII).

CL, § 28^{3,7} (translation adapted)¹

Mad scarid 7 bíd imthoga leo noch bíd commaithi a folaid fri h-imscarad⁶ doib, ros-bí slán sáertboimilt cáich di arailiú cen éccubus co comlogud fri h-imscarad⁷ arna imma nderbara

.i. 7 cura[b] comaith a ac folaid ac em-scarad doib

.i. cen drochcubus gaithe do denamb doib iminni bis ina comthinucar no co ndernat imscar

‘If they separate and it is by mutual consent and their behaviour is equally good at [the time of] mutual separation³, that which each has freely used as against the other without bad faith, with mutual consent, is free from liability [at the time of] mutual separation⁷ so that there may not be mutual defrauding.’

³ ‘i.e. and their behaviour at [the time of] their ‘timely’ separating is equally good.’

⁷ ‘i.e. without bad intention of stealing by them regarding what is in their common marriage property or until they make a mutual separation.’

Rather than being etymologised as *éim* in accordance with other lemmata beginning *im-*, instead the second gloss renders the lemma using the verb *do-gní* and a noun (i.e. *co ndernat imscar* ‘until they make a mutual separation’).² The etymology in § 28³ may have been an addition by the glossator through influence from another text which did etymologise *imscarad*.³ However, the point here is that etymologising was not mechanical or continuous, and an unetymologised form may sit alongside one which is etymologised: a lemma did not *have* to be etymologised. It is worth noting in that respect that *imscarad* is not etymologised in *CA*, though forms of *imm-scara* and etymologies of *im-* on other lemmata occur frequently.⁴

Further examples include *imchomét* ‘looks after’, which occurs twice in *BB* in similar context and is etymologised once (*ém-coiméd* ‘timely protects’).⁵ The verbal form *frisrognaithe* ‘has

¹ I have inserted ‘mutual’ before separation, the precise meaning of *imm-* in this context, to better illustrate the etymological process.

² For the rendering of lemmata using the verb *do-gní* + noun as an alternative glossing method, see Chapter 4.2.5.

³ *CA* uses the *do-gní* + noun pattern to gloss *imscarad*: e.g. *imscarad .i. int imscarad doniat* ‘separation i.e. the separation that they make’ (*CA* = *CIH* ii.497.14 (lemma), 19 (gloss)).

⁴ *imscarad* = e.g. *CIH* ii.495.8, 496.9, 28, 497.14, 498.1, 28, 29; *im-* etymon = e.g. *imdích* > *ém dítnes* (*CIH* ii.488.25 (lemma), 27 (gloss)); *imfuich* > *ém fuaitres* (*CIH* ii.489.25 (lemma), 28 (gloss)); *imdiupairt* > *émdiubairt* (*CIH* ii.497.15 (lemma), 20 (gloss));

⁵ *BB*, §§ 37, 41^c.

been rendered’ occurs three times in a passage in *CA*, and each is glossed with a version of the formulaic phrase *muna thainic aimser in fognuma* ‘if the time of their service did not come’;¹ the last gloss additionally contains an etymology: *muna thainic aimser in fír-fognuma* ‘if the time of their ‘true service’ did not come’.²

5.5 Lemmata

Etymological construction begins with a basic, but fundamental step: selecting a lemma to be etymologised. Generally lemmata are archaic, complex, or otherwise difficult words, but they may also be relatively simple. Thus verbal forms with infixed pronouns such as *ardafogna* (*CUT*, § 12⁵) are etymologised alongside commonly occurring nominal forms such as *eclais* (e.g. *CB*, § 46¹) and verbal forms which the glossator might easily have guessed, such as *im-ana* (*BB*, § 22^a) (*anaid* ‘stays’ = Modern Irish *fan*). Less frequently, a phrase may be treated as a single lemma: *cummae lánamnasa* ‘form of union’ is etymologised *cáemam úais in lánamnais* ‘noble fair-yoke of the couple’, based on the first syllable of the first word (i.e. *cum-* <c-m>) generating *cam* and the last syllable of the last word word (i.e. *-sa* <-s>) generating *úais*.³

There must have been an underlying reason why comparatively simple forms were etymologised alongside more challenging forms. The function of etymological glosses is discussed in detail in Chapter 7; here the discussion will restrict itself to the treatment of the lemma: how glossators extracted the etymon; and how they dealt with the remaining lemma form, once the first or final syllable had been removed for etymology.

5.5.1 Etymon Identification

The removal of the etymon first entails the identification of the etymon. This is an obvious stage, but it may involve multiple processes. In most cases it is relatively straightforward, as it simply requires the isolation of a prefix or infixed pronoun and/or final syllable: e.g. *fo-éigium* ‘objection’ > *fír-éighem* ‘true outcry’;⁴ *sochom-sa* ‘good partnership’ > *sochomaid-úais* ‘noble good protection’.⁵ This may extend to monosyllabic lemmata, such as *bēs* ‘annual food-rent’. In the

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.16, 18 (lemmata), 22, 23, 25–6 (glosses).

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.18 (lemma), 25–6 (gloss).

³ *CL*, § 5⁹.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.32 (lemma), 494.4–5 (gloss).

⁵ *CL*, § 11². Where Eska translates *sochomsa* as ‘benefit’, I have translated ‘good partnership’ to illustrate that *so-* ‘good’ belongs to the original lemma, and is not an etymology in this instance.

case of *bés*, the final consonant is extracted as the basis for the etymology (i.e. <-s>), which gives the etymology *úais* ‘noble’ and the etymological gloss *biad úais* ‘noble food’.¹

There are three examples in which both the first and final syllable have been etymologised, and just one example in which an etymon has generated more than one etymology:

First and final syllable:

com-sa ‘joint husbandry’ > *cách cáemam úais lánamnais* ‘every noble dear-obligation of the couple’.²

cummae lánamnasa ‘form of union’ > *cáemam úais in lánamnais* ‘noble fair-yoke of the couple’.³

othrusa ‘sick-maintenance’ > *adoirithin úais* ‘noble appropriate assistance’.⁴

Multiple etymologies from one etymon:

foda-comilset ‘supports them’ > *is maith int acomul-sin ... degcomimulang* ‘that joining is good... maintaining well’.⁵

There are no examples of two prefix or infix pronouns etymologised in the same lemma.

The process is slightly more complex where the lemma contains more than one element which may generate an etymology. This is the case for *foda-comilset* cited above, in which both *fo-* and *-da-* may generate etyma (*fó* (or a semantic extension thereof) and *ada* respectively). Where there are multiple possible etyma, the glossators then have a choice as to which etymon they will use. In the following examples, the lemma and etymology are given alongside a lemma with a hypothetical etymon and etymology marked by an asterisk. Based on the rules governing etymological construction in this group of texts, the hypothetical forms may have been – but were not – generated.

cumthus ‘common property’ > *cumaidh úais* ‘noble partnership’.⁶

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.484.15 (lemma), 25–8 (gloss).

² *CL*, § 96.

³ *CL*, § 59.

⁴ *CL*, 272. I follow Breatnach’s translation of this etymological gloss (*CB*, § 16¹²). Eska understands ‘noble sick-maintenance’, which does not account for the prefix *ad-* (i.e. *adoirithin* < *ad-* + *fóirithin*). *Oth-* may generate the etymology *ada* ‘suitable’ (i.e. *oth-* is a lenited variant of <-d>); the remaining lemma form *-ru-* is not sufficient to stand independently of the etymology, as so is replaced with *fóirithin* ‘helping; relieving’. The same etymological gloss occurs elsewhere on a citation relating to sick-maintenance quoted by Binchy – who likewise does not account for *ad-* – in *RIA* 23 Q 6 p. 44b (Binchy, ‘Sick-Maintenance’, pp. 89–90 s.v. § 7¹).

⁵ *CB*, § 20²⁰.

⁶ *CL*, § 84.

<i>*cumthus</i> ‘common property’	>	<i>*cáem-díles</i> ‘fine property(?)’. ¹
<i>frisa mbí</i> ‘to which is’	>	<i>[f]írbís</i> ‘truly is’. ²
<i>*frisa mbí</i> ‘to which is’	>	<i>*úais-bís</i> ‘nobly is’.
<i>foda-(f)ocair</i> ‘denounces them’	>	<i>fírogra</i> ‘truly denouncing’. ³
<i>*foda-(f)ocair</i> ‘denounces them’	>	<i>*ada-ogra</i> ‘suitably denouncing’.
<i>imma nderbara</i> ‘mutual defrauding’	>	<i>radeirbdiubra</i> ‘may [not] truly deprive [the other]’. ⁴
<i>*mderbara</i> ‘mutual defrauding’	>	<i>*éim-diubra</i> ‘timely defrauds.’

The above etymological glosses are not isolated examples, and occur relatively frequently (see Appendix 1). The fact that the hypothetical forms are not found demonstrate a general awareness by the glossators that certain etymologies belong with certain lemmata.

It is a feature of etymological glossing that, where there is more than one possible etymon, the preference is for that which best enables the preservation of consonant structure and which best suits the context of the main text. The lemma *foda-(f)ocair* above, for example, is etymologised using *fo-* > *fír* ‘truly’, rather than *-da-* > *ada* ‘suitably’ (*CUT*, § 5⁴). The context deals with unfavourable contracts made by one member of a kin-group, which are then made void by others within the kin-group. It may have been unhelpful to associate the dissolving of a contract with the sense *ada* ‘suitable’ (i.e. *foda-(f)ocair* > *ada*); by contrast, *fír* ‘truly’ has the benefit of conveying neutral semantics.

Further examples:

imid-chomba ‘destroys it’ > *émbcuimbges* ‘timely destroys’.⁵

Taking *-id-* as the etymon would generate the etymology *ada* ‘suitably’, which would not suit the context of the main text as it would suggest that it is suitable to destroy a tree branch.

¹ In this hypothetical example, I have used *díles* ‘property, belonging’ as the remaining lemma for, based on the sense of the lemma.

² *BB*, § 49^g.

³ *CUT*, § 5⁴.

⁴ *CL*, § 28^o.

⁵ *BB*, § 14^a. For *imid-chomba* as *inidicoimge*, see *BB*, p. 105 s.v. *imid-chomba*.

imma nderbara ‘mutual defrauding’ > *radeirbdiubra* ‘may [not] truly deprive [the other]’.¹

Taking *-m* as the etymon would generate the etymology *éim* ‘timely’, which may have positive connotations; *deirb* ‘truly’ is far more neutral and has no semantic impact other than to draw emphasise the act of defrauding.

For a discussion of semantics and etymology choice (as oppose to etymon choice), see Chapter 6.

Variation occasionally occurs between texts regarding the choice of etymon. In the following two examples, the etymology occurs with a form of the verb *do-opir* ‘defrauds’. In the first, the consonant structure <c-n> of the negative particle is etymologised and that etymology is then used to qualify the verb; in the second, the consonant structure <d-r-[b]> of the verb is the basis for the etymology qualifying the verb.

arnacon derbathar ‘may not be defrauded’ > *aranara caín-diubarthar* ‘may not be well defrauded’.²

imma nderbara ‘mutual defrauding’ > *radeirbdiubra* ‘may [not] truly deprive [the other]’.³

If etymological construction was set in the choice of etymon and etymology, one would expect both examples to be identical; the fact that they are not demonstrates the glossators’ preoccupation with context as well as form. Examples like these demonstrate that glossators were interested in preserving lemmata as they appear in the main text, rather than attempting to standardise them.

5.5.2 Treatment of the Remaining Lemma Form

The first stage in the construction of a first/final syllable etymology is to isolate the etymon (i.e. the first and/or final syllable). Focus thus far has been on the process of converting the etymon into an etymology. A consequence of the removal of the etymon is the alteration it causes to the form of the remaining lemma. Depending on the remaining form, further action may be required by the glossator to render it into a form which can stand independently of the etymon. Such actions include modernisation, substitution, and deconstruction into a phrasal unit containing the verb *do-gní* ‘do, makes’. The pattern is to render the remaining lemma form in the

¹ *CL*, § 28^o.

² *BB*, § 49i.

³ *CL*, § 28^o.

most simple or otherwise accessible way to convey meaning, and where possible also to preserve the consonant structure of the lemma.

In the case of verbs, the aim of rendering the remaining lemma form through form and meaning is often achieved by turning a compound verb into a simple verb, one of the key morphological developments of the Middle Irish period. Simple verbs based on the protonic form usually have a very similar consonant structure to the deuterotonic. The etymological gloss preserves the form of the preverbal particle (or, in some cases, a hybrid of the particle and part of the verb) alongside the simple verb.

<i>nad álet</i> ‘does not adhere’	>	<i>ada lenas</i> ‘suitably follows’. ¹
<i>indacuirithir</i> ‘imposes it’	>	<i>ada cuire</i> ‘suitably contracts’. ²
<i>con-fodlat</i> ‘they divide’	>	<i>caín fodeiligit</i> ‘well that they divide’. ³
<i>fo-rroí</i> ‘injured’	>	<i>fir-fuactnaigend</i> ‘truly injures’. ⁴
<i>urrannat</i> ‘they divide’	>	<i>úasal-roindit</i> ‘they nobly divide’. ⁵

Less frequently, the etymological gloss maintains the compound verbal form.

<i>inid-chuirethar</i> ‘puts it in’	>	<i>in-ada-cuirend</i> ‘suitably puts in’. ⁶
<i>to-choislet</i> ‘they escape’	>	<i>toich as-laiet</i> ‘they timely escape’. ⁷
<i>docomrad</i> ‘has paid as penalty’	>	<i>daúasalcoimbeirnedh</i> ‘nobly paid it’. ⁸

Some examples show the lemma replaced by a different verb with similar meaning, which is often related to the lemma verb.

<i>conaimmes</i> ‘has been prescribed’	>	<i>cainamsiged</i> ‘has been finely aimed’. ⁹
<i>fodacomilset</i> ‘supports them’	>	<i>is maith int acomulsin... degcomimulang</i> ‘that joining is good... maintaining well’. ¹⁰

¹ *CUT*, § 5³.

² *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma), 24–5 (gloss).

³ *CL*, § 10³.

⁴ *CUT*, § 14³.

⁵ *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.18 (lemma), 26–7 (gloss).

⁶ *BB*, § 12^c.

⁷ *BB*, § 39^h.

⁸ *D*, § 13³. Thurneysen does not translate this gloss, noting in the same passage that one could ‘learn nothing from etymological or paraphrase glosses’ (*D*, p. 11 s.v. § 13).

⁹ *CB*, § 50².

¹⁰ *CB*, § 20²⁰.

Nominal lemmata (including verbal nouns) are treated in the same way as verbs. Where the etymology directly replaces a prefix in the lemma, the remaining lemma form may stand independently without further change.

<i>commoíni</i> ‘mutual exchanges’	>	<i>cuma maine</i> ‘equivalence of valuables’. ¹
<i>fochraicc</i> ‘fee’	>	<i>deicreicc</i> ‘good purchase’. ²
<i>frithbfolad</i> ‘considerations given in return’	>	<i>fírfola</i> ‘true consideration’. ³

A substitute noun which is close to the original lemma in meaning may be used in place of a form of the original lemma.

<i>bēs</i> ‘annual food-rent’	>	<i>biad ūais</i> ‘noble food’. ⁴
<i>congillne</i> ‘mutual pledging’	>	<i>cuma trebair</i> ‘equivalent suretyship’. ⁵

Etyma which have generated etymologies may themselves be preserved in the etymological gloss. In the following examples, the etymon is marked in the etymological gloss in bold.

fognama ‘service’	>	<i>uasalfognama</i> ‘noble service’. ⁶
<i>socubus</i> ‘good conscience’	>	<i>deagcubus uais</i> ‘noble good conscience’. ⁷
airfbócr ‘[on] proclamation’	>	fírf - <i>urócra</i> ‘true proclamation’. ⁸

Any meaning held by the etymon, which is not already implied by context, is provided elsewhere in the same gloss. The etymon meaning, as it is provided in the gloss, works together with the remaining lemma form to fully render the meaning of the lemma. In the following examples, the remaining lemma form is marked in bold.

¹ *CB*, § 22²⁴.

² *CUT*, § 12¹.

³ *CB*, § 63⁸.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.485.19 (lemma) 25–6 (gloss).

⁵ *CB*, § 16¹¹.

⁶ *CB*, § 57².

⁷ *CL*, § 1¹³.

⁸ *CB*, § 9⁵. The phrase is *for airfbócr* ‘on proclamation’, and one may make the argument that *fírf* ‘truly’ is etymologising the preposition *for* ‘on’. However, there are no other examples which etymologise an independent preposition, and the preposition is itself repeated in the gloss: *ar fírfurócra* ‘on true proclamation’. The same lemma and etymological gloss occur elsewhere, e.g. *iar naurfócra* > *iarna fírf-urfógra* (*CA* = *CIH* ii.491.14 (lemma), 22–3 (gloss)).

imma nderbara ‘defrauding’:¹

- imma-* > *nech díb a chéile* ‘each one of them’
- derb-* > *deirb* ‘truly’
- ara* > *-diubra* ‘deprive’
- = *radeirbdiubra* ‘may [not] truly deprive [the other]’

othrusa ‘sick-maintenance’:²

oth- > *ad[a]* ‘suitable, appropriate’
-ru- > *óirithin* ‘assistance’
-sa > *úais* ‘noble’
= *adóirithin úais* ‘noble appropriate assistance’

In some instances, removal of the etyma leaves no remaining lemma form, and a new word is supplied which reflects the sense of the lemma.

comsa ‘joint husbandry’:³ *com-* > *cáem* ‘fine’
-sa > *úais* ‘noble’
 [lemma meaning] > *mám lánamnais* ‘obligation of the couple’
 = *cáemam úais lánamnais* ‘noble dear-obligation of the couple’

For both verbs and nouns, the remaining lemma form may become a phrasal unit, embedded in a larger explanatory gloss. This can be in order to accommodate an otherwise problematic consonant cluster in the remaining lemma form, or to further draw out an obscure term.

ablam ‘prepared’:⁴

-*am* > *ēm* ‘timely, ready’

adbl- > *adbal* ‘prepared’

= *adbal conach ēm* ‘rough that is not ready’

¹ *CL*, § 28⁹.

² *CB*, § 16¹².

³ *CL*, § 96.

⁴ *CL*, § 16⁴.

imuilledaib ‘mutual suppletions’:¹ *im-* > *ēm* ‘timely’

-uilledaib > *foilethad* ‘extending’

= *in bail is ēim don fine foilethad air* ‘where ‘extending is timely’ on it for the kin’

imuscoitget ‘they mutually swear’:² *im-* > *ēm* ‘timely’

-us- > [sense provided elsewhere in same gloss by *cāch dib a ceile*]

-coitget > *tēit a coitigi* ‘[each] goes in joint swearing’

= *is em ēeit cāch dib a coitigi...* ‘it is timely that each one goes [i.e. makes] joint swearing...’

The meaning of the lemma may be drawn out further by the verb *do-gní* ‘to make; to do’. The use of *do-gní* to clarify difficult or otherwise important vocabulary is not specific to etymological glosses, but appears alongside etymologies relatively often.³ Forms of *do-gní* are marked in bold in the following examples.

foda-comilset ‘supports them’ > ... **denat** ... *a degcomimulang* ‘**let them d...** maintaining well’.⁴

fo-ēige ‘he objects’ > **dēine** *firēigium* ‘**let you make** a ‘true outcry’’.⁵

fo-rrúastar ‘committed’ > *cidbed d’firfuachtain fogla* **donethar** *ria* ‘though it might be from a true offence of injury that **may be done** against her’.⁶

5.6 Advanced Methods

The above discussion has focused on the basic method of etymological construction: namely, the identification and subsequent modification of an etymon into an etymology based on consonant structure. The following will look at the way in which the glossators advance this relatively simple methodology by incorporating additional stages into the process: firstly, those based on semantics; secondly, those based on syntax. Both require multiple stages of thought

¹ CB, § 51⁵.

² CA = CIH ii.489.8 (lemma), 12–13 (gloss).

³ For the use of *do-gní* as another glossing method, see Chapter 4.2.5.

⁴ CB, § 20²⁰.

⁵ CB, § 61⁴.

⁶ CL, § 34⁸.

processes. A third feature then discussed is the rôle of the semantics of first/final syllable etymologies more generally, in which a glossator will choose the most suitable – or at least, the most neutral – etymology to fit the context of the lemma.

All syllabic etymologies were primarily based on consonant structure. A secondary stage was to focus on the meaning of the etymology in the first instance, and then to generate the final etymology from that meaning. For example, the etymon *fō-* (properly <f->) is first interpreted as *fō* ‘good’. From there, the etymology is semantically extended to give *deg-* and *maith*, both of which also mean ‘good’.¹ *Deg-* and *maith* then appear as the etymology. All three etymologies occur, suggesting that semantic extension was optional.²

<i>foma</i> ‘choice’	>	<i>is fō a maith</i> ‘good is his good’. ³
<i>fochrether</i> ‘paid’	>	<i>deicennaigter</i> ‘well purchased’. ⁴
<i>fosuid</i> ‘steadying’	>	<i>is maith is astaigthe</i> ‘well held fast’. ⁵

CB contains two etymological glosses based on one etymon, which is unusual within the sample group. This example uses of both *maith* and *deg-*:

<i>foda-comilset</i> ‘supports them’	>	<i>is maith in acomul-sin ... degcomimulang</i> ‘that joining is good... maintaining well’. ⁶
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At this point, the glossator may continue to extend the etymology based on semantics. Thus in addition to *fō*, *deg*, and *maith*, all of which mean ‘good’, the etymon <f-> may also be etymologised *ada* ‘suitable’ and *fír* ‘true’. Both *ada* and *fír* are broadly semantically related to *fō* ‘good’, and this is the connection to the etymon; it is a semantic extension of the ‘good’ etymology group.

The etymology *fír* is originally based on the etymon consonant structure <f->, and *fír* occurs relatively frequently as an etymology for <f->:

¹ Discussed by Breatnach, ‘Glossing of the Early Irish law tracts’, p. 124.

² Note elsewhere *in-crenar* ‘bought in’ glossed *decennaigter* ‘well bought’ (*Córus Fine* = *CIH* ii.741.19); this is presumably an extension of the *fō* group. Alternatively, the etymology may have come from a different lemma (i.e. *fō-crenar*).

³ *BB*, § 26^c.

⁴ *CUT*, § 10².

⁵ *CB*, § 8¹.

⁶ *CB*, § 20²⁰.

<i>fo-ceird</i> ‘puts’	>	<i>ada-cuiridh</i> ‘suitably puts’. ¹
<i>foda-(f)ocair</i> ‘denounces them’	>	<i>fir-ogra</i> ‘truly denouncing’. ²
<i>fo-éige</i> ‘he objects’	>	<i>fir-éigium</i> ‘true outcry’. ³

The etymon <f> lacks the final consonant <-r> of *fir*. The origin for the extension of *fir* to etymologies of *fo-* was presumably verbs in which *fo-* alternated with *for* (< *fo ro*). It is likely that the etymon *fo-* <f> absorbed the etymology *fir* through influence of the related etymon *fo(r)-* <f-r>. The following examples demonstrate the etymon <f-r> etymologised *fir* ‘true, truly’. Note that in the final two examples, the etymon has absorbed the initial of the following syllable (i.e. the perfective particle *ro*).

<i>fortuigigter</i> ‘burdened’	>	<i>firtuigithir</i> ‘truly burdened’. ⁴
<i>fo-rroí</i> ‘may have injured’	>	<i>firfuactnaigend</i> ‘truly injures’. ⁵
<i>fo-rrúastar</i> ‘committed’	>	<i>firfuachtain</i> ‘true offence’. ⁶

It seems likely that *fir* as an etymology for <f> came about through influence of <f-r>, as a semantically neutral etymological option. This option may be expressed as <f-[r]> for the purpose of expressing how the glossators saw the etyma <f> and <f-r>. For the importance of neutral semantics in etymologies, see Chapter 6.

Related to the <f-r> group is the prefix *frith* ‘against’, which is also etymologised *fir* ‘true’. Because the *frith* group includes variants, such as *fris-* and *fri-*, the etymon in these instances is properly <f-r-[th/s]>.⁷

<i>frithbrognaither</i> ‘rendered’	>	<i>fir-foghnama</i> ‘true service’. ⁸
<i>fris-drengar</i> ‘graded’	>	<i>fir-dreimnigter</i> ‘truly advanced’. ⁹
<i>frithfholad</i> ‘considerations given in return’	>	<i>fir-fola</i> ‘true considerations’. ¹⁰

¹ *CB*, § 56¹.

² *CUT*, § 54.

³ *CB*, § 61⁴.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.490.17 (lemma), 23–4 (gloss).

⁵ *CUT*, § 14³.

⁶ *CL*, § 34⁸.

⁷ The lenitable final consonants <f>, <s>, and <t> are not rendered in the etymology, and it is possible that they were no longer pronounced at the time of the construction of the etymology.

⁸ *CA* = *CIH* ii.497.18 (lemma), 25–6 (gloss).

⁹ *CUT*, § 8².

¹⁰ *CB*, § 63⁸.

In addition to the etymology *fír*, <f-r-[s/th]> occurs in one instance with the etymology *ada*.

fris-cuirither ‘who opposes’ > *adha chuireas* ‘suitably puts’.¹

I have not come across any other examples elsewhere in *CIH* where *adha* etymologises <f-r-[s/th]>. As a result, it is difficult to say whether or not this is a correct form, as oppose to a gloss which has been copied from a different lemma.

The etymon <d-> may be etymologised *adbal* ‘great, vast’ when it is in the form *dí(u)*- or *do*-. This etymology is the result of an intermediate stage in which the etymon has first been understood as the consonant-based etymology *dí*, an intensive prefix.² The etymology *adbal* does not occur with the etymon <d-> in the sample group; for the purpose of illustration, the following examples have been taken from texts outside the sample group:

dírainn ‘non-apportioned (land)’ > *adbalraind* ‘great share’.³
díunach ‘washing’ > *adbalnighi* ‘greatly washing’.⁴
doslá ‘put them’ > *adballaiter* ‘greatly sent’.⁵

The etymology *adbal* may then be semantically extended to *uráin* ‘excess’. Within the sample group, this third stage etymology only occurs with forms of *díupart* ‘fraud’.⁶

díupart ‘fraud’ > *uráinebairt* ‘excess saying’.⁷

The progression of this etymology therefore consists of three stages:

Stage 1: <-d-> > **dí* (intensive prefix)
 Stage 2: > *dí* > *adbal* ‘great, vast’
 Stage 3: > *adbal* > *uráin* ‘excess’

¹ *CA* = *CIH* ii.493.32 (lemma), 494.3 (gloss).

² There are no extant examples in the sample group in which <-d-> is etymologised as the intensive prefix *dí* (i.e. without semantically extending to *adbal* or *uráin*).

³ *CIH* i.285.12 (*Bretha Éitgid*).

⁴ *Ní Tulach-GC* (= *CIH* iii.811.2) = *Arra-GC* (= *CIH* v.1559.9).

⁵ *CIH* iv.1302.26 (*Digest B*).

⁶ The etymology *adbal* occurs in one instance within the sample group with the lemma *adblam* ‘prepared’ (*CL*, § 164).

⁷ *CL*, § 17⁵. Further examples: *CB*, §§ 5⁴, 6⁵.

A different form of semantic extension occurs in *D*, in which etymon <d> is etymologised *úasal* ‘noble’: *do-comrad* ‘paid as penalty’ > *da-úasal-coimberind* ‘nobly pays it’.¹ Likewise in *CB*, in which etymon <d-[r]> is extended to *deg* ‘good’: *doruaicle* ‘purchases’ > *degcendaiges* ‘well purchases’.² This extension is presumably generated from the etymology *deirb* which glosses in *doruaicle* elsewhere in *CB*.³

A further example worth noting of the treatment of consonants is the lemma *do-rúaiclea*, which is etymologised twice in *CB* as *deirbcennaiges* ‘truly purchases’ and *degcendaiges* ‘well purchases’.⁴ These etymologies are unusual in that they are the only examples within the sample group in which a consonant other than <f> or <s> is imported into the etymology (i.e. and <g>).

The etymon *ar-* (<-r>) may be etymologised *úasal* ‘noble’. In the first instance, it is interpreted as *ér* ‘noble, great’.⁵ This is the etymology found in the following examples. The additional vowel in *erga-* below may be accounted for as mirroring the cadence of the lemma.⁶

<i>áirilliud</i> ‘merit’	>	<i>ēraluād</i> ‘noble mention’. ⁷
<i>airliter</i> ‘arranged’	>	<i>ēraluaidhtir</i> ‘nobly mentioned’. ⁸
<i>árachtai</i> ‘to be secured’	>	<i>ērfuaighthi</i> ‘nobly linked’. ⁹

The etymology *ér* ‘noble, great’ may then be semantically extended to *úasal* ‘noble’:¹⁰

¹ *D*, § 13³.

² *CB*, § 57⁵.

³ *CB*, § 55³.

⁴ *CB*, §§ 55³, 57⁵ respectively.

⁵ I am grateful to Liam Breatnach for this explanation.

⁶ Breatnach notes that the final *-a* is difficult to explain (*CB*, p. 190 § 8 s.v. *ēraluād*). From an etymological perspective, the final *-a* supplies a vowel to mirror the lemma: e.g. *áirilliud* /a:rəluð/ <V-r-V-l-V-d> becomes *eraluad* /ε:rəluəð/ <V-r-V-l-V-d>. In the case of *airliter*, it may be that the glossator copied the same form of the etymology as attached to *áirilliud*.

⁷ *CB*, § 8⁴.

⁸ *CB*, § 29¹⁰.

⁹ *CB*, § 30¹.

¹⁰ It is worth noting the following gloss on *Cáin Fuithirbe* as an example of the association between *ér* and *úasal*: *Erguinigh .i. doniat quín na nér na nuasal* ‘murderous i.e. they make a wounding of nobles, of nobles’. It contains the additional etymological gloss *† adbalguín inndligidh* ‘or a great illegal wounding’, which demonstrates an alternative method of etymologising in which the etymon *er-* <-r> is recycled as *adbal* ‘great, vast’. This method understands *er-* first as *ér* ‘noble, great’, before semantically extending to *adbal* ‘great, vast’ (see Chapter 5.6). Note that etymologising *er-* as *adbal* is not supported within the sample group.

<i>airthach</i> ‘vicarious oath’	>	<i>úasalteastughudh</i> ‘noble testimony’. ¹
<i>airbiathar</i> ‘supplied’	>	<i>úasalbiatar</i> ‘nobly fed’. ²
<i>aurgnama</i> ‘labour’	>	<i>úasalfoghnama</i> ‘noble service’. ³

From this point, the glossator may then semantically extend further; other examples of etymologies of <-r> are *fír* ‘true’ and *uráin* ‘excess’.

<i>aurfócrú</i> ‘notice’	>	<i>fír-urfógra</i> ‘true notice’. ⁴
<i>airdig</i> ‘additional services’	>	<i>uráindigh</i> ‘excess drink’. ⁵

The etymology *fír* ‘true’ adds an additional consonant to the etymon <-r> (i.e. <f->). The thought process here understands <-r> (i.e. /Ø-r/) as <f̥-r> (i.e. /Ø-r/) – i.e. that there is a silent, invisible <f-> in the etymon. This then provides the consonant structure <f-r> on which to construct the etymology *fír*. For this reason, it is possible that etymologising <-r> as *fír* was borrowed from etymologising <f-r> as *fír*. As a result, there were three etyma which could generate the etymology *fír*: <f->, <f-r-[s/th]>, and <[f̥]-r>.⁶

A consequence of semantically extending etymologies is that they no longer preserve the consonant structure of the etymon. Visually, the thought process between the consonant base and the semantic extension is not present. However, the connection remains present behind the semantics. Provided that those using the glosses were familiar method, it would be relatively simple to reverse the thought process and to reach, for example, *ar-* from *úasal*.

An equally advanced method of etymology involves a different type of thought process: namely, syntax. Like semantic extension, this method also was not always visually present in the etymological gloss. *CB* contains two etymologies of <-s> which are peculiar to *CB* within the sample group: *séis* ‘arrangement’; and *fís* ‘knowledge’.⁷ In both etymological glosses, the lemma is *córus* ‘arrangement’.

¹ *BB*, § 34.

² *CUT*, § 79.

³ *CL* § 11¹.

⁴ *CA* = *CIH* ii.491.14 (lemma), 22–3 (gloss).

⁵ *CUT*, § 78 (translation adapted; see p. 108 fn. 1).

⁶ The etymology *uráin* ‘excess’ has been noted above as an etymology for <d-> in the form *dí(u)-* and *do-*. The importance of having a choice of etymologies is discussed in Chapter 6.

⁷ This etymological gloss occurs elsewhere outside the sample group; e.g. *coirseis*: *SM1*, 2 *Cethairslicht Athabálae* (e.g. *CIH* ii.370.4 (lemma), 5–10 (gloss)), *Di Astud Chor* (e.g. *CIH* iv.1354.17), Digest D (e.g. *CIH* vi.2047.13–16) ; *fís*: *SM2*, 14 *Di Astud Chirt Dligid* (e.g. *CIH* i.229.13 (lemma), 29–30 (gloss)); *Córus Fine* (e.g. *CIH* ii.736.8 (lemma), 10 (gloss)).

córus ‘arrangement’ > *a fis chōir* ‘according to proper knowledge’.¹
 > *cōirsēis* ‘proper-arrangement’.²

The primary stage of the etymological gloss is straightforward in both instances. We have already seen that the etymon *-us* <-s> /s/ may be understood as <ċ-s> /Ø-s/ and <š-s> <h-s> to reach *fis* and *sēis* respectively. Removal of the etymon leaves the remaining lemma form *cōr-*, which can stand independently as the adjective *cōir* ‘proper’. This generates the etymological glosses **cōir-fis* and *cōir-sēis* accordingly.

Each example of the etymological gloss *cōirsēis* in *CB* is also accompanied by a secondary stage, in the form of an explanatory gloss which clarifies the etymology (etymological-explanatory gloss):³ *sēiscōir* ‘proper arrangement’.⁴ This gives the etymological gloss *cōirsēis seiscōir* ‘proper-arrangement, proper arrangement’, composed of etymology and etymological-explanatory respectively. The etymological-explanatory gloss rearranges the etymological gloss, so that instead of preserving the order of the lemma consonant structure (i.e. <c-r-š-s>), it is in the correct syntactical order of noun + qualifying adjective (i.e. *sēis cōir* ‘proper arrangement’). Although it results in the disruption of the consonant structure of the lemma, the etymological-explanatory gloss makes clear the meaning of the etymological gloss. In terms of the sequence of thought process, such a gloss may be expressed as lemma → etymological gloss → etymological-explanatory gloss: *cōrus .i. cōirsēis [.i.] sēiscōir*.

The etymological gloss *a fis chōir* represents this secondary stage alone. Visually it lacks the interim stage in which the etymological gloss is rearranged; a reconstruction is as follows: *cōrus* <c-r-ċ-s> → *cor-fus* → **cōirfis* (etymological gloss) → *a fis chōir* (etymological-explanatory gloss). While at first such an etymological gloss may appear redundant in that it no longer preserves the consonant structure of the lemma, the connection between the etymological gloss and the lemma remains present, if not visually so. It suggests that the glossator who added, and those who used, this etymological gloss were familiar enough with the process to understand how and why the form *a fis chōir* occurs.

Advanced methods of etymology, which use multiple stages of thought process and layers of semantic extension, are notable within the sample group in that they do not show their

¹ *CB*, § 17¹.

² *CB*, § 14⁹.

³ The point of the term etymological-explanatory gloss is to distinguish explanatory glosses on etymological glosses from explanatory glosses which do not use etymology and generally relate directly to the main text.

⁴ = *CB*, §§ 11, 13¹¹, 14⁹, 15¹, 18¹. An example of the etymology only (as oppose to etymology + etymological-explanatory) may be found in a heptad (see Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 34 s.v. 794.25) (*CIH* iii.795.27 (lemma), 28 (gloss)).

working out. Compare this to the following example from *SC*, in which the stages of etymological process are laid out:

SC YAdd. 931

Muintir .i. muin-tóir .i. main tóirithnech do neoch

‘People i.e. *muin-tóir* ‘gift-help’ i.e. a helping gift for someone.’

Muin-tóir is a whole-word etymology in which final syllable *-ter* is recycled first as *tóir* ‘help’. It functions as a bridging form to show the thought process of the glossator as it is then reworked into the adjectival form *tóirithnech* ‘helping’ in the context of an explanatory gloss. Using the bridging form *muin-tóir*, this process can be seen on the page as *-ter* becomes *tóir* and finally *tóirithnech*.

In the sample group, the *muin-tóir* stage is not found.¹ Instead, the etymological gloss jumps straight to the final form in each instance, as demonstrated in the following example:

BB, § 3

Ar is a tairgillib bertir a mbretha^a...

^a *.i. uair is ar tabairt gill toirithnigh dara ceand berar breithembnas orro.*

‘For it is according to fore-pledges that judgements upon them are given^a...’

^a ‘i.e. for it is after a ‘helping pledge’ is given for them that judgement is passed on them.’

If one were to reconstruct the etymological process and show one’s working out, using *tairgille* as an example, it would look as follows:²

**tairgille .i. tóir-gille .i. gell tóirithnech*

‘A forepledge i.e. *tóir-gille* ‘help-pledge’ i.e. a helping pledge.’

¹ The only example within the sample group to show any working out is the *cóirséis séis chóir* type (see Appendix 1 s.v. <-s->). This example is not a direct comparison as the etymological gloss *cóirseis* is restructured into *séis chóir* for grammatical, rather than explanatory, purpose.

² See *BB*, §§ 1b ×2, 2a, 3a, 26a.

The absence of showing one's working out on the page in syllabic etymologies in the law texts suggests that anyone using the text already understood the processes and stages involved; including a working out stage would have been unnecessary in this case. Etymological methods such as semantic extensions would be easily enough understood by anyone familiar with the etymological process.¹ This difference in presentation, between showing one's working out or not, presumably also indicates a difference in purpose. *SC*, as a compilatory philological document, is perhaps more likely to demonstrate each stage of the etymological process as a way of showing skill with language and different methods of word deconstruction.

This section has examined the method behind etymological glossing. The following section will look at the broader gloss context of etymological glosses.

5.7 Etymological and Explanatory Glosses

The above discussion has focused on lemmata and etymological glosses with little consideration of the surrounding gloss material. It has been the tendency in modern scholarship to view etymological glosses in isolation from the surrounding text. This section will look at the gloss context of etymological glosses.

Within the sample group, all instances of first/final syllable etymology are embedded as part of a larger explanatory gloss.² In the following example, the etymological gloss *caíndliged* renders *cuindligid* in the main text in a gloss which reworks the main text phrase as a whole. Note the formulaic substitution phrase *do réir choir* 'in accordance with propriety', glossing *coir* 'propriety'.³

CB, § 38²

i mbt² inna coir chuindligid.

² *.i.ō beit ina caéndliged do réir choir*

'When it is² in its propriety of joint obligation.'

¹ For semantic extensions in syllabic etymology, see Chapter 5.6.

² For the doubtful form *caein fódailtir*, see below pp. 143–4.

³ See Chapter 5.6.

² ‘i.e. if they are in their ‘fair rightful order’ in accordance with propriety.’

The purpose of explanatory glosses as a whole is to render the main text passage in a clearer, more accessible way. Typically explanatory glosses involve: modernisation of archaic or otherwise difficult verbal forms (including changes in terminology); drawing out meaning through longer phrases using simpler words (including description); and etymology. The following example demonstrates all three aspects:

BB, § 30^b

iss i suidiu áilid cocraim forsin lestrai n-uil^b

^b *.i. isan æi eadba isin airiltnigidh se cur craind forna leastraib uile .i. for na cheascaib*

‘It is then that it (the injury) requires the casting of lots on all the hives^b.’

^b ‘i.e. in that ‘lawful case’ it requires the casting of lots on all the hives i.e. on the hives.’

Main text			Gloss
<i>suidiu</i> ‘then’	> [etymology]	>	<i>isan æi adba isin</i> ‘in that lawful case’
<i>ailid</i> ‘it requires’	> [modernisation + independent pronoun]	>	<i>airiltnigidh se</i> ‘it requires’
<i>cocraim</i> ‘casting of lots’	> [description]	>	<i>cur craind</i> ‘casting of lots’
<i>forsin lestrai naile</i> ‘on the other hive’	> [singular > plural]	>	<i>forna leastraib uile</i> ‘on all the hives’
	> [additional explanation]	>	<i>.i. for na cheascaib</i> ‘i.e. on the hives’.

In some instances explanatory glosses may combine with adjacent glosses (localised glossing) to provide a reworking of a larger passage of the main text. We may consider the broader context of the above example as follows:

BB, § 30^{a-d}

Mad súil rocháecha^a iss i suidiu áilid cocrann forsin lestrai nuil^b; cip lestra día toth dib^c ar-tét a fhiach^d.

^a *.i. madh suil caechas siad*

^b *.i. isan æi eadha isin airiltnigidh se cur craind forna lestraib uile .i. for na cheascaib*

^c *.i. gibe lestar dibh thoites and*

^d *.i. tuithidh se na fhiach^e eis isin cæchadsin^{e1}*

‘If it be an eye which it has blinded^a, it is then that it requires the casting of lots on the other hive^b; whichever of the hives it falls upon^c is forfeit for its offence^d.’

^a ‘i.e. if it be an eye which they blind.’

^b ‘i.e. in that ‘lawful case’ it requires the casting of lots on all the hives i.e. on the hives.’

^c ‘i.e. whichever hive of them it falls on.’

^d ‘i.e. it falls as penalty for it^e i.e. a hive for that blinding^e.’

Collectively, the glosses – including the etymological-explanatory gloss – fully render the main text, and may be presented as follows:

Mad súil rocháecha iss i suidiu áilid cocrann forsin lestrai n-uili cip lestar día toth dib ar-tét a fhiach.

.i. madh suil caechas siad [.i.] isan æi eadha isin airiltnigidh se cur craind forna lestraib uile .i. for na cheascaib [.i.] gibe lestar dibh thoites and [.i.] tuithidh se na fhiach eis isin cæchadsin

‘If it be an eye which it has blinded, it is then that it requires the casting of lots on all the hives; whichever of the hives it falls upon is forfeit for its offence.’

¹ e-e added by the second hand, Aodh.

‘i.e. if it be an eye which they blind [i.e.] in that lawful case it requires the casting of lots on all the hives (i.e. on the hives) [i.e.] whichever hive of them it falls on [i.e.] it falls as penalty for it (i.e. a hive for that blinding).’

Combined, the glosses provide a continuous reworking of the main text.

As we have seen, in some instances, the etymological gloss is itself provided with an etymological-explanatory gloss, which may be a simple reordering of elements into standard syntax (cf. *airdig* and *córus* directly below). In the following examples, the explanatory gloss is in bold.

<i>adnacal</i> ‘burial’	>	<i>adha in tidnucul nō int adnacul</i> ‘the conveying or the burial is fitting’. ¹
<i>airdig</i> ‘additional services’	>	<i>arin uráin dig arin dig uráin</i> ‘for the excess-drink, for the excess drink ’
<i>córus</i> ‘arrangements’	>	<i>do cōir séisib do sēisib chōiri</i> ‘of proper-arrangements, of proper arrangements ’. ²
<i>imid-chomba</i> ‘destroys it’	>	<i>ēmbcuimbges .i. a leadradh</i> ‘timely destroys i.e. its cutting ’. ³

It has been the tendency to view explanatory glosses as evidence that the glossators did not understand the etymology. The direct repetition of the lemma in the explanatory gloss in the first example (i.e. *adnacul*) suggests that the etymological gloss was superfluous. However, these explanatory glosses support the etymological glosses by fixing the form of the lemma alongside a clear presentation of the context of the lemma. In the second example (i.e. *córus*), the explanatory gloss simply places the etymological gloss elements in another order. This is one stage further than the etymological gloss, in which the etymological gloss has been modified in keeping with standard Irish grammar and thus further embedded in the gloss as a whole. The third lemma (i.e. *imid-chomba*, MS *inidicoimge*) had been corrupted in transmission and would have been problematic for anyone using the text;⁴ by using both an etymological and explanatory gloss, both the form and the sense of the original lemma is made clear. The primary focus of an etymology was form;

¹ *CB*, § 46¹. Further examples: *CB*, § 47¹.

² *CB*, § 15¹. Further examples: *CB*, §§ 1¹, 13¹¹, 14⁹.

³ *BB*, § 14^a.

⁴ See *BB*, pp. 105–6 s.v. § 14 *imid-chomba*.

these explanatory glosses provided additional emphasis and support, and functioned as a method of making clear the meaning of the etymology.

It should be noted that there is one instance within the sample group in which an etymological appears to occur by itself, without belonging to a larger explanatory gloss (i.e. *is cáein fódailtir*). This passage with its surrounding glossing is as follows:

BD, § 30¹⁻³

Os bean aittiten ara-naisce fine¹, con-rannatar² a cinaid side etex maccu³ 7 a fine; is [s]amlaid fria n-eraic 7 a ndibad.

¹ *.i. 'os' ar 'ogus': 7 bean aididnigid ind fine d'irnaigel aige .i. ind adaltrach urnadhma*

² *.i. is cáein fódailtir¹*

³ *Mana bet meic is trian no leth acht ceathraime lethe for a ceile*

‘And a woman of acknowledgement that the kin-group¹ trust, their offence is shared² between the sons³ and her kin-group; it is the same regarding their *éraic*-payment and their legacies.’

¹ i.e. *os* for *ogus*; and a woman whom the the kin-group acknowledge regarding marriage to him i.e. of the secondary wife of marriage.’

² i.e. they are ‘well divided’.²

³ ‘If there are no sons, a third or a half except a quarter half to their spouse.’³

The etymological gloss is not embedded as part of a larger explanatory gloss. On its own, this is not enough to discount the gloss as an incorrect addition or as being otherwise corrupt; we have seen that flexibility and creativity with otherwise fixed rules were features of

¹ Binchey transcribes *is cáem fhodailtir* (CIH ii.442.2). In the manuscript it looks more like *caein*, and so I follow Thurneysen in reading *is cáein fhodailtir*.

² Thurneysen does not give a translation of this gloss in his edition.

³ This gloss is a second layer of commentary, added after the glossing and the first layer of commentary.

etymological glossing. However, there are a number of additional factors which suggest that this gloss was both misplaced and unfinished. Based on the etymological gloss *cām fódailitir* one would expect the lemma to be a form of *con-fodlai*, not *con-ranna*. The verb *confodlaitir* does occur five lines above in which the preverb *con-* ends the line, and so it is possible that the etymological gloss was intended to gloss this lemma, rather than *conrannatar*. The preverb *con-* ends the line, and so it may be a misplaced gloss for *confodlaitir*.¹ In addition, on the page itself the space left after the etymological gloss has been filled in with the commentary beginning *Mana bet* (gloss ³ above). There is an example elsewhere on the same page of a gloss which has not been completed, and simply reads *.i.*;² it seems likely that the glossator was inconsistent on this page. As a result, it is probable that the etymological gloss was copied from another manuscript witness with the etymon *con-* (perhaps a form of *con-fodlai*) but was unfinished, and commentary was subsequently added into the space instead. It may therefore be understood that this particular etymological gloss in its unfinished state represents an anomalous etymological gloss form.

Etymological glosses occur in tandem with readily accessible contextualisation and re-working of the meaning of the lemma; their focus is on conveying both form and meaning in an easily comprehensible way. They were not intended to be viewed in isolation, but rather as one of a number of glossing styles within the glossator's wider scholarly apparatus whose broad aim was to aid accessibility and engagement with the main text.

¹ MS p. 19a2 = *CIH* ii.441.10.

² MS p. 19a13 (empty gloss not noted in *CIH*). *CIH* and Thurneysen's edition omit a section of commentary from *BD* which has been transcribed by O'Donovan, *Collection of Ancient Irish Law Tracts*, 1018.

6 SEMANTICS: WHAT DO ETYMOLOGIES MEAN?

The above discussion has drawn attention to the preservation of the meaning of the lemma in the etymological gloss. Where an etymon is meaningful, that meaning is preserved elsewhere in the gloss alongside the etymology (which is in itself meaningful). The etymon *im-*, for example, frequently supplies a reciprocal sense which is directly relevant to the context of the lemma. In the process of etymologising *im-* as *éim* ‘timely’, the reciprocal sense is lost; however, we have seen that it may be supplied elsewhere in the same gloss by a phrase such as *cach díb a chéile* ‘each from the other’.¹ As a result, both the form and meaning of the etymon may be preserved in the etymology. The meaning of the etymology itself is another matter: how did the glossators understand the etymology? This section will look at levels of semantic weight and instances where a glossator has a range of etymologies to choose from.

The etymology *fír* ‘true’ is a good illustration of how variable semantic sense was employed in etymological glosses in the law texts. Depending on the context, ‘true’ may be positive [legal valid or promoted], negative [legally invalid or denounced], or simply a description of something factual. Within the sample group, there are no clear examples of *fír* used in a purely positive sense; it is primarily used in a negative or neutral context. The following examples demonstrate these two contexts.

CUT, § 14³ (negative *fír*, to qualify an illegal injury)

Ar óthá suidiu bícad cách chinaid a c[h]laid di cach animbiu do-róna nech in[n]a tír do neoch fo-rroí?

³ *.i. do neoch risa fírfuactnaigend sé*

‘For from that one let each pay for the liability of his ditch – arising from every defective fence which a person may have made on his land – for anything which it may have injured³.’

³ ‘i.e. for what it ‘truly injures’.’

¹ e.g. *CA* = *CIH* ii.489.8–9 (lemmata), 10–15 (glosses), *CL*, § 32. See Appendix 1 s.v. <-m->.

CB, § 61⁴ (neutral *fír*, stating fact)¹

fo-éigi⁴ ceniro taithib

¹ .i. *déine fíreigium imme ima fúaidriud cenco cuimgech thú a thaithmech.*

‘He objects⁴, although he cannot dissolve.’

⁴ ‘i.e. may you make a ‘true outcry’ with regard to opposing it, although you are not able to dissolve it.’

Because the meaning of *fír* is so broad, the same etymology (i.e. *fír* ‘true, truly’) can be used to describe a negative and a neutral action. Consequently, examples like these also demonstrate the glossator actively choosing which etymology to use. Both lemmata could have been etymologised *maith*, *deg-* ‘good’ or *ada* ‘suitable’. A choice of etymologies allowed the glossator to select an etymology whose meaning would not negatively affect the understanding of the main text. In the above examples, etymologising *fo-rroí* and *fo-éigi* as *fó* or *ada* would have described an illegal injury and an objection by a son against his father as ‘good’ or ‘suitable’. This would have detrimentally impacted on the meaning of the main text; by choosing the more neutral *fír*, a clash of semantics is avoided.

Although the majority may be understood using neutral semantics, a number of etymologies have clearly positive or negative connotations. For example, the etymon <t-r> may be etymologised *tóirithnech* ‘helping’ or *tár* ‘disgrace; shame’.² These etymologies have clear positive and negative semantic connotations respectively. The active choice by the glossator to match the context of the main text is illustrated in the following examples, in which compounds of *creicc* are etymologised using either *tóirithnech* or *tár* according to the context of the lemma. All of the following examples are taken from *CA*, to demonstrate the variety – and therefore choice – which may be found within a single text. The wider context of the lemma is given in each example.

¹ The gloss in this example also contains assonance: *imm/é im/a fúaidriud cen co/cuimgech*.

² There is one gloss in which *turgaib* ‘raises’ is etymologised *fírgabann* ‘truly takes’ (*CA* = *CIH* ii.484.6 (lemma), 9–10 (gloss)). This is exceptional within the sample group as there are no other examples of an etymon with <t-> providing the etymology *fír*. There are two possibilities to its existence. First, that it is a variation on the pattern of etymological glossing that occurs elsewhere in this sample group, taking only <-r> (without <t->) as the etymon. Second, that the etymological gloss *fírgabann* was copied from another manuscript witness in which the lemma was something like *ar-gaib*, not *turgaib* (*ar-* <-r> occurring elsewhere in the sample group as an etymon for *fír*). The etymological gloss *fírgabann* is an additional phrase in the gloss following *torgabann* ‘undertakes’ (i.e. *torgabann tcon fírgabann*); it is unusual within the sample group to put the etymological gloss second in phrases like this, and may be the product of addition from another set of glosses.

CA = CIH ii.484.5 (lemma phrase), 7–8 (gloss)

Caité turchreic cach bēsa¹ o bicc co mōr as cōir for cach ngrād

¹ *.i. caiti in cxeic thōirithnech ratha doberar do cach grād iar fīr ar cach mbiad ūais dibso*

‘What is the forepurchase of every annual food-rent¹, from small to big, which is correct for every rank?’

¹ ‘i.e. what is the ‘helping purchase’ consisting of a fief which is given to each rank, according to truth, or each of their ‘noble food-rent?’

Compare:

CA = CIH ii.486.1–3 (lemma phrase), 6–7 (gloss)¹

Dilis do cēilib 7 dia comorbaib sēoit turchuide 7 rath tar airdig acht frisrognat a flaithe nacha rubat nacha romrat nacha torcriaat¹ na dermat acais a mbāis

¹ *.i. na dermat cxeic is tār darrath do gabāil o flaithe echtrand*

‘Forfeit to the clients and their heirs are the price of submission and an extra fief, provided that they render services to their lords and that they do not wound nor betray nor forepurchase¹ nor cause their death.

¹ ‘i.e. they do not make a ‘purchase which is a disgrace’ to take the fief of a base client from a foreign lord.’

In the first example, the context of *turchreic* is neutral: it is a statement of legal fact and may be interpreted simply as a ‘legally valid purchase’. In the second example, the context of *torcriaat* is negative: it refers to an illegal forepurchase of a client from an additional lord who is from outside the territory. To etymologise *torcriaat* as **creicc tóirithnech* ‘a helping purchase’ would describe an illegal action as legal valid, and this would be counter-productive to the gloss’s rendering of the main text. The glossator therefore selected the etymology whose semantics were most appropriate to the lemma context.

¹ Note the use of *do-gní* ‘does; makes’ to render the lemma more fully (i.e. *dermat*) (see Chapter 4.2.5).

Unlike *tár* ‘disgrace’, etymologies such as *úais* ‘noble’ and *ada* ‘suitable’ are evidently positive. However, if treated as semantically light, they have minimal impact on the sense of the gloss. This approach accounts for examples in which the etymology, even in its broadest meaning, appears to contradict the main text. The following example has been noted above as an example in which the etymology appears to interfere negatively with the meaning of the main text:

CA = *CIH* ii.491.13–14 (lemma), 20–2 (gloss)

*it dílsi seóit cáich inda-cuirithet indligid*⁸.

⁸ *.i. is díles don fíne éoit in cáich roadhacuirister curu inddlighthecha do énam re fear fíne t co taraister in cínach.*

‘The chattels of everyone are forfeit who puts them [i.e. contracts] in unlawfully⁸.’

⁸ ‘i.e. the chattels of the person who ‘suitably contracted’ making unlawful contracts are forfeit to the kin, until the guilty person is got hold of.’

Understanding the etymology *ada* as ‘suitable’ would not work in this context, as the text describes an unlawful – and therefore *unsuitable* – action. But *ada* may also mean ‘duly’, a sense with more neutral semantics. This gives the etymological gloss meaning ‘duly contracted’. The illegal action is now described as ‘duly’ (i.e. factual, something which has happened), and no longer contradicts the sense of the main text. It may also have been treated as semantically light, intended to have very little impact on the sense of the gloss as a whole.

The context of the lemma could provide a semantic barrier to the construction of etymology. In the following example, the context of the main text restricts the application of etymology so that only one of the two instances of the etymon <-s> (*sochob-us* and *éccub-us*) is etymologised as *úais* ‘noble’.¹

¹ Note also in the following example that the positive prefix *so-* is substituted by *dea-* (for *deg-*); and the negative prefix *e-* by *droch-* (see Chapter 4.2.1).

CL, § 1^{13,14}

Slán cach sochbomsa, cach sochobus,¹³ eslán cach n-éccubus¹⁴ i cáin lánamnae.

¹³ *.i. cach deacubus uais imin comaititin .i. ima atmail*

¹⁴ *.i. is eslan do neoch dib drohcubus gaiti do denum ara cheile*

‘Exempt is everything [done for the] benefit [of both parties and] everything [done in] good conscience; not exempt is everything [done in] bad conscience in the law of couples.’

¹ ‘i.e. each ‘noble_[thing done in] good conscience’ regarding the mutual acknowledgement, i.e. regarding acknowledging it.’

² ‘i.e. it is not exempt for one of them to perform an act of robbery in bad conscience against the other.’

In both cases, the lemma is a form of *cubus* ‘conscience’. The first instance is positive (*sochobus* ‘good conscience’) and the semantics of the etymology support this: *deacubus uais* ‘noble [thing done in] good conscience’. The second is negative (*éccubus* ‘bad conscience’), and here the etymon <-s> does not generate the etymology *úais* ‘noble’. By not etymologising, the glossator avoided a clash of semantics in the form of **drohcubus úais* ‘noble bad conscience’.¹

As a whole, etymologies within the sample group are notably broad in meaning;² they combine with preservation of the consonant structure to render the sense of the lemma. The following chapter will look at the purpose of preserving consonant structure, and will argue that its place was in pedagogy.

¹ Both glosses were added by the same hand (Hand III in Eska’s edition; see CL, p. 41 s.v. III), and so the absence of an etymology was presumably intentional.

² For a list of the etymologies within the sample group, see Appendix 1.

7 ETYMOLOGY IN CONTEXT: IN THE CLASSROOM

The analysis set out above has demonstrated that the etymological process was twofold: to render and preserve the form of the etymon and rework the remaining lemma form; and to embed the etymological gloss as part of a larger explanatory gloss. Largely as a result of the negative reception associated with syllabic etymology by earlier scholarship, the purpose of etymology has received little attention. This chapter will look at why etymological processes were thought necessary in legal glossing in the first place.

7.1 Mastering the basics

While this study has been confined to a handful of texts, syllabic etymology has one clear application: teaching. The basic layout of the medieval learning environment – its monastic origins, its overlap between ecclesiastical and secular pursuits, and the overlap between law and poetry – has been discussed above. The ‘poetic judge’ has been well documented, and so to some extent we can use descriptions of the medieval poet’s curriculum as described in, for example, *UR* and *MV*.¹ Ambitious pupils hoping to reach the highest grade of poet would be expected to be knowledgeable in the law, history, and literature, and possess mastery of a wide range of poetic metres and styles.² The legal *BN* material was on the fourth-year reading list.³ In all disciplines, skill with language (particularly obscure language) was prized.

Owing to the predominantly oral nature of the transmission of knowledge and the traditional preference for stories as case-studies, it is difficult to know exactly how a budding lawyer went about his studies in the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods. As Kelly has pointed out, there is little evidence for any legal innovation between 9th to the 16th centuries.⁴ Evidence for legal learning in post-Norman Ireland is scarce. From the copying efforts of legal families at this time, it is clear that great care was taken of the earlier strata of legal texts. It is

¹ As discussed by Simms, ‘Poetic brehon lawyers’, pp. 121–32 and Breatnach, ‘Lawyers in early Ireland’, pp. 3–5. A large number of legal texts (including the majority of the material in *BN*) relate to the rights and privileges of poets.

² *UR*, § 2.

³ *MV* ii, § 18 p. 36.

⁴ Kelly, *GEIL*, p. 251.

these same families who copied and produced legal glosses of the type discussed in the present thesis. But how did later legal pupils learn the law?¹

Writings by the 13th century legal mogul Gilla na Naomh Mac Aodhagáin (died 1309) provide a window on post-Norman law schools.² The legal curriculum of the later period was based upon the tracts of the Old Irish period. As Archan noted, ‘il est clair que Giolla na Naomh fonde son enseignement sur les sources traditionnelles’.³ Gilla na Naomh’s surviving works include his *Treatise*, a synopsis of various legal points from law texts of the seventh–ninth centuries, and his *Address*, comprising advice in verse to a legal student. Their value in shedding light on the specific texts used in the later medieval legal syllabus has been established by Archan, Kelly, and Ní Dhonnchadha.⁴ No one would argue the importance of the Old Irish law texts in the legal classroom at this period. It is less clear exactly how the older, often difficult legal material was taught to pupils. As to a starting point, we may consult Gilla na Naomh’s *Address* in which he states:

Address, §§ 4–5

‘The literary language whose thrust is not self-evident or superficial and the noble reading aloud – for ardent judges and bards, they are the keys which release locks.

Memorise the old testimonies of the sages and you will serve each assembly well – you will not meet with disgrace or shame – and look to the text for their basis.’

In the classroom of Gilla na Naomh, reading aloud and close reading of the earlier texts were fundamental for learning. He goes on to stress the importance of ‘learning every old precedent’, no matter how obsolete they may appear.⁵ While a lawyer of Gilla na Naomh’s skill is unlikely to have faced any problems with the older texts, the legal language of medieval Ireland was highly conservative and therefore increasingly archaic for the legal pupil. In order to introduce new pupils to the language of the law, the older strata of language in the law texts would need to be made accessible. Gilla na Naomh’s repeated encouragement to persevere with difficult texts, and to make ‘clear Irish’ from the ‘hard text of Irish’, suggests that this was an

¹ The following discussion confines itself to the transmission of vernacular law. For the development of the legal profession in response to Anglo-Norman law, see Kelly, *Treatise*, pp. 41–2 and Brand, ‘Early history of the legal profession’, pp. 24–6.

² Gilla na Naomh describes himself as *ardollamb an fhéineachas* ‘chief expert of Irish law’ (*Treatise*, § 1) and *liaigh na sgol* ‘physician of the schools’ (*Address*, § 25), suggesting that he was at the top of his career and had jurisdiction over more than one school. For a summary of the clerical and political situation in Ireland at this time, see Simms, ‘Brehans of later medieval Ireland’, pp. 56–8.

³ Archan, ‘L’enseignement du droit’, p. 65.

⁴ Archan, ‘L’enseignement du droit’, pp. 63–7; Kelly, *Treatise*, pp. 13–18; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Address*, pp. 161–3.

⁵ *Address*, §§ 7, 12.

endemic problem.¹ As Archan has argued, it is likely that legal students would have turned to the more contemporary language of the commentaries over the Old Irish text itself.²

We have already seen that rhetorical, question-and-answer structures were employed in the type of law texts described by Charles-Edwards as ‘textbook prose’.³ In the time of Gilla na Naomh, such exchanges between teacher and pupil continued. Archan, Kelly, and Plummer have drawn attention to the oral element in legal training, highlighting phrases such as *adeirim* ‘I say’ and *labhram* ‘let us speak’ in the law texts and commentaries.⁴ While it is doubtless the case that orality was a significant part of legal education, no one has yet addressed the question of exactly how a legal pupil of the Middle and Early Modern Irish period engaged with an Old Irish legal text (without recourse to the later commentaries). How did pupils memorise phrases of a language some five hundred years their senior?

It is in this regard that I would argue etymological glosses provide us with evidence of elementary-level learning in the law classroom. The glosses in the sample group belong to the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods (1200–1500). We know that the majority of glosses in TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a) were added between 1347 and 1359. Glosses in TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b) were copied in the second half of the 16th century. The regularity of the pattern of etymological glossing used across the two sections of the manuscript has been noted above; within the limits of the sample group, we are in a position to demonstrate a continuous usage of syllabic etymological process between the 14th and the 16th centuries. One glossator from TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2a), Aodh mac Conchobair, was the grandson of Gilla na Naomh, and one glossator from TCD H 2. 15A (1316) (2b) can also be traced to a Mac Aodhagáin (MacEgan) school. Consequently, the testimony of Gilla na Naomh’s writings are directly relevant to our sample group.⁵ We can therefore place our data in the context of a schoolroom like those described in the *Address* and the *Treatise*.

Let us consider the basic principles of syllabic etymology that this study has revealed: syllabic etymology connects a lemma to an etymology; syllabic etymological glosses were always embedded as part of a larger explanatory gloss which typically reworked a section of the Old Irish text; the primary focus of the etymology was the preservation of consonant structure; meaning was either omitted (where unnecessary for sense) or accounted for elsewhere in the

¹ *Treatise*, § 1.

² Archan, ‘L’enseignement du droit’, p. 66.

³ Charles-Edwards, ‘*Corpus Iuris Hibernici*’, p. 146.

⁴ Archan, ‘L’enseignement du droit’, pp. 63–7; Kelly, *Treatise*, pp. 39–41; Plummer, ‘Fragmentary state’, pp. 164–6.

⁵ It is not always possible to tell whether a gloss has been copied or created by the scribe. The language of the glosses (see Chapter 4.1) suggests that they were contemporary to Aodh mac Conchobair, but could pre-date his time. For this purpose of this discussion, either possibility is sufficient; the point is that etymological glosses were present on the law texts used in the law schools, and thus considered important.

same gloss (where necessary for sense); and the weight and meaning of the semantics of the etymology could change (from light to heavy, from neutral to specific) where required. At its most basic level, using consonant structure to connect a lemma with an etymology turns a difficult or important word into a simpler, more accessible word or phrase.

The creation of the etymological gloss is evidence that the lemma and its context were *already* understood, as anyone requiring such a gloss would not have the knowledge to create it. As a result, the authors of such a process can only be those in the position of someone transferring specific knowledge to someone with less knowledge, i.e. a teacher to a pupil. We may imagine a young Aodh mac Conchobair in one of his grandfather's schools, a "fresher" approaching the Old Irish law tracts for the first time. Before understanding the content of the Old Irish legal texts, he needs to be able to read them. We can assume from the orality contained within the law texts and Gilla na Naomh's writings that reading aloud was a central part of a law class. Aodh will then be faced with a variety of grammatical and lexical forms which by the 14th century had fallen out of use or evolved in such a way as to pose a challenge for learners. To successfully understand and memorise the Old Irish law texts and their language, Aodh will be taught a variety of methods, including etymology.¹ These methods must have been designed by teachers, as they convey what is needed to be learnt – a pointless task if the audience already knows the information.² If asked to recite a passage of an Old Irish legal text, Aodh could use the appropriate etymological gloss as a stimulus to recall the words, based on the shared phonology of the lemma and the etymology. Such a process would provide a pupil with a bridge between the original Old Irish text lemma and its explanatory gloss, incorporating familiar words to reach the unfamiliar.³

Complex, minute analysis of language would be a familiar exercise to pupils. A legal pupil would have been exposed to other methods of lexical deconstruction and interpretation from elsewhere in the medieval Irish curriculum, such as in the grammatical tract *Auraicept na n-Éces* 'The Poets' Primer', biblical exegesis, and training in poetry. Simms has noted that literature, language, and metrics remained the core of the basic curriculum in the later secular schools, which 'operated as an effective mental discipline, involving analysis and criticism as well as

¹ Other types of glossing in the sample group are discussed in Chapter 4.2.

² This is not to say that all etymological glosses were the product of teachers; but rather, that the origin of the process must have come from those who were already familiar with legal content and language. Once a pupil had been introduced to the process, etymological glosses could be used as part of a lesson or for individual learning

³ The arguments laid out here contribute to those of Archan, Charles-Edwards, and Kelly (summarised above) that the language of the law texts was intended to be memorised by legal pupils (i.e. why deliberately gloss a word based on consonant structure – without grammatical or semantic analysis – unless it was to make the word itself memorable?).

memory work and encouraging precision of language’.¹ This description can be applied without modification to the process of syllabic etymology in the law texts.

7.2 Etymology, text, and significance

Gilla na Naomh drew attention to the importance of both learning the old tracts and understanding them: ‘should you relate both the text and its significance, it will confer dignity on you at the drinking-feast’.² Clearly success and prestige relied on a pupil getting to grips with all aspects of the Old Irish law tracts. This explains why an etymological gloss might be the only part of a gloss to consciously mimic the phonology – and thus the language – of the original text; it was intended to be used as a hook to connect language with meaning. Consider the following:

BB, § 3

Ar is a tairgillib bertir a mbretha^a

^a *.i. uair is ar tabairt gill toirithnigh dara ceand berar breithembnas orro.*

‘For it is according to fore-pledges that judgements upon them are given’.^a

^a ‘i.e. for it is after a ‘helping pledge’ is given for them that judgement is passed on them.’

The glossator has expressed the sense of the concise Old Irish text in the language of his own time.³ The purpose of the gloss is to make clear the Old Irish text: nothing is lost from the Old Irish text in the gloss, and the gloss largely mirrors the syntax of the Old Irish text, adding in the prepositional phrase *dara ceand* for extra clarity. Within this context, the etymological gloss appears almost out of place; its emphasis is on the consonant structure of *tairgille*, not on its meaning (the meaning of the etymology itself does not impede, but does not move forward, the sense of the Old Irish text). Why provide a phonological connection to only one word in the Old Irish, in a gloss which is otherwise in contemporary (or at least roughly contemporary) Irish?

I would argue that this process equipped a pupil to engage with both levels of being able to ‘relate both the text and its significance’. The phonological connection between lemma and etymology provided a bridge between the language of the Old Irish text and its explanatory

¹ Simms, ‘Brehons of later medieval Ireland’, pp. 74–5.

² *Address*, § 21.

³ Note, for example, the later *berar* replacing *bertir* and the personal preposition *orro* for the possessive pronoun *a*.

gloss. Using the etymological gloss as a prompt, a pupil may then recall both ‘the text and its significance’.¹ Equipped thus, our pupil Aodh may then engage in legal discussions in the classroom, as well as recitation. Charles-Edwards has suggested that the Old Irish *Fénechas* was the ‘formal, memorised, stable centre-piece around which gathered informal instruction’.² One can easily imagine how syllabic etymology would be of use as an interactive, perhaps performative, tool in such an environment. In the class on bees, Aodh might be asked to recite a passage of *BB*; he can use the phonology of the etymology as a hook to recall the words. Where a word is particularly difficult to remember, he can apply the semantic weight of the etymology to aid recall: Aodh might struggle remembering the infixed pronoun in *inid-chuirethar* ‘deposits it’, but he remembers the etymological gloss *inadacuirither* ‘suitably deposits’ and can work backwards, using the phonology connection between *ada* <-d-> /ð/ and *-id* <-d> /ð/, to reach *inid-chuirethar*.³ The class can then build around the content of the Old Irish text, bringing in contemporary laws or terminology where appropriate.⁴ Generating seminar-style discussion from key phrases or words would also explain why, in some cases, we find words etymologised which would not have posed any difficulty to a pupil of even the 16th century.⁵

Charles-Edwards, describing a passage of Isidorean-style etymology in *Bretha Comaithchesa*, drew attention to the change in consonant quality between the lemma and the etymology from <m> /m/ to <m> /v/ and observed that such etymologies ‘appeal to the eye rather than to the ear’.⁶ Lenited variants of consonants also occur in syllabic etymologies in our sample group.⁷ We can dismiss the possibility that a lawyer might have pronounced <m> /m/ in the Old Irish as /v/; a significant proportion of the etyma – such as the prefix *im-* and the infixed pronoun *-da* – retained their phonetic qualities without change. There is therefore a discrepancy in cases like these, where the phonology of the etymology does not exactly mirror

¹ It is conceivable that there were two stages to the etymological glosses that we find in the law texts: that syllabic etymology developed specifically for memorising language, as quick, context-based explanations for specific terms, spoken aloud, and then later became incorporated into a larger explanatory apparatus.

² Charles-Edwards, ‘*Corpus Iuris Hibernici*’, p. 153. This classification has been described above at p. 3.

³ *BB*, § 12^d (the verbal object is accounted for in the gloss by the independent pronoun *é*). One might argue that such a method is overly convoluted. For comparison, one might consider the mnemonic taught in primary schools for memorising the colours of the rainbow: ‘Richard of York gave battle in vain’ (i.e. red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet). If such a mnemonic were a medieval Irish gloss, it would surely appear highly convoluted; but it is nonetheless an effective learning device.

⁴ As Kelly has discussed, the legal tradition adapted over time though the Old Irish texts remained the authoritative source (Kelly, *Treatise*, pp. 13–29, particularly p. 33).

⁵ For example *comairle* ‘advice’, which survives in Modern Irish as *comhairle*. See Appendix 1 for further examples.

⁶ Charles-Edwards, ‘*Corpus Iuris Hibernici*’, p. 148.

⁷ See Chapter 5.1.

that of the etymon, but the written characters do mirror one another. Were etymologies in fact compiled, as Charles-Edwards has suggested, by ‘someone who composes to be read’?¹

So far we have considered the spoken impact of syllabic etymological glosses, but our sources for etymological glosses are written. Speaking of the training of poets in the 15th–17th centuries, McManus noted that ‘reading, writing and a strong memory were the qualifications required of a student’.² Considering the traditional overlap between law and poetry, as set out in Chapter 1, we can assume that the same can be said for legal pupils in this period. Taking down dictation was one of a pupil’s jobs, and the vast quantities of glossing and commentary generated imply that a serious amount of writing was part of a pupil’s responsibilities. Discussing written and oral instruction in Irish law, Kelly has commented that ‘it is difficult to envisage even the most gifted student being able to memorise the intricate prose of texts such as *BB* or *Bretha Crólige*’.³

An obvious parallel is with Shakespearean actors, who regularly memorise vast quantities of text; memorising *Bechbretha* would not pose a serious challenge to such a person. There is a danger of projecting our understanding of Old Irish legal training to the later period, by which time it is not so clear how recitation of Old Irish law texts fitted into the medieval legal tradition. It is perhaps more likely to have been the case that not every phrase in a law text had to be memorised, but rather those which were considered most important. One platform for such phrases might have been in legal pleadings, wherein reference to the authoritative status of the Old Irish law texts would demonstrate legal precedent and the skill of the lawyer. Regarding etymological glosses specifically, I would be hesitant to argue a total absence of orality. Considering the strong phonological connection between the lemma and etymology in syllabic etymology, I would argue that pupils were concerned more with phonetic similarity and assonance than a true phonetic rendering, as an entry point to recall the Old Irish word (and from there its correct pronunciation, where it differs from the etymology). Further, the absence of any working out on the page for etymological glosses implies that pupils were taken through the steps aloud, under the guidance of a teacher. The processes involved in syllabic etymology could just as easily served their purpose in written form, provided that the reader understood those processes. Otherwise, if confronted with an etymological gloss such as *úasal-biatar* ‘nobly fed’, a pupil may miss the connection to the lemma *arbiatar* ‘[food-rent] is supplied’, rendering

¹ Charles-Edwards, *ibid.* As I have demonstrated previously in this chapter, the function of Isidorean-style etymology differed to that of syllabic etymology. The question of whether etymological glosses were intended to be spoken aloud or read on the page applies to glossing in general.

² McManus, ‘Bardic poet’, p. 102.

³ Kelly, *Treatise*, p. 40.

the etymological gloss redundant.¹ The audience capacity of a written gloss will be substantially less than its teaching aloud in a class where it can reach multiple pupils at once. However, should the pupil have already been introduced to the processes, he could engage with and benefit from a written etymological gloss.

There is no reason why etymological glosses could not have functioned both on and off the page, as triggers for scholarly recitation and in-class discussion or as prompts for independent, book-based learning. Charles-Edwards has suggested that law texts were read out and provided with an oral commentary, and that ‘the preparation for such teaching may be the ultimate origin of the earliest written glosses’;² this is doubtless the case for etymological glosses also. If, as I suspect, etymological processes were first introduced in the classroom, then what we see in the glosses of the law texts may be a written record, for the benefit of the teacher (as a teaching prompt) or the pupil (as a reminder of how to memorise a certain passage). That etymological glosses originated within a classroom environment also accounts for the repetition – an integral element of teaching to drill information into pupils’ minds – often found with syllabic etymology.³

This hypothesis has been based on legal education at a novice level, while the pupil learns the basics of the Old Irish texts. Such learning would stem from the classroom, guided by the teacher, which would equip the progressing pupil for independent study. The regularity of the lexicon used in etymological glosses across Sections A and B of the sample group manuscript suggests that syllabic etymology was common to more than one school.⁴ In any case, we know that syllabic etymological processes were sufficiently established within the legal environment not to warrant explanation on the page. Surviving evidence suggests that *SM* texts accrued a much greater volume of glossing than *BN* texts.⁵ *BN* texts were presumably reserved for advanced pupils, who had sufficient grasp of the older language to work with the challenging *BN* material without the need for comparatively basic memorisation and explanation techniques.

An interest in word-play also appears in less formal situations in the law school. Much can be gleaned about day-to-day school life in the mid-16th century from marginalia in British Library Egerton 88, a manuscript written by legal pupils under the supervision of Domhnall

¹ *CUT*, § 79.

² Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer’, p. 35.

³ Repetition of etymologies throughout a particular text would also allow that text to be accessed at any point, rather like a reference book, making it useful course material.

⁴ Lawyers travelled frequently to different schools, and this may explain the consistency in style of syllabic etymology in the law texts. A more comprehensive study would need to be made of all existing examples of syllabic etymology (which would be well over a thousand) before arguing this point with any more certainty.

⁵ As a number of *glossae collectae* (including *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC*, discussed in Part II) inform us, glossing on *BN* did exist at one time.

O'Davoren.¹ Many of the comments would resonate with a modern-day pupil: light-hearted jibes at the teacher and between fellow pupils;² complaints about the quality of food and being overworked;³ and gossip about girls, drink, and gambling.⁴ In these comments we also see skill and enjoyment with word deconstruction, assonance, and ciphers. Creativity in word-play seems to have been encouraged. Examples of word-play include the phonetic similarities between *muc* 'pig' and *mac* 'son';⁵ substitution of the Irish equivalent *mór* 'great' for the hibernicised Norse personal name Manus 'great';⁶ the anagram *comrac* 'fight, quarrel' for the personal name Cormac;⁷ and a technical, enigmatical entry on refusal.⁸ Domhnall himself records 'traps' designed to puzzle pupils, using ciphers or allusions to other texts.⁹

Of particular interest to this discussion are those examples of more explicitly etymological marginalia. One comment by Domhnall analyses his name as consisting of *doman* 'the world' and *nuall* 'noise, report'.¹⁰ In the same comment he cites *Cáin Fhuithirbe*, a legal text from the 7th century. This comment was a challenge to test the skill of his pupils: 'and he that for the purpose is most apt, let him understand what is the analysis of the word '*domhnall*'; to which end let him have this much by way of help...'.¹¹ Through word-play and reference to a much earlier legal tract – one that was presumably familiar to the students (or those sufficiently industrious) – we see etymology still used as a learning tool in the classroom of the 16th century.

The beginning of Part I looked at the features of etymological glossing which contributed to their negative assessment by Bergin and Binchy, among others. This included an apparent lack of understanding of grammar; the seemingly mechanical process by which etymologies were generated; repetition; and explanations which follow an etymology. Instead, we have seen that the etymological process is nuanced, and all of these features have value and purpose in a learning environment. Flexibility with grammar permits a fluid and practical way of

¹ Kelly, *Treatise*, pp. 33–5. For a general overview of the later law schools and a description of this manuscript, see above pp. 3–5.

² e.g. O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 128 and 133 §§ 73 and 92 (complaint that the pupil is slaving away from Domhnall, and an exchange between Domhnall and his kinsman Maghnus).

³ e.g. O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 118 and 128 §§ 28 and 72 (complaints that Domhnall's larder was empty and how tired the scribe is at his work).

⁴ e.g. O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 130, 136–7 §§ 79, 105, and 108 (observation that a certain Conn 'never would desist from running after the women', that a fellow scholar's alcohol intake makes him a slack worker, and gambling on horses). For badly behaved apprentice poets, see Breatnach, '*Araile felmac féig don Mumain*', pp. 120–33.

⁵ O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 133–4 § 97.

⁶ O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 137–8 § 110.

⁷ O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 133 § 94.

⁸ O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 115 § 20.

⁹ e.g. O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 125 § 63, pp. 140–1 § 113.

¹⁰ O'Grady, *Catalogue*, pp. 140–1 § 113.

¹¹ Translation O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 140 § 113. That at least one pupil solved the riddle is evidenced elsewhere in the same manuscript, where the pupil repeats the etymology *nuall domain* in an address to Domhnall (O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 129 § 81).

recycling etyma into new works; variable semantic weight allows the meaning of the etymology to impact on the sense of the gloss as far as is relevant; repetition aids learning; and explanations which follow an etymology emphasise and highlight the connection between the etymology and the etymon. From a teaching perspective, far from being nonsensical, association of sounds and meaning and adaptation to context would be useful and practical.

Formal connection aids memory, and phonology is used effectively in syllabic etymology to preserve the form of the etymon through the etymology, carried by neutral or variable semantic meaning. In this respect, Binchy's dismissive observation of 'the only condition [of generating an etymology] being that the word-groups shall each bear some relation to the sound of the word glossed' in fact largely holds true – albeit not in the way that he imagined.¹

¹ Binchy, 'Linguistic and Historical Value', p. 20.

PART II

8 A STUDY IN *GLOSSAE COLLECTAE*

Part I has been an exercise in viewing etymological glosses in context. Although glossing styles in medieval Irish legal texts as a whole requires further research, this section has demonstrated that, as a means to break down and render main text, etymology is not especially remarkable; it is simply one of a number of glossing methods which may work separately or collaboratively, across the length of a text or localised to a specific passage, using basic or technical terminology.¹ To view etymological glosses in isolation is to see only a fraction of the broad, complex, and varied glossing apparatus at the glossators' disposal.

Where Part I has looked at syllabic etymology in in-text glossing, in which the etymological process works directly with the immediate context of both the lemma and the gloss in which the etymology is embedded. Part II moves from annotated base texts to glosses which have been extracted from a base text and placed into a separate document (*glossae collectae*). *Glossae collectae* are a stage further in the glossarial process; the glossator is no longer working solely with the base text, but with an auxiliary document which may be augmented with supplementary material from other sources. Where they still rely on the base text for context and order, it is possible to identify different stages in the transition from base text-dependent to independent glossary. Sets of *glossae collectae* are therefore an opportunity to understand how and why ancillary material grew from individual glosses on specific words in a base text (like etymological glosses) to independent collections of glosses which may relate to multiple base texts.

Glossae collectae tend to be shorter and more fragmentary than larger collections such as *SC* and O'Dav., and as a result can be studied as an individual unit of scribal work more easily than longer compilations. Part II will first provide a summary of *glossae collectae* in *CIH* before

¹ Owing to their composite nature, it is difficult to identify layers of glossing within a particular text. A newly glossed copy of a text may have incorporated multiple layers of previous glossing from different versions alongside any new material. The next stage in examining the rôles and methods of glossing in the law texts is to compare different versions of the same text.

turning to a detailed study of two *glossae collectae*, Aidbriugh-*GC* and Adhmad-*GC*, to consider how they work and how they relate to their base text *Bretha Nemed Dédenach*.

The appendix to this section is divided into three parts: Appendices 2 and 3 contain images, text, and translation of Aidbriugh-*GC* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 61–62 = *CIH* ii.603.16–604.38); Appendices 4 and 5 contain images, text, and translation of Adhmad-*GC* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 422 = *CIH* iii.953.10–954.24); and Appendix 6 contains images of the distribution of lemmata in *BND-H*. It is recommended that the appendices be used alongside the discussion. Note also that the usage of the term *lemma* differs in Part II, where it is used less technically than Part I to refer to a headword within a set of glosses.

The following is a summary of the existing identified legal *glossae collectae* in *CIH*.¹ This summary is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather a point from which further research may begin. These *glossae collectae* have not yet been edited or translated; I have named them after their first lemma in keeping with Aidbriugh-*GC* and Adhmad-*GC*, both of which are discussed in detail below.

Ni Tulach- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 284–287	(<i>CIH</i> iii.809.3–812.8)
Bothar- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 288–289	(<i>CIH</i> iii.813.25–814.15)
Fonnaidh- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 638 ^c –640 ^b	(<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.15–1081.36)
Breth- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 649 ^b –654 ^b	(<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.1–1098.42)
Cotainside- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 15	(<i>CIH</i> v.1540.10–26)
Arra- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 60 ^b 12–62A	(<i>CIH</i> v.1558.16–1560.27)
Mat- <i>GC</i>	TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67 ^a –67 ^b	(<i>CIH</i> v.1565.32–1566.37)
Gormac- <i>GC</i>	TCD H. 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67A–67B	(<i>CIH</i> v.1568.1–1569.43)

A word must first be said about the date of these sets of *glossae collectae*. A cursory overview of the contents of the sets of *glossae collectae* in the sample group suggest a late Middle/Early Modern Irish date for the compilation of the *glossae collectae* as we now have them. Each of these *glossae collectae* show a range of linguistic forms and features, which is to be expected of the many layers that are typically accumulated in the transmission of glossarial material. Unpicking these layers requires examining each component of a gloss individually, and

¹ Aidbriugh-*GC* (*CIH* ii.603.16–604.38) and Adhmad-*GC* (*CIH* iii.953.10–954.24) are excluded from this summary as they form the body of Part II. In making this summary I have used *CIH* and Breatnach's *Companion* as a guide. Undoubtedly more legal *glossae collectae* will come to light as composite manuscripts like TCD H 3. 18 (1337) are catalogued more thoroughly. A revised catalogue of TCD H 3. 18 (1337) is currently being produced by Chantal Kobel.

is beyond the scope of the present discussion. Owing to their compilatory nature, any attempt at dating *glossae collectae* is fraught with the danger of oversimplifying and/or generalisation. By their nature, glossarial documents are working with an earlier stratum (or strata) of language (or languages): the language of the lemma; the language of the initial explanatory gloss; the language of the citation; and the language of any additional material that may have been absorbed into the gloss entry over time. Often we are dealing with fragmentary phrases or single words, which makes it difficult to establish cases (Mat-GC is a particularly good example of this, as it is mostly composed of single-word lemmata). Where the lemma clearly shows archaic elements and is accompanying by linguistically later glossing, an entry can provide an insight into the way in which the later glossators were interpreting the morphology and semantics of a particular Old Irish word. However, variation between Old and Middle/Early Modern Irish sometimes occurs within the citation. Ni Tulach-GC, for example, contains a number of Middle/Early Modern forms in citations, including the definite article *an* (for Old Irish *in*);¹ and Breth-GC uses the Middle Irish conjunct ending *-enn* in some citations.² Conversely, these later scribes frequently archaised, as Mac Gearailt has pointed out, so that an Old Irish form may have been generated and glossed in the later period.³

As a result, any discussion of dating must take into account several layers of language at once. Further, one entry may have been copied and collated with earlier or later material, so that while one may give a reasonable estimation for the period of one entry, the same estimation may not apply to any of the surrounding gloss material. For this reason I leave any detailed discussion – of both gloss material and citations within entries – for a future study after more groundwork has been undertaken into the different processes behind sets of *glossae collectae*.

Ni Tulach-GC, Cotainiside-GC, and Arra-GC share material from a common exemplar, and so it is possible to construct some sense of relative chronology where this material overlaps.⁴ A brief comparison of forms between Ni Tulach-GC and Cotainiside-GC suggests that Cotainiside-GC is a slightly later version, as in the following example:

Ni Tulach-GC CIH iii.809.5–6

sēol .i. caíle *nō* ganugud, ut est seol n-eatha

¹ *an* (for *in*) = Ni Tulach-GC CIH iii.810.30, 38. For *in* > *an* see SnG IV § 2.4 (13).

² e.g. Breth-GC CIH iii.1093.35–6 (column c), 1097.5, 1098.2.

³ Mac Gearailt, 'Middle Irish archaisms,' p. 116.

⁴ Ni Tulach-GC CIH iii.809.3–30, Cotainiside-GC CIH v.1540.10–26, Arra-GC CIH v.1558.16–27.

Cotainmside-*GC CIH* v.1540.12

sēol .i. caíle no ganmū, ut est seol n-eatha

The verbal noun *gannugud* (DIL < *gannaigid* ?) ‘making scarce’ in Ni Tulach-*GC* has been updated in Cotainmside-*GC* to *gannú*, no longer preserving the full value of the ending *-ugud*. Ni Tulach-*GC* shows some later forms in comparison with Arra-*GC*, for example:

Ni Tulach-*GC CIH* iii.809.21–2

dindís .i. luigi, ut est atsuidh dindís

Arra-*GC CIH* v.1558.18–19

dindis .i. luighi, ut est atsaigh dinnis

The 3rd sg. pres. *atsaigh* in Arra-*GC* has been updated in Ni Tulach-*GC* to *atsuidh*, showing the falling together of final <-d> /ð/ and <-g> /ɣ/ in Middle Irish, which may suggest that Ni Tulach-*GC* is slightly later than Arra-*GC*.¹ Likewise the coalescence of <nn> and <nd> in *dinnis*/ *dindís*. These are comparatively minor changes (compared to Middle Irish developments in, for example, the verbal and pronominal system). This example is fairly typical of the limitations when working with glosses; where it is possible to make direct comparisons of glosses, it is often the case that there is insufficient context or evidence to make any definitive conclusions.

Note that for the table of references in the discussions of *glossae collectae*, a single asterisk indicates a reference provided in *CIH*; a double asterisk a reference provided by Breatnach in the *Companion*;² and a triple asterisk indicates a reference provided by Pearson.³ No asterisk indicates a reference which I have identified.

¹ *SnG* IV § 2.11.

² References provided by Breatnach are listed under the relevant *CIH* entry in his summary of the contents of *CIH* (*Companion*, pp. 13–91).

³ Pearson, ‘A Medieval Glossary’, pp. 61–83.

8.1 Ni Tulach-GC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 284–287)¹

The layout of Ni Tulach-GC is continuous prose, with the text running across the full width of the page. The page measures approximately 18cm × 12cm. Ni Tulach-GC is directly followed on p. 287 by commentary on deposits;² this text is written in the same hand and in the same layout as Ni Tulach-GC. The commentary on deposits is in turn directly followed by Bothar-GC (see below s.v. Bothar-GC), also in the same hand and the same layout. The majority of lemmata in Ni Tulach-GC are not distinguished visually, but instead maintain the same size script as the gloss. Only three lemmata are capitalised in larger script and set aside slightly in the right hand margin: *ni tulach*;³ *feidbid*;⁴ and *inann*.⁵

There are two fragments inserted in between pp. 285 and 286, which do not appear to belong to Ni Tulach-GC and are not printed in *CIH* although they are legal in content.⁶ They are denoted pp. 285a and 285b in the manuscript. Both fragments have been sewn into the binding, and were not written the by scribe of Ni Tulach-GC. The bottom fragment in p. 285b (i.e. verso) is blank, except where the page number and position has been added in pencil by cataloguers. The recto side (i.e. p. 285a) is written with a different pen on what looks like different vellum.

In content, Ni Tulach-GC forms a group with Arra-GC and Cotaimside-GC. The beginning of Ni Tulach-GC as printed in *CIH* corresponds to Cotaimside-GC (*CIH* iii.809.5–19 = *CIH* v.1540.11–26 respectively). Following O’Curry, Binchy did not transcribe the very beginning of Ni Tulach-GC owing to manuscript staining save for the first eight words: *Ni tulach fri tuirigin .t. .i. airbert an focail*.⁷ The result is that 24 lines of the manuscript are omitted from *CIH* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 284 lines 2–25). Although some of the script is obscured, it is possible to make out the script of the less badly affected sections of the page, mostly the left hand side. Using Cotaimside-GC as a guide, the entry directly preceding *docoiset* (Ni Tulach-GC *CIH* iii.809.5) can be restored as follows:⁸

[Cotaimside] .i. [ainmni]ugud ut est cē conaimadar fīadnaisi ar tūs a n-ērimn.

¹ = *CIH* iii.809.3–812.8.

² See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 36 s.v. 808.32.

³ MS TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 284 = *CIH* iii.809.4.

⁴ MS TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 285 = *CIH* iii.810.26.

⁵ MS TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 286 = *CIH* iii.811.22.

⁶ Abbott and Gwynn describe these fragments as ‘two small slips’, and notes that O’Curry believed their contents belonged to Ni Tulach-GC (Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 147).

⁷ = *CIH* iii.809.3.

⁸ Square brackets indicate sections which have been obscured owing to staining, and have been taken from the corresponding material in Cotaimside-GC.

Binchy noted in *CIH* that the opening of Ni Tulach-GC (*CIH* iii.809.3) corresponds to that in *SC* Y.1123–4 on the basis of the lemma *tuirigin* and the phrase *ni tulach fri tuirigin .t.*¹ However, from what can be seen, it looks as though the beginning of Ni Tulach-GC is a much longer discussion of *tulach* than that preserved in *SC*. The word *tulach* itself is repeated several times throughout this passage (e.g. MS ll. 3, 4, 8, 11, 16), twice in the structure *.t. tulach* (MS ll. 8, 11). The word *airbert*, which does not occur in the existing versions of *SC* Y.1224, also occurs frequently (e.g. MS ll. 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15). While only a section of this passage is readable, the fact that similar words recur throughout suggest that this passage is one single entry, or – if multiple entries – on one single topic. This passage also contains an example (*deismerachta aile* = MS l. 7), although I am unable to read the following words of the example itself, and the phrase *adurramar* ‘[as] we said’ (MS l. 13).

The subsequent remaining material in Ni Tulach-GC (i.e. *CIH* iii.809.19–812.8) corresponds almost identically to the whole of Arra-GC. Ni Tulach-GC has eight entries which Arra-GC lacks;² and a short section of what appears to be commentary.³ With the exception of the additional citations in Ni Tulach-GC, there is very little lexical difference between the two *glossae collectae*. Additional glosses sometimes occur, in both Ni Tulach-GC and Arra-GC: e.g. Ni Tulach-GC *CIH* iii.810.26–7 = Arra-GC *CIH* v.1558.28; Arra-GC *CIH* v.1559.23–4 = Ni Tulach-GC *CIH* iii.811.17–18. As a result, it is difficult to identify a direction of transmission. Ni Tulach-GC is longer as it contains the material found in Cotainiside-GC as well as that in Arra-GC, which may suggest that it has undergone more layers of development than Arra-GC and is therefore a development of both Cotainiside-GC and Arra-GC. In favour of this are the contrastive entries *connail* and *ecunnail* which cite from *Oaths*, § 6. In Arra-GC, these entries form a continuous block:

Arra-GC (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 61B = *CIH* v.1559.30–2)

cunnail .i. crina †^aforfidh^a † in^mraic ut est ^binti roba cunnail cⁱn bethaid^b. ecunnail .i. eisin^mraic ut est ^bmad ecunnail fri bás^b.

‘Constant i.e. wise or perfect or worthy, *ut est*: ^b‘who was constant during his lifetime’^b.
 Inconstant i.e. unworthy, *ut est*: ^b‘if he is wavering at the time of death’^b.’

¹ *SC* Y.1223–4 = *SC* B.677, H1a.1166, H1b.1258, K.1231, La. 222, M. 656.

² = *CIH* iii.809.30–810.1 s.v. *oidbis*, 810.2 s.v. *bert* and *frithbert* (these are contrastive glosses and may be one entry), 810.7 s.v. *ambra*, 811.11–12 s.v. *derosc*, 811.12 s.v. *direm*, 811.21 s.v. *gnim*, 812.3 s.v. *saici*.

³ = *CIH* iii.811.22–3.

^{a-a} read *foirbthe*(?) based on corresponding material in Ni Tulach-GC (see below).

^{b-b} transl. Breatnach, *Oaths*, § 6.

^{c-c} for *i mbethaid*.

This may be contrasted with the corresponding material in Ni Tulach-GC:

Ni Tulach-GC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 286 = *CIH* iii.811.19–21, 28–9

(*CIH* iii.811.19–21) *condail .i. crínda ł fóirbthe econmail .i. ecrinna ut est ^ama econmail fri bas cerbo cumail ina slainti^a* (*CIH* iii.811.28–9) *condail .i. indric ut est ^ainti robo conmail ina bethaig is conmail fri bas^a*

‘Constant i.e. wise or perfect. Inconstant i.e. unwise, *ut est*: ^a‘if he is wavering at the time of death, however constant was he when in health’^a. Constant i.e. worthy, *ut est*: ^a‘who was constant during his lifetime and is constant at the time of death’^a.

^{a-a} transl. Breatnach, *Oaths*, § 6.

In Breth-GC, the corresponding entry occurs at TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 653^{b.1}

Conmail .i. inmaic ut est ^aintí roba chunmail ina bethaidh 7 is cunmail fri bás^a.

‘Constant i.e. worthy, *ut est*: ^a‘who was constant during his lifetime, and is constant at the time of death’^a.’

^{a-a} transl. Breatnach, *Oaths*, § 6.

It is unclear in which direction the transmission of information between Ni Tulach-GC and Arra-GC travelled. In Ni Tulach-GC the entry *folongad* consists of provides one lemma, one gloss, and a citation with a final gloss attached (*CIH* iii.810.37–9). By contrast, in Arra-GC the same citation is split into three entries under the lemmata *folongat*, *arnach ruille*, and *donaisc* (*CIH* v.1559.4–7).² There are otherwise only very minor lexical variations between the two *glossae*

¹ = *CIH* iii.1097.18.

² This type of restructuring also occurs in O’Dav., e.g. O’Dav. §§ 221, 613, 1433 (see Appendix 5 s.v. *déis*).

collectae;¹ and very occasionally the order of the entries differs. The only major difference in order is the final block of Arra-*GC* (*CIH* v.1560.6–26) which corresponds to a medial block in Ni Tulach-*GC* (*CIH* iii.810.2–25). The sections in Ni Tulach-*GC* and Arra-*GC* correspond as follows:²

ARRA- <i>GC</i>	corresponds to	NI TULACH- <i>GC</i>
<i>CIH</i> v.1558.16–27		<i>CIH</i> iii.809.19–30
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.809.30–810.1 (<i>oidhis</i>)
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.810.2 (<i>bert</i> and <i>frithbert</i>)
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.810.7 (<i>ambra</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1558.27–1559.18		<i>CIH</i> iii.810.26–811.11
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.11–12 (<i>derosc</i> and <i>direm</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.18–25		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.12–19
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.21–3 (<i>gnim</i> + commentary)
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.25–30		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.23–7
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.30–2 (<i>cunnail .i. crina...</i>)		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.19–20
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.30–2 (<i>cunnaili. innraic</i>)		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.27–9
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.32–42		<i>CIH</i> iii.811.29–812.3
–		<i>CIH</i> iii.812.3 (<i>saici</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1559.42–1560.5		<i>CIH</i> iii.812.3–8
<i>CIH</i> v.1560.6		<i>CIH</i> iii.810.1 ³
<i>CIH</i> v.1560.6–26		<i>CIH</i> iii.810.2–25

Further investigation into these *glossae collectae* is required to ascertain the extent to which they overlap. It is suffice to say for the purposes of the present discussion that both Ni Tulach-*GC* and Arra-*GC* derived from a common source.

The next table shows the references identified so far in Ni Tulach-*GC*.⁴ I have not included references to Arra-*GC* or Cotainiside-*GC*, as these have been discussed above. Descriptions of citations with commentary have been taken from the *Companion*. Where an O'Dav. reference occurs within a particular text block, I provide the relevant text next to the entry paragraph.⁵

¹ Note the Latin gloss *eleghitum* in Ni Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.812.4 for *oplitium* in Arra-*GC* *CIH* v.1560.1.

² In the following table, the concordance between Arra-*GC* and Ni Tulach-*GC* is provided according to the order of Arra-*GC*, on the basis that it is less developed (and so closer to the base text) than Ni Tulach-*GC* and therefore provides the exemplar (or a version thereof) from which Ni Tulach-*GC* was working and expanding.

³ The lemma and gloss of the citation at Ni Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.810.1 can be restored from Arra-*GC* *CIH* v.1560.5–6 as *Ni haghatar .i. ni beacail*

⁴ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163.

⁵ For further details on O'Dav. entries, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 109–56 under the relevant entry.

NI TULACH-GC	REFERENCES
not printed in <i>CIH</i> ¹	** <i>CIH</i> vi.1982.38 ² (<i>Dúil</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.5–6	<i>Recholl Breth</i> , p. 176
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.7	*O'Dav. § 1367
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.10	<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.24 (Ni Tulach-GC) (= <i>CIH</i> v.1540.16–17 (Cotainiside-GC)) = *O'Dav. § 1368
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.10–11	<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.25 (Ni Tulach-GC) (= <i>CIH</i> v.1540.17 (Cotainiside-GC))
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.16	* <i>CIH</i> iii.1088.30ff (citations + commentary on a variety of legal topics)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.22	* <i>CIH</i> ii.656.30 (citations + commentary on a variety of legal topics)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.22	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1414.16 (citations + commentary on oaths and evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.24	**O'Dav. § 900
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.24	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1417.24 (citations + commentary on persons not entitled to give evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.26–8	<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.27 (Breth-GC)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.27	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1421.4 (citations + commentary on persons not entitled to give evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.28	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1415.18 (citations + commentary on oaths and evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.809.29	* <i>CIH</i> iv.1419.27ff (citations + commentary on persons not entitled to give evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.1	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1419.35 (citations + commentary on persons not entitled to give evidence)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.2	* <i>CIH</i> i.46.37 (<i>SM2</i> , 9 <i>Sechtae</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.3	* <i>CIH</i> iii.815.7 (<i>SM3</i> , 35 Injury-Tract (fragments from))
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.5	** <i>CIH</i> iii.982.30 (citations + commentary on a variety of legal topics)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.11	*O'Dav. § 1175
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.13	**O'Dav. § 899(2)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.15	**O'Dav. § 1588(2) = <i>CIH</i> iii.1097.22–3 (Ni Tulach-GC)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.23–5	*O'Dav. § 1589
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.26–7	<i>CIH</i> iii.953.10 (Adhmad-GC)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.32–3	* <i>CIH</i> iii.1097.5 (Breth-GC)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.38–9	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1204.8 (citations + commentary on counter-claims)
<i>CIH</i> iii.810.39–811.1	** <i>CIH</i> iii.1126.40 (<i>BND</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.4–5	**Adhart-GC, § 122 *O'Dav. § 817
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.5–6	* <i>CIH</i> iii.1097.13 (Breth-GC)

¹ = Cotainiside-GC *CIH* v.1540.10.

² See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 247.

NI TULACH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.9	* <i>CIH</i> i.73.1 (<i>SM2</i> , 10 <i>Bretha Comaithchesa</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.15–17	*O'Dav. § 1594
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.16	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1245.10 (<i>Antéchtæ</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.19–21	* <i>CIH</i> iv.1192.23ff; <i>CIH</i> iii.1097.18 (<i>Breth-GC</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.27	* <i>CIH</i> iii.1051.11ff (<i>SM2</i> , 9 <i>Sechtæ</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.28–9	* <i>Oaths</i> , § 6; <i>CIH</i> iii.1097.18 (<i>Breth-GC</i>); * <i>CIH</i> v.1559.32–3 (<i>Arra-GC</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.32–3	*O'Dav. § 267
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.34	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2082.4f (citations + commentary on assault &c. from <i>Cáin Phátraic</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.36–7	*O'Dav. § 460
<i>CIH</i> iii.811.37	** <i>CIH</i> iv.1382.2 (<i>Digest</i> (B56))
<i>CIH</i> iii.812.2	* <i>CIH</i> ii.538.17 (<i>Míadslechtæ</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.812.3	* <i>CIH</i> v.1572.24f (citations + commentary on liability for offences of a deceased person)
<i>CIH</i> iii.812.7	* <i>CIH</i> ii.584.19 (<i>Míadslechtæ</i>)

Notable here is the amount of other secondary material, particularly commentary; only nine of the identifiable references are primary legal material sources. Nor are references from one particular text blocked together; the way in which entries from one text are interspersed with those from another implies that internal reordering has begun to occur.

Ni Tulach-GC and Arra-GC preserve a stanza under the lemma *othar* (Ni Tulach-GC (*CIH* iii.809.20–1) = Arra-GC (*CIH* v.1558.17–19)), which describes a stipend paid by kings and warriors except Dubthach (presumably Dubthach maccu Lugair).¹

8.2 Bothar-GC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 288–289)²

Bothar-GC runs from the middle of p. 288 to the first third of p. 289 in the manuscript. This page measures approximately 18cm × 12 cm, and in addition to Bothar-GC contains citations with commentary (p. 288);³ and material on failure to fulfil certain legal obligations (p.

¹ I hope to discuss the entries containing verse in this set of *glossae collectae* elsewhere.

² = *CIH* iii.813.25–814.15.

³ = *CIH* iii.812.9–813.24. See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 36.

289).¹ The majority of Bothar-*GC* (from *CIH* iii.813.30 *inni romainn...* to the end) was written by the same hand as Ni Tulach-*GC*. The script of the first eight lines of Bothar-*GC* and the last one and a half lines of the preceding text (i.e. MS p. 288 ll. 21–30) was written by a separate hand to the rest of Bothar-*GC*, who uses much larger script and a flat *ocus* symbol (in contrast to the small script and distinctive, rather spikey *ocus* symbol used in Ni Tulach-*GC* and Bothar-*GC*). The script otherwise is tightly spaced together with no space left for interlinear glossing. The second half of Bothar-*GC* is predominantly word lists of single-word (or otherwise very short) glosses, and a number of these use the citation as the lemma.² Note also two glosses which omit *.i.* ‘i.e.’ and use *ainm ar/do* ‘[it is] a name for’ instead;³ and the comparatively unusual use of Latin in the entry *ord bennacht aimargin* (*CIH* iii.814.3–4).⁴

Bothar-*GC* runs across the full width of the page, and, with the exception of the first letter of the initial word (i.e. *bothar*), lemmata are not visually distinguished, but presented through the text in the same size script as the gloss. The same layout is used in Bothar-*GC* and Ni Tulach-*GC*. There are two sets of marginalia on p. 288 which are not included in *CIH*. The marginalia at the bottom of p. 288 reads: *Dubhaltoch mac fhirbhisigh sa leabhar* ‘Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, whose book [it is].’⁵ The marginalia at the top of p. 288 reads:

ba 7 bath 7 bás 7 teime 7 ^adíbad^a ag sluinde do eibéiltin 7 deismírecht air. Maith abada maith a bas. maith a díbaid^b fordaengans^b. folith rolúid a teime. ^ccolam aedhba aingil^c

‘*Ba* and *bath* and *bás* and *dibaid* and ^a‘inheritance’^a [are words] expressing your death, and an example of it: “^bGood his death^b, good ^bhis death^b, good his inheritance ^bregarding human-custom^b, ^cgracious angelic Columba^c went luckily(?) to his death”.’

^a I follow Bisagni in understanding *díbad* as ‘inheritance’ here, rather than its other sense ‘destruction’.⁶

¹ = *CIH* iii.814.16–815.6. See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 36.

² e.g. *ord bennacht aimargin* (*CIH* iii.814.3–4), *maine millscothach ina charbaidh* (*CIH* iii.814.7–8), *forgo .s. do sennadh* (*CIH* iii.814.8–9), *torbais concubar innisin* (*CIH* iii.814.10), *amradh briga son* (*CIH* iii.814.11), *cía fil sunn ar fer dib mac bec docoidh for esla* (*CIH* iii.814.11–12).

³ *tuachail ainm ar gliga* (*CIH* iii.814.12), *cuilchi ainm don brat roinigh* (*CIH* iii.814.15).

⁴ i.e. *oraisio .i. guidh* ‘oratio i.e. speech’.

⁵ Ó Muraíle notes a different example of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh’s signature in this manuscript = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 349 (Ó Muraíle, ‘Celebrated Antiquary’, p. 86). The two signatures match in handwriting, with the exception of <f> and <r> which are stylistically different. Based on Ó Muraíle’s discussion of dating regarding Mac Fhirbhisigh’s signatures, that in Bothar-*GC* can be dated to the early 1640s (Ó Muraíle, ‘Celebrated Antiquary’, pp. 86–7).

⁶ Bisagni, *ACC*, pp. 268–9 § II s.v. *fó díbath Dé aingil* ‘good the legacy of God’s angel’. For the references in Bothar-*GC* to *ACC*, see table below.

^{b-b} read *for dóengnas* based on Rawlinson *ACC* (Ox. Bodl. Rawl. B 502 p. 57r l. 17).

^{c-c} marg. dex.

This material occurs in the commentary to *ACC*. The corresponding phrase in *LU* p. 9b8–9 under the lemma *fō díbad* ‘good [his] death’ reads: *.i. maith a epiltiu. quia fit díbad ocus bath ocus ba ocus teme ic shui[n]d epiltien* ‘good was his decease, for *díbadh* and *báth* and *bá[s]* and *teme* are (each) expressing ‘decease’ (transl. Stokes).¹ The bulk of the citation quoted in *Bothar-GC* is found in the Rawlinson version of commentary on the *Amra*, to which the corresponding material matches word for word: *maith a bas maith a díbad for dóengnas folith doluid a theme colum oebda anglide* ‘good his death, good his inheritance regarding human-custom; gracious angelic Columba went luckily(?) to his death’.² The beginning of the gloss (from *ba* to *shuinde*) is also similar to material from the glossary to *ACC* in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 611b21–5.³

The following table contains references identified so far in *Bothar-GC*.⁴

BOTHAR-GC	REFERENCES
top margin p. 288 (not printed in <i>CIH</i>)	<i>ACC</i> , § II (glosses = Stokes, ‘Bodleian <i>Amra</i> ’, p. 170 § 31)
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.25–6	<i>CIH</i> v.1580.26–7 (<i>Cáin Fúithirbe</i>) = OM 103 = DDC D1.613
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.26–7	* <i>CIH</i> v.1580.27–8 (<i>Cáin Fúithirbe</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.27	* <i>CIH</i> ii.551.15 (Text deriving from <i>UB</i> and <i>MV</i> II)
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.32	* <i>CIH</i> iii.756.24 (<i>Cáin Fúithirbe</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.37	* <i>CIH</i> v.1566.26 (<i>Mat-GC</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.813.39–814.1	* <i>TBC</i> = YBL ll. 380–2; <i>LU</i> l. 4869; W p. 130 l. 23
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.1	* <i>CIH</i> i.56.21 (<i>SM2</i> , 9 <i>Sechtae</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.1–4	* <i>CIH</i> ii.689.17–19, 23–4 (<i>Cáin Fúithirbe</i>) = <i>CIH</i> iii.756.21–4
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.4	<i>Aidbriugh-GC</i> , s.v. <i>ing nadb</i>
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.8	* <i>CIH</i> ii.227.8f (<i>SM2</i> , 14 <i>Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid</i>)

¹ Best and Bergin, ‘*Lebor na bUidre*’, p. 24 ll. 678–80 = Stokes, ‘Bodleian *Amra*’, p. 170 § 31. The most recent edition of *ACC* (Bisagni, 2019) does not print glosses or commentary.

² = Ox. Bodl. Rawl. B 502 p. 57r ll. 16–17 (ed. and transl. Stokes (adapted), ‘Bodleian *Amra*’, p. 170 § 31).

³ Printed in Stokes, ‘Metrical Glossaries’, pp. 2–3 (see also footnote 2 on p. 3). For a description of this glossary, see Russell, ‘*In aliis libris*’, pp. 66–9.

⁴ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163.

BOTHAR-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.9 (<i>foirtghe</i>)	<i>TBC</i> ¹ = YBL l. 636; <i>LU</i> l. 5120; W p. 137 l. 14
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.9–10 ²	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 548; <i>LU</i> l. 5036; W p. 134 l. 36
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.10 (<i>torbais concubar innisin</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 519; <i>LU</i> ll. 5008–9; W p. 134 ll. 7–8
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.10 (<i>beth</i>)	* <i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 486; <i>LU</i> l. 4975; W p. 133 l. 13
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.10–11	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 571; <i>LU</i> l. 5059; W p. 135 l. 24 (= Breth-GC <i>CIH</i> iii.1096.13–14 column c)
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.11–12	<i>TBC</i> = YBL ll. 639–40; <i>LU</i> ll. 5123–4; W p. 137 l. 17 (= Breth-GC <i>CIH</i> iii.1096.16–19 column c)
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.12 (<i>tuachail</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 662; <i>LU</i> l. 5145; W p. 137 l. 38; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 2
<i>CIH</i> iii.814.15 (<i>cuilchi</i>)	Adhart-GC, § 77 ³

The references in Bothar-GC are diverse and contain both legal and literary material. Of the identified references, the sources most cited from are *Cáin Fuithirbe* and *TBC*.⁴ Note also the reference to *Bratha Banbáin* ‘the Judgements of Banbán’ (*CIH* iii.813.27).⁵

The only significant continuous block of material relating to the same text is that relating to *TBC*. With the exception of that at *CIH* iii.813.39–814.1, the entries relating to *TBC* appear to form a continuous block within Bothar-GC from *foirtghe* (*CIH* iii.814.9) to *tuachail* (*CIH* iii.814.12). Within this block there are two consecutive single-word lemmata with single-word glosses which do not seem to occur in *TBC*: *bann* and *doa* (*CIH* iii.814.9).⁶ Because they are only single-word entries, their context is unclear. I print the *TBC* block here:

¹ The entry in Bothar-GC is a single-word lemma and single-word gloss. The lemma, *foirtghe* (for *fortche*) also occurs later on in *TBC* (i.e. YBL l. 2934). However, given the clustering of the lemmata extracted from *TBC*, the former (i.e. *TBC* YBL l. 636; *LU*, l. 1520; W p. 137 l. 14) seems the most likely of the two possible lemmata.

² This entry may instead derive from *Bretha Éitgid*; see below, p. 195 fn. 2.

³ The citation quoted in Adhart-GC, § 77 (but not in Bothar-GC) occurs in a stanza in the text titled *Uga Corbmaic meic Cuilendáin* (RIA 23 N 10 p. 17 line 23 (not including the title header) = ed. Meyer, ‘Mitteilungen’, p. 45).

⁴ For a link between the entry citing Fiachu Sraiptine and characters mentioned in Fonnaidh-GC and Gormac-GC with *Cóir Anmann*, see below, p. 199.

⁵ Expanded from *brath–banbáin*. This is presumably *brátha Banbáin* ‘the judgements of Banbán’ rather than *bratha Banbáin* ‘the betrayals of Banbán’. For Banbán, see Breatnach, ‘Ecclesiastical Element’, pp. 46–7.

⁶ The entry *denmech .i. dimáin* (Bothar-GC *CIH* iii.814.9–12) presumably refers to *TBC* YBL l. 548, which is in the same broad section of text in which the other identifiable lemmata from *TBC* occur. In Fonnaidh-GC, the same lemma and gloss (*deinmech .i. dimainach*) occur with a citation from *Bretha Éitgid* (Fonnaidh-GC *CIH* iii.1078.25–9 = *Bretha Éitgid* *CIH* iii.937.20–3). They are identical lemmata dealing with separate texts. It is possible that the lemma *denmech* in Bothar-GC refers to *Bretha Éitgid*, although the density of *TBC* references in Bothar-GC at this point makes this unlikely.

Bothar-*GC* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 288–9 = *CIH* iii.813.39–814.1, 814.9–12)

(MS p. 288 = *CIH* iii.813.39–814.1)

los .i. barr † erball ut est rogabh~~u~~star in bun~~n~~ach ara los 7rl–

(MS p. 289 = *CIH* iii.814.9–12)

foirtghe .i. etach

bann .i. buille

doa .i. doileigh

denmech .i. dimain

torbais concubar ínnísín .i. dealaighi

beth .i. gnim

amradh briga son .i. becamh

cia fil sunn ar fer dib mac bec docoidh for escla .i. for sen uaire

tuachaill ainm ar gliga

The first entry *los* is stylistically different to the remaining identified *TBC* entries in Bothar-*GC*. Its structure is that common to the larger glossaries such as O'Dav., in which the lemma is a single word, followed by an initial gloss or glosses, and then provided with the citation with the lemma in situ. By contrast, the structure of the entries in continuous block of *TBC* entries has more in common with word lists, in providing very short glosses and demonstrating a variety of structural styles. Three entries use the citation as the lemma (i.e. *torbais concubar ínnísín*, *amradh briga son*, and *cia fil sunn ar fer dib mac bec docoidh for escla*), one lacks *.i.* (i.e. *tuachaill*), and the remaining entries in the continuous block are single-word lemmata with single-word glosses.

The last entry, beginning *tuachaill*, also occurs in *TBC-GC* § 2, in which the entry preserves a longer citation with additional glosses: *foichlid in fer ele .i. fritboil .i. tuachaill a ainm .i. ara*

glica. The hand of *TBC-GC* does not match that of *Bothar-GC* or *Breth-GC* (for the *TBC* glosses of which, see pp. 181–5), nor does it match stylistically.

It is worth noting that the distribution of the lemmata taken from *TBC* is relatively consistent (roughly 30 lines between each lemma in the YBL version). It is possible that, like *TBC-GC*, the unidentified surrounding entries on the *Bothar-GC TBC* block are a witness to another, now lost, version of *TBC*. A third *TBC* block is discussed below under *Breth-GC*.

8.3 Fonnaidh-*GC* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 638^c–640^b)¹

Fonnaidh-*GC* begins on the third column of p. 639, with the first two columns containing material from the preceding text *DDC*.² The text following Fonnaidh-*GC* in the manuscript is *Córus Íubaile*, which appears to be written in the same hand as Fonnaidh-*GC* and *DDC*.³ The pages measure approximately 18cm × 12cm. The structure of Fonnaidh-*GC* is bicolunnar, with a third column created within the first column a third of the way down p. 640. These two small columns set within the first column contain predominantly single-word glosses.⁴ With one or two exceptions, the initials of lemmata are all rubricated, and the initials of lemmata which begin a line are set slightly to the left in the margin. As a whole, there is very little interlinear glossing and no marginalia save *éitged so sí* ‘The following is [from *Bretha*] *Éitgid*’ on the top margin of p. 639. Identified references are mostly legal up to the section break at p. 40a9, at which point legal, literary, and hagiographical material common to Fonnaidh-*GC* and Adhart-*GC* begins.⁵ There are no references to *Bretha Éitgid* in the overlapping material; the heading *éitged so sí* therefore presumably only refers to the first section of Fonnaidh-*GC*.⁶

As noted by Pearson, the material at the end of Fonnaidh-*GC* (*CIH* iii.1080.25–1081.36) directly corresponds (with only one instance of reordering) to that in Adhart-*GC*, §§ 243–86, 288–308 (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 627^b–628^a, ed. Pearson).⁷ The section in Adhart-*GC* continues beyond where Fonnaidh-*GC* finishes by another ten entries (Adhart-*GC*, §§ 309–18).

¹ = *CIH* iii.1078.15–1081.36.

² = *CIH* iii.1069.21–1078.14. See Russell, ‘*Dúil Dromma Cetta*’, p. 147–55.

³ *Córus Íubaile* = *CIH* iii.1082.1–1087.17.

⁴ Fonnaidh-*GC* = *CIH* iii.1080.30–1081.12.

⁵ MS p. 40a9 = *CIH* iii.1080.25.

⁶ MS pp. 638^c–640^a = *CIH* iii.1078.15–1080.24.

⁷ Pearson, ‘A Medieval Glossary’, p. 78 n. 1. Adhart-*GC*, § 287 is written in the margin. There is one example of re-ordering between Fonnaidh-*GC* and Adhart-*GC*, in which in Adhart-*GC* the entries *ní fairecht*, *ambra*, and *bratach* run *bratach*, *ambra*, and *ní fairecht* in Fonnaidh-*GC*.

As Binchy noted, Fonnaidh-*GC* breaks off incomplete owing to a chasm in the manuscript;¹ and so Fonnaidh-*GC* may have matched the full length of Adhart-*GC* originally.²

References identified so far for Fonnaidh-*GC* are as follows.³

FONNAIDH- <i>GC</i>	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.16	* <i>CIH</i> ii.237.11 <i>SM2</i> , 14 (<i>Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.20	** <i>CIH</i> iii.1067.31 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.21	* <i>CIH</i> iii.935.38–41 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>) = <i>CIH</i> iii.1378.34 (Digest B52) (cf. <i>CIH</i> iv.1139.2 (Digest A1))
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.25	* <i>CIH</i> iii.937.20–2 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>) = <i>CIH</i> iv.1139.3 (Digest A1) (= <i>CIH</i> iv.1378.34–5 (Digest B52))
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.35–6	*O'Dav. § 300 = <i>CIH</i> iv.137834 (Digest B52)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.37	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2246.2 (citations + commentary on deposits)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1078.39	* <i>CIH</i> iii.828.10 (citations + commentary on a variety of topics)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.1	** <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.37 (<i>BND</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.3	** <i>CIH</i> vi.1980.27 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.8–10	* <i>BB</i> , § 34
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.12–14	*O'Dav. § 581
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.17	**O'Dav. § 1001
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.18–19	* <i>CIH</i> ii.325.23f (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.21–2	O'Dav. § 755
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.25	* <i>CIH</i> ii.329.39 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.29–35	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2218.9–11 (<i>BNT</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1079.37–9	** <i>CIH</i> vi.2225.38–9 (<i>BNT</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.1	** <i>CIH</i> vi.2216.36 (<i>BNT</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.13	<i>CIH</i> iv.1263.15 (?) (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.19	<i>Met. Dinds</i> iii. p. 280 l. 1
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.25–1081.36	**Adhart- <i>GC</i> , §§ 243–86, 288–308
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.25	***Fél. Ep. 172 (Adhart- <i>GC</i> , § 243)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.26–7	***O'Dav. § 185 (Adhart- <i>GC</i> , § 244)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.28	***cf. O'Dav. § 1419 (lemma only) (Adhart- <i>GC</i> , § 245)

¹ Binchy, *CIH*, iii.1081 fn. j.

² Adhart-*GC* looks complete; it is followed in the MS by a text on *sellach* ‘culpable on-looker’ (MS p. 628b = *CIH* iii.1063.9–1064.3).

³ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163.

FONNAIDH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.29	***O'Dav. § 854 (Adhart-GC, § 246)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.30	***cf. O'Dav. § 1279 (Adhart-GC, § 247)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.32	***O'Dav. § 1581; ***Fél. July 7, Aug. 13 (Adhart-GC, § 249)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.3–4	*** <i>Met. Dinds</i> i. p. 28 ll. 1–4; ***O'Dav. § 577 (Adhart-GC, § 259)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.5 (<i>tín .i. bog</i>)	***O'Dav. § 1601; ***OM 871 ** <i>Fo réir Choluimb</i> , § 2 (Adhart-GC, § 260)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.5 (<i>tín .i. tosach</i>)	***O'Dav. § 1602; ***OM 871 (Adhart-GC, § 261)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.6	***O'Dav. § 1602; ***OM 871 (Adhart-GC, § 262)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.7	***O'Dav. § 1603 (Adhart-GC, § 263)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.8	***O'Dav. § 1603 (Adhart-GC, § 264)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.9	***O'Dav. § 1540 = ** <i>BNT</i> = <i>CIH</i> vi.2224.37 (Adhart-GC, § 265)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.10	***Metr. Gl. p. 11 § 12 (Adhart-GC, § 266)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.11	***O'Dav. § 1171 **Fél. Dec. 3 (Adhart-GC, § 267)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.13	***O'Dav. § 756 (Adhart-GC, § 269)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.14	***O'Dav. § 757 (Adhart-GC, § 270)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.15 <i>cresca</i>	Adhart-GC, § 271
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.15–16	***O'Dav. § 266 (Adhart-GC, § 272)

FONNAIDH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.16 (<i>reidh</i>)	*** <i>Colloquy</i> , p. 22 § 69 (Adhart-GC, § 273)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.16–17	*** <i>Colloquy</i> , p. 14 § 3 (Adhart-GC, § 275)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.18–19	*** <i>Colloquy</i> , p. 18 § 35; *** <i>Tochmarc Emire</i> , § 41 *** <i>Met. Dinds</i> iii. p. 26 l. 15 (Adhart-GC, § 276)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.19–20	***O'Dav. § 758; ***cf. <i>Triads</i> , § 168 (Adhart-GC, § 279)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.21	***O'Dav. § 578 (Adhart-GC, § 281)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.21–2	*** <i>TBC</i> = YBL ll. 29, 3244; <i>LU</i> l. 4514; W p. 122 ll. 3–4 ***O'Dav. § 186 (Adhart-GC, § 282)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.22	*** <i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1507; <i>LU</i> l. 5975; W -; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a18–19) ***O'Dav. § 187 (Adhart-GC, § 283)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.23 (<i>escoman</i>)	***O'Dav. § 815 *** <i>TBC</i> (lemma only) = YBL l. 1710; <i>LU</i> l. 6193; W -; (Adhart-GC, § 284)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.23 (<i>tascur</i>)	***O'Dav. § 1606 (Adhart-GC, § 285)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.25 (<i>callat</i>)	***cf. <i>SCY</i> .215 (Adhart-GC, § 290)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.25 (<i>eochra</i>)	***O'Dav. § 814 (Adhart-GC, § 292)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.26 (<i>coman</i>)	O'Dav. § 462 (lemma only) (Adhart-GC, § 293)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.26 (<i>escoman</i>)	***O'Dav. § 769 = ** <i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.34 (Adhart-GC, § 294)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.26 (<i>feama fleasc</i>)	***O'Dav. § 898 (cf. O'Dav. §§ 832–3) ** <i>BNT</i> = <i>CIH</i> vi.2215.31–2 (Adhart-GC, § 295)

FONNAIDH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.27 –8	***O'Dav. § 1017 (Adhart-GC, § 296)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.28–9	*** <i>Tochmarc Ailbe</i> , p. 270 § 9 (Adhart-GC, § 297)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.29 (<i>matha</i>)	***O'Dav. §§ 1238, 1278 (Adhart-GC, § 298)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.30–1	***O'Dav. § 1018 (Adhart-GC, § 303)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.34	***O'Dav. 1604; ***OM 847; ***cf. Lecan Glossary 483, Metr. Gl. p. 31 § 2 (Adhart-GC, §§ 306–7)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1081.35–6	*** <i>TBC</i> = YBL 1. 289; <i>LU</i> 1. 4782; W – ***O'Dav. 1020 (Adhart-GC, § 308)

The distinction in the manuscript between the material in the *Bretha Éitgid* section and the section corresponding to Adhart-GC suggests that Fonnaidh-GC may be a combination of two sets of *glossae collectae*. Alternatively, we are dealing with two separate *glossae collectae* which happen to be preserved together. The same might be said of Adhart-GC, as Adhart-GC combines blocks of glossing material, beginning with glosses in alpha-order followed by unalphabetised glosses.

From the references identified so far, the *Bretha Éitgid* section of Fonnaidh-GC is entirely legal except for the placename *slighi assail* ‘the Road of Assal’, mentioned in *Met. Dinds*. Closer inspection of the content of Fonnaidh-GC reveals a stronger literary and historical preoccupation than the identified references suggest. This is especially true of the section from *comradh* to *cein doberat* (*CIH* iii.1080.9–24), comprising seven entries (i.e. *comradh*, *taiririudh*, *ria*, *bretha*, *dia ngaidh*, *tocomlad*, and *cein doberat*) which contain a strong literary connection. Three of these entries relate directly to Coirpre Lifechair, who is cited by name in *taiririudh* (*CIH* iii.1080.11–12) and *bretha* (*CIH* iii.1080.16–17), and *leth cuinn* – *Leth Cuinn*, the territory of his great-grandfather Conn Cétchathach – is cited in *comradh* (*CIH* iii.1080.9–10).¹ A further link to *Leth Cuinn* may be found in the entry *dia ngaidh* (*CIH* iii.1080.18–19), which cites *coirpri nía fer for*

¹ Regarding *bretha*, I follow Binchy in understanding the abbreviated lemma *bṛa* and the abbreviated citations form *bṛaib* as forms of *breth* in both instances (*CIH* iii.1080.16).

slighi assail ‘Coirpre Níá Fer [went] on the Road of Assal’.¹ The entries *tocomlad* (*CIH* iii.1080.20–1) and *cein doberat* (*CIH* iii.1080.22–4) refer to chariots and horse equipment and do not appear to contain any legal information. The entry *ria* (*CIH* iii.1080.13–15), which derives in part from *Bretha Éitgid*, cites dialogue (i.e. *ni roreaca-su...* ‘you may not buy back...’) and may have incorporated literary material. Though these entries are literary, there is a legal element to most. The entry *combradh*, for example, deals with payment for a mistake, and the entry *bretha* describes Coirpre Lifechair subjecting a serf to the law.²

Worth noting additionally are the contrastive glosses *coman .i. glan escoman .i. inglan* ‘pure i.e. pure, polluted i.e. impure’ (*CIH* iii.1081.26); and the repetition of the lemma *coimdeth* with a different citation provided for each (*CIH* iii.1079.11–12), which suggests additional material and restructuring was already beginning to occur. Fonnaidh-GC contains one couplet, preserved at the end of the entry beginning *deinmech*.³

8.4 Breth-GC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 649^b–654^b)⁴

Breth-GC appears to be a compilation of different *glossae collectae* preserved in textual order in various stages of development, and written as one continuous document. The pages measure approximately 18cm × 12cm. In the manuscript, Breth-GC directly follows citations with commentary on a variety of legal topics which is written in the same hand as Breth-GC.⁵ Page 655 begins a separate text, also in the same hand. Breatnach has drawn attention to the fact that the material following Breth-GC (i.e. p. 654^b11–34) is not glosses from *Auraicept na nÉces*, but rather further extracts on satire and fragments from the *trefhocal* tract of Cináed Úa Con Mind.⁶ Breatnach has edited and translated p. 654^b17, 19–34 which he identifies as a fragment of the *trefhocal* tract (referred to by Breatnach as the *H Trefocal*) which breaks off in the middle of a

¹ *Slighi assail* ‘the Road of Assal’ is described as belonging to Conn in a passage praising Conn in *Met. Dinds* iii, p. 280 ll. 45–68. Coirpre Níá Fer is associated with the Laigin in the *Genealogiarum*, pp. 8, 22–3 (116 c 32, 118 b 6, 18). For the link between Coirpre Lifechair, Coirpre Níá Fer, and other characters from the *glossae collectae* in this summary to *Cóir Anmann*, see below, p. 199.

² Coirpre Lifechair also occurs in the later introduction to *Bretha Éitgid* (summarised in Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 181), in which Coirpre would bring difficult legal cases to his father Cormac mac Airt.

³ Fonnaidh-GC = *CIH* iii.1078.28–9. I hope to discuss the entries containing verse in this set of *glossae collectae* elsewhere.

⁴ = *CIH* iii.1092.1–1098.42.

⁵ See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 46 s.v. 1087.18.

⁶ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 46 s.v. 1092.1. For Cináed Úa Con Mind as the author of the *trefhocal* text, see Breatnach, ‘Edition of *Amra Senáin*’, p. 21 and Breatnach, ‘*Trefocal Tract*’, p. 9. See also Meroney, ‘Studies in Early Irish Satire III’, p. 73. For *trefhocal* and Adhmad-GC, see pp. 242–3.

verse.¹ Breatnach does not include the introduction of the text, beginning with a large capital set aside slightly in the margin, which I print and translate here:²

TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 654^b17–18

Amail roebartin .i. isna brethaib nemed ^atoisecha^a

^{a-a} -cha on end of line 17 with reference mark.

‘As that one said i.e. in the *Bretha Nemed Toísech*.’³

The end of Breth-GC (as presented in *CIH* and the *Companion*) runs into the following text, the *H Trefocal*, beginning with the citation *ní for riuth da-n-ascaí* ‘it is not forthwith that he approaches him/it’.⁴ Rather than attempt to create artificial boundaries between texts, it may be better to view Breth-GC, the passage cited above, and the *H Trefocal* as one continuous text serving multiple textual purposes covering legal, literary, and poetic material, including *trefbocal*.

In Breth-GC, the initials of lemmata are capitalised and where an entry begins a new line, the initial is set aside slightly in the margin of the column. The layout of Breth-GC is bicolumnar up to p. 650^b33, at which point column b divides into two columns. These two columns, set within column b of p. 650, are word-lists, consisting of lemma + single-word gloss (with the exception of *cathair*, which has an additional single-word gloss = *CIH* iii.1093.19). In the top right-hand corner of p. 651 is written the Christogram *ih̄c*.⁵ The layout from p. 651 up to the end of p. 652 is tricolunar. There is a space left intentionally on the right-hand side of column a on p. 651 between lines 10–21, so that entries *glas* to *foescol* (= *CIH* iii.1093.39 (column a)–1094.9 (column a)) only cover the left-hand half of the column. There is a section break at the start of the section beginning *mac roith* on p. 652b (= *CIH* iii.1095.36 (column b)). Page 653 up to the

¹ Breatnach, ‘*Trefocal Tract*’, pp. 6, 52–3.

² That the following phrase (beginning *Amail*...) is the introduction to the *H Trefocal* may be seen from two factors. Firstly, the line directly preceding ends in the middle of the column (which is later filled by *H Trefocal* material), so that the phrase beginning *Amail*... marks a new section. Secondly, *Amail*... begins with a large capital set aside slightly in the margin of the column, also indicating a section break. The first word of *H Trefocal* as printed by Breatnach starts with a small capital on the end of a line (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 17).

³ I am unclear on the meaning of *roebartin*, which I tentatively understand here as a corrupted form of *-rubart* followed by [s]in ‘[as] that one said’. Alternatively: ‘as he said that’. One would expect a nasalising relative clause after *amail*.

⁴ TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 654^b11–17. Binchy finishes transcribing Breth-GC at *CIH* iii.1098.42 = TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 10, followed by Breatnach (*Companion*, p. 46 s.v. 1092.1). *H Trefocal* edited and translated by Breatnach, ‘*Trefocal Tract*’, pp. 52–3.

⁵ Note that the marginal note running across the top of p. 649, transcribed by Binchy in *CIH* iii.1091.40–2, belongs to the preceding text.

end of the text is bicolunar, and a further section break is at the start of the section beginning *mas* on p.653a (= *CIH* iii.1097.2). These gaps may indicate a change in base text.

Breth-*GC* contains a range of glossing styles in addition to the frequently used *glossae collectae* format of lemma + initial explanatory gloss + citations and word lists mentioned above. Latin and Greek are used in the gloss in *breth* (= *CIH* iii.1092.1), *oibill* (= *CIH* iii.1095.10–12; Latin and Irish only), *teoir* (= *CIH* iii.1095.12–14 column b), and *día día dorogus* (= *CIH* iii.1098.6; Latin and Irish only). Etymologies also occur in various stages of development. This includes linguistic etymology (e.g. *breth* = *CIH* iii.1092.1; *teoir* = *CIH* iii.1095.12–14 column b); consonant-based etymology (e.g. *érlamb* = *CIH* iii.1093.9;¹ *diner* = *CIH* iii.1093.37–8 column c; *fórdol* = *CIH* iii.1095.20–1 column b); and more Isidorean-style consonant-based etymology which recycles the lemma more than once (e.g. *brighit* = *CIH* iii.1093.10; *domon* = *CIH* iii.1097.28–30). Dialogue is used both as lemmata and as citations: as lemmata: e.g. *foimdi duin ol cethorn* = *CIH* iii.1096.14–15 column b; *cidh fil sunn ol fer dibh mac beg dochóidh ar esclá ol int ara* = *CIH* iii.1096.16–19; *old día sin ar cú culainn* = *CIH* iii.1096.39; as citations: e.g. *drinnrosc* = *CIH* iii.1092.2–4; *gibne* = *CIH* iii.1092.10–11; *bine* = *CIH* iii.1092.29–40;² *pecach* = *CIH* iii.1097.5–6; *día día doroghus* = *CIH* iii.1098.4–5.

References identified in Breth-*GC* so far are as follows:³

BRETH- <i>GC</i>	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.2–4	* <i>CIH</i> iii.882.30 (<i>Echtra Fergusa Maic Léti</i> = <i>SM1</i> , 2 <i>Cethairslicht Athgabálae</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.6	**Colmán mac Lénéni, § III b, p. 200.
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.13	** <i>LL</i> 24340
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.21	* <i>CIH</i> ii.261.30 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.23	<i>Trip.</i> l. 2184 p. 113
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.28	** <i>LL</i> 2117
<i>CIH</i> iii.1092.32	** <i>MD</i> i, 50 v17
<i>CIH</i> iii.1093.1	** <i>Thes.</i> ii. 337–8
<i>CIH</i> iii.1093.3	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2317.27 (citations + commentary on hire and fore-pledges)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1093.5	<i>CIH</i> v.1568.44–6 (<i>Gormac-<i>GC</i></i>)

¹ This entry begins by recycling the lemma *érlamb* into the consonant-based etymology *érellamb*. The gloss *érellamb* then undergoes consonant-based etymology itself, in which *ér-* is recycled as *adbal* giving the form *adbbal ellemb*. Two etymologies are provided, but the lemma form is only recycled once (i.e. into *érellamb*).

² This entry cites a dialogue between Cú Chulainn and Conchobhair on legal fault.

³ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163. In the following table, references to *TBC* are not intended to be exhaustive; more time is needed than can be permitted in this short study to make a closer reading of all extant versions of *TBC* and identify how and where they correspond to Breth-*GC* and *TBC-*GC**.

BRETH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1093.31 column a	* <i>CIH</i> iii.956.38 (citations + commentary on various topics)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.8	Adhmad-GC, s.v. <i>eallach</i>
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.27–8	Adhart-GC, § 103 (citing <i>BN</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.36 column b (<i>mac roith</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1115; <i>LU</i> l. 5598; W p. 147 l. 27; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a12)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.36–8 column b (<i>culg iarnimdba</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a12–13)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.39–40 column b (<i>sleagh chúarinn</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a13)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.41–3 column b (<i>tuadh mbáile fair</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2804; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a13–14)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.43–4 column b (<i>brat cennaith impe</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2790–1; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a14–15)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.1–2 column b (<i>banba do mhuinntir conraí</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2821; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a16)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.3–4 column b (<i>muntori</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2823; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a16–17)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.4–5 column b (<i>maidine</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a17)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.5–6 column b (<i>atach</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1551; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a17–18)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.7 column b (<i>congas</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2844; <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a18)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.7–8 column b (<i>é* oí rubaí</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a18)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.9–13 column b (<i>romseachais amal do cheile</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> s.v. <i>romsechaisi amal a ceile</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a18–19) <i>TBC-GC</i> s.v. <i>conrech do eochaid maghach in daerscur slog</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a19–20)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.14–15 (<i>foimdi duin ol cethorn</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2704–5 (?); <i>LU</i> –; W –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a20)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.4–9 column c	<i>Met. Dinds</i> iii. p. 220 ll. 45–9
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.10–11 column c	<i>CIH</i> v.1569.43 (Gormac-GC); Adhart-GC, § 215; O'Dav. § 657 [Fél. Jan. 23]
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.13–14 column c (<i>ambra bride son</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 571; <i>LU</i> l. 5059; W p. 135 l. 24 = <i>CIH</i> iii.814.10–11 (Bothar-GC); <i>TBC-GC</i> , -
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.16–19 column c (<i>cidh fil sunn ol fer dibb mac beg dochóidh ar escla ol int ara</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL ll. 639–40; <i>LU</i> ll. 5123–4; W p. 137 l. 17 = <i>CIH</i> iii.814.11–12 (Bothar-GC); <i>TBC-GC</i> , -
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.20–1 column c (<i>sech rofetamar is do ulltaib dó</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL ll. 385–6; <i>LU</i> 4873–4; W p. 130 l. 27; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 11

BRETH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.22 column c (<i>ma toich</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL -; <i>LU</i> -; <i>W</i> -; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 12
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.23–5 column c (<i>co mītha son ar con culainn</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL ll.750–1; <i>LU</i> l. 5228; <i>W</i> p. 140 l. 12; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 15
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.28 (<i>ba fúrail leó in doroine cí culainn</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 804; <i>LU</i> l. 5279; <i>W</i> p. 142 l. 5; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 17
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.29 (<i>feirti díl a ainm</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 811; <i>LU</i> l. 5286; <i>W</i> p. 142 l. 13; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 18
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.29 (<i>feathal líná</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1112; <i>LU</i> l. 5595; <i>W</i> p. 147 l. 24; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 20
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.30 (<i>cía do lachaibh in rígh sin gan mether ime</i>)	<i>TBC</i> ¹ = YBL ll. 1114, 1117–8; <i>LU</i> ll. 5597, 5600; <i>W</i> p. 147 ll. 26, 29; <i>TBC-GC</i> , §§ 21–2
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.30–1 (<i>na tart a ara fri diardain</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1152; <i>LU</i> l. 5632; <i>W</i> p. 148 l. 24; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 27
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.31–2 (<i>claidhebh síthbighthe</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1159; <i>LU</i> l. 5638; <i>W</i> p. 148 l. 31; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 29
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.32 (<i>lái churad</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1159–60; <i>LU</i> l. 5638; <i>W</i> p. 148 l. 31; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 30
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.33 (<i>ní fáime mo cnies</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1203; <i>LU</i> ll. 5676–7; <i>W</i> p. 149 ll. 33–4; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 32
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.33 (<i>caisebar a folt de</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1205; <i>LU</i> l. 5678; <i>W</i> p. 149 l. 35; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 33
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.33–4 (<i>ní foraim</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1205; <i>LU</i> l. 5679; <i>W</i> p. 149 l. 36; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 34
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.34 (<i>cíd drisín</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1205–6; <i>LU</i> l. 5679; <i>W</i> p. 149 l. 36; <i>TBC-GC</i> , § 34
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.35 (<i>for a thoin</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1206; <i>LU</i> l. 5679; <i>W</i> p. 149 l. 36; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b9)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.35 (<i>ní buidb ainmthir</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b9–10)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.35–6 (<i>sreith in certgai</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1327; <i>LU</i> l. 5799; <i>W</i> p. 152 l. 32; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b11–12)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.37 (<i>a cumat mbera aile</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> = YBL l. 1257; <i>LU</i> l. 5730; <i>W</i> p. 151 l. 6; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b10–11)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.37–8 (<i>a rícht samaiscí míúit</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1722; <i>LU</i> l. 6211–12; <i>W</i> -; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TC H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b24–5)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.38 (<i>berradb lethan laís</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2573; <i>LU</i> l. 6294; <i>W</i> -; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b27)

¹ This entry is composed of two separate phrases presented as one continuous phrase (i.e. *cía do lachaibh in rígh sin... gan mether ime*).

BRETH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.39 (<i>olc dúa sin ar cú culainn</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 1544; <i>LU</i> l. 6012; <i>W</i> –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 538b31
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.39 (<i>bíd snéidh</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2459; <i>LU</i> –; <i>W</i> –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a3–5)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.41 (<i>sírichtach do cháiniú</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a5–6)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.41 (<i>bíd cúltach</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a8)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.42 (<i>amail negar cuip a lunga</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2681; <i>LU</i> –; <i>W</i> –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a9–10)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.42 (<i>tocomla aengai</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a10)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1096.43 (<i>atnuaraidh</i>)	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 2692; <i>LU</i> –; <i>W</i> –; <i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a11)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.1 (<i>ús innaib cúailnge dúbhí</i>)	<i>TBC-GC</i> (= <i>TCD</i> H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a11–12)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.3–4	** <i>CIH</i> vi.2125.20 (citations + commentary on guilt by association)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.5	* <i>CIH</i> iii.810.32–3 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.10	** <i>CIH</i> iii.1126.40 (<i>BND</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.13	<i>CIH</i> iii.811.5–6 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>) (= <i>CIH</i> v.1559.12–13 (<i>Arra-GC</i>))
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.18	* <i>Oaths</i> , § 6; <i>CIH</i> iii.811.28–9 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>) (= * <i>CIH</i> v.1192.20 (<i>Arra-GC</i>))
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.22–3	** <i>CIH</i> iii.810.15 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>); O'Dav. § 1588(2)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.24	<i>CIH</i> iii.809.10 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>) (= * <i>CIH</i> v.1540.16–17 (<i>Cotaimside-GC</i>)) *O'Dav. § 1368
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.25	<i>CIH</i> iii.809.10–11 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>) (= <i>CIH</i> v.1540.17 (<i>Cotaimside-GC</i>))
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.27	<i>CIH</i> iii.809.26–8 (<i>Ní Tulach-GC</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.28–30	* <i>SC</i> Y.416
<i>CIH</i> iii.1097.34–5	Archiv. III, p. 320 § 91 (<i>Incipit Regula Mucuta Raithní</i>)
<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.4–14	<i>ACC</i> , §§ IP–I (glosses) ¹
<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.5	<i>TBC</i> = YBL l. 540; <i>LU</i> l. 5028; <i>W</i> p. 134 l. 29; <i>TBC-GC</i> –
<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.16	<i>CIH</i> v.1565.32 (<i>Mat-GC</i>)

¹ Lemmata only printed in *ACC*, p. 175. Note that these glosses differ to those in the Bodleian *Amra* (see Stokes, 'Bodleian *Amra*', pp. 148–56). Note also that this block of *ACC* glosses in Breth-GC includes an example from *TBC* (*CIH* iii.1098.5) (see table s.v. *TBC* YBL l. 540).

BRETH-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.37	Aidbriugh-GC, s.v. <i>aidbriugh</i>
<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.37	**O'Dav. § 56

In addition to a stanza from *Met. Dinds* iii. p. 220 ll. 45–9 and those identified by Breatnach, four stanzas are preserved in Breth-GC.¹ The first, under the lemma *dighi* (*CIH* iii.1093.5), corresponds to that in Gormac-GC (= *CIH* v.1568.44–6) and Gormac-2. The following entry *dindba* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1093.6–8) contains a stanza on religion. The remaining entries containing verse are *trechlad* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1094.12–21 column a), which cites Aed mac Echach Tirmcharna and Conchobhar; *bad glasa* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1094.41 column a – 1094.3 column b); *nochta targa ás ní gó* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1096.16–19 column a), *tofliún* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1097.34–5), which focuses on different sins;² and *muidhmidhe* (Breth-GC = *CIH* iii.1097.38–9), which also focuses on sins.³ It may be significant that *.r̄.* (for *ros?*) occurs in the margin opposite the verse entries *seach* and *acaill* on MS p. 650^a (*CIH* iii.1092.28, 32), *dighi* on MS p. 650^b (*CIH* iii.1093.5), and *muidhmidhe* on MS p. 653^b (*CIH* iii.1097.38). It also occurs opposite *feidhlime* on p. 654^a, which contains a couplet (*CIH* iii.1098.21).⁴

Breth-GC contains a mixture of legal and literary references. As demonstrated in the table above, there is a considerable volume of references to *TBC*. The first identifiable reference to *TBC* (and *TBC-GC*) in Breth-GC (= Breth-GC *CIH* iii.1095.36 column b) begins a new section in the column, and the last entry in this section (= Breth-GC *CIH* iii.1097.1) can be identified in *TBC-GC* (see table above).⁵ Presumably this entire section was given to *TBC* material, although I have not yet identified all of the references.

A significant proportion of the *TBC* entries in Breth-GC correspond to *TBC-GC*. The relationship between the material in *TBC-GC*, Breth-GC, and the extant versions of *TBC* requires a much fuller investigation; however, this very cursory examination has demonstrated that we are dealing with two related but distinct sets of *glossae collectae* on *TBC*.⁶ Just as Russell has

¹ Stanzas identified by Breatnach are Breth-GC *CIH* iii.1092.28–9 (*LL* 2217), Breth-GC *CIH* iii.1092.32–3 (*Met. Dinds* i. p. 50 ll. 65–9), and Breth-GC *CIH* iii.1093.1–2 (*Thes.* ii. 337–8) (see Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 46 s.v. 1092.1). I hope to discuss the entries containing verse in this set of *glossae collectae* elsewhere.

² This stanza occurs with minor variations in RIA 23 N 10 f. 85, which has been edited without translation by Meyer as part of the text he titles *Incipit Regula Mucuta Raithni* (Meyer, 'Medley', p. 320 § 91). This reference is not noted in *CIH* or the *Companion*.

³ The inclusion of this entry in Breth-GC may have been influenced by the preceding entry *snimche .i. leisí* 'sorrow(?) i.e. laziness' (= *CIH* iii.1096.37).

⁴ See elsewhere in this manuscript e.g. Adhart-GC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 627b) opposite the verse entry *comol* (Adhart-GC, § 259) and DDC (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 638a) opposite the entries *domic...* and *gaire*.

⁵ Breth-GC section (marked by capital letter) = MS p. 652b17–653a24.

⁶ A number of entries which are interlinear in *TBC-GC* have been absorbed into the main text in Breth-GC. Breth-GC can also be used to identify corrupted forms in *TBC-GC*, e.g. Breth-GC *mná* (*CIH* iii.1096.2 column b) for *TBC-GC innar* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 539a16), Breth-GC *binn* (*CIH* iii.1096.41) for *TBC-GC biud* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337),

demonstrated with *TBC-GC*, it seems that the *TBC glossae collectae* in *Breth-GC* are also at least a partial witness to a version of *TBC* which is no longer extant.¹ Two of the above *TBC* glosses also occur in the *TBC* block in *Bothar-GC*: *ambra bride son* (*Bothar-GC amradh briga son*) and *cidh fil sunn ol fer dibh mac beg dochóidh ar escla ol int ara* (*Bothar-GC cia fil sunn ar fer dib mac bec docoidh for escla*). These two entries do not occur in *TBC-GC*.

The section of material from *ACC* is in textual order (*CIH* iii.1098.4–14), but an entry from *TBC* has been interpolated as an additional example of words meaning ‘protect’ introduced by the phrase *deismirecht air* (*CIH* iii.1098.5). This is a nice example of the scribe bringing together two separate sources in order to further his understanding and discussion of a particular word.

8.5 Cotainiside-GC (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 15)²

Cotainiside-GC measures approximately 18cm × 12cm, and the gloss entries are written as continuous text using the full width of the line. Only the first entry is capitalised (i.e. *Cotainiside*), and it is comparatively untidy. It is written in a different hand to the preceding and following texts. There are two pieces of marginalia, not printed in *CIH*: on the right-hand margin a Christogram followed by *Maire*, and on the top margin directly above the beginning of the glosses *aus̄ intir so*. This same phrase occurs as *Aus̄ intriar so* in *Mat-GC*, again across the top of the beginning of the glosses. The end is presumably *in triar so* ‘this Trinity’.³

Though short, Cotainiside-GC is another witness to the glossary material which directly precedes the start of *Ni Tulach-GC* and *Arra-GC*. This can be identified in two ways: firstly, Cotainiside-GC ends with the same line with which *Arra-GC* starts (i.e. *arru .i. tuarustal 7 deismerecht air sena...*), and secondly, although the page is very stained, it is possible to make out the material in Cotainiside-GC in *Ni Tulach-GC*. There are therefore three witnesses to an earlier version of a set (or sets) of *glossae collectae*: Cotainiside-GC, *Arra-GC*, and *Ni Tulach-GC*.⁴

p. 539a6). Significant blocks of re-ordering have also occurred between the shared material in *Breth-GC* and *TBC-GC*.

¹ Russell, “Mistakes of all kinds”, p. 25. Note that *TBC-GC* extends beyond that printed by Russell (“Mistakes of all kinds”, p. 14) to MS p. 539a20. A more thorough investigation is required of all of the *TBC* glosses in the *glossae collectae* in *CIH*, and the present study is restricted to a brief summary. It may be that these examples do occur in existing versions of *TBC*, but in slightly different order or vocabulary. For a discussion of *TBC* entries elsewhere in the *glossae collectae* in *CIH*, see *Bothar-GC* and *Fonnaidh-GC*.

² = *CIH* v.1540.10–26. TCD H 4. 22 (1363) is not currently available on the Irish Script on Screen (ISOS) online project (isos.dias.ie).

³ Possibly *aus̄* represents *a nacht* ‘oh cold!’ or *a ucht* ‘from the breast [of this Trinity]’.

⁴ A fourth instance of the set of glosses beginning *Cotainiside*.. and ending *sarugud* (= *Ni Tulach-GC* *CIH* iii.809.5–810.1, beginning *Cotainiside*) also occurs in a piece of vellum off-cut in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), cols. 51, 52. The glosses in this off-cut are being edited by Chantal Kobel.

There are very few significant variations between Cotainiside-*GC* and Ni Tulach-*GC*. Examples include Cotainiside-*GC aile* (*CIH* v.1540.11) for Ni Tulach-*GC seisseth* (*CIH* iii.809.5) (which may be a scribal error); Cotainiside-*GC macaib morfoltacaib miter .i. direter na beclaisi cona colomaib sofoltaachaib* (*CIH* v.1540.18–19) for Ni Tulach-*GC macaib sofoltaicaib* (*CIH* iii.809.12); the additional gloss Cotainiside-*GC .i. totblaig* (*CIH* v.1540.22–3) which is absent in the corresponding passage in Ni Tulach-*GC* (*CIH* iii.809.15–16); and Cotainiside-*GC concobair* (*CIH* v.1540.26) for Ni Tulach-*GC co nonbur* (*CIH* iii.809.19) (again, presumably a scribal error).

8.6 Arra-*GC* (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 60^b12–62A)¹

Arra-*GC* belongs to a booklet written in one hand, which Abbott and Gwynn describe as follows: “Two ff. forming a sheet 16” × 7”. After being folded in two, each half has again been folded in one-third of its width, so that there are four wide pages and four narrow.² Arra-*GC* begins on the outside of the first narrow page (p. 60^b), approximately a third of the way down. It then runs onto the inside of the first narrow page (p. 61A), then covers the first inside wide pages (p. 61B), and ends two-thirds down the second inside wide page (p. 62). The end is marked by *finit* with decorative symbols interspersing each letter. In keeping with the other texts in this booklet, the initial of Arra-*GC* is ornate and filled with a silver-blue colour, and was possibly illuminated.³ The gloss entries run across the full width of the page, and Arra-*GC* p. 61B has been written over expunged previous text.

There are five pieces of marginalia in Arra-*GC*, not printed in *CIH*, which are written in the same hand as Arra-*GC*. In the top margin of p. 60^b is written *amuís* ‘servants’. Across the top right margin of p. 61A is written *dodbagl—a inse port andso*, and on the last line where the gloss has overrun into the margin, it is marked enclosed in a decorative pattern. There is a Christogram in the top margin of p. 61B, and the following comment on the bottom of p. 61B: *a duaím imon caích dobagas fein areir gan dig gan biad gan colad* [for *colud*] *ãf̃er̃iáin*. The rest of this comment has been obscured by staining. It looks like approximately five words, beginning *7 gæt A...am̃f̃ed* and ending *aid̃c̃i*. The final word overruns so that it is below the immediately preceding words, and has been enclosed in a decorative pattern. I am uncertain about the beginning and end of this

¹ = *CIH* v.1558.16–1560.27.

² Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 202.

³ Arra-*GC* is preceded by glosses on virtues and vices (see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 202–3) and followed by a glossed citation from *SM3*, 28 *Bretha for Mac̃lechteaib* and citations with commentary from *BNT* (see Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 68 s.v. 1560.28ff).

comment; the middle reads ‘in Tuaim along with the blind [person?] I was last night without drink, without food, without sleep, only rain and wind’. There are two further pieces of marginalia on the top margin of p. 62A. The first is written tightly against the top left corner, and though the manuscript is now too fragile to see the writing clearly, it was transcribed by Abbott and Gwynn as follows: *do derba in glesa 7 a dia a marc sluag is minosach in siubal sin do rignedbar aniud misi in cosnamach*.¹ In the central margin of the same page is another comment, which reads: *ibc̄ reamar ibc̄ caein ar mo leabur maraen ibc̄ reamur con corp gl̄ ibc̄ cael ogan trachta*.

As noted above (s.v. Ni Tulach-GC), Arra-GC should be considered with Ni Tulach-GC and Cotaimside-GC. Cotaimside-GC ends where Arra-GC begins, with the lemma *arru* and an abbreviated version of the gloss found in Arra-GC (*CIH* v.1540.26 = *CIH* v.1558.16). Arra-GC and Ni Tulach-GC preserve a stanza under the lemma *othar* (Arra-GC (*CIH* v.1558.17–19) = Ni Tulach-GC (*CIH* iii.809.20–1)), which describes a stipend paid by kings and warriors except Dubthach (presumably Dubthach maccu Lugair).² For references to Arra-GC, see table under Ni Tulach-GC.

8.7 Mat-GC (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67^a–67^b)³

Mat-GC covers a single page, approximately 18cm × 12cm, in which the gloss material is divided into two columns. The text runs continuously, and does not start a new line for a new gloss entry. The initial of *Mat* is an anthropomorphic design, looking slightly anguiform. Three other words are capitalised: *Deithbir* (*CIH* v.1566.1), which begins a short section of commentary within the gloss entries; *Do cendaib* (*CIH* v.1566.4); and *Ba anairvech* (*CIH* v.1566.16). Opposite *Ba anairvech* in the left-hand margin is the symbol for *par*. The first two lemmata (i.e. *mat* and *post*) are written adjacent to one another, with their corresponding single-word glosses written directly above. Above these is written *Aus̄ in triaR so*. The same invocation occurs in Cotaimside-GC.

There are two further pieces of marginalia, in the top and bottom margin.⁴ Across the top margin of column b the comment reads: *atai ben istaig 7 niroib ni isi far[e expunged] us as dam fein fir*. Across the bottom margin is an unusual decorative comment in which a ruled pair of parallel lines form a border and run across the width of the page. The border has been filled in with ink, except where letters have outlined and not filled in: *do dia 7 do muire dobeir* ‘To God and

¹ Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 214.

² I hope to discuss the entries containing verse in this set of *glossae collectae* elsewhere.

³ = *CIH* v.1565.32–1566.37.

⁴ I do not include the two instances in which material has been missed out of a gloss and added into the margins (= *CIH* v.1566.2 (left-hand margin); *CIH* v.1566.20 (top margin, with reference marks)).

to Mary he gives’. The border has only been filled in up to the end of the <u> of *muire*. The <o> of the first *do* is lighter in colour, and may have been coloured differently to the other letters.

Mat-GC is preceded by notes on topics such as satire and vicarious liability which is in a similar hand;¹ and followed by part of *Míadslechtæ*, which is in a different hand.²

Mat-GC contains a variety of gloss formats, including word-lists; the frequently-occurring structure lemma + initial explanatory gloss + citations as seen elsewhere (e.g. *CIH* 1565.36–7, 1566.16–17, 1566.23–4); and a short passage of commentary (*CIH* v.1566.1–3). Note also the lemma *rinne*, which is repeated with a separate gloss in each instance (*CIH* v.1565.34–6). Word-lists make up the majority of material in Mat-GC, with 52 word list-style glosses (i.e. predominantly single-word gloss + lemma, but including two word glosses) to 24 longer gloss entries that include additional glosses (i.e. those introduced by *no* ‘or’) and citations.³ Mat-GC therefore represents a transitional stage of glossography in which word-lists are in the process of being expanded with supplementary material.

References to Mat-GC identified so far are as follows:⁴

MAT-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> v.1565.32 <i>mat</i>	<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.16 (Breth-GC)
<i>CIH</i> v.1565.33 <i>bubta</i>	<i>CIH</i> vi.2230.14–15 (BNT) = <i>CIH</i> v.1569.13 (Gormac-GC) = O’Dav. § 211
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.4 <i>do cendaib</i>	* <i>ACC</i> (Stokes, ‘Bodleian <i>Amra</i> ’, pp. 132, 134) (glosses)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.6 <i>int oghom isin gollán</i>	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2143.21–2 (<i>Findsruth Fítbail</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.9 <i>is é innrucus</i>	** <i>CIH</i> iii.921.14 (<i>SM2</i> , 18 <i>Dí Dligiud Raith 7 Somaíne La Flaith</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.14 <i>certfuine</i>	* <i>CIH</i> ii.208.17 (<i>SM2</i> , 11 <i>Din Techtugud</i>)
MAT-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.19 <i>flegba fuain</i>	* <i>CIH</i> ii.551.13 Text deriving from <i>UB</i> and <i>MV</i> II
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.23 <i>targraidbe</i>	* <i>CIH</i> i.34.9 (<i>SM2</i> , 9 <i>Sechtæ</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.26 <i>maethmercuir</i>	* <i>CIH</i> iii.813.37 (Bothar-GC)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.30 <i>gnim</i>	* <i>CIH</i> iv.1149.21 Digest (A14)
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.32 <i>arro</i>	<i>CIH</i> iii.809.19 (Ni Tulach-GC) (= <i>CIH</i> v.1558.16 (Arra-GC); <i>CIH</i> v.1540.26 (Cotainside-GC))
<i>CIH</i> v.1566.34 <i>feighlim</i>	Book of Ballymote 354a20 (Atkinson facsimile)

¹ See Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 68 s.v. 1564.14.

² See Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 264–5; and Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 204.

³ The single-word glosses *forbad* and *donn* (*CIH* v.1566.7–8) may belong to the following entry *cobb* and the citation therein (*CIH* v.1566.8–9).

⁴ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163.

Mat-*GC* also contains one stanza in under the lemma *eisbecail* (Mat-*GC* = *CIH* v.1566.32–4).¹

On the basis of the identified entries, Mat-*GC* is predominantly legal. Mat-*GC* itself identifies the Life of St Martin as a source: *ut est a mbethaidh martan* ‘*ut est* in the Life of Martin’ (*CIH* v.1566.12). A striking feature of Mat-*GC* is that a number of entries contain Latin lemmata, although Latin is not used within the gloss itself. The entry citing the life of Martin occurs at the end of a series of otherwise single-word glosses which all have Latin lemmata:

Mat-*GC* (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 67^a = *CIH* v.1566.11–13)

niger .i. dub. *flaus* .i. buidhe. *cladhus* .i. bacaidh. *secas* .i. cæch. *calbus* .i. mæl. *uisti* .i. creidemb *ut est a mbethaidh martan martan dixit sechtaruisti as e dorat in bratsa damh.*

‘*Niger* i.e. black. *Flaus* [for *flannus*] i.e. yellow. *Cladhus* [for *claudus*] i.e. lame. *Secas* [for *caecus*] i.e. blind. *Calbus* [for *calvus*] i.e. bald. *Uisti* i.e. belief, *ut est* in the Life of Martin: Martin said, ‘a catechumen(?) for it is he who gave this cloak to me.’

Of the unidentified references, a number refer to poetry;² and the supernatural.³ It seems that Mat-*GC* is the result of a number of very short word-lists being combined and expanded.

¹ In *CIH* Binchy was uncertain whether the verse ended here or continued to include the next line *feighlim rechtmar ardo lár nibo elcmar fri cach toir* (*CIH* v.1566.34); it is not clear from the manuscript which is the case.

² e.g. *CIH* v.1565.37–8 s.v. *a dualgus aodbadb*; 1566.21–2 s.v. *odb*; 1556.24–5 s.v. *imreson*

³ e.g. *CIH* v.1556.20–1 s.v. *laigh*; 1566.32 s.v. *coibhidhe*.

8.8 Gormac-GC (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), pp. 67A–67B)¹

The leaf containing Gormac-GC no longer exists. O’Curry notes that the page from which he transcribed was ‘a loose unpagged leaf stitched to folio 67’.² Folio 67 contains Mat-GC. O’Curry places Gormac-GC together with the series of five glosses, each beginning *do-leici*... which in his transcription directly precede Gormac-GC. He titles both Gormac-GC and the *do-leici* glosses as ‘Short Glosses’.³ Stylistically, the *do-leici* glosses are distinct from Gormac-GC, but with the page now lost it cannot be definitely said that they did not form part of Gormac-GC. Breatnach treats the *do-leici* glosses separately to Gormac-GC, describing the former as ‘maxims with glosses’.⁴

Gormac-GC has partly been put into α -order. With the exception of one entry which does not follow α -order (marked in square brackets in the following list), the beginning runs in the following letter blocks: G-I-L-M-[P]-N-O-R-S-U (CIH v.1568.1–30).⁵ There then comes a block of entries beginning with T (CIH v.1568.31–8), and two poems beginning D followed by a block of entries beginning with E (including one beginning with O) (CIH v.1568.39–1569.7). The E block is followed by one entry beginning F (CIH v.1569.8–9). At this point, there is no further obvious α -order until CIH v.1569.24–29, in which the entries run T-U.⁶ From this point to the end of the *glossae collectae* (CIH v.1569.30–43), entries are not in α -order. Consequently, Gormac-GC is an insight into the stage in which glosses in textual order begin to be re-edited into α -order, in which blocks of entries in α -order sit alongside entries in textual order in the same document. A number of entries are left blank, presumably where the glossator intended to go back and complete them.⁷

Identified references in Gormac-GC so far are as follows:⁸

¹ = CIH v.1568.1–1569.43.

² O’Curry, *Collection of Ancient Irish Law Tracts*, 2070. The leaf containing Gormac-GC was lost sometime before the *Catalogue*, as it was no longer part of the manuscript collection at this point (Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 204). Binchy prints O’Curry’s transcript in CIH, in which he uses ellipses to mark gaps left in O’Curry’s transcript.

³ O’Curry, *Collection of Ancient Irish Law Tracts*, 2073. *Doleici* glosses = CIH v.1567.36–42. Mahon, who describes Gormac-GC as an ‘independent glossary’, has noted that Gormac-GC was used by Micheál Ó Cléirigh in the compilation of his *Sanasán Nua* (Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 43).

⁴ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 69.

⁵ Note that the entry at CIH v.1568.16 is acephalous, and may not have followed α -order.

⁶ This section of Gormac-GC (CIH v.1569.26–9), which all begin with <u>, contains etymologies for each entry: *ustaing* > *na muasal ca toinge*; *ucca* > *aice a oenur*; *udbairt* > *uadh berar*; *uth* > *on tsuth*. This section corresponds to SC YAdd.1294–6 (*ustaing* – *udbairt*) (= Loman.230–2); *uth* = SC YAdd.1283 (= Loman.219).

⁷ = CIH v.1569.22, 23.

⁸ For the asterisk system of reference used in the table below, see p. 163.

GORMAC-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.1–2	<i>Mesca ulad</i> , ll. 323–4; Adhart-GC, § 130
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.3–4	Adhart-GC, § 133 ¹
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.5	*** <i>Mesca Ulad</i> , l. 195; Adhart-GC, § 142
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.8	<i>Mesca Ulad</i> , l. 1006 Adhart-GC, § 149
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.10	*** <i>BDD</i> , l. 1189; Adhart-GC, § 154
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.12	<i>Fled Dúin na nGéd</i> , l. 33; Adhart-GC, § 153
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.15	Adhart-GC, § 34
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.19	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2192.24 (<i>Gúbretha Caratniad</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.21–2	Bretha-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.1095.1–3 column c)
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.25	* <i>CIH</i> ii.401.1 (<i>SM1</i> , 2 <i>Cethairslicht Athgabálae</i>); <i>CIH</i> iii.1122.12 (<i>BND</i>); Adhart-GC, § 178; O'Dav., § 1349
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.28	* <i>CIH</i> ii.627.35 Lomhon Glossary ²
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.29–1569.17	TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 661 (entire page) (discussed below)
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.29	<i>Fled Bricrenn</i> , § 11
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.30	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2231.33 (<i>BNT</i>); O'Dav. § 1617
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.31	Poem to Máel Brigte, § 1 l. 1 ³
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.32	'Medley', 314.1 (<i>Incipit Regula Mucuta Raithmí</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.34	<i>Tochmarc Étaine</i> , 180.3
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.35	<i>Lebor Gabála</i> (i) 272.8
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.38	Adhart-GC, § 220
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.39–43	Adhart-GC, § 93 (ed. Meyer, 'Bruckstücke', pp. 67–8 § 156)
<i>CIH</i> v.1568.44–6	<i>CIH</i> iii.1093.5 (Breth-GC)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.1–2	<i>Lebor Gabála</i> (iii) § 23
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.3	<i>Tochmarc Émire</i> , § 46

¹ Adhart-GC cites the source of this entry as *BMMM*.

² See Russell, 'Sounds of a Silence', p. 3.

³ For a full discussion of the poem along with an edition and translation, see Breatnach, 'Cinnus atá do thinnrem', pp. 1–35.

GORMAC-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.4	<i>CIH</i> vi.2232.27 (BNT); <i>CIH</i> iv.1298.20-1 (Digest (B8)); *O'Dav. § 764
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.5	<i>CIH</i> vi.2217.12–13 (BNT); O'Dav. § 763
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.8–9	* <i>CIH</i> iv.1443.3 (citations + commentary on distrain)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.11–12	<i>CIH</i> vi.2161.24ff (<i>Anfuigell</i>); Breth-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.17–18)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.13	* <i>CIH</i> vi.2230.14–15 (BNT); <i>CIH</i> v.1565.33 (Mat-GC) = *O'Dav. § 211
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.15	Breth-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.1098.23)
<i>CIH</i> v.159.17	<i>SC</i> Y.145; <i>DDC</i> D1.112; Metr. Gl., § 27 Lecan Glossary, § 563
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.18	* <i>CIH</i> ii.409.13–14 (<i>SM1</i> , 2 <i>Cethairslicht Athgabálae</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.19	<i>SC</i> Y.1059 (Prull narrative) ¹ Condalbha-GC
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.21	Preface to <i>Fél</i>
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.22	* <i>CIH</i> vi.1940.24 (Digest (C37)); OM1.792
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.24	* <i>CIH</i> i.13.12–13 (<i>SM2</i> , 9 <i>Sechtae</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.25	* <i>CIH</i> i.266.19–20 (<i>Bretha Éitgid</i>) * <i>CIH</i> iii.787.32 (<i>Findsruth Fíthail</i>)
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.26	<i>SC</i> YAdd.1294; Loman.230
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.27	<i>SC</i> YAdd.1295; Loman.231
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.28	<i>SC</i> YAdd.1296; Loman.232
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.29	<i>SC</i> YAdd.1283; Loman.219
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.31 ²	Adhart-GC, § 168
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.32	Adhmad-GC, s.v. Appendix 5 p. 42; Ni Tulach-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.810.26–7); Arra-GC (<i>CIH</i> v.1558.28)

¹ Prull narrative translated by Russell, 'Poets, Power and Possessions', pp. 40–3. The entry in Gormac-GC is an extension on the etymology of the name Senchán Torpeist, which is set out in the narrative (i.e. *Senchan Torpeist .i. Senchan dororba pest no paist*), by identifying *peist* as *spirat na eicsi* 'the spirit of poetry'.

² This entry provides the lemma only, and may not relate to Adhart-GC.

GORMAC-GC	REFERENCES
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.34	<i>Cóir Anmann</i> vol. 2, pp. 55, 128 § 207
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.35	<i>Cóir Anmann</i> vol. 1, pp. 98, 136 § 88 = <i>Cóir Anmann</i> vol. 2, pp. 56, 129 § 210
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.36–42	<i>Corpus Gen.</i> , 316a6; Condalbha-GC
<i>CIH</i> v.1569.43	Adhart-GC, § 215; <i>CIH</i> iii.1096.10–11 (Breth-GC)

As noted in the table above, a block of material corresponding to Gormac-GC *CIH* v.1568.29–1569.17 occurs in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 661. This material (hereafter Gormac-2) is described by Abbott and Gwynn as the verso of the first leaf of the cover of a tract, of which the outer pages are quite illegible.¹ There is some light staining on page 661, but it is sufficiently clear to see that it matches Gormac-GC.² Barring two words and spelling variations, Gormac-2 exactly matches Gormac-GC.³ This is significant when one considers that the block of text covered in these two *glossae collectae* contains a combination of α -order and textual order. In particular, the entry *orvain* is preserved in a block otherwise beginning E in both *glossae collectae*. Although it is difficult to say in which direction the material travelled, it suggests that this material was being copied at the same time, before further interpolations could be added to either version. It moreover suggests that, rather than being an accident of copying, the combination of α -order and textual order was deliberate. As Gormac-GC has been lost, it is impossible to know whether both Gormac-GC and Gormac-2 were written by the same hand.

8.9 *Glossae Collectae* in *CIH*: Content and Compilation

Although by necessity brief, this summary of *glossae collectae* in *CIH* has highlighted a number of hitherto unnoticed features. Perhaps the most striking of these is the range of genres covered within a single set of *glossae collectae*. In addition to legal main texts, commentary, and other legal ancillary material, we find literature, hagiography, and poetry. *Glossae collectae* which appear legal – and were thus included in *CIH* – are in fact a combination of different topics.

¹ Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 154–5.

² Mahon noted that the microfilm quality was insufficient for him to be able to tell if Gormac-2 matched that in Gormac-GC, but he supposed – correctly – that the two were related (Mahon, ‘Contributions’, p. 43).

³ Gormac-2 has *.i. as mor a deirgi* for Gormac-GC *mor a deirgi* (*CIH* v.1559.4) and Gormac-2 has *.i. mac .i. mac nascaire* for Gormac-GC *.i. mac nascaire* (*CIH* v.1559.10).

A significant proportion of entries relate to *TBC*. This preliminary investigation has already highlighted that Bothar-*GC*, Fonnaidh-*GC*, and Breth-*GC* all contain substantial blocks of material related to, but as a whole not taken directly from, existing versions of *TBC*. More research needs to be undertaken to ascertain to which – if any – of the surviving versions of *TBC* they are closest; how the entries in these *TBC* blocks which do not occur in surviving versions fit into our current understanding of *TBC*; and how the individual *TBC* blocks relate to one another and to *TBC-GC* and Adhart-*GC*. It may also be worth examining what seems to be a stylistic pattern among the *TBC* entries, in which the entries are typically short and the lemma often contains the citation as part of the phrase (and as such the citation marker *ut est* is rarely used).¹ A consistency of style may indicate that the *TBC* glosses were extracted in bulk directly from an annotated text without having undergone any further stages of development before being absorbed as part of larger sets of *glossae collectae*.

In addition to those from identified sources, literary and historical characters feature in these *glossae collectae*, including: Aed mac Echach Tirmcharna;² Ailill Cethach mac Cathair;³ Amairgen;⁴ Banbán;⁵ Bresal Belach;⁶ Cealtair;⁷ Cethorn;⁸ Coirpre Lifechair;⁹ Coirpre Nía Fer;¹⁰ Conchobhar;¹¹ Cormac;¹² Cú Chulainn;¹³ Eathach;¹⁴ Eochaid Maghach;¹⁵ Fiachu Sraiptine;¹⁶ Mac Róth;¹⁷ Mael Dúin;¹⁸ the sons of Mil;¹⁹ mac Cumail;²⁰ Sencha;²¹ and the Uí Liatháin.²² It has been noted above that, although some entries seem purely literary, a number place these characters in a legal context. Several characters relate to a section in the long version of *Cóir Anmann*.

¹ In the *TBC* entries identified so far in these *glossae collectae*, the citation marker *ut est* is only used once (Fonnaidh-*GC* = *CIH* v.1081.35–6).

² Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1094.12–16.

³ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.34.

⁴ Bothar-*GC* *CIH* iii.814.3–5.

⁵ Bothar-*GC* *CIH* iii.813.26–7.

⁶ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.35.

⁷ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.1–2. I have not yet been able to identify Cealtair.

⁸ Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1096.14–15 column b.

⁹ Fonnaidh-*GC* *CIH* iii.1080.11–12, 16–17. Arra-*GC* *CIH* v.1559.42 *do rig clothach coirpri*, presumably also Coirpre.

¹⁰ Fonnaidh-*GC* *CIH* iii.1080.18–19.

¹¹ Ní Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.809.15 = Cotaimeside-*GC* *CIH* v.1540.25–6; Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1092.39–40, 1094.17–21 column a, 22–4 column a.

¹² Ní Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.811.5–6 (= Arra-*GC* *CIH* v.1559.12–13) = Breth-*GC* *CIH* v.1097.13 (presumably Cormac mac Airt?).

¹³ Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1092.39–40, Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.3–4, 15.

¹⁴ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.34 (for Eochaid Doimlén?).

¹⁵ Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1096.12 column b.

¹⁶ Bothar-*GC* *CIH* iii.813.36–7.

¹⁷ Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1095.36 column b.

¹⁸ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.6.

¹⁹ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.13. 35.

²⁰ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1568.44–6 (presumably Finn mac Cumail).

²¹ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.19.

²² Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.36–42.

Arbuthnot has noted that the compiler of the long version of *Cóir Anmann* organised entries into ‘sections representing territories and tribal groupings and within these sections to arrange entries along genealogical lines’.¹ Father and son Coirpre Lifechair and Fiachu Sraiptine are the subjects of entries §§ 115–6 within the Connachta section. In the Laigin section in *Cóir Anmann*, Ailill Cethach mac Cathair, Coirpre Níá Fer, and Bresal Belach form an almost continuous section, comprising entries §§ 207–8, 210.² The entries relating to Ailill Cethach mac Cathair and Bresal Belach (*Cóir Anmann* vol. 2, §§ 207 and 210) match the corresponding entries in Gormac-GC (*CIH* v.1569.34–5), which are truncated versions of that in *Cóir Anmann*.³ Although additional material shared between the *glossae collectae* and *Cóir Anmann* beyond the names themselves is found only in Ailill Cethach mac Cathair and Bresal Belach, there may be significance to the overlap between these sections of *Cóir Anmann* and the characters cited in the *glossae collectae*. If so, two blocks of material from the long version of *Cóir Anmann* have found their way into three sets of *glossae collectae*, as illustrated in the following table:⁴

Name	Territory	<i>Glossae collectae</i>	<i>Cóir Anmann</i>	Correspondence
Coirpre Lifechair	Connachta	Fonnaidh-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.11, 16)	§ 115	Name only
Fiachu Sraiptine	Connachta	Bothar-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.813.37)	§ 116	Name only
Ailill Cethach mac Cathair	Laigin	Gormac-GC (<i>CIH</i> v.1569.34)	§ 207	Name and gloss
Coirpre Níá Fer	Laigin	Fonnaidh-GC (<i>CIH</i> iii.1080.18)	§ 208	Name only
Bresal Belach	Laigin	Gormac-GC (<i>CIH</i> v.1569.35)	§ 210	Name and gloss

In addition to literary references, the volume of material relating to other ancillary documents – including commentary, digests, and other *glossae collectae* – alongside references to main legal texts is striking. In other words, base texts were not always the primary concern. The overlap between *glossae collectae* is particularly notable. Ni Tulach-GC, Arra-GC, and Cotaimside-GC are to all intents and purposes the same set of *glossae collectae*, copied in varying degrees at

¹ Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann* vol. 1, p. 36.

² Entry § 209 is another Bresal (Bresal Bregoman).

³ Coirpre Níá Fer is named within an entry on Forgall Monach (*Cóir Anmann* vol 2., pp. 55–6, 128–9 § 208).

⁴ References to *Cóir Anmann* here are to the long version. In the short version of *Cóir Anmann*, the entries on Ailill Cethach mac Cathair and Coirpre Níá Fer do not occur and entries relating to Coirpre Lifechair, Fiachu Sraiptine, and Bresal Belach are distributed far more widely (§§ 43, 114, and 88 respectively).

least twice. Gormac-*GC* corresponds almost identically to that preserved in Gormac-2, which both contain separate blocks of seemingly unrelated, partly α -ordered material. This correspondence confirms that multiple copies of sets of interim-stage *glossae collectae* (i.e. *glossae collectae* which are in the process of being placed into α -order) were in production. A number of individual glosses occur across multiple *glossae collectae*.¹ Considering that extant texts are a fraction of what would have been circulating within medieval Ireland, it is noteworthy that so many of the entries in the *glossae collectae* cross-refer with one another and there is relatively little variation.

Stylistically, there is little interlinear glossing within the sets of *glossae collectae*, and even fewer instances of marginalia. Presumably the initial stages of *glossae collectae* composition did not survive so well. However, there may be significant variation in glossing style within a single set of *glossae collectae*. At its most simplistic, a set of *glossae collectae* may be a word list, comprising a series of short, often single-word, lemmata with short, often single-word, glosses, which would have originally been taken directly from the base text to which they were previously attached. This is the case, for example, for the entries *suaitreach* to *fond* in Fonnaidh-*GC* (*CIH* v.1080.28–38) and *mat* to *geraid* in Mat-*GC* (*CIH* v.1565.32–4).

Compared to the texts discussed in Part I, etymological glosses are rare within the *glossae collectae*.² We are thus dealing with a more lexically-focused process of compilation. Consequently, the interests of those using *glossae collectae* must have differed from those using in-text syllabic etymologies. If in-text syllabic etymological glosses were aimed at novice law students, *glossae collectae* were perhaps intended for individual use as a storehouse of unusual or important vocabulary. *Glossae collectae* as a whole raise the question of purpose. Where they have been interpolated with material from other texts and their textual order disrupted, did the function a lists of important or useful words? To what extent is a set of *glossae collectae* which contains both word-lists and *X .i. Y ut est Z* structures still dependent on the base text (or texts)? For what purpose were multiple copies of the same glosses made without any additional editing haven taken place?

Without further research into *glossae collectae*, it is difficult to answer any of these questions. Nonetheless, this brief investigation into the *glossae collectae* in *CIH* has brought out a number of preliminary conclusions. Firstly, the evolution of glossing was driven by the

¹ e.g. the entries relating to *Oaths*, § 6, which occur in Ni Tulach-*GC*, Arra-*GC*, Breth-*GC*, and commentary (see tables above s.v. Ni Tulach-*GC*, Arra-*GC*, and Breth-*GC*).

² Examples of syllabic etymology within the *glossae collectae* include Ni Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.810.24; Fonnaidh-*GC* *CIH* iii.1079.1–2, 18; Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1093.9, 1096.21 column b; Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.26–9 (U section); examples of Isidorean-style etymology include Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1092.1, 1093.10.

absorption of material, rather than the ordering of said material. It was continuous, and not static, as an ongoing process of evolution and layering using a broad range of styles, sources, and themes. The collating of glosses from multiple, seemingly unrelated sources into one document strongly implies a multidisciplinary environment in which scribes had access to both a variety of base texts and, perhaps most importantly, to a variety of other ancillary material. Scribes were concerned with transmitting secondary material just as much as base texts. The relative lack of variation between glosses suggests that sets of *glossae collectae* were in circulation between scribes, and perhaps between schools. It also demonstrates that, whatever their purpose, the scribes felt that these glosses were important enough to be copied and transmitted multiple times.

Glossae collectae are deserving of far more attention, both in terms of what they can tell us about versions of texts which have since been lost and in their own right. Russell has brought attention to the question: ‘Were narrative prose texts ever glossed and annotated? If not, why not? ... Or was the glossography going on elsewhere?’¹ *Glossae collectae* are evidence that glossography on narrative prose texts was being accrued and transmitted, and also provide us with witnesses to versions of texts now lost, like *TBC*. Their importance for understanding purpose, process, and style of how medieval Irish scribes approached texts cannot be understated. There is a huge amount of information that could – and should – be extracted from them.

The question of purpose will be considered in more detail in the following chapter, using two *glossae collectae*, *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC*. Both sets of *glossae collectae* show a close relationship with their base text, and can be used as a case study into the function and layering of *glossae collectae* in their primary stages.

¹ Russell, “Mistakes of all kinds”, p. 12.

9 TWO POETICO-LEGAL *GLOSSAE COLLECTAE*: AIDBRIUGH-GC AND ADHMAD-GC

The *glossae collectae* summarised above contain a variety of topics, including literary, ecclesiastical, and poetical references, as well as other ancillary documents. Although *glossae collectae* are dependent on the base text for their primary function, because *glossae collectae* are a physically separate document the scribe has the space and opportunity to expand and starting bringing in other relevant material. Russell has noted that *glossae collectae* ‘show scribes thinking about what they were doing and trying to make sense of the text in front of them’, and that ‘by neglecting [text-glossaries] we are cut off from an invaluable source of information about how these texts were regarded and used’.¹ *Glossae collectae* can tell us not only about the glossarial process itself, but also – and perhaps most importantly – about the way in which scribes were in engaging with the material with which they were working.

To explore this in more detail, in the following discussion two *glossae collectae* will be considered: Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC. Both sets of *glossae collectae* occur in the composite manuscript TCD H 3. 18 (1337). Further manuscript context will be provided in the discussion for each *glossae collectae*.

Unlike the *glossae collectae* discussed above, Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC deal almost exclusively with only one base text (*BND*) and, for the most part, use the same glossing structure (*X .i. Y ut est Z*) for each entry. As we have seen, surviving *glossae collectae* typically contain a variety of sources and styles of glossing. This makes Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC of significant value in terms of what they can tell us about the initial stages of process between in-text glossing and glossing that is in a separate document but which still depends on the base text. *BND* is a poetico-legal text associated with Munster, which concentrates on poetry, especially satire.² Only one continuous text survives which is acephalous and breaks off incomplete (TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 135^a–152^b) (hereafter *BND-H*), written in the hand of Dubhaltach Mac

¹ Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 27–28.

² See Gwynn, ‘Old-Irish Tract’, pp. 1–60, 220–36; Binchy, ‘*Bretha Nemed*’, pp. 4–6; Breatnach, ‘Canon Law and Secular Law’, pp. 439–59; Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 184–8.

Fhirbhisigh.¹ It contains a high proportion of obscure or otherwise difficult vocabulary, archaic syntax, and is densely alliterative. It is perhaps unsurprising that the user of the text – perhaps a student – may have felt the need to fall back on a set of *glossae collectae* to help him navigate such a complex text. Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC deal with different sections of *BND*, and they have both been expanded beyond the lemma + gloss + citation structure common to glossaries. Because a version of the base text is available, it is possible to pinpoint how and where entries have been expanded. Of particular interest is that they have been expanded in slightly different ways, this provides a point of comparison in the process of how a set of *glossae collectae* begins to move away from its primary textual focus and starts to become an independent, glossary-like document. The discussion will first look at Aidbriugh-GC, which is visually dependent on the base text; additional material has been added into the margins, while the main body of text refers directly to the base text. It will then look at Adhmad-GC, which has incorporated expansions into the main body of text and is at least two stages further evolved.

The following discussions should be read alongside the texts and accompanying provisional translation (Appendices 3 and 5). Where there is more than one parallel text reading to *SC*, that from *SC Y* is cited; other versions are noted under the relevant entry in the Appendix.

9.1 AIDBRIUGH GLOSSAE COLLECTAE

TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 61–62²

9.1.1 Manuscript

Aidbriugh-GC comprises a single oblong folio inserted between the placename-lore of *Slab Miss* and *DDC*.³ These texts form part of the discrete book known as Máel Íosa's Book written between 1500–1510, and they are in the hand of Máel Íosa.⁴ In Aidbriugh-GC, the language of the quotations (mostly Old Irish, showing some Middle Irish orthographical developments) is largely preserved, although the use <g> for Old Irish <c> in the glosses points

¹ = *CIH* iii.1111.1–1132.40. For surviving fragmentary versions and commentary, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 184–8. For Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh and this section of the manuscript, see Ó Muraíle, 'Celebrated Antiquary', p. 82.

² = *CIH* ii.603.16–604.38. For images, transcription, text, and translation, see Appendix 3. For the distribution of lemmata in both Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC, see Appendix 6.

³ Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 144–5. For a discussion of *DDC*, see Russell, 'Sounds of a Silence', pp. 4–5, and Russell, 'Dúil Dromma Cetta', pp. 147–74.

⁴ See Kobel, 'Codicology' (forthcoming). I am grateful to her for sharing with me the pre-proof copy of this article.

to a later Middle Irish date.¹ Kobel has drawn attention to the volume of glossary material in Máel Íosa's Book, which includes a mixture of *glossae collectae* and larger glossaries on a variety of topics.² Aidbriugh-GC itself is not a large fragment, measuring approximately 12cm × 9cm wide in length on the left side and 10cm in length on the right side. Each page is divided into two columns, with the glossary entries running with a neat and regular spacing down the columns. The initial of each lemma is larger than the rest of the script and set slightly off in the left margin so that it stands aside in the column. The first two letters are set aside in this way in *imfábar*, and the first word in *ing nadh*. On both pages, highlighting the lemmata is much more exaggerated on the left-hand column where there is greater space to do so.

There are 35 entries in total, not including the etymological gloss *aithech* which was added into the upper margin of p. 62 and which cites *BNT* as its source. The initial column, p. 61^a, contains eight entries; the remaining columns each contain nine entries (not including the marginal entry *aithech*). Each entry – with the exception of *rinn* – begins a new line, and within entries the scribe makes use of additional space leftover from previous lines. Two reference marks are used, one to indicate an omission (Appendix 3 s.v. *feith*) and another to indicate a relatively long continuation into the margin (Appendix 3 s.v. *glaidomuin gudombuin*). Overall the content appears systematic and well planned with occasional omissions and slips. In addition to that at *glaidomuin gudombuin*, there are two marginal entries: *i n-ainm in Triar* 'in the name of the Trinity' above p. 62^a; and *aithech*.

It should be emphasised that Aidbriugh-GC is a small fragment; the size indicates that it was intended as a working glossary for individual use which could be moved easily and, in particular, which could be easily studied side-by-side with a base text. There is no attempt at arranging the entries into α -order, and the entries appear in a number of lexical forms. On the basis of *BND-H*, all but two of the identifiable citations in Aidbriugh-GC run in textual order.³ Citations from the base text are introduced by *ut est*; only the entry *ar is be carna* does not contain a citation in the gloss, because the lemma itself is the citation. The marginal entry *aithech* does not appear to contain a citation.⁴ A further possible exception is the entry at *glaidomuin*, where the citation begins apart from the main text on the top margin, and runs into the right margin. It may be that the citation was added later; however, the most likely reason for this is simply a scribal error in failing to add the citation in the first place. The overall effect is of a set of *glossae collectae* designed for an individual to work with one base text, which has then begun to be

¹ For example, *sgailedh* (for *scailed*) (*fuasnadh*, Appendix 3 p. 36); *aca* beside *aga* (for *oca*) (*taltugud*, Appendix 3, p. 38).

² Paper presented by Kobel at the XVIth International Celtic Congress, Prifysgol Bangor, 21st July 2019.

³ = *taltugud* and *darb*, which are in the reverse order in *BND-H* (*CIH* iii.1129.25 and 1129.13 respectively).

⁴ See also *aithech*, which also does not contain an *ut est* construction (Appendix 3, p. 27).

expanded with other relevant material. For a comparison of the layers of expansion within Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC, see Chapter 10.

9.1.2 Base Text: a *BND* Glossary

Of the total 35 entries in Aidbriugh-GC, 27 have at least one reference to an extant text; 8 entries do not (see table of concordances below). Page 62^b alone is entirely identifiable, and this is with *BND-H*. The marginal comment on p. 61^a suggests that Aidbriugh-GC was taken entirely from a version of *BND*: *A bretha neime deidhinach so* ‘This is from *BND*’. Though there are no references to *BND-H* on p. 61, there are a number of other sources which point towards *BND* as the base text, despite the absence of extant sources.

A concordance of the references to Aidbriugh-GC is as follows:

PAGE	AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	SC	OTHER
61 ^a	<i>aidbriugh</i>	§ 56 § 941		Breth-GC = CIH iii.1098.37
	<i>fiudrecht</i>			
	<i>coicle</i>	§ 373		
	<i>tombnadh</i>			
	<i>teinn</i>	§ 1526 § 1547		
	<i>ar is be carna</i>	§ 213		<i>Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid</i> = CIH iii.914.31 <i>Berrad Airechta</i> = CIH ii.596.14
	<i>gubha</i>		YAdd.718(?)	
	<i>feith</i>			
61 ^b	<i>tubhtar</i>			
	<i>nuin</i>	§ 390	Y.300 B.225 M.230 K.307 H1a.262 H1b.307	
	<i>ni</i>	§ 32		
	<i>cubhair</i>	§ 374	Y.310 B.237 M.240 K.317 H1b.317	

PAGE	AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	SC	OTHER
	<i>cru fechta</i>	§ 375	Y.308 B.234 M.238 K.316 H1b.315	
	<i>glaidomuín gudomhuin</i>		Y.696–7 B.415–16 M.408–9 K.704–5 H1a.640–1 H1b.727–8	
	<i>gubhi</i>			
	<i>baire</i>	§ 217	Y.698 B.417 M.410 K.706 H1a.642 H1b.729	
	<i>coisilset</i>	§ 627	Y.698	
62 ^a	<i>aithrech</i> [in marg.]		Y.51 B.54 M.48 K.51 H1a.29 H1b.51	
62 ^a	<i>slife</i>	§ 1187		
	<i>imfabar</i>			<i>CIH v.1587.22–7 (BND commentary)</i>
	<i>sini</i>			
	<i>tarla aithgin</i>			
	<i>ing nadh</i>			
	<i>rinn</i>			
	<i>brigh</i>			<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.1</i>
	<i>comaicc</i>			<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.5–6</i>
	<i>foithirbe</i>			<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.8–9</i>
	<i>toiscidhi</i>			<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.9–10</i>
62 ^b	<i>tochmastar</i>	§ 1550		<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.23;</i> <i>BNT = CIH vi.2227.7–8</i>
	<i>toigrenn</i>	§ 1551		<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.24</i>
	<i>nesa</i>	§ 861		<i>BND = CIH iii.1111.24</i>

PAGE	AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	SC	OTHER
	<i>lai</i>			<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.32
	<i>fuasnadb</i>			<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.32–3
	<i>foimded</i>			<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.40–1
	<i>sgeo</i>			<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1113.7
	<i>taltugud</i>			<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1129.25
	<i>darb</i>	§ 629		<i>BND</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1129.13

The marginal comment on p. 61^a indicates that both sides of the folio were based on *BND*: *a bretha neime deidhinach so* ‘this is from *BND*’. For the continuous section of lemmata which can be found in *BND-H*, this can be supported with certainty. The very first entry of this section, i.e. *brigh*, directly cites from the very first line of *BND-H* as it now survives.¹ Those entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* which precede *brigh* cannot therefore be found in *BND-H*, because that section of *BND* is missing. Where unidentifiable citations from *Aidbriugh-GC* appear among citations from a *BND* block in O’Dav., it is reasonable to assume that they too belong to *BND*.² In this way, Breatnach has identified O’Dav. entries which cite *BND* and subsequently to *Aidbriugh-GC*.³

AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	BASE TEXT
	§ 1547 (1) s.v. <i>teann</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.5	<i>BND</i>
<i>teinn</i> =	§ 1547 (2) s.v. <i>tennadb</i>	= <i>BND</i>
	§ 1548 s.v. <i>torla</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.33	<i>BND</i>
	§ 389 s.v. <i>comraiti</i>	‘among citations from <i>BND</i> ’ ⁴
<i>nuin</i> =	§ 390 s.v. <i>coig</i>	= <i>BND</i>
	§ 391 (1) s.v. <i>crib</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1117.8	<i>BND</i>
	§ 216 s.v. <i>blor</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.41	<i>BND</i>
	§ 218 s.v. <i>bri</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1115.28	<i>BND</i>

¹ = *CIH* iii.1111.1.

² For a list of the sources used in O’Dav., see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 109–59. O’Dav. is in α -order; entries which are organised by textual source are then ordered by the first letter. If entries are from the same source in a block, they will have been absorbed in textual order, and α -ordering can therefore preserve the original pattern of acquisition of entries. However, it is difficult to know whether the order presented in O’Dav. reflects the original textual order, or whether there was a second layer of ordering which rearranged some of the material. The latter seems likely; the constant process of compiling a glossary involves editing techniques such as the recycling of entries, which would disrupt the previous sequences.

³ This includes the *Caíer* narrative preserved in *SC* Y.698, for which see Chapter 9.1.7. For detailed references of the base text sources identified by Breatnach in the following tables, see Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 109–56 under the relevant entry.

⁴ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 119.

A number of O'Dav. entries which correspond to *Aidbriugh-GC* do not sit clearly in a *BND* block. The first entry, *aidbriugh*, is connected to two different entries in O'Dav. The following table shows the *aidbriugh* entry and its context in O'Dav.:

AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	BASE TEXT
	§ 55 = <i>CIH</i> vi.2226.29	<i>BNT</i>
<i>aidbriugh</i>	§ 56	
	§ 60 (1) = <i>CIH</i> iii.1018.6, vi.2163.6	<i>Anfuigell</i> , § 55

The first *aidbriugh* reference appears in between an entry from *BNT* and an entry from *Anfuigell*; neither the *BNT* nor *Anfuigell* entry are part of a block. Presumably the *aidbriugh* entries in O'Dav. have been separated from *BND* blocks subsequent to their addition to O'Dav.

The entries *coicle*, *cubhair*, and *cru fecht* form a small block in O'Dav.:

AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	BASE TEXT
	§ 371 = <i>CIH</i> vi.2230.14	<i>BNT</i>
	§ 372 s.v. <i>cern</i>	'doubtless from <i>BND</i> ' ¹
<i>coicle</i> =	§ 373 s.v. <i>coigle</i>	= <i>BND</i>
<i>cubhair</i> =	§ 374 s.v. <i>cufir</i>	= <i>BND</i>
<i>cru fecht</i> =	§ 375 s.v. <i>cruechta</i>	= <i>BND</i>
	§ 376 s.v. <i>camper</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.14	<i>BND</i>

As O'Dav. stands, *coicle*, *cubhair*, and *cru fecht* are from *BND*, and the textual order is supported by the matching order of these entries in *Aidbriugh-GC*.²

Aidbriugh-GC ni is followed by a *BND* entry in O'Dav., but not preceded by one;³ Breatnach considers the preceding entry, on a poem, to also belong to *BND* on the basis that all other entries referring to this poem precede *BND* material.⁴ As a result, it is possible to identify the *Aidbriugh-GC* entry *ni* as belonging to *BND*.

Three entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* correspond to O'Dav. entries beginning *BND* blocks:

¹ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 119.

² Note that these entries are in reverse order and with a small gap between them in *SC* (see Parallel Text in the relevant entry in Appendix 3 for references).

³ *ni* = O'Dav. § 32 s.v. *arsaidh*; for this block in O'Dav., see Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 109.

⁴ Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 187.

AIDBRIUGH-GC ENTRY	O'DAV.	BASE TEXT ¹
	§ 211 s.v. <i>bubtad</i> = <i>CIH</i> vi.2230.14	<i>BNT</i>
<i>ar is be carna</i> =	§ 213 s.v. <i>bé charna</i>	
	§ 214 s.v. <i>biadhbach</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1112.1	<i>BND</i>
	§ 626 s.v.	<i>Caldron</i> § 8
<i>coisilset</i> =	§ 627 s.v. <i>docoislet</i> † <i>docoisilet</i>	
	§ 628 s.v. <i>doalaigh</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1119.20	<i>BND</i>
	§ 1186 s.v. <i>lias</i> = <i>CIH</i> iv.1239.14	<i>Antéchtæ</i>
<i>slife</i> =	§ 1187 s.v. <i>lethbi</i>	
	§ 1188 s.v. <i>logh</i> = <i>CIH</i> iii.1116.24	<i>BND</i>

All three of these entries begin blocks of *BND* material which can otherwise be found in *BND-H*. Again, although it cannot be said with completely certainty, the proximity of Aidbriugh-GC entries to *BND* material in O'Dav. implies that the Aidbriugh-GC entries also belonged to *BND*. Consequently, where O'Dav. entries correspond to Aidbriugh-GC, it is possible to identify *BND* as the base text for Aidbriugh-GC in these instances. As a result, it is possible to assign these entries to *BND* material which has since been lost.¹ These are marked in bold in the list below. Underline indicates secondary material connected to *BND*.

Lemmata in Aidbriugh-GC

- ***aidbriugh***
- *fuidrecht*
- ***coicle***
- *tombnadh*
- ***teinn***
- ***ar is be carna***
- *gubha*
- *feith*
- *tubhtar*
- ***nuin***
- ***ni***

- ***cubhair***
- ***cru fechtá***
- *glaidomuín gudombuín*
- *gubhi*
- ***baire***
- ***coisilset***
- *aithech*
- ***slife***
- *imfæbar*
- *sini*
- *tarla aithgín*
- *ing nadh*

BND-H

- *brigh*
- *comaicc*
- *foithirbe*
- *toiscidhi*
- ***tochmastar***
- ***toigrenn***
- ***nesa***
- *lai*
- *fuasnadh*
- *foimded*
- *sgeo*
- *taltugud*
- ***darb***

¹ The link between Aidbriugh-GC and O'Dav. with *BND* material has been noted by Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 186.

As one would expect a set of *glossae collectae* to run in textual order and given the distribution of those entries which correspond to O'Dav., those entries which occur in neither *BND-H* or O'Dav. are presumably also from *BND*. *Aidbriugh-GC* is therefore a set of *glossae collectae* on *BND* containing material which has not survived in *BND-H*.

The following discussion will look at each of these entries in turn, taking a column at a time. Discussion of entries by column is for convenience only, and should not imply that the scribe was using artificial boundaries. The discussion should be read alongside the text and translation of *Aidbriugh-GC* (Appendix 3).

9.1.3 Page 61^a: AIDBRIUGH – FEITH

The entry ***aidbriugh*** (Appendix 3 p. 15) corresponds to material in *Breth-GC* (= *CIH* iii.1098.37) and O'Dav. § 56. While *Breth-GC* and O'Dav. § 56 focus specifically on poetry, *Aidbriugh-GC* and O'Dav. focus on the legalities of a claim and their citations differ accordingly.

Within this column, three entries do not relate to any existing material: *fuidrecht*, *tombnadh*, and *feith*. The meaning of the first of these, ***fuidrecht*** (Appendix 3 p. 16), is unclear and I am uncertain of to what it refers. The initial gloss *fríth* is a technical legal term used of something or someone that is found.¹ The citation (*fornocht fuidrecht*) is more complex. Meyer understood *fuidrecht* as the passive preterite of the verbal form **fo-di-reg*, which gave the abstract form *fuidrech*.² The verb *do-rig* (< **di-reg*) has the sense 'strips, despoils', and so presumably the form **fo-di-reg* conveys a similar meaning. *Fornocht*, which literally means 'bare' or 'naked', presumably has the sense 'stripped of armour' in this context. *Fríth* may then refer to someone who has been 'found' (and subsequently despoiled), giving a specific meaning to *fuidrecht* here as 'despoiled [man] who has been found'. This renders the citation *dina fornocht fuidrecht* as 'from the found stripped [man] who has been despoiled'. If this is the case, then the subject of *fuidrecht* is the stripping of weapons, although it remains unclear whether the finding refers to a man who is armed and can be despoiled, or to a man who has already been despoiled; *innite* 'in it' in the reworking of the citation may indicate a specific location.

The second gloss in *fuidrecht* is a reworking of the citation: *airnechta* 'found' corresponds to *fuidrecht* in the sense of *fríth* 'something found', and *fírnochta*, literally meaning 'truly stripped',

¹ See Kelly, *GEIL*, pp. 123–4.

² In Pender, 'K. Meyers Nachträge', p. 333.

corresponds to *fornocht*. Both *airnechta* and *firnochta* are syllabic etymological glosses on *fornocht*, with *airnechta* presumably referring to the despoiled man who were found.¹

A possible connection between the entries *aidbriugh* and *fuidrecht* is the act of making a claim upon something found, although neither the material in *aidbriugh* or *fuidrecht* occurs in the *Aidbred* ‘Claiming’ text.² The idea of ‘finding’ in a legal framework may also link to the next entry, ***coicle*** (Appendix 3 p. 16). In keeping with the theme of the previous entry *fuidrecht*, Aidbriugh-GC understands *coicell* as *folach* ‘hiding’, whereas O’Dav. understands *comairle* ‘counsels’. Aidbriugh-GC preserves a longer citation than that in O’Dav., but copies it incorrectly; on the basis of O’Dav., the Aidbriugh-GC scribe misread *-di* for *-ch*, giving *crich* ‘boundary’ for *cridi* ‘of a heart’.

There is nothing ostensibly legalistic about *coicle*. The use of the 2nd sg. in the citation suggests that it was extracted from dialogue or verse, although I have been unable to locate it. The term *derbhaighter* ‘verified, proven’ may have had a specific legal sense in this context. While a theme of ‘hidden things’ provides a connection between these three entries (i.e. something hidden and therefore invalid; something that was hidden but is now found; thoughts or counsels which are hidden), there is not sufficient context to know whether this is the case; it relies not only on reading the quotations out of context, but also on Aidbriugh-GC preserving these entries in the same textual order as the source text from which they were extracted.

Following on from thoughts, the quotation in the next entry ***tomhnadh*** (Appendix 3 p. 17) refers to opining, and presumably refers to the dangers of overly-swift decision-making. Making a legal judgement over-swiftly was criticised in early Irish law, as described in the following gloss from *Gúbretha Caratniad*:

GC, § 42¹

Ni coir do brithem~~main~~ aurlama mbrethe, maille eitsechta, *tercce* foglamma

‘It is not proper for a judge to be overly quick to judge, slow in listening, lacking in learning.’

¹ i.e. *fornocht* <f-r-n-ch-t> > *airnechta* <[f]-r-n-ch-t> and *firnochta* <f-r-n-ch-t> >. A different explanation would take *firnochta* for *fir-nochtae* as the 3rd pl. rel. of *nochtaid* ‘who plunder, strip’, giving ‘to the found [men] who truly plunder in it’. This would involve a switch in subject, from the men who are found and despoiled to those who make the find and the despoiling.

² I am grateful to Charlene Eska for checking this for me. *Aidbred* text (currently being edited by Charlene Eska) = CIH iv.1269.21–1276.17, vi.2069.43–2076.20, vi.2163.33–2173.41; see also Eska, *Raven’s Battle-Cry*, pp. 304–6.

I can find no corresponding material to that in *tombnadh*, and the sense of the quotation may not relate to a specifically legal context; it could apply to any kind of ill-thought-through statement or slander.

Speech is again the focus in the next entry, *teinn* (Appendix 3 p. 17). The quotation in *teinn* appears in two entries in O'Dav. (O'Dav. §§ 1526, 1547). Although they match in content, with the exception of the gloss *canamain* (O'Dav. § 1547) the vocabulary in the O'Dav. entries differs from that in Aidbriugh-GC, e.g. O'Dav. § 1547 *canus fa dbeoidh* 'who repeats it at the end' = Aidbriugh-GC *an fer athcantana* 'the man who repeats'. O'Dav. § 1546 also refers to *isin focul frithuide* 'in the word of opposition'.¹ One possibility is that *focul frithuide* refers to the title of a text (i.e. *Focal Frithuide* 'Judgement on Opposition'), or to a section of a text. Meyer believed the phrase *focul i frithuide* to refer to a type of satire;² a verse on the same occurs in the text *Cis lir fodlai aire* in which it is described as a praise poem containing a satirical element.³ The phrase *focul frithaithe* (for *focul frithsuidi*) also occurs in *BND commentary* (= *CIH* v.1587.31–2), in which it is described as one of three satires which require restitution.⁴ Aidbriugh-GC *teinn* may then refer to *focal frithsuidi*-type satires.

The next entry *ar is bé carna* (Appendix 3 p. 18) is stylistically unusual within Aidbriugh-GC in that it is the only entry in which the quotation is the lemma.⁵ The phrase *ar is bé carna* also occurs in *Berrad Airechta*, in which it describes the reliability of overheard information.⁶ In Aidbriugh-GC, it refers to a prostitute using the metaphor of a cairn, playing on the words *carna* 'flesh, meat' and *carn* 'cairn';⁷ the prostitute is described as 'a woman of five men' just as a cairn is made up of five stones. This agrees with O'Dav. § 213, which also describes a prostitute (glossed explicitly as *merdrech*) as a woman who has gone with five men just as a cairn is four stones with a fifth stone on the top. The same idea occurs in *Di Astud Chirt 7 Dligid*, in which the structure matches Aidbriugh-GC but the number of cairn stones is three. Presumably there

¹ I follow Meroney in understanding *frithuide* in this context as 'opposition' (Meroney, 'Studies in Early Irish Satire I', pp. 209 § 9, 213). Another translation would be 'equivalence'. *Focal i frithsuidiu* is mentioned in *BN-commentary*, and so there may be a connection between O'Dav. § 1547.

² Meyer, 'Irische Bardennamen', p. 160.

³ ed. and transl. McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, p. 54 § 10.

⁴ = *CIH* v.1587.31. *Focal friaiche* (for *frithsuidi*) is grouped in *BND commentary* with *air* and *glám dicenn*. This phrase is translated by McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, p. 83 § 18 (previously by Meroney, 'Studies in Early Irish Satire I', pp. 212–213). McLaughlin does not provide a translation for *focal friaiche*, but renders it 'in the *focail i frithsuidiu*'. Elsewhere she follows Meroney (McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, p. 52 § 5, p. 54 § 10).

⁵ Using a relatively long (i.e. more than one or two word) quotation as the lemma frequently occurs in other *glossae collectae* and word-lists in *CIH*; for examples of which, see Chapter 8.

⁶ *ar is be carna cluas caibh* 'for everyone's hearing is a whore' *Berrad Airechta* = *CIH* ii.591.8–599.38 (Stacey, 'Berrad Airechta', pp. 210–36).

⁷ See also Power, 'Classes of Women', p. 108. Power also notes (*ibid*) that the term *bé carna* also occurs in *Senbriathra Fíthail*, p. 58 § 12.1–2: *Cid as mесо ban? Ni bannsa: bé cairn* 'What is the worst of women? Not hard to say: a prostitute' (the *bé cairn* is one of a number of women in this category).

has been a misreading of minims at some point in transmission between three and five (i.e. *u* or *m* read as *uu* = *iii*). The gloss *be charna .i. merdrech* occurs in a fragment of the Lecan Glossary in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 667–8 and TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 58^a.¹ Aidbriugh-GC presumably stems from a slightly different transmission to that in O'Dav. and Lecan, as it lacks the *merdrech* gloss.

Following *ar is bé carna*, the entry ***gubha*** (Appendix 3 p. 19) refers to *trebhocal*, a form of poem given as a warning after which a satire may be composed. In Aidbriugh-GC, the citation ‘a flood of lamentation’ is equated with ‘abundant reciting of their *trebhocals*’. Presumably this refers to the complaint that a poet has against his subject and which will cause the basis for the subsequent satire.

The final entry in this column is ***feith*** (Appendix 3 p. 19). The lemma itself is problematic and its sense is not clear from the quotation; it appears to be a genitive form, although I am uncertain of the base word. Possibly it is related to *féth* ‘art, knowledge’.² In this case, the phrase *fiach feith* may be better understood ‘[the] penalty [caused by] *féth*’. Again, without further context, the sense is unclear and I am cautious of assigning meaning without sufficient qualification.

9.1.4 Page 61^b: TUBHTAR – COISILSET

The entry ***tubhtar*** (Appendix 3 p. 20) refers to three stipulations (lit. ‘rocks’) which are required for a legal satire or praise-poem.³ *Gubha*, *feith*, and *tubhtar* therefore all deal with forms of poetry. The form *tubhtar* itself does not occur in the accompanying citation.

At the entry ***nuin*** (Appendix 3 p. 20) begin a series of references to the Caíer narrative (hereafter *CN*);⁴ this will be discussed in detail below in Chapter 9.1.7.

The corresponding quotation to Aidbriugh-GC *nuin* in *SC* B.225 and M.230 includes the beginning of the *CN* satire, naming Caíer. In *CN-SC*, the phrase ending *nuin* is followed by *et relinqua*; from *SC* B.225 and M.230, the phrase continued *ol mé Caíer gair*. Aidbriugh-GC has *damb* in the explanatory gloss (i.e. *run olc damb*), which may also reflect the sense of the phrase in its original context. A version of the quotation also occurs in the *Colloquy* as *ní chuala cuic n-inne maicc Adnai* ‘I never heard the secret of the sense of Adnae’s son’.⁵

¹ Lecan Glossary, § 109. The preceding entry (Lecan Glossary, § 108) lists *ben imroma .i. merdrech* ‘a wandering woman i.e. a prostitute’. For the Lecan Glossary, see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 155 and 202 respectively.

² DIL s.v. 6 *féth*.

³ For the metaphor of rocks used to describe a legal basis or definite evidence, see e.g. *GC*, § 46.

⁴ Preserved in *SC* Y.698 (= H1a.642, H1b.729), B.417, M.410, K.706

⁵ *Colloquy*, p. 14 § 6.

The following entry **ni** (Appendix 3 p. 22) refers to *glám díceann*, the satire which forms the basis of *CN-SC*. The corresponding entry in O'Dav. § 32 differs in lemma and gloss, but shares the same quotation. There is then a thematic shift from poetry, which has been the theme of the entries since *gubha* (i.e. *gubha*, *feith*, *tubhtar*, *nuin*, and *n*), to animals in the entry **cubhair** (Appendix 3 p. 22). Aidbriugh-*GC* differs significantly from corresponding entries in O'Dav. § 374 and *SC* Y.310; as the entry order matches in all three sources, Aidbriugh-*GC* must have developed in a different direction from O'Dav. and *SC* at an early stage. Some corruption has taken place during the transmission of this entry in Aidbriugh-*GC*.

In **cru fechta** (Appendix 3 p. 23), the theme of birds in a battle context continues and qualifies *cru fechta* as 'crows of battle'. The citation begins with a dative plural followed by what is presumably a nominative plural, and it is unclear how the two nouns fit together. The entry was presumably intended – either in Aidbriugh-*GC* or an earlier version – to be used alongside the main text, in which case the context would have been provided. Pokorny understands *crú* as 'raven' ('*Rabe*') and connects it to Latin *corvus*;¹ *crú* as 'hooded crow' seems to have been a relatively rare usage. The lemma itself is split into its two parts (i.e. *cru* and *fechta*), combining in the citation.²

The entry **glaidomuín gudomhuín** (Appendix 3 p. 24) begins in the text and expands into the top right margin. Like *cru fechta*, the lemma is a compound.³⁴ The entry in the main body of text ends mid-line after the initial explanatory glosses following *gudomhuín* (i.e. *bansigaidhe*); the rest of the line is then filled with material from the next entry *gubhi*. A reference mark (a triple punctum) links the end *bansigaidhe* to the top margin, at which point the quotation begins. Therefore the glossator either omitted the quotation when copying the glosses and had to add them to the margins later (i.e. after copying *gubhi*), or it was added from a different source at a later point. The top margin consists of the citation followed by an etymological gloss (*deamuín goacha*, from *gudomhuín*) and etymological-explanatory glosses (from *na morrigna* to *.d. na fendóga*);⁵ and the text then runs down the right-hand column containing a second etymological gloss (*eamnait a nglædha*, from *glaidomuín*) and an etymological-explanatory gloss (from *no eamnait* to *na*

¹ Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 567, 570. This example and instances of *cru fechta* are listed under DIL s.v. 1 *crú* (e).

² In *SC* Y.308 and O'Dav. § 375, the lemma is treated as a compound and only the first gloss is provided.

³ I leave the two lemmata together as one entry in Aidbriugh-*GC* as the quotation deals with both words, and – with the exception of *rim* – every other entry in Aidbriugh-*GC* begins a new line.

⁴ I agree with Mills in understanding an implied conjunction in *glaidomuín gudomhuín* (Mills, 'Glossing the Glosses', p. 69).

⁵ i.e. *gudomhuín* (<g-d-m-n>) > *goacha* (<g-[ch]>) + *demuín* <d-m-n>).

fendóga).¹ In SC Y.696, *glaidemain* is glossed *maic tire glaidaite* ‘wolves who howl’ and *focerdait hualla* ‘they emit wailing’. SC Y.697 glosses *gudemain* as *uatha 7 morrignæ* ‘terrors and the Morrígain’.

The terms *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* are slightly problematic. Hennessey used the accompanying glosses *sinnaig* and *mac tire* as an explanation.² Borsje, querying why *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* should be connected together, suggests that the scribe may have seen *glaidomuin* as consisting of *gláed* ‘cry, shout, howl’ and *demain*, ‘demons’, just as *gudomhuin* could be interpreted as *gú* ‘false’ and *demain* ‘demons’; the gloss needed then to take the ‘false howlers’ first in order to distinguish them from shriekers.³ Mills presents a linguistic discussion of these terms in which she argues that they developed from *gláed* ‘shout’ + agent suffix > ‘howler’; and *guth* ‘voice’ + agent suffix > ‘voice-maker’.⁴

All three discussions rely to some extent on the etymological glosses in order to make sense of the lemmata. Both Borsje and Mills use the reference to the Morrígain as a basis to discuss the content of the glosses with other aspects of supernatural woman in Irish literature.⁵ Based on the etymological gloss ‘double their calls’, Mills, following Borsje, connects the ‘howling’ with echoes including Echo of Classical literature and biblical parallels, concluding that the Aidbriugh-GC scribe had both secular heroic and theological frameworks in mind.⁶ Hennessey draws attention to the semantic link between the glosses *sinnaig* and *mac tire* with the etymological glosses, but describes the *glaidomuin gudomhuin* marginalia as ‘etymological quibbles’.⁷

The Morrígain became interchangeable with Badb;⁸ *gudomhuin* may then have represented supernatural battle figures. Possibly some supernatural meaning was intended. However, I would suggest that there is a danger of being too literal and reading too much into the etymological glosses, or of linking them to Classical and biblical parallels; etymology was not restricted to exact meaning, and therefore etymological glosses cannot be used as definitive proof to reconstruct the meaning of a word.

The gloss *mac tire*, added above *sindaig* in the main text, corresponds to the gloss in SC Y.696 and was presumably added to Aidbriugh-GC from a version of SC.⁹ SC may also be the

¹ i.e. *glaidomuin* (<g-l-d-m-n> > *gláedha* (<g-l-d>) + *eamnait* (<m-n-[t]>).

² Hennessey, ‘Ancient Irish Goddess’, pp. 36–7.

³ Borsje, ‘Terrors’, p. 89.

⁴ Mills, ‘Glossing the Glosses’, pp. 66–8.

⁵ Borsje, ‘Terror’, pp. 88–90; Mills, ‘Glossing the Glosses’, pp. 70–9.

⁶ Mills, ‘Glossing the Glosses’, pp. 70–9.

⁷ Hennessey, ‘Ancient Irish Goddess’, p. 47.

⁸ Herbert, ‘Transmutations’, p. 145.

⁹ Unlike the initial explanatory glosses in the main body of text (i.e. *sindaigh*, *fennóga*, and *bansigaidhe*), *mac tire* is not worked into the subsequent etymological glosses, which also suggests that it was taken from another source, and not simply omitted during copying.

source for the second marginal comment in the right-hand margin;¹ the description in Aidbriugh-GC of *glaidomuin* that ‘foxes double their calls’ may be a collation of Aidbriugh-GC and SC material. The etymological glosses which link Aidbriugh-GC with SC look like additional material added to Aidbriugh-GC after the *glossae collectae* were copied out and the etymological glosses are in reverse order to the lemmata. However, I suspect it was part of the exemplar that the Aidbriugh-GC scribe was using as in-text glosses; every other entry in Aidbriugh-GC contains a citation, and the lexicon is distinct from SC.

The entry *gubhi* (Appendix 3 p. 25) continues the animal theme, moving to horses. The use of Latin in the initial explanatory gloss (i.e. *beille* for *belli*) makes it relatively distinctive within the context of this type of *glossae collectae*.² The form *gubhi* does not seem to occur elsewhere. From the accompanying initial explanatory glosses *beille* and *in catha*, one would expect it to be a genitive singular form meaning ‘of battle’. Presumably it is *gubai* ‘of lamentation’, using a specific meaning of ‘lamentation [caused by battle]’.³

The entry *baire* (Appendix 3 p. 25) relates directly to CN-SC, as it cites part of the satire delivered by Néide mac Adnae against the protagonist Cáier. The last entry in this column is *coisilset* (Appendix 3 p. 26). Aidbriugh-GC and O’Dav. § 627 contain versions of the same quotation. Aidbriugh-GC has *coisilset*, from *con-sela*, as the headword, with *ditcoisilset*, from *do-coisli*, in the citation; O’Dav. has *docoislet* & *docoisilet*, from *do-coisli*, as the lemma.⁴ These verbs share the same root (*com-sel-), where *do-coisli* has an additional preverbal particle (*to-com-sel) than the simpler compound *con-sela*, and they have largely the same meaning, of ‘departs; escapes’. Aidbriugh-GC lemmatises the form *coisilset* only, while the citation preserves *dit-coisilset*.⁵ This preverbal particle does not appear in the citation in O’Dav. Taking the verb as transitive, containing the pronoun in the verbal prefix (*dit-*), Aidbriugh-GC is unnecessarily repeating the object in the phrase *dit.c. fort fiadbmúine*: literally, ‘may wild animals flee you upon you’. Possibly the scribe has misunderstood what he was copying, and perhaps conflated multiple glossary entries for this citation. A second possibility is that *fort* is being used to emphasise the object contained in the preverbal particle. However, the definition of *for* does not easily allow for this, as it generally refers to movement towards.⁶ Movement towards contradicts the point of the

¹ Noted by Borsje, ‘Terror’, p. 89.

² *Beille* for *belli* noted by Binchy, *CIH* ii.604 fn. g. *Beille* is a nice example of a Hibernicised Latin spelling, providing a glide vowel (<i>) and . It is possible that the scribe was unaware that *beille* was Latin, although the Irish gloss *in catha* suggests that he was (even if he required clarification in Irish of meaning and case).

³ If these are forms of *guba*, then it would connect this entry back to the earlier entry *gubha* (Appendix 3 p. 19).

⁴ DIL s.v. 2 *con-sela*; DIL s.v. *do-coisli*. O’Dav.’s *coislet* is the presumably the imperative form of *do-coisli*, though there are no further attested forms of the prototonic.

⁵ *dit.c.* is printed separately in Gwynn’s transcription as *dit coisilset* (Gwynn, ‘Old-Irish Tract’, p. 55 § 18).

⁶ *For* generally has a positive sense in the case of movement, meaning motion towards, and in an abstract sense indicates the possession of values and qualities. See DIL s.v. *for*.

citation, unless it is that wild animals are fleeing towards someone. The O'Dav. gloss is slightly paradoxical to this effect; both *con-sela* and *do-coisli* emphasise motion away, not towards as *dodechsat* would seem to suggest. The most likely solution is that there was a confusion between *dit* and *fort*. Aidbriugh-GC drops the infixed pronoun in the modernised reworking following the citation (i.e. *rocosluaidbet fort*), although *rocosluidbet* itself is not entirely clear. The fact that *co* is contained within the verb, between *ro* and *-s-luaidbet*, suggests that it is part of the verb, rather than a conjunction; this would make the verb something like **colháidid*.

9.1.5 Page 62^a: AITHECH – TOISCIDHI

There are two items of marginalia in the upper margin of p. 62. The first reads *inainmmintrir* ‘in the name of the Trinity’. The second is an etymological gloss under the lemma ***aithech*** (Appendix 3 p. 27). The same lemma and the initial gloss is also found in SC Y.51 *áith-och*. There is an additional explanation in Aidbriugh-GC, which etymologises *aithech* as *oech lach* ‘enemy warrior’ before continuing in a similar manner to SC.¹ Aidbriugh-GC has *lach aith* ‘keen warrior’ for SC’s *nama aith* ‘keen enemy’. These are minor variations; the material is essentially the same in both SC and Aidbriugh-GC.

Aside from it being marginalia, there are three points which suggest that *aithech* was added to Aidbriugh-GC from a separate source to the exemplar. Firstly, it is the only entry within Aidbriugh-GC to lack a citation.² Secondly, it is the only entry within Aidbriugh-GC to cite its base text: *bretha neme tós* ‘[this is from] *Bretha Nemed Toísech*’. Finally, *aithech* is the only entry in Aidbriugh-GC to contain an explicitly Isidorean-style etymology.³ Both in style and content, *aithech* is anomalous within Aidbriugh-GC. It was presumably added to Aidbriugh-GC based on common material or theme, and thus the scribe conscientiously made a note that it was from a different source.⁴

The lemma ***slife*** (Appendix 3 p. 28) is complex. *Slife* itself looks like a genitive form, but I cannot provide a meaning.⁵ The initial explanatory gloss *lethnúgud* suggests it meant something like ‘extending, broadening, spreading’. However, there is reason to think that the citation in Aidbriugh-GC has been corrupted. The citation corresponds to that in O'Dav. § 1187 but for

¹ i.e. *oech* is equated with *lach*.

² *Ar is bé carna* (Appendix 3 p. 18) contains the citation within the lemma.

³ *Fuidrecht* (Appendix 3 p. 16) contains etymological material, but the etymologies are placed in a wider explanatory gloss.

⁴ There are no references to this material in the existing version of BNT.

⁵ This example from Aidbriugh-GC is the only one provided in DIL s.v. *slife*?

two differences: O'Dav. *imus* corresponds to Aidbriugh-GC *imat* and O'Dav. *lethbi* corresponds to Aidbriugh-GC *slife*. Stokes does not provide a translation for O'Dav. § 1187. One possibility is that *slife* is a later phonetic spelling of *leithbe* (i.e. /lɛfə/) with an initial prosthetic <s-> (perhaps from *is leithbe*?). If this is *leithbe* 'partiality' (< *leth* + *benaíd*, DIL s.v. *leithbe*), the gloss *lethnígud* presumably was employed metaphorically. This said, O'Dav. § 1187 is not straightforward. Even if fragmentary, the syntax of the citation in O'Dav. is not clear as *imus* does not seem to relate to the rest of the phrase. I therefore leave *slife* and *lethbi* untranslated in Appendix 3.

The entries ***imfæbhar*** and ***sini*** (Appendix 3 pp. 28–9) are discussed below in relation to CN.¹ I am uncertain of the meaning of the compound *níthsine*, and I wonder whether it is the end-result of a copying error for *sním*. A version of the gloss *in níth ocus snímb* occurs in TBC LL 5796 in the phrase *in sním nítha* 'worry about the fight'. One explanation for *sini* is that a scribe misread something like *níthsní* (with expansion mark) as *níthsini*.

At ***tarla aithgin*** (Appendix 3 p. 30) we have another example of what I have termed for convenience a 'compound lemma', i.e. two individual words glossed separately and accompanied by a single citation containing both lemmata.² This entry begins a section of glosses (*tarla aithgin – toiscidhí*) on the quarrel between Athirne and the river Modarn, of which part is preserved in BND CIH iii.1111.1–11.³ As summarised by Gwynn, the story recounts how Athirne pronounced a satire on the Modern and, in retaliation, the Modern avenges itself by flooding the country and carrying off valuables and property; to pacify the river, Athirne composes a praise poem.⁴

The next entry, ***ing nadh*** (Appendix 3 p. 30) also belongs to the Athirne and Modarn story. As noted by Gwynn, the Modarn carried off goods and property in response to Athirne's satire. The following entry ***rinn*** (Appendix 3 p. 31), which precedes the first entry to survive in extant BND text (*brigh*), presumably also belonged to this story, although *rinn* itself is too short to give any sense of context. *Rinn* is also the only entry within Aidbriugh-GC which does not start a new line in the manuscript.

At ***brigh*** (Appendix 3 p. 31) references to the Modarn story continue, and the citation quoted in *brigh* is the very first line of the surviving version of BND. Within Aidbriugh-GC, *brigh* begins the first of a series of references to extant BND material; the citations from this point onwards are almost identical to BND-H.⁵ Both *brigh* and the following entry, ***comaicc***

¹ See Chapter 9.1.7.

² Other examples of compound lemmata in Aidbriugh-GC are *cru fechta* (Appendix 3 p. 23) and *glaidomuin gudomhuin* (Appendix 3 p. 24). I have not come across this style of lemmatisation elsewhere in glossarial material.

³ I am grateful to Liam Breatnach for pointing this out to me.

⁴ Gwynn, 'Old Irish Tract', p. 57.

⁵ = CIH iii.1111.1.

(Appendix 3 p. 31) refer to the river. Here again the Aidbriugh-GC scribe separates the verb (*comaicc*) from the preverbal particle (*at-*) in the lemma. Just as in *coisilset*, where *dit-* is omitted from the lemma, so in *comaicc* there is no indication in the headword that it is a compound verb. The remaining two entries in this column, *foithirbe* and *toiscidhi* (Appendix 3 p. 32), continue to quote from the Modarn story in *BND*.

Following the distribution of this section of lemmata of *brigh* to *toiscidhi* in *BND-H*, it is tempting to assume that the preceding entries (*sini*, *tarla aithgin*, *ing nadh*, *rinn*) preceded the opening of *BND-H* very closely; if there is only a sentence or less of *BND* between Aidbriugh-GC entries, it would seem reasonable that the same applies to the unidentifiable entries. The content of the entries *tarla aithgin* and *ing nadh* clearly relate to the Modarn story, and so in this short section of Aidbriugh-GC we have a witness to the earlier section of the story which has since been lost.

9.1.6 Page 62^b: TOCHMASTAR – DARB

The entries *tochmastar* and *toigrenn* (Appendix 3 pp. 33–4) may be viewed together. They share the same initial gloss (i.e. *tobach*) and in *BND-H* the citations are separated by just one sentence.¹ The citation in *tochmastar* also occurs in *BNT* and O'Dav., and in all four sources the citations match.² Aidbriugh-GC *toigrenn* and O'Dav. § 1551 can be used to restore the illegible characters in *BND-H* (i.e. *BND-H im...* for *imtoigrinn*).³ In both Aidbriugh-GC and O'Dav., the verb has been separated from the preverbal particle; *toigrenn* is the lemma, not *imtoigrenn*. This breakdown of verbal structure in lemmatisation occurs elsewhere in Aidbriugh-GC;⁴ in this example it may have been influenced by syllabic etymological process, which has also separated the preverbal particle from the remaining lemma form in order to create the etymological gloss *ēm toibhghes*.

The citation in the following entry *nesa* (Appendix 3 p. 34) continues directly on from where the citation in *toigrenn* ends, and the two together form the beginning of a single sentence in *BND-H*.⁵ Having jumped almost two paragraphs forward, the Aidbriugh-GC scribe now focuses on what comprises just four lines in *BND-H*. Again, Aidbriugh-GC separates the

¹ MS p. 135^{a-b} = *CIH* iii.1111.23–4.

² *BNT* = *CIH* vi.2227.7–8. *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1111.23; O'Dav., § 1550. DIL s.v. *imm-togrinn*. This example is the only example of the verb cited.

³ = *CIH* iii.1111.24.

⁴ See below, p. 256.

⁵ = *CIH* iii.1111.24.

preverbal particle from the verb in the course of lemmatisation.¹ Unlike *toigrenn*, the corresponding entry in O'Dav. § 861 preserves the full lemma form.

Another phase of close-reading then begins, in which part of what forms a single phrase in *BND-H* is used as the basis for two entries in *Aidbriugh-GC*, *lai* and *fuasnadh* (Appendix 3 pp. 35–6). Again, the citations in *Aidbriugh-GC* closely match those in *BND-H*. The final entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* continue to show a close correspondence to *BND-H* with only minor orthographic variations. There is, however, a notable change in the pattern of distribution at this point, whereby the corresponding citation in *BND-H* for the entry *foimded* (Appendix 3 p. 37) begins on the next page of *BND-H*, and this is then followed by *sgeo* (Appendix 3 p. 37), which cites from a new section of *BND-H*.² Finally, *taltugud* and *darb* (Appendix 3 p. 38) have jumped ahead fourteen pages.³ It is only at this point that it becomes clear that some internal editing has taken place in *Aidbriugh-GC*, as the two entries occur in the reverse order in *BND-H*. The gap between *taltugud* and *darb* and the preceding entries is substantial and indicates either the importation of material from another *glossae collectae* on *BND*, which has either already undergone re-ordering or is re-ordered during the process of absorption, or a change in purpose, whereby close reading of one section of *BND* is abandoned in favour of another section. The distribution of entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* corresponding to *BND-H* is discussed in more detail below. It is sufficient to say at this point that the evidence of *BND-H* shows at least part of *Aidbriugh-GC* (or its exemplar) to be working with a version of *BND* very similar to *BND-H*. Regarding *darb*, the corresponding entry in O'Dav. § 629 contains the phrase *amail atberr a cain techta*. In his note on O'Dav. § 629, Stokes took *cain techta* to be the name of a law-book. I have not come across any other references to a *Cáin Techta*; if the name of a law-book, it must refer to a subchapter of *BND*. Corthals suggests that it referred to *Ántéchtæ*, specifically the passage on privileges (*CIH* iv.1240.21–3).⁴

The following sections will first examine the evidence for *Aidbriugh-GC* as a witness to an earlier version of *CN-SC*, and then turn to the distribution and pattern of *BND* entries in *Aidbriugh-GC*.

¹ See below, p. 256.

² *foimded* = MS p. 136^b = *CIH* iii.1112.40–1; *sgeo* = MS p. 136^b = *CIH* iii.1112.7.

³ MS p. 150^a = *CIH* iii.1129.13 (*darb*), 25 (*taltugud*).

⁴ Corthals, 'Stimme, Atem und Dichtung', p. 146.

9.1.7 Aidbriugh-GC and the Caíer Narrative: lost verses

The series of entries from *nuin* to *sini* (Appendix pp. 20–9) may provide details of a lost verse from the *Caíer* narrative (hereafter *CN*). *CN* is a short tale that only survives in *SC*, in which glosses have been incorporated into the narrative. Although, as Russell has noted, ‘there are fundamental methodological problems involved in trying to date glossaries’, the compilation of *SC* at the end of the 9th century was most likely a compilation of pre-existing glossary material, and so we can place *CN* to the Old Irish period.¹ The long version of *CN* is preserved in *SC* Y.698 and *SC* K.706, which are identical in content (hereafter *CN-SC*).² It is worth providing here a summary of *CN-SC*:

CN-SC (*SC* Y.698) (transl. Russell, ‘Poets, Power and Possessions’, pp. 34–5)

- Etymological gloss on *gaire* as *gair* ‘short’ and *ré* ‘period of time’.
- Caíer mac Gutháir, king of Connacht, adopts his nephew Néide mac Adnae meic Gutháir as his son.
- Caíer’s wife falls in love with Néide, and wins his affections by promising him kingship of Connacht after Caíer. Her plan is for Néide to ask Caíer for something he cannot give, so that Néide can compose a satire against Caíer and cause him to have a blemish (and thus disqualify Caíer from kingship).
- Néide asks Caíer for his knife from Alba, knowing that Caíer is under prohibition not to give the knife away.
- Caíer refuses Néide’s request, and Néide performs a *glám dícend* satire against him so that three blisters appear on his cheeks.
- The satire, accompanied by glosses, beginning *maile baire gaire Caíer*:
 - o ‘Evil, death, short life for Caíer.
 - o The spears of battle will wound him, Caíer.
 - o May Caíer die! may Caíer perish! Caíer
 - o under earth, under ramparts, under stones.’
- Three blisters appear on Caíer’s face the next morning; to avoid disgrace, he flees to Dún Cermnae.

¹ Russell, ‘*Dúil Dromma Cetta*’, p. 156.

² Glosses = *SC* B.417, M.410, OM 619; see further *SC* H1a.642 and H1b.729. Satire = *UR*, § 23.

SC K contains a scribal note (UCD Franciscan MS A12, p. 21a37), inserted on the same line as the main text at the end of the column: *bruith namad ort a dal-* ‘boiling of enemies on you, o Dal-’. This insult was perhaps inspired by the boiling rock that kills Caíer (*roífech ocus ro lasaí in ail la becc Caíer SC* K.706). I cannot find any corresponding personal names to Dal- in the other scribal notes in the manuscript.

- Néide takes the kingship of Connacht, and rules until the end of the year until guilt gets the better of him. He and Caíer's wife take Caíer's chariot and hunting dogs to Dún Cermnae.
- Caíer hides under a stone in a cleft behind the fortress, but the dogs find him.
- Caíer dies from shame at seeing Néide. The rock boils and blazes at his death, and a splinter from the rock flies into Néide's eye and shatters in his head.
- Néide delivers more dialogue: 'You did not hear an evil secret'. The rest of the dialogue is omitted (represented by *et reliqua*).
- The narrative ends with a poem describing the splinter entering Néide's head.

The satire delivered by Néide has two functions: it successfully causes Caíer to give up his kingship; and it foretells the manner of Caíer's death. These types of tales are typical to *SC*;¹ poets were a predominant theme and satire is a preoccupation of *BND* (and by consequence *Aidbriugh-GC*). Using the text-blocks in O'Dav., Breatnach has demonstrated that *CN* was associated with *BND* material.² A number of *Aidbriugh-GC* entries occur in consecutive blocks in O'Dav. and *SC*; *Aidbriugh-GC* therefore provides an insight into material beyond that in O'Dav. which was also associated with *CN*. Entries *nuin* and *bairé* directly cite from *CN* as it is found in *CN-SC*. They correspond to O'Dav. §§ 390 and 217 respectively. In *Aidbriugh-GC* *nuin* and *bairé* are not in textual order; according to *CN-SC*, *bairé* should precede *nuin*. There are five entries between *nuin* and *bairé* whose lemmata do not occur in the existing versions of *CN*: *ni*, *cubhair*, *cru fechta*, *glaidomuín gudomhuín*, and *gubhi*. The block *nuin* – *bairé* therefore poses something of a problem. If *Aidbriugh-GC* is focused on one primary text and if the entries are generally in textual order, how do we account for the five entries separating *nuin* and *bairé*?

The first entry in this block (*ni*) can be dispensed with relatively simply. Although the term *ni* 'evil' does not occur in *CN-SC*, the gloss refers to *glám díkend*. *Glám díkend* is the type of satire that Néide employs against Caíer: *dogni Neide glam ndicend* (*SC* Y.698). While the citation in the entry *ni* may have been taken from a different reflex of *CN*, the reference to *glám díkend* is sufficient to assign the entry *ni* to *CN*.

With *ni* assigned to *CN*, the remaining entries to be accounted for are *cubhair*, *cru fechta*, *glaidomuín gudomhuín*, and *gubhi*. O'Dav. does not provide much support for the source of these entries. The following table provides the references between *Aidbriugh-GC* and O'Dav. for this section:

¹ Russell, 'Poets, Power and Possessions', pp. 32–3.

² Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 186–7.

AIDBRIUGH-GC LEMMA	O'DAV. LEMMA	O'DAV.
<i>nuin</i>	<i>coig</i>	§ 390
<i>ni</i>	<i>arsaidh</i>	§ 32
<i>cubhair</i>	<i>cufir</i>	§ 374
<i>cru fechta</i>	<i>cruechta</i>	§ 375
<i>glaidomuín gudombuín</i>	—	—
<i>gubhi</i>	—	—
<i>baire</i>	<i>baire</i>	§ 217

There are no equivalent entries in O'Dav. for *glaidomuín gudombuín* and *gubhi*, and nothing in the distribution of this block of entries in O'Dav. to clearly connect the remaining entries. *Cufir* and *cruechta* are placed together, but within the C block they are separated from *coig* by fifteen entries.

At this point, it is useful to turn to *SC*. Russell has noted that entries from *SM*, *Immacallaim in Dá Thúarad*, *Míadsblechta*, and *BN* are often blocked together in *SC*.¹ In other words, blocks of material belonging to a particular text occur within letter blocks in *SC* in a similar way to that in O'Dav. If one takes the entries in the block *nuin* – *baire* and compares them with *SC*, a pattern emerges. In the following table, bold font indicates lemmata which we have already established can be assigned to *CN*.

AIDBRIUGH-GC LEMMA	<i>SC</i> s.v. C	REFERENCES IN <i>SC</i>
<i>nuin</i>	<i>cuic</i> (= <i>nuin</i>)	H1a.262; B.225; H1b.306; K.307; M.230; Y.300
<i>ni</i>	(see <i>glam</i> s.v. G)	
<i>cubhair</i>	<i>cru fechto</i>	[not in H1a]; B.234; H1b.315; K.315; M.238; Y.308
<i>cru fechta</i>	<i>caubar</i>	[not in H1a]; B.237; H1b.317; K.317; M.240; Y.310

¹ Russell, 'Laws, glossaries and legal glossaries', p. 112.

AIDBRIUGH-GC LEMMA	SC s.v. G	REFERENCES IN SC
<i>ni</i>	<i>glam</i>	H1a.639; B.414; H1b.726; K.703; M.407; Y.695
<i>glaidomuín gudomhuín</i>	<i>glaidemain</i>	H1a.640; B.415; H1b.727; K.704; M.408; Y.696
	<i>gudemain</i>	H1a.641; B.416; H1b.728; K.705; M.409; Y.697
<i>gubhi</i>	–	–
<i>baire</i>	<i>gaire</i> (= <i>baire</i>)	H1a.642; B.417; H1b.729; K.706; M.410; Y.698

With the exception of *gubhi*, which lacks any extant corresponding material, and *cru fechtó* and *caubar*, which do not occur in H1a, these entries travel together in *SC* in all existing versions which contain a C and G block, and they travel together closely.¹ In the *SC* C block, the entries are separated by a handful of seemingly unrelated entries and the order of *cru fechtó* and *caubar* are inverse to that in *Aidbriugh-GC* and *O'Dav.*; these small discrepancies may be explained by internal editing within *SC*. *Aidbriugh* entries *ni*, *glaidomuín gudomhuín*, and *baire* occur consecutively in the *SC* G block (corresponding to *glam*, *glaidemain*, *gudemain*, and *gaire*). This implies that the *cubhair*, *cru fechtó*, and *glaidomuín gudomhuín* entries belong to *BND* material and, further, that the occurrence of these entries with the *CN* entries was intentional. *Gubhi* does not occur in *SC*, but we may assign it to *CN* based on its inclusion in *Aidbriugh-GC*.

We therefore have a block of material (*nuin* – *baire*) travelling together and book-ended by direct references to existing *CN* material. Those entries which do not occur in *CN-SC* (*cubhair*, *cru fechtó*, *glaidomuín gudomhuín*, and *gubhi*) form a thematic unit. There is a strong emphasis on battle imagery, particularly imagery relating to animals associated with warfare. Thus *cubhair* and *cru fechtó* deal with birds of prey and crows of battle; *glaidomuín gudomhuín* with foxes, hooded crows, and supernatural battle figures; and *gubhi* with war horses. Based on the pattern of entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* and *SC* and the strong thematic link between the entries *cubhair* – *gubhi*, the block *nuin* – *baire* can be identified as *CN* material.

But how does this material relate to *CN*? There are no animals mentioned in *CN-SC*, save Caíer's hunting dogs and his chariot horses, and no battle imagery. However, we know that at least two blocks of material are missing in *CN-SC*, evidenced by *et reliqua* 'and so on...': after

¹ *SC* La and L do not contain a C or G block.

Caíer's wife tells Néide about the knife from Alba and Caíer's prohibition; and following Néide's statement, 'you did not hear an evil secret'. This same statement is the citation in *nuin*, the entry which begins the *CN* block in *Aidbriugh-GC*. It is logical to assume that the following entries, *ni* – *gubhi* (*bair* refers to the satire), represent some of the material summarised by the *et reliqua* after Néide's injury in *SC-CN*.

At that point in *CN-SC*, Néide has been injured – presumably fatally – by a splinter as a direct consequence of the death of Caíer. On the basis of the block *ni* – *gubhi*, we can supply some of the missing information. The entry *ni* provides a moralistic interpretation of events: 'a *glám dícend* incurs evil'. Although the *glám dícend* successfully provided Néide with the kingship of Connacht, it also led to his death. We then turn to battle imagery, which occur in entries *cubhair* – *gubhi*. Broadly, the theme is animals associated with battle, but in *cubhair* – *glaidomuin gudombuin* we are dealing specifically with scavengers: ravens, crows, and foxes. The 'demons of air' who 'double their voices' in *glaidomuin gudombuin* portray the behaviour of scavenger birds approaching carrion. 'Demons of air' and *senēn*, which glosses *cubar* in *SC* and O'Dav., also occur and 'demons of the air' in the context of battle also occur in *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*.¹ The gloss 'wolf' on *glaidomuin* suggests a more predatory canine than the 'fox' of the main entry, of the type that howls to assembly the pack before a hunt. More simply (and better fitted to the context of *CN*), *glaidomuin* might refer to the hunting dogs who found Caíer and would have barked – or howled – to indicate so. If we assume that Néide is dying from his head wound, scavengers like birds of prey and canines might well be attracted by the blood in a 'gore raid'. We thus have scavenger animals settling and feasting on 'corrupted things' – presumably the decaying bodies of Néide and Caíer. At this point in the narrative, Caíer is already dead, and we may assume that the 'you' mentioned in the entry *caubair* is Néide addressing Caíer's body.²

The satire *glám dícend* is synonymous with the death of kings.³ A passage on the process of *glám dícend* in *CN*-commentary describes chanting on a hill before sunrise which an *ollam*-rank poet may use as a means of bringing about the death of a king.⁴ The following phrase from the description of *glám dícend* also includes the ground swallowing the guilty party, which may include the poets themselves:

¹ *SC* Y.310, O'Dav. § 374; *Cogad Gáedel*, 174.10.

² i.e. *gur rosuighet na .p. on indaibh tú* 'may the ravens hollow you out with their claws'.

³ Discussed by McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, p. 82 and Meroney, 'Studies in Early Irish Satire I', p. 218 fn. 22.

⁴ = *CIH* v.1564.34–1569.19. See Breatnach, 'An Aoir sa Ré Luath', pp. 13–14 and Breatnach, *UR*, p. 140 s.v. *corrguinecht*.

CN-commentary (TCD H 4. 22 (1363), p. 66^a = *CIH* v.1565.13-15) (my translation)

7 cach æn dib do cur a cloiche 7 a deilg fa bun na sciach 7 damadh iatsum bud cintach
ann sin talum na tulca dia sluccud 7 damad he in righ .imorro. bud cintach talum dia sluccad.

‘And every one of them [i.e. the poets] putting their stone and their thorn at the base of the whitethorn and if they are guilty, the ground of the hill swallows them, and if moreover it is the king who is guilty, the ground swallows him.’

As noted by Meroney, *glám* can mean ‘bite, swallow’, which may explain the association between the *glám dicend* and the swallowing of the guilty party into the ground.¹ Neither Caíer nor Néide are swallowed by the ground, but the death of Caíer ‘under earth, under ramparts, under stones’ as prophesised in Néide’s satire is sufficiently close to imply that the author was thinking of this process.

Although a *glám dicend* may be justified satire, it seems to have had negative connotations. Commentary on satire describes *glám dicend* as containing deadly power.² Glosses in *UR*, § 24^{5,7} and *MV*, p. 96 § 155 describe the piercing of a clay effigy, categorised in *UR*, § 24 as *corrguinecht* ‘sorcery’. Meroney suggests that *glám* refers to a stinging or cutting gibe;³ this may relate to *glám* as a prickly or thorny weed.⁴ Kelly describes it as ‘black magic’.⁵ In *Aidbriugh-GC ni – glaidomuin gudomhuin*, we have a description of the gruesome consequences of *glám dicend*. If it did occur at the point in the narrative where Néide speaks after his injury (reduced to *et reliqua* in *CN-SC*), this description most likely took the form of a verse delivered by Néide.

At *gubhi*, the topic changes. This entry contains a curse, and makes a direct reference to battle: ‘you will die the death of a horse in battle’. *Gubhi* must belong to an earlier event in *CN*, as at this point Caíer has already died; Caíer cannot be the speaker, and Néide would not need to prophesise a death that has already occurred. The only reference to battles in *CN-SC* is in Néide’s satire: ‘spears of battle will wound him, Caíer’. Otherwise, no battle is mentioned in *CN-SC*; in fact, the opposite is the case – Caíer deliberately avoids confrontation by hiding from Néide. Further, it is shame that Caíer dies of, not ‘spears of battle’; the only connection to anything spear-like is the splinter that wounds Néide. *Gubhi* is also conspicuous within *Aidbriugh-GC* as having its initial explanatory gloss in Latin (*beille*, for *belli*). It is also not present

¹ Meroney, ‘Studies in Early Irish Satire I’, p. 215.

² TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 870. Printed in McLaughlin, *Early Irish Satire*, p. 64 and translated in part in *ibid.*, p. 82. Summarised by Robinson, ‘Satirists and Enchanters’, pp. 108–9.

³ Meroney, ‘Studies in Early Irish Satire I’, pp. 216–17.

⁴ Kelly, *EIF*, p. 394.

⁵ Kelly, *GEIL*, p. 44 fn. 44.

in the *CN* blocks in O'Dav. or *SC*. Therefore, within the *CN* block *nuin – baire* in Aidbriugh-*GC*, *gubhi* does seem to belong.

If we extend the *CN* block in Aidbriugh-*GC*, *gubhi* can be accommodated. *Tarla aithgin*, which occurs five entries after *baire* (we may overlook the marginal entry *aithch*), belongs to the anecdote of Amairgen and the river Modarn. We can push the boundary of the *CN* block up to this point. The entries between *baire* and *tarla aithgin* are *coisilset*, *slife*, *imfabhar*, and *sini*. *Imfabhar* contains commentary on the *glám dicend*; parallel text in *BND*-commentary tells us that this commentary directly refers to *CN*. How do the surrounding entries (*coisilset*, *slife*, and *sini*) relate to *CN*?

Although the glosses are difficult to interpret, they have the appearance of lines from a satire or curse. All three entries contain examples of 2nd sg. forms, suggesting dialogue, and refer to violent acts: being trampled by animals, destruction, and conflict respectively. We may note the use of the relatively rare verb *con-sela* in both Aidbriugh-*GC* *coisilset* and *CN-SC* *con-sela*, and the ‘battle-anxiety’ described in *sini* which has a similarly mournful tone to the lamentation in *gubhi*. *Gubhi* also contains a curse. If we reverse the order of *gubhi* and *baire*, we now have a series of entries (*gubhi*, *coisilset*, *slife*, and *sini*) with dialogue similar to satire containing battle imagery. This material must have either occurred before Caíer’s death (after which a curse has no use), or Néide is addressing the dead Caíer. Although we know that Néide makes an address after Caíer’s death – evidenced by ‘you did not hear an evil secret’ in *CN-SC* – the former is the stronger likelihood, as a second verse of the *glám dicend* that Néide performs. We may assume that this second stanza of *glám dicend* is an expansion of the ‘spears of battle’ described in *CN-SC*, setting out the manner of Caíer’s death and the subsequent lamentation. The fact that there are no battle spears – and, more to the point, no battle – is incidental to the efficiency of the *glám dicend* to dethrone Caíer. A second stanza accounts for the curse in *gubhi*, which prophesies Caíer’s death, and in *coisilset*, which describes the ‘wild animals’ we know from *cubhair – glaidomuín gudombuín* to be corvidae and canines. I do not know how to account for the ‘idle drunkenness’ or ‘laziness’ of *slife*, and can only suggest that it refers to a section of *CN* which is no longer extant.

In summary, in *nuin – sini* we are dealing glosses on vocabulary taken from poems in *CN*: two stanzas of *glám dicend* and a description of the death scene.

9.1.8 Parallel Text, Distribution, and Purpose

A number of general observations may be made about the way in which *Aidbriugh-GC* was put together and the sort of purpose it may have served. The following discussion will look at the distribution of lemmata in *BND-H*, the relationship between *Aidbriugh-GC* and the parallel texts, and what the content of the entries can tell us about how they were used.

Using *BND-H* as a guide, the pattern of distribution of lemmata used in *Aidbriugh-GC* is not consistent (see Appendix 6). Most entries in *Aidbriugh-GC* reflect a close reading of the base text; *foithirbe* and *toiscidhi*, *toigrenn* and *nesa*, and *lai* and *fuasnadh* take consecutive clauses or sentences as the basis for entries. Other entries, like *darb* and *taltugud*, are more spaced out. Instances of reordering within *Aidbriugh-GC* (such as in the entries relating to *CN* in which, in reverse order to the narrative, *nuin* precedes *baire*) suggest that the *Aidbriugh-GC* scribe was using material which had itself already undergone some internal revision as the glosses are no longer preserved in textual order. Nonetheless, the examples of close reading noted above show that *Aidbriugh-GC* still retained its textual order to the extent that it could be used alongside the base text. Presumably those entries which are no longer preserved in *BND-H* (i.e. those entries preceding *brigh*) followed a similar pattern of distribution to entries *brigh* – *sgeo*, in which case the *CN* narrative would have occurred one or two columns before the start of *BND-H*.¹

Turning to the parallel text, the correspondences to O'Dav. and *SC* are generally much closer to one another than to *Aidbriugh-GC*.² *Aidbriugh-GC nuin*, for example, is *cóic* and takes the gloss *olc* in O'Dav. § 390 and *SC* Y.300 *run*;³ *Aidbriugh-GC cubhair* has the gloss *precháin* for O'Dav. § 374 and *SC* Y.310 *senēn*; and *Aidbriugh-GC cru fechta* has separated the compound *cruifbechto* in O'Dav. § 375 and *SC* Y.308. In addition, *Aidbriugh-GC ní* corresponds to O'Dav. § 32 *arsaidh*; and *Aidbriugh-GC glaidomuín gudomhuín* has the glosses *sindaigh* and *fennōga nó bansigaidhe* for *SC* Y.696–7 *maic tíre* and *uatha ocus morrignae*. In other words, the differences outweigh the correspondences. On the other hand, interlinear additions such as the gloss *mac úire* in *glaidomuín gudomhuín* and the marginal entry *aithech* suggest that the *Aidbriugh-GC* scribe did not have a copy of *SC* in front of him at first, but later emended his text accordingly. The source material

¹ An alternative explanation is that the entries relating to *CN* were extracted from a separate *glossae collectae*.

² The material in YAdd. generally stems from different glossarial material. Examples include *SC* YAdd.379 *canbar*, which treats the lemma completely different to the same lemma in other versions of *SC*.

³ O'Dav. § 390 also provides the gloss *comairle* 'advice', which may have been extracted from the unrelated entry *SC* YAdd.388 (or another version thereof) which has the same lemma (i.e. *cuig*) but a different gloss: *cumuirle ut alius dixit* 'advice, as someone else said'.

for Aidbriugh-*GC* (i.e. the main body of glosses) was then related to, but not dependent on, the source material that went into *SC* and O'Dav.¹

There are also a number of features in Aidbriugh-*GC* which I have not come across in the other existing *glossae collectae* and may therefore be peculiar to the Aidbriugh-*GC* scribe (or his exemplar). Perhaps most striking is that preverbal particles or infixed pronouns in the citation are not transferred to the lemma. The Aidbriugh-*GC* scribe treats compound verbs as being comprised of two detachable units. This in the case for all examples in Aidbriugh-*GC* which in which the lemma contains a prefix in the citation:

	Aidbriugh- <i>GC</i> lemma	Aidbriugh- <i>GC</i> lemma in citation
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>teinn</i>)	<i>teinn</i>	<i>not.t.</i> (for <i>nod-teinn</i>)
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>coisilset</i>)	<i>coisilset</i>	<i>dit.c.</i> (for <i>dit-coisilset</i>)
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>comaicc</i>)	<i>comaicc</i>	<i>at.c.</i> (for <i>at-comaicc</i>)
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>toigrenn</i>)	<i>toigrenn</i>	<i>imtogrenn</i>
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>nesa</i>)	<i>nesa</i>	<i>fornesa</i>
(Appendix 3 s.v. <i>lai</i>)	<i>lai</i>	<i>rolai</i>

A second idiosyncrasy – from the perspective of the *glossae collectae* looked at so far – is the pattern of taking two lemmata (or breaking up a compound noun into two lemmata) for one entry with one accompanying citation. This is the case for *cru fechta*, *glaidomuin gudombuin*, and *tarla aithgin*. The use of Latin as the initial explanatory gloss in *gubhi* is also noteworthy as, while lemmata in Latin do occur, the process of glossing an Irish word with a Latin word is rare within *glossae collectae* in *CIH*.

Aidbriugh-*GC* was used for close reading of *BND*. In comparison to the other existing *glossae collectae*, which are mostly a mix of word-lists, commentary, and lemmata of varying length and detail, Aidbriugh-*GC* is peculiarly regular in structure and style. The comparatively small size and short length of Aidbriugh-*GC* may then reflect individual use, as a useful comprehension guide that could be transported easily. The glossing itself is mostly lexical, with a tendency towards simplification that would be expected in a learning aid.

¹ A full investigation into the interrelationship between parallel texts requires more space than the current discussion permits. The composition and layers of *glossae collectae* like Aidbriugh-*GC* would best be undertaken in conjunction with a sample group of other similar length *glossae collectae* from a variety of genres (literary, legal, grammatical etc.).

The consecutive entries *nuin* and *ni* re both glossed *olk* ‘evil’, and the consecutive entries *tochmastar* and *toigrenn* are both glossed *tobach* ‘levying’.¹ Etymology is used sparingly, appearing in entries *fuidrecht* and *ar is bé carna*, and in *aithech* and the marginalia to *glaidomuin*.

Aidbriugh-GC is focused on the base text, not on the compilation of glosses. Where Aidbriugh-GC has been visibly expanded with additional material and relies on the base text for purpose, Adhmad-GC represents a step further in the evolution of a gloss to a glossary: it is a set of *glossae collectae* which are in the process of moving away from the base text and combining relevant external material.

9.2 ADHMAD GLOSSAE COLLECTAE TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 422²

9.2.1 Manuscript

Adhmad-GC is preserved on p. 422 lines 10–40 of TCD H 3. 18 (1337) and was written by one hand.³ The page measures approximately 23cm × 14cm. There is a section of the page missing in the bottom right-hand corner which occurred before the Adhmad-GC scribe began, as the final entry *ni cuala caire mbrethe...* works around this tear. The Aidbriugh-GC scribe also wrote the preceding text in the manuscript (pp. 420–422), which is described by Hayden as a related but independent part of *Auraicept na nÉces* focusing on the division of questions (*imchomarc*) and containing a dialogue between Donatus and Priscian (hereafter *imchomarc* text).⁴ There does not appear to be any specific thematic connection between the *imchomarc* text and Adhmad-GC, whose primary base text is the poetical-legal tract *BND*. Hayden notes that the commentator of the *imchomarc* text had in mind both a legal and rhetorical context;⁵ and on a broader level a grammatical text and a poetico-legal tract complement each other. In an interdisciplinary environment grammatical material like the *Auraicept* would have been familiar to the scribe and so was felt perhaps to be relevant to *BND*, which contains very difficult grammatical forms.

¹ The corresponding entries in O’Dav. mirror Aidbriugh-GC in the case of *tochmastar* and *toigrenn* (O’Dav. §§ 1550–1), but differ in both lemma and initial gloss in the case of *nuin* and *ni* (O’Dav. §§ 390 and 32).

² = CIH iii.953.10–954.24. For images, transcription, text, and translation, see Appendix 5. For the distribution of lemmata in both Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC, see Appendix 6.

³ The final entry runs into the bottom margin, which I mark as line 40. Note that the first entry *adhmad* uses space in the line above (i.e. line 9).

⁴ Partly edited and translated with discussion by Hayden, ‘A medieval Irish dialogue’, pp. 67–93.

⁵ Hayden, ‘A medieval Irish dialogue’, p. 93.

There is no distinction made between the end of the *imchomarc* text and the beginning of Adhmad-GC. The first Adhmad-GC entry *adhmad* begins a new line (line 10) while the second entry *bras* continues on the same line where *adhmad* ends (line 14). In keeping with the layout of the *imchomarc* text, both of these entries run across the full width of the page. The third entry *eallach* begins a new line but at this point the text falls into two columns. Therefore *adhmad* and *bras* visually appear to be connected to the *imchomarc* text. The switch to columns between *bras* and *eallach* may be the result of a scribe beginning to copy Adhmad-GC before realising that it is a set of *glossae collectae*, and therefore better suited to columns. A bi-columnar layout allows the scribe to use space left in previous entries and so fit all his material onto one side of a page, and also to highlight the initial of each entry by placing it slightly into the margin and subsequently making it easier to refer to individual lemmata.¹

Adhmad-GC contains 15 entries in total, including one commentary which relates directly to its preceding entry.² With the exception of *bras* and *tó*, which begin on the same line as their preceding entry, each entry begins a new line and the initial of each lemma is set aside slightly in the margin. The initials of *déis* and *ni cuala caire mbrethe...* are elaborate. Where an entry overruns its line, the scribe has used available space in the line above. This is the case for *adhmad*, *brigh*, *drenn*, *cith*, *cad saorus...*, *melg*, and *tí*. The scribe has used two forms of *ceann faoi eite* to indicate this: an open form in the case of *brigh* and *drenn*, and a closed form for the remainder. A third form of reference mark is used to connect two parts of the final entry *ni cuala caire mbrethe...*, where the scribe, unable to fit the final phrase onto the line, uses the bottom margin. With this one exception, the margins are not used and there is very little interlinear glossing; only six interlinear glosses occur, in *adhmad*, *bras*, and *déis*, and they are all short (between one and three words in length). The script remains uniform throughout, and the effect is a neat and well-planned text to which a handful of interlinear glosses have been added.

For the most part, the gloss entries do not make any significant orthographic or morphological revisions to the content of the quotations, which are predominantly Old Irish. The occasional use of later orthographic developments, such as glide vowels and <g> for <c>, suggest the Middle Irish period for the compilation of Adhmad-GC as we have it.³

¹ *Adhmad* and *bras* also differ from the other entries in Adhmad-GC in that they cite from another base text.

² The entry beginning *cad saorus...* is commentary belonging to the preceding entry *datán dathnait*. Because the initial of *cad saorus...* is treated as a new entry on the page, I treat this entry as a dependent but distinct entry to *datán dathnait*.

³ For example, *anceas* (for *ainces*) (*ni cuala caire mbrethe...*, Appendix 5 p. 63), *gach* alongside *cach* (*drenn*, Appendix 5 p. 49).

9.2.2 Base Texts: a Developed *BND* Glossary

There are two primary base texts from which the Adhmad-*GC* entry citations derive: *BMMM* and *BND*. *BMMM* is only cited in the first entry *adhmad* and *BMMM* is not referred to elsewhere in Adhmad-*GC*. *BND* is the core text from which the citations in Adhmad-*GC* were extracted, with all remaining 14 entries relating directly or indirectly to this text. The second and third entries, *bras* and *eallach* (Appendix 5 s.v. *bras* and *eallach*), indirectly cite *BND* by providing examples of two types of poetry mentioned in *BND* (*laíd lúascach* and *lánellach* respectively). The remaining entries – including *cad saorus...*, which is commentary – all contain citations from *BND* which can be found in *BND-H*. The distribution of Adhmad-*GC* lemmata in *BND-H* covers a section between pages 138^a and 140^a, and occurs in clusters.¹ As the *imchomarc* text and Adhmad-*GC* are in the same hand, Adhmad-*GC* was presumably copied in full (as opposed to being acephalous) and therefore was only interested in this section of *BND*. Although there is nothing obvious to suggest why these particular lemmata were extracted for Adhmad-*GC*, the incorporation of material from *BMMM* as well as glosses and commentary from other ancillary material (as discussed below) suggests that this set of *glossae collectae* had already undergone at least one layer of revision.

Adhmad-*GC* may also contain a secondary base text, which is a series of citations with commentary including citations from *BND* (TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 423–36) (*BND-C*).² In the present binding this text directly follows Adhmad-*GC* in the manuscript, and it is in a different hand. References to *BND-C* occur in *datán dathnait* and *cad saorus...*, and focus on fosterage and a poet's exemption from the vicarious liability for an offence of a kinsman.

The following discussion will consider each of these entries in turn, looking first at the two entries which match the layout of *imchomarc* (*adhmad* and *bras*), then those entries in column a and column b. As with Aidbriugh-*GC*, discussing the entries by column is for convenience only, and should not imply that the scribe was using artificial boundaries. The discussion should be read alongside the text and translation of Adhmad-*GC* (Appendix 5).

9.2.3 Page 422 lines 10–15: *ADHMAD* – *BRAS*

As noted above, the entries *adhmad* and *bras* (Appendix 5 pp. 42–7) follow the previous text *imchomarc* in their layout, being written in the column as opposed to bi-columnar.

¹ See Appendix 6.

² = *CIH* iii.954.25–979.22. A number of references have been identified by Breatnach (Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 42 s.v. 954.25).

There are no flourishes or spaces to distinguish the beginning of Adhmad-*GC* from the end of the *imchomarc* text.

The initial explanatory gloss of *adhmad* ‘invention’ defines the lemma as *foghlaim* ‘learning’, and then provides the first citation: *herene ar net* ‘chickens on [i.e. in] a nest’.¹ I cannot find this phrase elsewhere. Liam Breatnach has suggested (p.c.) that it is a simile for chickens fighting in a nest.² The form of *herene* is problematic, and presumably the phrase was extracted as a fragment directly from the base text without altering its textual form. The initial aspirate <h> looks out of place; one would expect an <h>-generating article, preposition, or pronoun to precede it. Direct extraction from the base text (as oppose to undergoing layers of copying or editing) would also explain the two interlinear glosses which accompany the citation. The first interlinear gloss occurs superscript on *nith* ‘conflict’: *.i. debaid* ‘i.e. contention’;³ the second on *im admat adbul* ‘concerning a great invention’: *.i. mo foglaime* ‘i.e. of my learning’.⁴ If these interlinear glosses were in the exemplar used by the Adhmad-*GC* scribe, one would expect the Adhmad-*GC* to have incorporated them into the main entry.

Although no reference occurs in *BND-H* to *admat* or this first citation, the context of the remaining entries in Adhmad-*GC* suggest that the base text for this citation was *BND*, albeit a version which no longer exists. As the source in the second citation in this entry is identified as *BMMM*, would one expect this first citation to be identified if it were also not from *BND*. However, the *BND* citations in Adhmad-*GC* refer to one section which occurs in the middle of *BND-H*. If *adhmad* also referred to *BND*, one would expect that the passage to occur within *BND-H* in close proximity to the other lemmata. It may also be the case that this entry was absorbed into Adhmad-*GC* from a separate set of *glossae collectae* belonging to a different base text.⁵

¹ MS *imad matadbul*. One might argue that the scribe read *net* as a corrupted form of *nith*, in which case the remaining phrase is an attempt to rationalise the citation: ‘chickens regarding conflict; (i.e.) conflict (i.e. contention) concerning an invention (of my learning) of great fame’. However, *net* is written clearly in the manuscript and omitting remaining phrase from the citation places the lemma in the explanation, rather than the citation as one would expect for a gloss entry.

² If read as ‘chicken on a nest’, the phrase perhaps was intended as a simile for the poet’s hatching or creation of a poem.

³ This gloss was presumably added from the same glossarial material found in the parallel text *Ni Tulach-*GC**, *Arra-*GC**, and *Gormac-*GC** (see Appendix 5 p. 42). If this is the case, the Adhmad-*GC* scribe connects the context of the citation in Adhmad-*GC* to the ‘poison’ described in *Ni Tulach-*GC** and *Gormac-*GC** (perhaps an unjustified satire?).

⁴ This second interlinear gloss also has the appearance of being added after Adhmad-*GC* had been written out, as it repeats the initial gloss *.i. foghlaim*. If both interlinear glosses had already been absorbed into Adhmad-*GC*, one might have expected them to be turned into an explanatory reworking of the citation (which Adhmad-*GC* otherwise lacks), e.g. *nith im admat adbul .i. debaid mo foglaime* ‘a conflict concerning a great invention’ i.e. contention of my learning’.

⁵ If so, the entry *adhmad* was either added to a pre-existing set of *BND glossae collectae* through its thematic connection of poetry, or through chance as a gloss which happened to travel with other, unrelated material.

The second citation quoted in *adhmad* is from *BMMM* as another example (*deismirecht*) of the use of the word *adhmad*, as is an addition to *Adhmad-GC* (or its exemplar). This *BMMM* material does not come from the surviving continuous copy in the book of Leinster, but from glossed extracts preserved in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), pp. 601–3.¹

The second entry *bras* continues on the same line as *adhmad*. It is composed of a lemma, initial explanatory gloss, and citation (citing *laíd lúascach*, a type of poem), and provides a stanza as an example *laíd lúascach*. There is one interlinear gloss accompanying the stanza, which accompanies *sgiaibhras: co sgiaibh mora* ‘with great shields’. Just as in *adhmad*, the interlinear gloss repeats the initial gloss of the entry in the specific context of the citation, suggesting that it was added after the scribe had finished copying *Adhmad-GC*.

The citation *laoidhe luasgaighe* occurs in *BND-H* where it immediately precedes the word *láineallach* ‘full verse’:²

BND-H (TCD 2. 15B (1317), p. 138^a) = *CIH* iii.1114.38–9 (transl. Breatnach, ‘*Sluindfét dúib dagaisti in dána*’, p. 68)

laoidhe luasgaighe láineallach leithmbiomasg eallach déne cóire cenntruime

‘Rocking *laíds*. Full composition of half *mimasc*s, composing a proper *dían chenntromm*’

Laíd lúascach is so called for its ‘swinging rhythm’.³ Murphy describes *laíd lúascach* as a type of *deibide* which is a form of rhymeless, non-stanzaic, alliterative verse.⁴ Thurneysen notes that *laíd lúascach* is an extension of *deibide scailte*: it is a five-line stanza, in which a fifth short line, which rhymes with the first long line, comes after the second long line.⁵

The poem quoted in *Adhmad-GC* has been edited by Meyer, and is cited from in *MV* as an example of *laíd lúascach*. This poem, which is preserved in Bodleian Codex Laud 610 ff. 9vb–10ra, consists of ten stanzas and is accompanied by a short tale which ascribes the poem – erroneously, as Meyer demonstrates – to the Ulster poet Ruman mac Colmáin.⁶ The placenames mentioned in the stanza, namely Inis Scit and Carr Calathnit, have not been identified. Meyer,

¹ ed. Thurneysen, ‘Zu irischen Handschriften’, pp. 15–18. The first ten and a half lines of the glossed extracts (MS p.601 ll.10–19) have been edited and translated by Kimpton, ‘The Death of Cú Chulainn’, pp. 11, 35; cf. Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, p. 14.

² The latter half of this passage is quoted in O’Dav. § 1227.

³ As described by Meyer, ‘Stories and Songs’, p. 76 fn. 1.

⁴ Murphy, *EIM*, pp. 2–3. Murphy cites in part Thurneysen, *MV*, p. 167.

⁵ Thurneysen, *MV*, p. 158 § 68. Thurneysen here cites a version of the stanza found in *Adhmad-GC* (*MV*, p. 159).

⁶ Meyer, ‘Stories and Songs’, p. 77. Tale (Bodleian Codex Laud 610 f. 10r) edited and translated by Meyer, ‘Stories and Songs’, pp. 78–80.

citing a Mrs. Mary A. Hutton, noted that Inis Scit may have been the old name for Skiddy (Skidd-y) Island in Co. Cork, and reads Calathnit as Calad-net ‘Strong Nest’ which he suggests is ‘the ancient name of a prominent headland on the south-eastern coast of Kerry’.¹

Although it does not occur in *BND-H*, this stanza is cited in a text based on a section of *UB*, a text that Binchy believed to have belonged to the *Nemed* school.² It seems that it was a well-cited example of the *laíd líascach* metre, brought into *Adhmad-GC* to expand the gloss entry. As in *adhmad*, *bras* demonstrates the scribe going beyond his base text in order to supplement the information provided in the gloss by linking it to the wider poetico-legal syllabus.

The following entry in *Adhmad-GC*, *eallach* (Appendix p. 47), is taken from the same passage in *BND-H* (i.e. *línellach leithmbhiomasg ellach déne cóire cenntruime*). Although the citations in *Adhmad-GC* are very short, the proximity of these terms in *BND* and their successive appearance in *Adhmad-GC* imply that they were extracted from *BND*.

9.2.4 Page 422a lines 16–39 (left column): *EALLACH – CAD SAORUS...*

The entry ***eallach*** (Appendix 5 p. 47) begins a new line of the page (MS l. 16), and also begins a bi-columnar layout which continues for the remainder of *Adhmad-GC*. *Eallach* does not occur in its lemma form in the accompanying citation, but instead in the compound form *lanellach*. As noted above, the term cited in *eallach* directly follows the term cited in the previous entry *bras*, mirroring that in *BND-H* and connecting the two entries together: *laoidhe luasgaighe láineallach* ‘*laíd líascach*, a full verse’.³ While the term *ellach*, without the prefix *lán-*, occurs again in *BND-H* as a single word in the same list of poems, it is *lánellach* in *BND* which is the basis of the entry in *Adhmad-GC*.⁴ It is thus unclear why *eallach*, and not *lánellach*, has been extracted as the lemma.⁵

In addition to the first single-word gloss *rand* ‘a verse’ and an explanation of *lánellach* (the act of making a full verse from a half verse), *eallach* also connects the *lánellach* verse with a specific person: Gilla Michíl Ó Maoil Chaimín. I cannot find any reference to such a person; presumably he was a poet, and the absence of any references to him may suggest that he was a real, rather

¹ Meyer, ‘Stories and Songs’, p. 82 fn. 2, 3. If Meyer is correct in interpreting the final element of Calathnit as *net* ‘nest’, then it echoes the *net* ‘nest’ in the citation in the previous entry *adhmad*.

² Binchy, ‘Date and Provenance’. p. 44–54, *UB* text = *CIH* ii.555.17–18 (see Breatnach, *UR*, pp. 7–13).

³ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1114.38.

⁴ = *CIH* iii.1114.38.

⁵ For a similar example of a lemma which does not occur in the accompanying citation, see below s.v. *tó*.

than fictional, poet.¹ The reference to Gilla Michl Ó Maoil Chaimín is itself problematic, and is worth citing here in full: *amail ata gilla michl o maolcáimín*.² There is no predicate in the clause, suggesting that *ata* did not belong to the same clause as the name but served to introduce it. The implication is that this example was unfinished. This may have been the point, as a half-verse (*lethrann*) which required completion to be a *lanrann* ‘full verse’.³

The term *ellach* occurs in several locations elsewhere, where it is described as a form of metre. In *BNT*, *ellach* is used in an extended sense to refer to poetry.⁴ In the *Auraicept*, *ellach* occurs as a compound in the phrase *vii primeillge na filideachta* ‘the seven prime metres of poetry’.⁵ *Ellach* also appears in the phrase *ellach focail* ‘composing a word’;⁶ and *i n-anocht n-ellag* ‘a fault regarding metre’.⁷ The only other mention of *ellach* in the form *lánellach* is found in *Breth-GC* as a single-word gloss only: *ellacht .i. lán* ‘*ellach* i.e. full’.⁸ A further single-word entry for the lemma *ellach* occurs later on in *Breth-GC*, but provides a different gloss: *ellach .i. suidiugud* ‘*ellach* i.e. arrangement’.⁹ The same lemma and gloss also occur in *Adhart-GC*, where it provides a different citation attributed to *BN* material:

Adhart-GC, § 103

Eallach .i. suidhiughadh ut est Bretha Neme a neallach a aisti

‘*Ellach* i.e. arrangement, *ut est* [from] *Bretha Nemed*: its poem in *ellach*-metre.’

I cannot find this citation in existing *BN* material. Versions of *ellach aisti* also appear in *SC* and O’Dav.¹⁰ It would seem to be the case that, although they share the same lemma, O’Dav., *SC*, and *Adhart-GC* belong to a separate glossarial transmission to *Adhmad-GC* which also stems from *BN* material.

Eallach represents another instance in which the *Adhmad-GC* scribe has drawn on external material to compliment the material in his base text. Just as *adhmad* cited from *BMMM*

¹ Another interpretation is that the name is an example of *lanellach*, i.e. of a half verse made into a full verse as described in the entry.

² Note that this reference is transcribed incorrectly in *CIH* as *ata a gilla* (*CIH* iii.953.21–2).

³ Alternatively, the scribe intended to go back and complete *eallach*, but forgot and instead used the space for a section of the *brigh* entry. There would have been almost a full column width of line space after the scribe finished the name (i.e. *maolcáimín in*), as the following entry *brigh* begins the next line down.

⁴ *CIH* vi.2224.2–26 (transl. in part by Stacey, *Dark Speech*, p. 207).

⁵ *Auraicept*, ll. 743, 1686–7, and 3510.

⁶ *Auraicept*, ll. 902, 3780.

⁷ *Auraicept*, l. 5224.

⁸ *Breth-GC* = *CIH* iii.1095.8.

⁹ *Breth-GC* = *CIH* iii.1095.27–8.

¹⁰ *SC* YAdd. 665 s.v. *fuirim*; O’Dav. § 765 s.v. *ellach*.

and *bras* a stanza illustrating the *laíd líascach* metre, so *eallach* provides the name of a relevant person. The entries following *eallach* refer more directly to *BND*, and do not include such a variety of additional material.

The next entry *brigh* (Appendix 5 p. 48) begins a series of five entries whose lemmata are taken from a passage in *BND* dealing with a rejection of violence by an apprentice poet and the fosterage of the same.¹ It is not entirely clear from the context whether *brigh* itself was understood as a noun (i.e. ‘hill’) or as a place-name (i.e. ‘Brí’). Stokes understood *bri* as ‘hill’ in each instance in the corresponding entry in O’Dav. § 218. Breatnach understands it as the place-name Brí (p.c.), noting that it occurs in *Met. Dinds: Muiredach tírech din Brí* ‘Muiredach Tírech from the Hill’.²

The next entry *drenn* (Appendix 5 p. 49) contains the phrase *drenn gach cródha* which corresponds to *BND drenn gach crodha*.³ This is followed by an explanatory reworking and two additional interpretations. *Crodha* (for *cródae*) may refer to a person or a thing. Both meanings may be intended. The final section of *drenn* is an additional interpretation of *cródae* (i.e. *gach cródha .i. cach beodha*) which corresponds to the gloss in O’Dav. § 386 (i.e. *crodh .i. beodha*). Presumably this material was added to Adhmad-GC from a version of the material that went into this section of O’Dav.

Following *drenn*, the entry *áth* (Appendix 5 p. 49) has no extant references beyond that in *BND-H*. Of particular value is the citation quoted, which differs to that in *BND-H*. Where *BND-H* has *uath* ‘fear; horror’, Adhmad-GC has *áth* ‘ford’.⁴ In favour of Adhmad-GC as the superior reading is the fact that *áth* is the lemma, which is less likely to be corrupted than a mid-text form such as a gloss; and that *úath* would not make good sense in the context of this section of *BND*. The citation in Adhmad-GC was therefore taken from a version of *BND* which read *áth*, and *BND-H* may be restored accordingly.

As a lemma, *áth* is neither a difficult nor obscure term. It occurs regularly in literature and placenames, and survives in Modern Irish (Modern Irish *áth*). The initial explanatory gloss is also relatively commonplace: *inadh* ‘a place’ (Modern Irish *ionad*), and it is general in meaning, rather than defining a specific, context-based meaning of the lemma. Thus we have a common word being qualified by another common term. One possibility is that *inadh* is an etymological gloss on

¹ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii. iii.1115.28–34. I am grateful to Liam Breatnach for sharing with me his restored text, partial translation, and notes on this section.

² *Met. Dinds* ii. p. 14 l. 63; Breatnach’s correction (p.c.). Breatnach also notes that, in his index of place-names, Gwynn suggests that Brí is a name for Tara (Gwynn, *Met. Dinds* v. p. 183). In the discussion and text and provisional translation in Appendix 5 s.v. *brigh* I follow Breatnach’s interpretation.

³ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1115.29–30.

⁴ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1115.30.

áth based on the phonetic similarity between <dh> and <th>. Alternatively, *áth* may be an example of an entry designed to clarify the general semantic context of the citation, rather than its lexical units. As Liam Breatnach has pointed out, *áth* is presumably used figuratively here to denote any place in which there was a potential danger of combat. This would explain the general nature of the gloss *inadh*, as well as the explanatory phrase which follows the citation and provides context: *.i. baile ina egail do a ghuin* ‘i.e. where there is danger of his being wounded’.¹

In contrast to *áth*, the following lemma ***cith*** ‘a whelp’ (Appendix 5 p. 50) is very sparsely attested. In DIL, Adhmad-GC is the only source cited as an example of *cith* which does not refer to the more commonly occurring homonym *cith* ‘shower’.² Note also the variant spelling given in *cith*: *cid(b)*, which is used in the corresponding BND-H citation (*cidb*) and the following explanatory phrase (*cid*)³.

The initial explanatory gloss on *cith* is *cuilén* ‘a whelp’. This term *cuilén* is better attested as a general term for ‘cub, kitten whelp’, and most notably – for the purposes of this discussion – in SC B.238: *culian .i. cuilén .i. cú lénas cách* ‘a whelp i.e. a whelp i.e. a dog that follows everyone’. In BND-H, the citation (and that quoted in Adhmad-GC) is: *dall cidb aniu* ‘a whelp is blind today’.⁴ A ‘blind whelp’ is first explained in Adhmad-GC *cith* as someone who is unable to compose poetry. Together with the surrounding material in Adhmad-GC, *cith* seems to be an apprentice poet. Although neither *cith* nor *cuilén* are explicitly stated as technical terms relating to poets, canine imagery is employed elsewhere in this field. For example, the term *cana*, also ‘whelp’, may refer to a poet of fourth grade.⁵ The BND-H citation is repeated in *cith*, with the gloss substituting the lemma (i.e. *dall chuilen indiu*). This in turn is followed by the same single-word gloss with the lemma again (i.e. *cith .i. cuilén*) at the end of the entry. There are effectively two forms of glossing in *cith*: first explanatory, to clarify that *dall cidb* ‘a blind whelp’ refers to an apprentice poet who is unable to compose poetry; and secondly lexical, to substitute the unusual term *cith* with the more frequently occurring *cuilén*.

The following entry ***datán dathnait*** (Appendix 5 p. 51) is slightly more complex, in that it has extracted the citation with what were presumably accompanying interlinear glosses directly into the entry. The more common glossary structure is as follows: [lemma] + [initial gloss] + [*ut*

¹ The possessive pronoun presumably refers to the pupil.

² DIL s.v. 2 *cith*. The entry in DIL, citing Adhmad-GC, suggests DIL s.v. 1 *cit* ‘sheep’ (with query); on the basis of the material provided by Adhmad-GC and SC B.238, I do not think this connection is supportable.

³ One might expect the form in the citation to be the older (presumably *cith*); this may suggest that both fricatives were no longer pronounced by the time of Adhmad-GC and could therefore be used interchangeably.

⁴ BND-H = CIH iii.1115.31.

⁵ UR, § 14.

est: citation (+ explanatory reworking)] [(+ additional material which may be absorbed from elsewhere)]. For example:

Adhmad-*GC brigh*

brigh	.i. baile	ut est brigh cach nogus
[lemma]	[initial gloss]	[<i>ut est</i> + citation]
‘Hill	i.e. settlement	<i>ut est</i> : ‘every nearness is Brí’

.i. is amal brigh gach inadh is fogus do neoch	.i. is amal bhaile gach inadh a mbim
[explanatory reworking of citation]	[additional material]
i.e. every nearest place is like Brí to anyone	i.e. every place in which I am is like a settlement.’

In *datán dathnait*, the initial single-word glosses are repeated within the citation itself.¹
 Note that that part of the entry beginning *ala dul* is discussed below.

Adhmad-*GC datán dathnait*

Datán	.i. aiti	7 dathnait	.i. buime
[lemma(1)]	[initial gloss(1)]	[lemma(2)]	[initial gloss(2)]
‘Fosterfather	i.e. fosterfather	and fostermother	i.e. fostermother

ut est saorfaidh a dhatán .i. a aite 7 dathnait .i. a bhuime.

[*ut est*: citation + initial gloss(1)+(2)]

ut est: ‘his fosterfather (i.e. his fosterfather) and his fostermother (i.e. his fostermother) will release [him]’.

Ala dul is and særfus a dhathan...

[introductory phrase *ala dul* + additional material]

Another way: it is then that his fosterfather will release [him]...’

The more common glossary entry structure is disrupted because of the insertion of single-word glosses next to the lemmata in both the headword lemmata and within the citation. This is significant because it suggests that the scribe had in front of him a glossed copy of *BND*

¹ For a similar structure elsewhere in Adhmad-*GC*, see below s.v. *déis*.

and that this was his exemplar, as oppose to a set of *glossae collectae*. If he had in front of him an earlier stage of *glossae collectae*, one would expect forms like this to have been absorbed into Adhmad-*GC* in the more common glossarial format illustrated above; or, alternatively, to have provided a reworked reading as found in *cith* where the citation is repeated and the lemma replaced by the initial gloss (i.e. *dall cidh indiú* becomes *dall chuilen indiú*).¹ In other words, *datán dathnait* looks like it has been written by someone who is copying what he is seeing, rather than attempting to convert it into glossarial form.

The terms *datán* ‘fosterfather’ and *datnat* ‘fostermother’ are themselves unusual. The more commonly attested terms – and the terms that *datán* and *datnat* are glossed by – are *aite* and *muimne* respectively.² The citation in *datán dathnait* occurs elsewhere in ancillary legal material focusing on the age of fosterage of and the legal responsibility for an apprentice poet: *BND-C*; and commentary on fosterage in TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 272 (hereafter Fosterage Commentary).³ The phrase in *BND-H*, and that which generates the ancillary material, is *dia theora secht saorfaidh saorfaidh a dhatán a dathnait mo chuilen carthach* ‘After three [lots of] seven [years] they will release [him], his fosterfather [and] his fostermother will release my dear whelp [i.e. pupil]’. In *BND-C* and Fosterage Commentary, there are three distinct topics brought into discussion: the age at which an apprentice poet ends his fosterage (21 years); the age at which fosterparents no longer take legal responsibility for any criminal actions of their fosterchild (12 years); and the exemption of poets from liability for the offences of a kinsman.

After the citation and its glosses, the introductory phrase *ala dul* ‘another way’ is used in Adhmad-*GC datán dathnait* to introduce external material on the fosterage of apprentice poets in a similar structure to the beginning of the entry. The core of this passage is a variation of the base text citation (i.e. *særfus a dhatan dathnait* ‘his fosterfather [and] fostermother will release [him]’) with glosses interspersed between the two lemmata.⁴ Each of the lemmata (*datán* and *dathnait*) are provided with etymological glosses; *datán* has two, and *dathnait* one. Each etymological gloss then generates an etymological-explanatory gloss, in which both the form and meaning of the lemma are provided. The individual etymological components of this passage may then be presented as follows:

¹ See Appendix 5 p. 50.

² In *CL*, a number of terms relating to fosterage, students, and teachers generate Isidorean-style etymologies, including *muimig* ‘fostermother’ (*CL*, § 2^{xiv-xvi}).

³ = *CIH* iii.803.24–32. See Appendix 5 p. 51.

⁴ The introductory phrase *ala dul* and the variation of the citation provided implies that the scribe consciously extracted this section from another secondary source. However, the way in which the etymological and explanatory glosses are inserted in the citation (i.e. between *datán* and *dathnait*) suggests that this secondary source was copied directly from a glossed version of the base text.

Lemma	Etymology	Explanatory gloss relating to etymology
<i>datán</i>	<i>a dia a dhan</i>	<i>in dan rothidhnaic</i>
Fosterfather	at the end of his training	the training which he has conferred
	<i>a dheidhe a dan</i>	<i>.i. in deidhe doní na dan .i. aor 7 molad</i>
	his skill in its two [parts]	i.e. the two [parts] which make the poem i.e. satire and praise
<i>dathnait</i>	<i>.i. uirre berit na dathaso a nait</i>	<i>.i. finn 7 dubb 7 brec</i>
Fostermother	i.e. it is from her the colours take their place	i.e. white and black and speckled

This same passage with matching etymologies and explanatory glosses occurs in *BND-C*:

BND-C = *CIH* iii.963.18–20

is and śaerus a dhadan a dhia dhan in dán rohidhnaic dia dó in eicsi † dadan in deidhe doní as adhan air 7 moladh dathnat is uirre bíd na datha atáit a nait find 7 dub 7 breaca¹

‘It is then that his fosterfather (at the end of [his] training, the training which a day has conferred on him, the poetic skills; or fosterfather: the two [things] which he makes from his skill [i.e.] satire and praise) [and] fostermother (it is on her, the colours are, their place is (?)) [i.e.] black and white and speckled) release [him].’

The passage in *BND-C* is slightly longer and more developed than that in *Adhmad-GC*, in which it specifies the fosterfather’s training as *eicsi* ‘poetic skill’ and brings in other related issues such as criminal liability for a fosterchild. The etymology of *dathnat* is equally problematic in *Adhmad-GC* and *BND-C*, both formally and semantically. *Adhmad-GC* has *berit* for *BND-C* *bíd*; and *Adhmad-GC* has *berit na dathaso a nait* for *BND-C* *bíd na datha atáit a nait*. Quite what ‘place’ the colours take is unclear; however, the purpose of etymologies was to preserve form through recycling the lemma consonant structure into a new word with memorable meaning. The verb *atáit* in *BND-C* is more difficult to account for. As it stands, the phrase reads: ‘the colours are; their place is’; both lack an object or predicate. On the basis that this etymology has

¹ -a subscript.

been corrupted in *BND-C*, it seems likely that *Adhmad-GC* represents an earlier stratum of the *datán dathnait* glossing which was corrupted in or before arriving in *BND-C*.

Read literally, the latter two etymologies suggest that the fosterfather was responsible for the ‘two parts’ (*in deidhe*) of training in satire and praise, while the fostermother was responsible for ‘speckled’ poetry, i.e. *trefbocal*.¹ *Trefbocal* is a warning poem which combines both praise and satire that must legally precede a formal public satire. It consists of three required items which must be included in the composition (*trefbocal* ‘three utterances’): naming the offence, the offender, and the praise of the person to whom the warning poem is directed.² The colours assigned to satire, praise, and *trefbocal* are black, white, and speckled respectively, as illustrated in the following passage from the *Trefbocal Tract*.³

Trefbocal Tract, § 2 (L version)

Co ndath .i. dub i n-aíarthar 7 find i moltar brecc i focanar 7 tothocht. Cona thomus fri fid 7 deach 7 reim 7 forbaid 7 alt 7 insci 7 etargaire.

‘With colouring i.e. black when one satirises, white when one praises, speckled when one gives notice, and appropriateness, with its being measured by letter and syllable and declension and accent and juncture and gender and distinction.’

Reference to the ‘colouring’ of *trefbocal* also occurs in *BND*:

BND-H (TCD H 2. 15B (1317), p. 136^a) = *CIH* iii.1112.24–5 (transl. Breatnach, ‘*Trefbocal Tract*’, p. 2)

As daigh and so tra iomchomurcar dath 7 tothacht isin trefocal fogra 7 in gach airchedol

‘It is because of this that one enquires about colouring and appropriateness in the *trefocal* of warning, and in every other [kind of] poem.’

¹ In *CL*, the same word *dede* is used in an Isidorean-style etymology of *dalta* ‘pupil’, in which it refers to *dede ailes he* ‘the pair [i.e. the fosterfather and the fostermother] who raise him [i.e. the pupil]’ (*CL*, § 2^{xiii}).

² Breatnach, ‘*Trefbocal Tract*’, pp. 2, 14–15. See also Breatnach, ‘Satire and the Poet’s Circuit’, pp. 25–34, and Breatnach, *UR*, pp. 138–9 § 24. *Trefbocal* is also discussed by Meroney, ‘Studies’, 224–5.

³ See also Meroney, ‘Studies in Early Irish Satire I’, p. 224–5 and ‘Studies in Early Irish Satire III’, pp. 82–4.

I cannot find any reference beyond Adhmad-*GC* connecting a fostermother with *trefhocal*.¹ As noted above, it is unwise to assign literal meaning to an etymology and it is more likely that the scribe used the phonological connection between *dath-nait* and *dath* ‘colour’ to aid learning of both *BND* and of the *trefhocal*-type poem.

The term *immlegon* ‘levies’ occurs in *BND-C* and discussion of vicarious liability (through a surrogate) forms the basis of the next entry ***cad saorus...*** (Appendix 5 p. 55). This entry begins a new line of the manuscript with a large initial set aside slightly in the margin, but consists solely of commentary on *datán dathnait*. It cites a version of the same *BND* phrase quoted in *datán dathnait*,² but focuses on the vicarious liability of a kinsman-surety regarding poets. It opens with the question and answer format of *cad* ‘what...?’ and *ní hansae* ‘not difficult’ respectively, and so reformats the material in *datán dathnait* into a pedagogical structure.

Immlegon occurs most frequently in the sense *athgabál inmlequin* ‘distrain of a surrogate’, in which a plaintiff may distrain the property of a surrogate in the event of default or absence by the defendant.³ A connection between vicarious liability, *trefhocal*, and the status of poets may be found in the following passage from the *Prose Trefhocal*:

Prose Trefhocal, § 9 (text and translation from Breatnach, *Trefhocal Tract*, pp. 60, 63)

Is airi do-níther trefocul do fine in cintaig, ar dāig gur dāisiget a āerad, nō cor timairget hē re dlíged dīa cinn

‘The reason why a *trefhocal* is employed against the kin of the offender is so that they may consent to his being satirised or force him to [submit to] justice instead.’

It is stated in *BND-C* that poets who are suitably skilled are exempt from such obligations. This may explain why these topics have been grouped together, as a discussion of *trefhocal* in the training of an apprentice poet and the exemption of poets from vicarious liability.

The *ollam* is described as having twelve years’ training in *BND-C*:

BND-C = *CIH* iii.963.11–13

is amlaid is dithfoghlaide int ollam um cetheóra ranna fesa na filidhechta 7 primaicicht teora mbliadan in cach rann dib cona da bliadain déc inand 7 romaind

¹ For other examples of the colours black, white, and speckled associated with satire, praise, and *trefhocal*, see further *Auraicept*, ll. 5244–6 (printed with translation in Breatnach, ‘Satire and the Poet’s Circuit’, p. 25); Breatnach, ‘Caldron’, pp. 62 n. 10, 79 s.v. gloss 10 *eisce*.

² = *BND* = *CIH* iii.1115.32.

³ See Kelly, *GEIL*, pp. 179–80.

‘It is thus that the *ollam* is without depredation regarding the four divisions of knowledge of the poetic profession, and primacy instruction for three years in each division, so that it is twelve years, the same as above.’

Three years for each of the four divisions makes twelve years; and twelve years is also that cited in Fosterage Commentary regarding the age that a fosterfather is no longer legally responsible for any criminal activity by his fosterson.¹ In this case, fosterage of an apprentice poet ends when his training in these styles has been achieved which, in the explanation in Adhmad-*GC datán dathnait*, may be construed as the ‘day’ (*día*) on which the training ends.

The similarity between Adhmad-*GC* and *BND-C* is twofold: the material relating to vicarious liability for a kinsman; and the etymological glosses with their accompanying explanatory glosses on *datán* and *dathnait*. In *BND-C*, the commentary beginning *.i. isin laithi bus treorach hé* ‘on the day [in] which he is skilful’ glosses also introduces an additional citation which Adhmad-*GC* lacks. *BND-C* glosses *día* ‘at the end’ as *de ainm do laithi* ‘day, [another] noun for ‘day’, which then links to the citation: *tobair mu miach cruithnechta gac noctaid sceo dé isin ló* ‘bring my sack of wheat every night and day [i.e.] in the day’.² This citation is in *BNT* under the section headed *cain comaiches so* ‘this is the Regulation of Neighbours’, and also occurs in O’Dav. within a *BNT* block:

BNT = *CIH* vi.2228.8–9

tabuir mo miach cruithnechda cach nodche sceo de

‘Bring my sack of wheat every night and day.’

O’Dav. § 1285 (Eg. 88, f. 89^c) = *CIH* iv.1517.38

Nocht .i. aidche ut est tabair mo miach cruithnechta gac nochtaichi sceo dee

‘Nocht i.e. night, *ut est*: ‘bring my sack of wheat every night and day.’

The implication is that *BND-C* is a more developed version of that in Adhmad-*GC* (or another witness). In the manuscript, *cad saorus...* looks like a new entry and it is possible that it

¹ = *CIH* iii.803.30–2.

² = *CIH* iii.963.15.

was itself copied from an earlier exemplar, as one might expect commentary added by the Adhmad-GC scribe to run on from the same entry as the lemma.

9.2.5 Page 422b lines 16–40 (right column): *TÓ – NI CUALA CAIRE MBRETHE...*

The entry *tó* (Appendix 5 p. 57) does not begin a new line, but continues on the same line as the end of *cad saorus...* (p. 422a39) and onto the top of the next column (p. 422b1) and the initial consonant is only marginally larger than the rest of the script.¹ This entry is tripartite: 1) lemma + single-word definition gloss + quotation; 2) modernised and simplified version of the quotation; 3) single-word definition gloss + relevant external quotation in Latin. This last phrase does not occur in the extant versions of *BND* and therefore it is likely that this quotation has been extracted from elsewhere and added to the *to* entry to supplement the scribe's understanding of the lemma.

The form *rotemadh* is unclear. Stokes left it untranslated, and this citation from Adhmad-GC and O'Dav. § 1554 are the only entries listed in DIL s.v. *?temaid*. Under O'Dav. § 1554 Stokes notes that *to*, literally 'silence', is being used euphemistically for 'death', which is supported by the Latin quotation in Adhmad-GC. DIL refers (with query) to *teim* 'dark', which is itself not a well attested term. I have not found the Latin citation elsewhere, and it is notable within Adhmad-GC as the only Latin citation.

As evidenced in *BND-H* and the corresponding material in O'Dav. and *SC*, the lemma *melg* (Appendix 5 p. 58) in the next entry is part of the compound *melgteme* 'milk-death'. Discussing a number of entries relating to *melgteme* in O'Dav. and *SC*, Nikolaeva suggests that *melgteme* may mean 'deadly darkness' (*teme* 'darkness') or 'milk of death'.² She views 'milk' in *melgteme* as a kenning for 'blood', and by extension death caused by the loss of blood.³ This interpretation fits that described in Adhmad-GC; based on the glosses in Adhmad-GC, 'milk-death' seems to be a death caused by an infected wound (*.i. bas gona* 'i.e. death by wounding'). Arbuthnot has argued for the 'drink of death' motif as a metaphor for a violent death.⁴ Within *SC*, there has been some variation in the transmission of the compound *melgtheme* caused by a misreading of a stroke mark, resulting in the form *melgthene* 'milk-fire'.⁵ On the basis of *BND-H*,

¹ The entry *tó* starts at the bottom of p. 422a with the bulk on the following column (*tó .i. bas ut est | ma im thir...*).

² Nikolaeva, 'Drink of Death', p. 303.

³ Nikolaeva, 'Drink of Death', pp. 302–5.

⁴ Arbuthnot, 'Further to the Drink of Death', p. 140.

⁵ Noted by Nikolaeva, who cites O'Dav. § 1228 and *SC* Y. 862. I agree with her that the variation between *-theme* and *-thene* was probably caused by a scribe misreading a stroke mark, but not that the word was incomprehensible to the scribe ('Drink of Death', pp. 303–4).

it may be assumed for the moment that the original form of the compound was *melgtheme*. This is the form preserved in *SC* M.481. *SC* M.481 and La.49 are very similar in structure and content: each begins with the single-word gloss *as* ‘milk’ with the phrase *arindi mblegair* ‘from which is milked’ before a repetition of the lemma and the single-word gloss *bás* ‘death’ and the *melg*-compound familiar from *Adhmad-GC*. The only significant difference between these two versions of *SC* is the forms *melg theme* and *melgtene* respectively. It seems likely that *SC* La.49 copied the entry from a text similar to M.481 but misread *theme* for *tene*, which may have already occurred in the transmission of the entry before La.49.

The lemma itself, *melg*, is omitted in the citation in *Adhmad-GC*; since it is the lemma of the entry we may assume that this omission was an oversight during copying.¹ The entry *melg* splits *melgtheme* into its two elements, *melg* and *teime*, and provides each with a gloss: *bas* ‘death’ and *bas gona* ‘death of wounding’ respectively. It also changes the form of *teme* slightly as a headword: *taimthiu* ‘natural death’. This suggests that the scribe understood *teime* ‘death’ in *melgtheme* specifically as ‘natural death’, which he then glosses ‘death of wounding’.

The following entry is *tí* (Appendix 5 p. 60), in which again the reading of the citation in *Adhmad-GC* is superior to that in *BND-H*. There are several discrepancies between *Adhmad-GC* and *BND-H*. Firstly, the verb does not occur in *Adhmad-GC*, and the form which occurs in *BND-H* (i.e. *do niocfa*) appears corrupt. However, there are two sources from which the original form may be restored: the explanatory reworking of the citation in *Adhmad-GC*; and O’Dav. § 1555. Both *Adhmad-GC* and O’Dav. agree in taking the 1st sg. as the object, and it is presumably a version of this form (i.e. *dom-icfa*) which was miscopied by the *BND-H* scribe (or in an earlier witness).

O’Dav. § 1555 is very similar to *Adhmad-GC*; although *Adhmad-GC* lacks the verb in the citation, they agree in the headword and initial explanatory gloss: *tí .i. brat*. O’Dav. also agrees with *Adhmad-GC* in the use of *tí* and *muí* where *BND-H* has *tiomthach* and *maoin*. In favour of *tí* and *muí* as the superior reading is that there are two sources agreeing against *BND-H*. As the *lectio difficilior*, *tí* is likely to have preceded *tiomthach*. One possibility is that *tiomthach* began as a gloss on *tí*, which is a much rarer word, and was then absorbed into the main text. On this basis, the *BND* text may be restored as follows: *domicfa tí mo mhacáin muí* ‘a cloak of a little son of mine will come to me’.

Adhmad-GC provides a gloss on *muí*: *.i. is lium bé* ‘i.e. it belongs to me’. If taken in isolation, the *Adhmad-GC* scribe appears to be thinking of a slightly different scenario to that set

¹ *-teime* begins a new line in the MS, separate from *methus* by a line (MS TCD H 3. 18 (1337), p. 422b18–20). It may be worth noting here that the lemma is also absent in the citation in *Adhmad-GC* *tó*.

out in the *BND* citation. In the explanatory reworking, *tí* ‘cloak’ is replaced by *étach* ‘clothing’, and *domicfa* ‘[it] will come to me’ by *ticidh dbamb* ‘let [it] come to me’ and *is lium hé* ‘it belongs to me’. A new word is used to replace the lemma in the explanatory reworking, not the initial explanatory gloss (i.e. *étach* rather than *braí*). The verb is not present in Adhmad-GC (i.e. *domicfa*), but the explanatory reworking demonstrates that the scribe understood it to be there. The Adhmad-GC scribe takes *tí* to indicate clothing generally, rather than a cloak specifically, and understands to verb to indicate ownership. This is the sense provided in *BND-H* by the phrase which precedes the *tí* citation: *Bethiumm mo théchta mo tblacht* ‘I will have my possessions(?), my covering’.¹ This matches the reading of the *tí* citation by the Adhmad-GC scribe. Presumably therefore the Adhmad-GC scribe had a version of *BND* in front of him; he was able to gauge the meaning of the citation from its immediate context, and to adapt the entry accordingly by providing first a word-specific meaning of *tí* (i.e. *braí*) and then its meaning in context (i.e. *étach*).

Where *tí* may be regarded as a relatively straightforward entry, taken in the first instance from a primary base text, the next entry **leo** (Appendix 5 p. 60) demonstrates a stage further. Uniquely within Adhmad-GC, the lemma *leo* is itself taken from an etymological gloss based on the word *galeoin*. The etymology breaks *galeoin* into two parts: *ga-* and *-leoin*. Of these, the former is recycled as *gae* ‘spear’ and the latter as *leo* ‘lion’.² The lemma is initially provided with two single-word glosses: *lach* ‘warrior’ and *gai* ‘spear’. Worth noting here is that the two etymologies – *gai* (for *gae*) and *leo* – have been conflated into one gloss under *leo*, qualifying the etymology *leo* with both the explanatory gloss *lach* and the second etymology *gai*. The word *galeoin* occurs in the citation in *BND-H*;³ within Adhmad-GC however, *galeoin* is not explicitly stated as the lemma behind the etymology. It does occur at the end of the entry, as part of a gloss which has been absorbed from an external source; the assumption is that the person using Adhmad-GC is already aware of the etymology connecting *leo* with *galeoin*.

The citation in Adhmad-GC is followed first by a relatively long explanatory reworking of the same, which inserts the following etymological gloss in context: *don gha leothach* ‘by the wounding spear’. The phrase *gha leothach* is an expansion of the etymological breakdown of *galeoin* as *gae* + *leo*, and it is itself followed by the alternative phrase *t dhon gha letarthach* ‘or by the tearing spear’. This may be another etymological gloss using *letarthach* as a variation of *-leoin*, or it may be an explanatory gloss intended to make clear the meaning of the etymological gloss *gha leothach*. O’Dav. § 1146, which shares the same lemma and etymological gloss, contains the initial

¹ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1116.2–3.

² The final consonant *-n* is absent in the etymology. It may be that *leo* is the product of recycling the remaining lemma form after the etymological of *ga-* into *gae*, in which case the absence of a consonant is not unusual.

³ = *CIH* iii.1116.12.

explanatory gloss *leatra* ‘tearing, lacerating’. It may be that *leo .i. leatra* belonged to a separate glossarial transmission which was extracted into Adhmad-GC in the form *† dbon gha letaribach* as an additional explanation of the etymology.

The final component of *leo* is likely to have been extracted entirely from a separate transmission of glossing on *galeoin*. It takes *galeoin* as the lemma and provides all three gloss elements found elsewhere in *leo*: *† galeoin .i. lach leo co nga lais* ‘or Galeon i.e. a warrior, a lion with a spear with him’. It then reaffirms the etymology: *† leo .i. ga* ‘or lion i.e. spear’. Recycling *galeoin* into *leo co nga* ‘a lion with a spear’ is the fundamental basis of the etymology used at the beginning of the entry, and presumably that which the scribe uses to generate the entry. The repetition of content in these glosses and the change in lemma suggest that they have been absorbed from elsewhere and have been added to the end of *leo* as a compilation of related material.

The lemma *leo* therefore is in fact a secondary stage, after first creating the etymological gloss *leo* from *galeoin*. This first stage must have taken place before the absorption of these entries into Adhmad-GC and O’Dav.¹

As a whole, what is interesting about the structure of *leo* is that one would expect the glosses to appear in the reverse order. In other words, to begin with the lemma and initial explanatory gloss (i.e. *galeoin .i. lach*), then the citation and reworking, and then the etymology as a method of engaging with the citation. The fact that the entry opens with the etymology and embeds the etymology within the reworking of the citation suggests that the Adhmad-GC scribe is building on pre-existing glossarial material which has already associated *galeoin* with *leo co nga*. While the basic format of the entry is the same as the other entries in Adhmad-GC, *leo* is the result of a more developed – and presumably older – transmission.²

The initial of the next entry, **déis** (Appendix 5 p. 62), is decorated and is one of only three entries within Adhmad-GC to contain interlinear glosses.³ *Déis* itself has three interlinear glosses. The presence of interlinear glosses in a document which for the most part has incorporated glosses into its continuous text suggests that they were added by the Adhmad-GC scribe who would have had a copy of *BND* – presumably a glossed copy – in front of him. One of the interlinear glosses contains *slogh*, which matches the initial explanatory gloss (i.e. *déis .i.*

¹ The etymology *leo* also occurs in O’Dav. § 1027, but the etymology is different: *leo gaite* ‘a lion of theft’. Spears do not appear in the section of *BNT* cited in O’Dav. § 1027, and there are consequently two distinctions between O’Dav. §§ 1027 and 1146: the former is in the context of pledges and uses the etymology *leo gaite*; the latter in the context of wounding with spears and the etymology *gai* and *leo*.

² As the same lemma and etymology occurs in O’Dav. § 1146, the popularity of this entry presumably superseded the original gloss, which would have been headed *galeoin*.

³ See above, p. 228.

slogh). Like *adhmad* and *datán dathnait* above, this entry is an interim stage between absorbing and processing interlinear glosses into a glossarial format.

Together with O'Dav., *Adhmad-GC* provides the superior reading in which *BND-H dia éis* can be restored to *déis*.¹ Within O'Dav., the citation occurs under two separate lemmata: O'Dav. § 1433 s.v. *sab* and O'Dav. § 613 s.v. *déis*. O'Dav. § 1433 is composed of two parts, the first of which deals with the material shared with *Adhmad-GC* and the second of which has been brought in from what looks like a different base text.² O'Dav. § 613 shares the same lemma as *Adhmad-GC*, namely *déis*, as well as the gloss *slogh*, but O'Dav. lacks the material contained in the interlinear glosses in *Adhmad-GC*.³

The citations from *leo* and *déis* occur in *BND* in a passage of speech attributed to Senchan Toirpest.⁴ I can find no further references to Bran, who is named in *BND-H* as Bran Boimbil. The epithet *Boimbil* does not occur in *Adhmad-GC*, but it does appear in three references in O'Dav. which deal with the elements *boim* and *bil*.⁵ The word *boim* means 'bit, morsel, fragment' with various semantic areas of application.⁶ In O'Dav. § 221, *boim* is equated with *sgiath* 'shield'. Presumably this meaning has been taken from the second element *bil* which means 'edge', generally in the specific sense 'edge of a shield'. The citation in O'Dav. § 221 corresponds to *BND-H = CIH* iii.1116.17–18 and therefore relates directly to Bran Boimbil.

O'Dav. § 221 (Eg. 88, f. 80^f) = *CIH* iv.1474.22–4

Boim .i. sgiath ut est boim bil co nuball airget .i. sgiath maith co næ bil fair do airget nó .i. aibind bil aibin mar sin

'*Boim* i.e. a shield, *ut est*: 'a good shield with a boss of silver' i.e. a good shield with a delightful(?) edge of silver on it; or i.e. delightful [i.e.] *bil* therefore [means] 'delightful'.⁷

In the reworking of the citation, *boim bil* is explained as *sgiath maith* 'a good shield', which denotes the element *bil* as *maith* 'good'. However, it seems that *bil* was able to take a range of

¹ *BND-H = CIH* iii.1116.17.

² This second section, beginning *sab .i. calma*, may have belonged to a version of *BND* at some point; it is not present in *BND-H*.

³ One of the glosses given in O'Dav. § 1433 is *aire* 'lord', which may have been absorbed into O'Dav. from a witness to *Adhmad-GC* (in which *aile* (for *aire*) is an interlinear gloss).

⁴ *BND-H = CIH* iii.1116.11–21.

⁵ *boim* = O'Dav. § 221; *bil* = O'Dav. §§ 205–6.

⁶ DIL s.v. *boim(m)*.

⁷ Stokes does not translate *ae bil*, which is an etymological gloss on *nuball* 'boss'. Based on the surrounding glosses, *ae* presumably had a positive sense.

contrasting meanings: it occurs in O'Dav. § 205 as *maith* 'good' and § 206 as *olc* 'bad'.¹ In O'Dav. § 221 *bil* itself is repeated in the reworking as an etymology of *ubull* <b-l> 'boss': *a bil* 'delightful(?) edge'; and finally it is interpreted as *aibind* 'delightful'. The meaning 'shield' has then been assumed by *boim* while *bil*, which originally meant 'edge of a shield', has been recycled into an adjective denoting 'good' to qualify *boim*. According to O'Dav. therefore, Bran Boimbil is 'Bran Good-Shield'.²

In terms of process, the difference between the entry in Adhmad-GC and the entries in O'Dav. illustrates the change in function between small, text-based glossaries and larger, independent glossaries. Adhmad-GC focuses on one word only from the citation in *BND*: *déis*. This lemma occurs within Adhmad-GC entries in the textual order of *BND-H*, and is easily accessible and comprehensible to anyone using *BND-H*.

The final entry *ni cuala caire mbrethe...* (Appendix 5 p. 63) is unusual within Adhmad-GC in that the citation is the lemma, and it is composed of versions of two separate phrases from *BND*: *ni cuala caire mbrethe* (for *BND-H an ccualae coire breth*);³ and *gaibith de .xxx. co tresaihb do .u.* (for *BND-H gaibidh dbe triochtach go treisibh do nemthibh*).⁴ These phrases are separated by *7rl*, which presumably refers to the material in between these two phrases (i.e. *CIH* iii.1120.9–15). The initial is a capital and is decorated, perhaps to signify that it is a citation. There are no references to this material beyond that in *BND*.

The phrase *ni cuala caire mbrethe* 'did you hear a cauldron of judgement' is striking.⁵ In his edition of the *Caldron*, Breatnach has noted that the metaphor of the cauldron was used as a model to account for the different levels and kinds of learning associated with poetry.⁶ In the *Caldron*, three cauldrons represent different forms of knowledge: competent understanding of the basics (*coire goiriath*); advanced learning (*coire softs*); and the transition between these two stages (*coire éрмаi*).⁷ In *BND-H*, the cauldrons are *brúchaire* 'belly-cauldron', explained as the part of a judge in which knowledge comes together;⁸ *buanchaire* 'everlasting-cauldron', which seems to

¹ cf. *DDC* D1.49 and D2.1 and *SCYAdd*. 174 in which *bil* is glossed *soinmech* 'prosperous' in the compound *biltene* 'prosperous fire (?)'.

² It should be noted that *bran boimbil* need not refer to a person at all; *bran* as a noun means 'raven' and by extension is associated with battles or slaughter. This would give 'a raven/battle [with] a good shield'. However, since *BND* mentions *sab* 'a leader', it seems likely that Bran Boimbil refers to a person.

³ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1120.9, 15.

⁴ *BND-H* = *CIH* iii.1120.11. Adhmad-GC *cóic* for *BND-H nemthibh* has presumably arisen through a misreading of *u* and *n*.

⁵ Binchy expands *b̄ras breth* (*CIH* iii.954.19) '[a cauldron of] judgements'; because this is a metaphorical construct, I understand *breth* 'judgement' used as an abstract noun and so expand as *brethe* '[cauldron of] judgement'. The corresponding material in *BND* has *breth* 'of judgements' (*CIH* iii.1120.9); however, *BND-H* is not without mistakes and it describes a 'belly' as such a cauldron in the singular (*bru* 'belly' = *CIH* iii.1120.9).

⁶ *Caldron*, pp. 51–2.

⁷ *Caldron*, pp. 48–52.

⁸ *CIH* iii.1120.9–10.

relate to fixed judgements and an entitlement for nobles;¹ and *naomhchaire* ‘sacred-cauldron’, which represents poetry and associated moral concepts.²

There is no direct link between these cauldrons and those in the *Caldron*. However, although the cauldrons mentioned in *BND-H* (including *caire mbrethe*) are not referred to in the *Caldron*, they appear to be working within the same metaphorical framework. In *BND-H*, the belly seems to be used as a description of the part of the body in which knowledge is ‘boiled’ or contained and developed;³ in the *Caldron*, the belly is associated with melodious speech and boiling with the basis of knowledge.⁴ However, these two elements – the belly and boiling – are not explicitly stated to refer to one another in the *Caldron*. *Caire mbrethe* may therefore be an extension of this metaphor relating specifically to legal knowledge.

As the passage on cauldrons in *BND-H* (*CIH* iii.1120.9–15) is opened and closed by the same phrase (i.e. *an ccualae coire*), this phrase functions as a *dúrad* and marks this passage as verse. While taking a question in both instances in *BND-H*, in *Adhmad-GC* the lemma takes the form of a question and answer: ‘did you hear’ and ‘you did not hear’ respectively. Either *Adhmad-GC* is answering that in *BND* or, perhaps more likely, there has been an error in transmission. It has already been demonstrated that *BND-H* is not free from mistakes, and one solution is that the lemma originally contained the interrogative particle *in* which, through a misreading of minims, became the negative particle *ni* in *Adhmad-GC*.⁵ Framed by the *dúrad caire mbrethe*, this passage contains three named cauldrons (i.e. *brúchaire*, *buanchaire*, *naomhchaire*), just as there are three cauldrons in the *Caldron*.

As an extension of the cauldron metaphor in a legal context, the passage in *BND* provides an insight into how scribes may have understood the concept of legal knowledge as distinct from knowledge of poetry.⁶ Rather than focusing on the term *caire mbrethe*, *Adhmad-GC* is interested in the legal matters attached to the metaphors. As a whole, this entry is similar to the longer passages of commentary found elsewhere in Irish legal ancillary material, and may represent a further stage of development in the process of moving from the format of a gloss to that of commentary.

¹ *CIH* iii.1120.10–11.

² *CIH* iii.1120.12–14.

³ *BND CIH* iii.1120.9–15. For a translation, see Appendix 5 *Adhmad-GC*, s.v. *ni cuala caire mbrethe*...

⁴ *Caldron*, §§ 1, gloss 5, and 13 l. 85. Breatnach understands the phrase in § 13, l. 85 (*sóerbrud i mberbthar*) as ‘a noble brew in which is brewed...’; on the basis of the material in *BND*, I understand the phrase more specifically as ‘a noble boiling in which is boiled...’.

⁵ One might make the alternative argument, that *ni* was misread as *in* and subsequently modernised in *BND-H* as *an*. However, a negative particle does not seem to fit the context in either *BND-H* or the entry in *Adhmad-GC*, which looks at the legal aspects of these metaphors.

⁶ A very tentative suggestion is that the idea of a ‘belly-cauldron’, in which knowledge is boiled together, has in some way evolved from the principles of humorism in which the stomach is the source of legal knowledge.

9.2.6 Parallel Text, Development, and Purpose

Adhmad-*GC* represents an early stage in the glossarial process, in which layers of primarily base text-based glosses are beginning to be expanded with material from other texts. It is a comparatively neat document, in keeping with the *glossae collectae* discussed in the summary above and contrasted with Aidbriugh-*GC* (which is visibly still a work in progress). There are very few interlinear glosses, no marginalia, and it fills up the page;¹ the scribe has either copied or pre-planned Adhmad-*GC* as a whole.

The distribution of Adhmad-*GC* entries according to *BND-H* demonstrates a closer reading than that in Aidbriugh-*GC*. In the most densely cited section, eight entries are extracted from one column.² In comparison to other *glossae collectae* in *CIH*, Adhmad-*GC* is unusual in that the beginning of the text contains a block of material which differs to the rest of the entries in style and content, i.e. *adhmad*, which provides two citations and at least one external source; *bras*, whose lemma and verse are an example of the citation; and *eallach*, which again provides illustration. Elsewhere in *CIH*, expansions and interpolations are typically interspersed throughout the document. This may therefore represent the beginning stages of a growing *glossae collectae*, in which supplementary material has been added *en bloc* from another source but has not yet been integrated into the style of the document as a whole. Focus has shifted from the immediate context of the citation to an extension of the same, drawing on information learned elsewhere. The scribe was no longer concentrating solely on the base text, but instead on what knowledge he can bring to that topic. This is an additional stage in the glossarial process; the use of the interlinear glosses elsewhere in Adhmad-*GC*, meanwhile, suggest that the purpose of the gloss itself was still to work in conjunction with reading the base text.

It is this point which is brought out most clearly in Adhmad-*GC*: namely, that entries within a set of *glossae collectae* were not all at the same stage of evolution. Relatively straightforward glosses which are evidently focused on the meaning of the lemma as it is found in the base text only, such as *áth* and *cith*, and entries with interlinear glossing, such as *déis*, sit alongside commentary such as *cad saorus...* and lemmata which have already undergone at least one stage of development before arriving in the *glossae collectae*, such as the etymological gloss

¹ The final sentence of Adhmad-*GC* (*ni cuala caire mbrethe...*) runs into the margin, indicated by a reference mark. This use of the margin is distinct from comments which have been added directly onto the margin.

² *Brigh, drenn, áth, cith, datán dathnait, to, melg, and tí* = *BND-H* TCD H 2. 15B (1317), p. 139^a = *CIH* iii.1115.23–1116.6.

lemma *leo*. Adhmad-*GC* is simultaneously both intended for use alongside the base text and for linking the material to other topics on the syllabus.¹

Compilatory documents like Adhmad-*GC* make it difficult to ascertain how much of the information provided came from the scribe himself. Interlinear glosses like those in *adhmad*, *bras*, and *déis*, suggest a very early stage of the glossarial process in which in-text glosses are at first transferred onto a separate document, and may therefore be the work of the scribe himself; certainly this fits the idea of the scribe using Adhmad-*GC* alongside a copy – presumably an annotated copy, although no such copy exists – of *BND*. Conversely more elaborate glosses, including those like the commentary *cad saorus*... and the more overtly Latinate *to*, reflect a body of material which has already been subject to revision. However, it should be borne in mind that comparatively straightforward entries are not necessarily older than those which are more complex, but rather extracted and incorporated at different stages in their evolution.

Where Adhmad-*GC* contains similar entries to those in *SC* and O'Dav., Adhmad-*GC* generally shows a different reading.² In respect of O'Dav., this is the case for *brigh* (O'Dav. § 218), *drenn* (O'Dav. §§ 386, 611), *leo* (O'Dav. § 1146), and *déis* (O'Dav. § 613). Material corresponding to Adhmad-*GC datán dathnait* is much shorter in O'Dav. § 612, and may stem from the same transmission. Likewise, material corresponding to Adhmad-*GC tí* in O'Dav. § 1555 largely matches Adhmad-*GC* up to the end of the citations. The same is too short in *SC* La.207 (i.e. single-word gloss) to ascertain whether they belonged to a similar transmission, but that in *SC* Y.1199, which is longer than that in La., suggests that it they not. Likewise, beyond the single-word gloss *bás*, Adhmad-*GC melg* differs from *DDC* and *SC*; it is closer to O'Dav. § 1228, but sufficiently distinct to suggest some degree of separation during transmission. It seems likely that the material in O'Dav. was extracted from a related witness to Adhmad-*GC*, as it shares a number of lemmata and glosses but differs sufficiently to exclude a direct transmission from Adhmad-*GC* to O'Dav.

Glossae collectae like Adhmad-*GC* are the product of a scribe who is engaging not only with the base text but also with surrounding scholarly material, both base texts and other ancillary documents. It suggests an environment in which the scribe had access to a broad range of material, and was conscious of placing a relatively small passage of text in a wider scholarly

¹ One might make the suggestion that this passage in *BND* was used as a springboard from which to discuss aspects of poetry more generally. This would necessitate a close reading of *BND* as well as a broader discussion of important poetical features and verse like the frequently cited example of *laíd liascach* noted in Adhmad-*GC bras* (Appendix 5 p. 45).

² As with Aidbriugh-*GC*, a comprehensive study of the interrelationship between the parallel texts relating to Adhmad-*GC* goes beyond the remit of the present study. The following paragraph is intended as a general survey which may form a basis for future research.

context. Such an environment was presumably educative, through which a student may learn both the base text and its broader relevance.

10 GLOSSAE COLLECTAE: PROCESS AND PURPOSE

Part II has considered the style and content of *glossae collectae* in *CIH* and highlighted a number of points, most of which deserve far greater time and attention than has been allowed in the present study. *Glossae collectae* may occur in any number of layers and depth of complexity. They can be highly varied; even short *glossae collectae* with relatively undeveloped glosses, like those in *Mat-GC*, reflect a variety of sources and relate to a variety of topics.¹ *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC* are particularly unusual in that they are almost entirely focused on a single based text (i.e. *BND*). While *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC* take the same base text as the source for their glosses and are collectively less developed than the other *glossae collectae* discussed above, individually they represent different stages of development and therefore different purposes. *Aidbriugh-GC*, closely related to the base text and with a regular structure of gloss entries, reflects a document intended to be used directly alongside the base text; its primary concern is engaging with and understanding the base text. *Adhmad-GC*, with its incorporation of additional material, reflects a document which is already in the process of moving from a single base text to a multi-purpose learning aid. It connects to other topics which the scribe felt relevant: in this case, other uses of the headword lemma and illustrations of types of poetry found in the base text. For both *glossae collectae*, the implication is that they were used in an educational environment.

The distribution of the lemmata in *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC* in *BND-H* appears relatively haphazard; there are no obvious lexical or morphological connections between them. In the case of *Aidbriugh-GC*, there is an initial cluster of entries taken from the section corresponding to the beginning of *BND-H*, but otherwise the lemmata cover a broad section of text (TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 135^a–150^a); *Adhmad-GC*, by contrast, covers just six pages (TCD H 2. 15B (1317), pp. 138^a–143^a).² However, there is no overlap of material between *Aidbriugh-GC* and *Adhmad-GC*. It may also be significant that both *Aidbriugh-GC* and

¹ It is possible that *glossae collectae* like *Mat-GC* represent a fragment of a much longer document, but the glosses within such documents are nonetheless relatively undeveloped and, presumably, dependent on the base text for sense.

² As *BND-H* is acephalous, it is impossible to get a true reading of the distribution of lemmata for either *Aidbriugh-GC* or *Adhmad-GC*; the full version may, for example, include the imagery of chickens in a nest. The seeming lack of connection between lemmata may reflect a document compiled by an individual, tailored to their specific requirements.

Adhmad-GC omit any lemmata from MS p. 140^a to the end of 142^b. Possibly both sets of *glossae collectae* originated from a set covering a much larger passage of *BND*, of which a block of glossing material fell out at an earlier stage in transmission and did not make it into either Aidbriugh-GC or Adhmad-GC.

No glossed copy of *BND* survives; Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC imply that such copies did exist. Entries containing interlinear glossing which reinterprets or repeats the main entry text (e.g. Aidbriugh-GC *glaidomuín gudombuín*; Adhmad-GC *adhmad, bras, and déis*) are relics of what would have originally been base text interlinear glossing. During the transmission and process of glossing, these interlinear glosses would be absorbed into a glossary entry as a reworking of the citation. This is indicated most clearly where an entry contains lexical interlinear glossing but no reworking of the citation, in which the interlinear glosses form the structure of a reworking of the citation. *Adhmad* has already been noted as one such example.¹ This also occurs where glosses, clearly defined by the introductory marker *.i.*, break up an otherwise continuous citation. In the following example *déis*, glosses are marked in bold.

Adhmad-GC s.v. *déis*

rosuighidh siúr for cach sabaith .i. for cac ailedh .i. cumal secht dire .i. in filed di deis don slogh for bran

‘a demand has been fixed on every leader **i.e. on every lord i.e. a cumal** as a seventh of a fine **i.e. of the poet** for a vassal host **for the host** against Bran.’

If one extracts the interlinear glosses and the gloss *cumal* which breaks up the citation, we have the skeleton of a reworking of the citation: *for cach sabaith secht dire di deis* ‘on every leader as a seventh of a fine for a vassal host’ becomes *for cac ailedh cumal in filed don slogh* ‘on every lord a cumal of the poet for the host’. This is the type of phrase that one would expect to see following the citation in a set of *glossae collectae*, as it is the most frequent structure in those *glossae collectae* discussed above (and particularly true of the highly regular Aidbriugh-GC and Adhmad-GC).

Examples like these are a visual demonstration of the process of moving from interlinear glosses to creating a modernised reworking of the citation. The glossing is mostly lexical throughout, seeking to provide context and, particularly for more challenging words, clarity. In some instances the glosses use relatively complex terminology to gloss a more – or equally – difficult term or concept. Thus *maethmarctoírecht* is glossed *nelladoírecht* ‘cloud-divination’ in

¹ See above, p. 228.

Bothar-*GC* and *mathmercuir* is glossed *nelladóir* ‘cloud-diviner’ in Mat-*GC*, in which both lemma and gloss are poorly attested.¹ Etymology is only occasionally used, such as *cuaire* ‘circuit’, glossed as *cae uird* ‘path of order(?)’;² *domon* ‘earth’ as *dé-ombon* ‘god-fear(?)’ and *dímbaín* ‘unprofitable’;³ and *udbairt* ‘an offering’ as *uadh berar* ‘it is brought from him’.⁴

Lemmata in these *glossae collectae* as a whole vary considerably in both form and level of complexity, from commonplace nouns and simple verbs to adverbial phrases and obscure compound nouns, but the vast majority of lemmata are words which require contextualisation more than explanation. Where a word has multiple or ambiguous meanings, the gloss defines it within the context of the base text. Words such as *cul*, *fin*, and *lith* are relatively frequent and carry a variety of meanings, and so require further contextualisation for sense.⁵ Thus the term *brigh* is glossed *baile* ‘settlement’ in Adhmad-*GC* *brigh* but *fíren* ‘righteous’ in Fonnaidh-*GC*;⁶ each gloss understands the same word in different ways according to context.

Russell has noted that ‘where the glossing has built up over time through collation with other versions, it provides no indication of how those layers have accumulated and how at any point in that process of accumulation the glosses might have been used’.⁷ Perhaps to search for distinct layers of accumulation of material is to miss the point; from the perspective of a student or teacher, any number of layers might contribute to their individual understanding of the text; a single set of *glossae collectae* could serve more than one purpose, such as vocabulary-learning, memorisation, and philological interest.

¹ = Bothar-*GC* *CIH* iii.813.37–9 and Mat-*GC* *CIH* v.1566.36 (*mathmercuir*). Such a gloss may be the product of a different scribe at a different stage of learning. For a discussion of *néladóracht*, see Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 40–50. Williams comments that ‘the inclusion of the word [*néladóracht*] in several glossaries suggests that its meaning was not clear even for speakers of medieval and early modern Irish’ (Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, p. 41); its use as a gloss on the more obscure *maethmarcadóracht*, however, would seem to imply that, in at least one sentence, it was. Bothar-*GC* also includes the forms *maethmarcadór* and *maethmarcadóracht* (*CIH* iii.813.38). As Williams notes, these are presumably variants of *maithmarcadacht* ‘prophecy’ (Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, p. 57); and *maethmarcadór* as the agent form on the analogy of *néladóir* ‘cloud-diviner’. For a discussion of *maithmarcadacht* ‘prophecy’ and *mathmarc* ‘prophet’, see Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 57, 72.

² Fonnaidh-*GC* *CIH* v.1078.37–8.

³ Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1097.28–30.

⁴ Gormac-*GC* *CIH* v.1569.28 = *SCY*.1296.

⁵ *cul* = Mat-*GC* *CIH* v.1566.26; *fin* = Breth-*GC* *CIH* iii.1097.27 = Ní Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.809.26–8; *lith* = Ní Tulach-*GC* *CIH* iii.810.30–1.

⁶ = *CIH* v.1079.5–6.

⁷ Russell, *Reading Ovid*, p. 56.

11 FROM GLOSS TO *GLOSSAE COLLECTAE*: PROCESS, FORMAT, AND PURPOSE

This study has looked at two forms of medieval Irish legal ancillary material and considered their process and purpose: etymological glosses; and *glossae collectae*. Together, they provide an insight into different styles and levels of accessing and engaging with base texts.

In Part I, we have seen a layered, nuanced process of etymological glossing which is both semantically neutral and context-based. Etymologies relate directly to the form of the lemma, and are embedded in a larger explanatory gloss. In Part II, we have seen that *glossae collectae* are further removed from the base text, wherein the gloss seeks to provide a lexical explanation of the lemma in the context of the citation in which it occurs. An entry may be expanded with additional material, but the core of that entry is lexical and context-based. Both etymological glosses and *glossae collectae* are interested in context as the primary method of interpreting the sense of the lemma; the difference is that *glossae collectae* have the space to expand and draw in other interpretations beyond that of the base text. A number of features are common to one but not the other: there are comparatively very few etymological glosses in *glossae collectae*;¹ even fewer examples of external material brought into an in-text gloss containing etymology; and a preoccupation with form in etymologies which is matched by a preoccupation with meaning in *glossae collectae*. Consequently we are dealing with two different formats of engaging with a text: the first, context-based and form-specific; and the second, beginning to look elsewhere for additional material.

If etymology represents a level of elementary learning, focused on phonology and context-based explanation, then *glossae collectae* represent a more advanced stage. Methods of transmitting legal information has generally been discussed from the perspective of the older strata of legal texts. The form of archaic verse known as *ros*, previously considered to be very early native verse, has been classified by Charles-Edwards as belonging to *Fénechas*: ‘earlier material... either in an early metre or presented in condensed and allusive prose or in the form

¹ Etymology in Aidbriugh-*GC* and Adhmad-*GC* include. Aidbriugh-*GC* *fuidrecht* and Adhmad-*GC* *datán dathnait*; these glosses may have originated as in-text glossing.

of the instructions of a master to his pupil'.¹ Charles-Edwards and Stacey have pointed to the orality in the law texts associated with *Fénechas* and textbooks and the performative aspect of the law;² however, glosses and other ancillary material are only very rarely taken into consideration.³ This is perhaps understandable, since not only is the quantity of ancillary material in medieval Irish law both vast and relatively untouched, but it also covers a much broader time period than the legal tracts themselves.

It is in this respect that etymological glosses and *glossae collectae* can shed some light. This study has demonstrated that texts which fall into Charles-Edwards' plain prose category, whose main text contains little orality or pedagogical techniques, accrue exactly this type of material in their in-text glossing. Where syllabic etymology differs from methods of teaching discussed previously is that it bridges the language of the older material and modernised reworkings. Since etymological glosses generally lack the rhetoric of the *Fénechas*-type questions, they were presumably used for a different, more basic purpose; their phonological framework and explanatory context suggest an elementary level of learning in which the teacher is transferring both language and context. Etymological glosses represent an earlier stage in the educative process: a student must learn the law before he can perform it. Orality is comparatively lacking in *glossae collectae*; multiple interpretations and/or citations relating to a single lemma, predominantly lexical glossing, and the frequent appearance of modernised reworkings of citations suggest a document that was intended to be read. A running text glossary relating to one or more base texts, whether as a word-list or as a more elaborate and detailed document, would provide a useful tool in engaging with any text, legal or otherwise. The incorporation of multiple base texts, which has occurred in varying extents in all of the *glossae collectae* discussed here, suggests a familiarity with a broader curriculum and the pursuit of independent learning, and lends itself to a more advanced stage of learning than etymological glosses.

The work above has argued for a primarily pedagogical function of both etymological glosses and *glossae collectae*, but there are other possible applications. The transporting of material for the compilation of glossaries or for the copying of glossed texts is one such possibility. Copying material in order to take it elsewhere and attach it to another document would also go some way to explaining the seeming lack of order found in some *glossae collectae*. One scenario

¹ Charles-Edwards, 'Review', pp. 146–7. For *ros*, see Breatnach, 'Canon Law and Secular Law', pp. 439–59.

² See Charles-Edwards, 'Review Article', pp. 146–62. For orality in *Berrad Airechta*, see Stacey, 'Learning Law', pp. 135–44; for the concept of "masking" in legal teaching and performance, see Stacey, *Dark Speech*, pp. 86–9 and Tymoczko, 'Poetry of Masks', pp. 192–6. For orality over written tradition, see Charles-Edwards, 'Early Irish Law', pp. 332, 369. For higher education more generally in medieval Ireland, see Ó Cróinín, 'Hiberno-Latin literature', pp. 374–77, 387–98 and Scott, 'Latin learning', pp. 934–95.

³ For the pedagogical application of glosses and commentary in medieval Wales, see Russell, 'Teaching between the lines', pp. 133–48.

may be in-text glossing copied onto a separate document – i.e. the *glossae collectae* – in order that they be transported and copied out onto a third document, perhaps a clean base text, in which case ordering would not matter so long as the scribe understood where to copy out the glosses. This may apply to *glossae collectae* like Cotainiside-GC and Aidbriugh-GC, both of which are unpolished and small enough in size to be easily transported. This said, a number of *glossae collectae* have been carefully copied out, not jotted down as one might expect if being used as a temporary storage device for glosses. The scribes who wrote – or copied – Arra-GC and Mat-GC, which both have elaborate initials, put more time into them than would be required if they were working as a medieval photocopier.

The present discussion has focused by necessity on a sample group of law texts and *glossae collectae*; a much longer and broader study is needed to confirm whether the conclusions drawn here can be applied to the whole corpus of legal glossing. There are still several strands to etymological glossing and *glossae collectae* which remain to be pursued. Regarding etymology, for example, worth investigation are comparisons of the glossing of different versions of the same texts (i.e. where etymology does and does not occur on the same word); whether the comparatively low level of etymological glossing in commentary and *glossae collectae* indicates register or purpose; and a methodology of how one might establish a relative chronology of the development and usage of etymology within law texts. There is a significant volume of *glossae collectae* which have yet to be transcribed, and this basic but fundamental stage needs to be carried out before any general themes and processes can come to light on a widescale level, and in order to make the most of their value as a mine of witnesses to lost versions of texts.¹ On a localised level, a more detailed comparison of *glossae collectae* which frequent overlap (such as Breth-GC and TBC-GC, Gormac-GC and Gormac-2, and Ni Tulach-GC, Arra-GC, and Cotainiside-GC) will provide an insight into how and why blocks of glosses moved from one glossarial document to another.

Close reading of ancillary material as a whole requires first a significant quantity of groundwork, and until that time any conclusions drawn must necessarily be tentative. However, this study has demonstrated that, by treating secondary material as a primary source, glossing can provide a much-needed insight into the way in which information travelled, evolved, and was employed in medieval Ireland. Etymological glosses connect the form and sound of the etymon to clear, accessible contextualisation; far from ‘foolish’, they are considered, structured, and above all useful. *Glossae collectae*, with their myriad of styles, content, and functions, are

¹ For a survey of some of the literary *glossae collectae* in 18 (1337), pp. 467, 519–628, see Russell, “‘Mistakes of all kinds’”, pp. 13–17.

storehouses of information. This study has been a preliminary effort in understanding the process, purpose, and application of medieval Irish legal ancillary material, and represents a fragment of the research needed to be carried out on this valuable but un-mined field of Irish cultural history. Using the mapping of a desert for analogy, Binchy described *CIH* as a ‘ticket of admission to the desert [of native Irish law]’.¹ I hope that this short study has provided a few plots by which the glossing of Irish law can be mapped in the future.

¹ Binchy, *CIH* i., p. xxi.

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