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Contents

Manx Traditional Songs, Rhymes and Chants in the Repertoire of the Last Native Manx Speakers

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In the course of taking down/sound-recording material from the last native Manx speakers between 1883 and 1972 a number of lyrical texts formed part of some of the collections. A number of such texts have already appeared in print, others appear here for the first time. This article seeks to bring all such known texts together under one roof in order to serve the interests of various fields of study concerned with traditional lyric-text material.

Keywords: Native Manx speakers; songs; rhymes; chants; end-phase of Manx

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the raw material of the songs, rhymes and chants found in and recorded from Manx tradition from the last native Manx speakers between 1883 and 1972 and to make it available to scholars as a resource.

Manx Gaelic is one of the Insular Celtic languages that in recent times experienced language obsolescence, and has thereby attracted interest from scholars at an early date in the recent history of language and linguistic research. Leaving aside the early linguistic enquiries of Edward Lhuyd (1703–1704; Lhuyd 1707) and Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (c.1856; Bonaparte 1884) into aspects of Insular Celtic (including Manx), solely in Manx terms the first known early scholastic enquiry into Manx took place in 1883 when Prof. John Strachan, University of Manchester, and Father Richard Henebry of Co. Waterford, Ireland, visited Man to take down in phonetic script the text of the traditional Manx love-song *Ec ny Fiddleryn* 'at the fiddlers' (§2.9) from a Manx tradition-bearer, fisherman Thomas Kermode (1826–1901), Bradda, Rushen (Strachan 1897). The fact that the first known scientific enquiry into Manx in modern times involved the collection of a Manx Gaelic folksong is significant in that it makes clear that the folksong was central to Manx tradition.[1] Three years later this was followed by the systematic enquiry made 1886–1893 by Prof. John Rhŷs, University of Oxford, into Manx phonology

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[1] Probably also central to Gaelic tradition are the song-texts, both complete and fragmentary, collected along with prose pieces and printed in the following Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialect surveys: Irish: Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim (Holmer 1942), Teelin, Co. Donegal (Wagner 1959), Tyrone Irish (Stockman & Wagner 1965), Erris, Co. Mayo (Mhac an Fhailigh 1968), Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo (de Búrca 1970), Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway (Ó Curnáin 2007), Scottish Gaelic: Leurbost, Isle of Lewis (Oftedal 1956), Arran (Holmer 1957), Kintyre (Holmer 1962).

comprising also a number of traditional song-fragments (Rhŷs 1895; Broderick 2018b). In addition, this can be seen in material collected later by Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch 1909; Lechleitner & Remmer 2003; Prof. Carl Marstrander 1929–1933 (HLSM/I: Texts); Prof. Kenneth Jackson 1950/1951 (Jackson 1955; HLSM/I: Texts); Clement: 1972 (HLSM/I: Texts). In addition, sound-recordings were also made by the Irish Folklore Commission during April/May 1948 and *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* ('The Manx Language Society') 1951–1953 (HLSM/I: Texts). Details of the song contents collected by the foregoing individuals and bodies are listed below (§1.2).

1.1 The collected material

As noted above, the following collection of Manx traditional songs and song-fragments derives from a series of scientific surveys on obsolescence in Manx Gaelic from native Manx speakers undertaken in Man between the years 1886 and 1972. These surveys involved the gathering of linguistic material, whether through phonetic notation of textual readings and questioning, formal questionnaires and/or sound-recordings, in order to enable a phonological and morphological assessment of the state of Manx Gaelic at the time. Such material also included connected prose-texts in the form of stories and anecdotes, as well as lyric-texts consisting exclusively of traditional songs, rhymes, chants, etc., either complete or in fragmentary form.

A similar undertaking was made in Ireland in 1931 by the German sound-archivist Wilhelm Albert Doegen (1877–1967)[2] whereby stories and traditional songs were sound-recorded from some forty-one informants from all parts of the historical province of Ulster.[3] For details, see Ní Bhaoill (2010). The Manx scene as discussed here would belong to that genre.

The prose-texts and some of the lyric-texts were published in HLSM/I: Texts, both in phonetic script and in the standard Manx orthography of the Manx Bible, with English translation. In addition, many surviving song-texts from various manuscript collections, either in standard or (often) non-standard Manx orthography, have also seen the light of day (Broderick 1980 to date). The song-texts gathered here from the last native Manx speakers are brought together for the first time to enable a concise overview.

The whole is to be set in the cultural background of Manx traditional songs and music collected during the same period, essentially during the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century, from collectors such as:

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2   For a chronology of Doegen's life and times, see Simon et al. 2006.
3   From Lughbhadh, Árd Mhacha, Aontruim, Doire, Tír Eoghain, Inis Eoghain, Fánaid, Ros Guill, Cloch Cheannfhaolaidh, Gaoth Dobhair, Na Rosa, Tí Chonaill, An Cabhán, Liatroim (< http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~oduibhin/doegen/index.htm>).

1. **Dr. John Clague** (1842–1908), a medical practitioner of Castletown, Isle of Man (also a colleague of Prof. John Rhŷs (1840–1915) during the latter's visits to Man 1886–1893). For details, see Gilchrist (1924–1926); Miller (2015: *Manx Notes* nos. 198–206).[4]

2. **The Gill Brothers**: William Henry Gill (1839–1923) and the Deemster[5] John Frederick Gill (1842–1899). For details, see Miller (2006: *Manx Notes* 51–64).

3. **Arthur William Moore**, SHK (1853–1909). For details, see Miller 2017, 2019.

4. **George Frederick Clucas** (1870–1937). For details, see Broderick 1981–1982.

5. **Sophia Morrison** (1859–1917) & **Josephine Kermode** (1852–1937). For details, see Broderick forthcoming a.

6. **Mona Douglas** (1898–1987). Mona Douglas Collection of Manx music and songs. In private hands. For details, see Broderick 2008.

1.2 The collectors

Such song-texts were obtained from the various surveys and sound-recordings which took place in the following years 1883–1972:

LYRIC-TITLE	INFORMANT	LYRIC-TYPE

1883: Prof. John Strachan, University of Manchester, & Father Richard Henebry, Co. Waterford (Strachan 1897).

Ec ny Fiddleryn	Tom Kermode, Bradda, Rushen	Song complete text

1886–1893: Rhŷs: University of Oxford (Prof. John Rhŷs 1886–1893).[6]

Kiark Katreeney Marroo	Capt. Henry Watterson, MHK, Colby, Arbory	Chant complete
Kiark Katreeney Marroo	Edward Faragher, Sr., Cregneash, Rushen	Chant complete
Arrane Oie Vie	Margaret Cowle, The Rheast, Bride	Song-fragment
Hop dy Naa	William Killip, Clyeen, Michael	Chant-fragment
Hop dy Naa	John Kermode, Surby, Rushen	Chant-fragment
Hop dy Naa	William Corrin, Cronk y Doonee, Rushen	Chant-fragment
Hop dy Naa	'Paaie Vooar' Margaret Taylor, Surby, Rushen	Chant-fragment
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	Thomas Vondy, Ramsey (of Lezayre)	Song-fragment
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	John Skillicorn, Ballagare, Lonan	Song-fragment
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	Margaret Caine, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Song-fragment
Yn Maarliagh Mooar	Margaret Caine, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Song-fragment
Hudgeon y Fidder	John Carrine, Chasm House, Rushen	Song-fragment
Hudgeon y Fidder	William Collister (abode unknown)	Song-fragment

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4   Miller's *Manx Notes* references can all be found under Miller 2019.
5   Manx high court judge - GB.
6   For full details, see Broderick 2015, 2018b.

1909: Vienna Recordings[7]: Kaiserliche (later Österreichische) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna (Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch, 5–8 August 1909) (HLSM/I: Texts).[8]

Goll dy schoill	William Cowley, Douglas (of Lezayre)	Children's rhyme
Myr s'liauyr yn oie geuree	William Cowley, Douglas (of Lezayre)	Song- fragment
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	John Nelson, Ramsey	Song-fragment
Yn Foldey Gastey	John Nelson, Ramsey	Song-fragment

1929–1933: Marstrander: University of Oslo, Norway (Prof. Carl J. S. Marstrander, 1929, 1930, 1933) (HLSM/I: Texts).[9]

Abraham Juan	Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew	Song-fragment
Arrane er Inneenyn Eirinee	John Cain, Ballamoar, Jurby	Song-fragment
Arrane ny Baatyn-eeastee	Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin, Rushen	Song-fragment
Arrane ny Baatyn-skaddan	Edward Kennah, Ronague, Arbory	Song-fragment
Arrane Oie Vie	Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin, Rushen	Song-fragment
Arrane Oie Vie	Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew	Song-fragment
Arrane Oie Vie	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Song-fragment
Colbagh Breck er Sthrap	John Cain, Ballamoar, Jurby	Song-fragment
Cre'n Sorch dy 'Wreck'	James Kewley, Maughold	Song-fragment
Graih my Chree	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Song-fragment
Gubbylyn	Thomas Crebbin, Bradda, Rushen	Song-fragment
Hie son Skylley Breeshey	John Cain, Ballamoar, Jurby	Song-fragment
Kiare roie, kiare ny hoie	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Children's rhyme
Mannin Veg Veen	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Song-fragment
Mylecharaine	Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew	Song-fragment
Mylecharaine	Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin, Rushen	Song-fragment
Nane, jees Mylechreest	John Cain, Ballamoar, Jurby	Children's rhyme
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Song-fragment
Oh, soieym seose syn uinnag	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Song-fragment
Ooill as taarnagh	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Curse formula
Freeinaghyn as Snaidyn	Thomas Crebbin, Bradda, Rushen	Children's rhyme
Pipe as Tombagey	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Children's rhyme
Shannon Rea	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Song-fragment
Shee as fea	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Rhyme
The 'Manx Fairy' (steamboat)	John Cain, Ballamoar, Jurby	Rhyme
The 'Manx Fairy' (steamboat)	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Rhyme

7   Early sound-recordings of native Manx speech and Manx traditional songs, etc., made c. 1905–1909 (possibly till 1913) by Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh ('The Manx Language Society'), are not included here, as (except for four cylinders containing Bible readings) they have seemingly not survived. According to the report of the Annual General Meeting (1905) of Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh, the following Manx traditional songs/chants had evidently been phonograph recorded: *Ec ny Fiddleryn, Hop-dy-Naa, Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey, Mylech[a]raine*. For details, see Miller 2014: 1–9.

8   References to the Texts are to be found in HLSM/III: 159–169.

9   For details of Marstrander's Manx itinerary and his field-notes, see Broderick: 2018a.

Tom Jack John	Edward Kennah, Ronague, Arbory	Song-fragment
Tom Jack John	Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew	Song-fragment
Tra ta dooinney skee	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Song-fragment
V'a yn dow buirrogh	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Children's rhyme
Ve dooinney veih Balnahowin	Thomas Christian, Ramsey (of Maughold)	Rhyme
Vermayd Caabyl dys yn Anker	Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen	Song-fragment

1948: Irish Folklore Commission Recordings, Dublin (22 April–5 May 1948) (HLSM/I: Texts).

Arrane ny Baatyn-eeastee	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Song-fragment
Brig Lily	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Song-fragment
Colbagh Breck er Sthrap	Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride	Song-fragment
Juan Gawne	Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride	Children's rhyme
Lhigey, lhargey	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Children's rhyme
Shooyll, shooyll	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Children's rhyme

1950–1951: Jackson: University of Edinburgh (Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, Christmas/New Year 1950/1951) (Jackson 1955: 135–136, HLSM/I: Texts).

| Graih my Chree | Tommy Leece, Kerroomooar, Malew | Song-fragment |
| Tom Jack John | Tommy Leece, Kerroomooar, Malew | Song-fragment |

1951–1953: Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings, Isle of Man (Late 1951–Mid 1953) (HLSM/I: Texts).

Arrane ny Baatyn-eeastee	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Song-fragment
Brig Lily	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Song-fragment
Graih my Chree	Tommy Leece, Kerroomooar, Malew	Song-fragment
Row oo ec y margey	John Kneen, Ballaugh Curragh (of Andreas)	Children's rhyme
Row shiu ec y vargey	Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen	Children's rhyme
Tom Jack John	Sage Kinvig, Garey Hollen, Arbory	Song-fragment
Yn Graihder Jouylagh	Sage Kinvig, Garey Hollen, Arbory	Song-fragment

1972: Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings (David Clement 1972) (HLSM/I: Texts).

| A Quaaltagh Greeting | Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen | Custom rhyme |
| Arrane ny Baatyn-eeastee | Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen | Song-fragment |

1.3 The texts

The body of songs and song-fragments presented here is restricted to those that were recorded either in phonetic script or sound-recorded (the latter provided also in phonetic script in transcription). That is to say, only the song material that reveals how the various texts were pronounced are presented here. Though it will be seen that many of the song-texts exist only in fragmentary form, this does not necessarily mean that the informant could not have given more. The reasons for this may be multiple: for example, the formal circumstances of the recordings, simply forgetting the texts over time, or not fully learning the texts in the first

place, etc.[10] Nevertheless, the material available to us today is in my view sufficient to give us a good idea of what the informants could offer.

1.4 The categories
The thirty-eight Manx traditional songs and song-fragments presented here can be categorised according to type as follows:

Songs and chants to do with custom and tradition:
Songs*: Arrane Oie Vie,* Chants*: Hop-dy-Naa, Kiark Katreeney Marroo, (N)Ollick Gennal.*

Children's Rhymes:
Freeinaghyn as Snaidyn; Goll dy Schoill; Juan Gawne; Lhigey, Lhargey; Nane Jees, Mylechreest; Pipe as Tombagey; Row oo ec y Vargey; Shooyll, Shooyll yn Dooinney Boght; Va yn Dow Buirroogh.

Other rhymes:
Gubbylyn, The 'Manx Fairy', Shee as Fea, V'eh Dooinney veih Ballahowin.

Didactic songs:
Arrane er Inneenyn-Eirinee, Yn Maarliagh Mooar.

Love songs:
Abram Juan, Colbagh Breck er Sthrap, Ec ny Fiddleryn, Graih my Chree, Myr S'liauyr yn Oie Geuree, Oh, Soieym Seose syn Uinnag, Shannon Rea, Yn Graihder Jouylagh.

Narrative songs:
Mannin Veg Veen, Mylecharaine, Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey, Vermayd Caabyl dys yn Anker.

Satirical songs:
Cre'n Sorch dy 'Wreck', Hi son Skylley Breeshey, Tom Jack John, Hudgeon y Fidder.

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10   A number of song-texts had tunes associated with them. These can be found in various song/music collections noted in §1.1 or in the List of References. Material appearing in the aforementioned collections (1883–1972) is not accompanied by any tunes at all, whether any texts were sung to tunes at the time of collection cannot be excluded but is unknown.

Songs of loss and shipwreck:
Arrane mysh Coayl ny Baatyn-Eeastee, Arrane mysh Coayl ny Baatyn-Scaddan, Brig Lily.

1.5 Earlier traditional Manx songs

As can be seen, most of the song-texts are relatively recent, i.e. of nineteenth-century provenance, e.g. the children's rhymes, *Yn Graihder Jouylagh* (c. 1860). Some songs, however, derive from at least the eighteenth century, if not earlier. They include: *Arrane Oie Vie*, *Hop-dy-Naa*, *Kiark Katreeney Marroo*, *(N)Ollick Gennal*, *Shannon Rea* (1792), *Mylecharaine* (ms. c. 1770), *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (c. 1700), *Hi son Skylley Breeshey* (ms. c. 1770), *Arrane mysh Coayl ny Baatyn-scaddan* (1787, time of composition shortly after). Of the foregoing, the two songs that have constantly appeared in Manx publications down through the years and which are firmly associated with the Isle of Man are *Mylecharaine* and *Ny Kirree for Niaghtey*, and it is therefore not surprising that the latter, for instance, was often recorded, though interestingly enough neither of the two from any of the last native Manx speakers after Marstrander.

1.6 Songs absent from the repertoire of the last native Manx speakers

What is also perhaps of interest are song-texts that are absent, e.g. *Fin as Oshin*[11] (ms. c. 1770, an example of a Gaelic Heroic Tale surviving in Manx tradition, possibly falling out of that tradition in the early years of the nineteenth century); *Baase Illiam Dhone*,[12] a lament on the execution of Manx patriot *Illiam Dhone* (brown-haired William)—William Christian (1608–2 January 1662 or 1663)—of c. 1663, used at least until the 1780s, if not later, as a propaganda song against the Manx establishment; *Berrey Dhone* (1820 but likely of earlier provenance, possibly a Manx version of the Irish *Caillech Bérri*?).[13] Also action-songs such as *Thurot as Elliot*[14] (1760, song partly written at the time, but seemingly enlarged after 1846) and *Marrinys yn Tiger*[15] (1778 and popular till c. 1830) have evidently fallen out of the repertoire. In addition, of the sixty-three or so broadside ballads in English (but of English, Scottish or Irish provenance) discussed in Speers (2016), only two seem to have survived in the last throes of the Manx song tradition: *Shannon Rea* (< Ireland?) and *Yn Graihder Jouylagh* (< Scotland?).

Nonetheless, the span of the subject-matter, as can be seen, is equally as broad as those collected by Moore during the 1890s, though it becomes clear that the song

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11 cf. Broderick (2018d: 63–81).
12 cf. Broderick (1982b: 105–123).
13 cf. Broderick (1984a: 193–210).
14 cf. Moore (1896: xviii, third fn.).
15 cf. Moore (1896: xxvi–xxvii).

repertoire among the last native Manx Gaelic speakers (as from 1883 onwards for our purposes here) begins to diminish over time. It is noticeable that such popular songs as *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* and *Mylecharaine*, as noted above, are not to be found among the last fifteen native Manx speakers, recorded between 1947 and 1972.

1.7 Editorial technique

In presenting the material below I have adhered to the following schema:

1. The phonetic rendition of the texts is set out in accordance with IPA principles. Parallel to this is the equivalent in the Standard Manx Orthography of the Manx Bible. This is followed by an English translation of the text, stanza by stanza, set in square brackets.

2. The titles of each text are given in capitals, followed, if in Manx, by an English translation in round brackets, then by the lyric type (whether song, chant, children's rhyme, etc.) also in round brackets. All form the title of the text.

3. In the following lines there then follow details of other textual versions, if any, of the text under discussion, whether in manuscript, in print, or in oral renderings, etc. These are then followed by details of any tunes associated with the text. The final section, if any, supplies details of the contents of the text in question. All or part of the foregoing may be accompanied by appropriate comment, either from myself or others.

4. So far as is known, thirty-eight separate lyric items were collected from native Manx Gaelic speakers between the years 1883 and 1972. The collected versions of each separate lyric item are then set out in chronological order, with name and abode of the informant, followed by the date of collection and reference to the source.

5. To finish, a discussion as to how the songs were sung is presented. This is then followed by a short conclusion.

2. The songs, rhymes and chants in the repertoire of the last native Manx speakers (1883–1972)

2.1 ABRAM JUAN (Abraham Juan) (song frag.)

Text: Manuscript: Clague (Bk. 5: 60–61, Bk. 10: 128v, Bk. 16: 41). A manuscript version of four stanzas is recorded in Bk. 5 (MTSSF/II: 3–5) and eight stanzas in MNHL MD900 MS 08307 (c. 1830–1840).

Tune: Clague (Bk. 2/18: 2, Bk. 2/19: 1). Includes first stanza. Informant not recorded. The tune requires the last two lines of each stanza to be sung twice.

Gilchrist (1924–1926: 173–174) prints the tune under the title *Piyr dy Lauenyn Baney* (a pair of white gloves) and adds:

> The tune is a variant of the old dance-tune 'The Hempdresser' to which Burns wrote his song 'The De'il awa' wi' th' Exciseman'. On this account I have placed the tune and verse under dance-tunes. The verse may be nothing more than a dance-rhyme. At any rate it looks like one (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 174).

The song is bawdy in content.

ABRAM JUAN (song frag.).
Thomas Taggart (1846–1933), Grenaby, Malew, 27 August 1930 (M/IV:[16] 2482–2483; HLSM/I: 390–391).

I
kwai tɛ 'krɛŋkal ɛk mə ɣɔrəs   Quoi ta crankal ec my ghorrys
kwai tɛ niʃ ha dɛːnə/ɣɛːnə   Quoi ta nish cha daaney/ghaaney
ʃeː mə hin 'toːn duːrt ɛːbram dʒɔːn   She mee hene t'ayn dooyrt Abram Juan
lˊɛʃ paiəˠ də 'lɛːuðərən (*sic*) 'bɛːnə   lesh piyr dy lauenyn baney

II
ɔː 'lɛp əð 'soːs as göu roːd 'taːi   Oh, lhap ad seose as gow royd thie
duːrt ən vɛdn vɛg 'ɛːlənˊ   dooyrt yn ven veg aalin
ɔː 'bɛːr lˊɛm 'vɛ mört 'hin də laːi   Oh, b'are lhiam ve mayrt hene dy lhie
duːrt 'ɛːbram dʒɔːn ə sɛːuʃə   dooyrt Abram Juan y Saushey

III
ɔː 'dʒɔːn, ɔː 'dʒɔːn, biː də vɔð / bɔð ɛð briʃˊ   Oh, Juan, O Juan, bee dty vwoid/bwoid ayd brisht
duːrt ə 'vɛdn vɛg 'ɛːlənˊ   dooyrt y ven veg aalin
kur 'bɔːndə 'ɛr as 'köurɛ 'eː   Cur boandey er as couyree eh
duːrt 'ɛːbram 'dʒɔːn ə 'sɛːuʃə   dooyrt Abram Juan y Saushey.

[1. Who is knocking at my door / Who is now so bold / It is myself, said Abram Juan / with a pair of white gloves.
2. Oh, fold them up and go your way home / said the fine wee[17] girl / Oh, I would prefer to lie with you / said Abram Juan y Saushey.[18]
3. O Juan, O Juan, your penis will then be broken / said the fine wee girl / Put a bandage on it and it will get better / said Abram Juan y Saushey].

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16   M/IV refers to Vol. 4 of Marstrander's Manx manuscripts + page number(s). For full details of these mss., see Broderick: 2018a.
17   This 'Scottishism' is used here deliberately, as to my mind it translates Mx *beg* 'little' (G *beag*) more appropriately.
18   *y Saushey* possibly a nickname? Otherwise obscure.

2.2 ARRANE ER INNEENYN-EIRINEE (a song on farmers' daughters) (song frag.)

Text: Ent. *Toot dy innee*[*n*] (fool of a girl) (MTSSF/I: 22–26). Broadside MNHL MS J2X among unacc. mss. for Harrison (1873; 25st.) with Eng. trans. by John Quirk, Carnygreie PA, dated Foxdale 06/02/1872; 25st. in Harrison (1873: 95–98); Moore (1896: 189–191 from Harrison 1873), R. Kerruish, Maughold, 25st. ent. *Inneenyn Eirinee* (farmers' daughters), MTSSF/I: 22–26. The stanza given here is no. 11 in Moore. Song composed by Juan Lewin, Sumner of Jurby, but seemingly modelled on an English original (Speers 2016: 61–62).

Tune: Clague C4/23:5 Thos Crellin, Peel; Moore (1896: 232 Thomas Crellin, Peel); i.e. the first variant of *Carval ny Drogh-Vraane* (Carval[19] about the bad women) (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 248–249); viz. C1/6: 1 ent. *Carval ny drogh Vraane*, nn. [but R. Shimmin, Ballasalla Bridge ML], C3/39:1 ent. *Drogh Vraane* nn., as well as a version in English about the Manx patriot Illiam Dhone (William Christian 1608–1662/1663) (Gill 1896: 112–114). According to Gilchrist (1924–1926: 253), the first version has considerable resemblance to the Scottish air 'John Anderson, my jo'. For a discussion of this carval, see Gilchrist (1924–1926: 250–253).

The song, didactic in tone, takes the form of a tirade against the vanity and extravagance of the young women of the period (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 253).

ARRANE ER INNEENYN-EIRINEE (song frag.).
John Cain (1850–1939), Ballamoar, Jurby, 2 February 1933 (M/IV: 2632; HLSM/I: 312–313).

puːs mi ə greːi hoːʳ	Poose mee er graih hoghyr
rɒd nɑ ren rʲu dʒɛnu mai	red nagh ren rieau jannoo mie
puːs mi tut ə nʹiːnʹ vuːʳ ɛːrinʹax	Poose mee toot dy 'neen vooar eirinagh
ă röu slɛi ek kɔmal taːi	cha row y sleih eck cummal thie

[I married for the love of a dowry / a thing that never did any good / I married a fool of a farmer's daughter / her people could not keep house].

2.3 ARRANE MYSH COAYL NY BAATYN-EEASTEE (a song about the loss of the fishing boats) (song frag.)

Text: manuscript: Clague Bk. 4: 6–10 (6st. nos. 5, 4, 9, 6, 7, 8; st. 9 translated), Bk. 5: 102–104, frag. (first three st.), Bk. 10: 127v–128r (9st. plus part of 10th), Bk.

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19   The Manx carval (cf. G *carbhall*) is a religious folksong or carol seemingly of Reformation provenance, though possibly descended from an older ballad/bardic tradition (cf. Quiggin 1913). A full catalogue of all extant carval mss. (dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), is available in the Library of Manx National Heritage, Douglas.

12: 1–5 (8st.), Bk. 16: 35–37 (9st. plus pa of 10th) MNHL MS H140 6594 (Bk. 12; 8st.), MTSSF/II: 8–11 (Bk. 16).

Typescript: by Thomas Moore (1836–1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU, 9½ st. no title MNHL MS 5298/2C (Paton 1944: 131–132, ent. 'Loss of the Fishing-boats at Port St. Mary in 1846' from an untitled ms. by Thomas Moore, Brookfield, Port Erin. Author of text unknown). Paton (1944: 131) adds:

> [...] but in spite of the title of the ballad, I am not sure that any were actually destroyed. Mr. John Gawne [1881–1977] of Fistard tells me that no lives were lost (Paton 1944: 131).

Printed versions: Under the title *Yn Sterrym ec Port le Moirrey* (the storm at Port St. Mary) (1st. 3 stanzas with Eng. trans.) in Moore (1896: 184 from William Cashen, Peel); also in Cashen (1912: 68–69); 1st 3 stanzas. with above title & Eng. trans.

Tune: No tune known. But as this song is in the same metre as *Arrane mysh Coayl ny Baatyn-skaddan* (§2.4), Gilchrist (1924–1926: 120–121) notes that the tune is often used for songs about shipwreck.

Tells of the wreck of the herring fleet at Port St. Mary in 1846.

ARRANE MYSH COAYL NY BAATYN-EEASTEE (song frag.).
Joseph Woodworth (1853–1931), Smelt, Port St. Mary, Rushen, 27 August 1930 (M/III: 1692; HLSM/I: 392–393).

duːˈt ˈnɛdi hɔm ˈrei	Dooyrt Neddy Hom Ruy[20]
də rɒu a ˈʃeːdʒə ˈfiː xrɛi	dy row eh sheidey feer chreoi
də rɒu a nə ˈböːʳ ən ˈkɛːβəl də ˈgaːrə	dy row eh ny bare (*sic*) yn caabyl y giarrey
ɑˈne: duːˈt dʒoːs ˈbɛg	Cha neh, dooyrt Jose Beg
biːmad ˈstaːi ɛrə ˈxrɛg	beemayd sthie er y chreg
as ɔlˊu ˈbɛitˊ ūns [tɔnən] nə ˈmaːrə	as ooilley baiht ayns (tonnyn) ny marrey.

> [Said Neddy Hom Ruy / it was blowing very hard / that it would be better to cut the cable / Not at all, said Jose Beg / we'll be in on the rock / and all (of us) drowned in the waves of the sea].

ARRANE MYSH COAYL NY BAATYN-EEASTEE (song frag.)
Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glenchass, Rushen, 18 February 1953 (YCG/12; IFC/40 (April/May 1948), LSS/902 24 August 1972; HLSM/I: 354–355).

The following three stanzas are also to be found in Moore (1896: 184).

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20   i.e. Edward Faragher, Sr. (1803–1890), farmer-fisherman, Cregneash, Rushen. Ned Maddrell knew him personally, cf. HLSM/I: 348–349.

I

oː mə gˊilˊə[n] vaːi	O my guilley[n] vie
tə ʃin nɪʃ egə taːi	ta shin nish ec y thie
ha 'dʒigmæd gəsɪ nöːᵏkə nə 'sɔᵈʒɛ	Cha jigmayd gys yn aarkey ny sodjey
ha dʒɪnmad dʒa'ruːd	Cha jeanmayd jarrood
ɪn 'stɪrəm heŋk ʃin truːdˊ	yn sterrym haink shin trooid
ag 'aŋkɒ aː bai pᵘöt lə 'mɔrə	ec anker er Baie Purt le Moirrey

II

dut 'nedi həm 'ræ-iː	Dooyrt Neddy Hom Ruy
də rau ɒ 'ʃeːʒə fiːə 'kræ-iː	dy row eh sheidey feer creoi
as ha 'böːʳ lˊin ɪn 'köːbəl ə 'gˊaːrə	as cha bare lhien yn caabyl y giarrey
ha dʒɪdn dut dʒɔːdʒ 'bɛd [bɛg]	Cha jean, dooyrt George Beg
bɪmədˊ³ ʃtˊaːx ərə kreg	beemayd stiagh er y creg
as ʊlˊu 'kˊálˊtˊ ʊns nə 'tʊnən nə 'maːrã	as ooilley caillt ayns ny tonnyn-ny-marrey

III

van 'gud ən'tent	Va'n 'Good Intent'
væi 'bɛːðə mai 'dʒint	v'ee baatey mie jeant
vai 'plaŋkɪt wuʃ ta¹ax gəs dʒerɛ	v'ee plankit woish toshiaght gys jerrey
ʃeː 'ʃaʒˊax fiːə vɔːl	She sheshaght feer voal
vɛː rən 'mɪdsʊmə gɔːl	v'er yn 'Midsummer' goll
as 'nɛdi hʊm 'beg van föː 'smɛðɛ	as Neddy Hom Beg[21] yn fer smessey.

[1. O my good lads / we are now at home / we shall go to sea no more / we shall not forget / the storm we came through / at anchor in Port St. Mary bay.
2. Neddy Hom Ruy said / that it was blowing very hard / and we had better not cut the cable / No, said George Beg / we shall be in on the rock / and all drowned in the waves of the sea.
3. The 'Good Intent' / she was a boat well built / she was planked from stem to stern / it was a very sluggish crew / that was aboard the 'Midsummer' / and Neddy Hom Beg was the worst of them].

2.4 ARRANE MYSH COAYL NY BAATYN-SKADDAN (a song about the loss of the herring boats) (song frag.)

Text: Manuscript versions: Thomas Cowin, Ballabeg LO, 23st. ent. *Arrane son Coonaghtyn Jeh ny badyn va Callyt* (a song for remembering the boats that were lost), dated 17 December 1820, MNHL MS 5078A; Thomas Cowin 1855 ('went to America') 23st. ent. *Arrane Son Cooinaghtyn jeh ny baadyn va Caillit* MNHL MS 272. In Carval Book of Wm. Collister 1838–1842, 18st. no title, MNHL MS 1402A (G. W. Wood Coll.), Clucas Coll. ent. [*Arrane mysh*] *ny Baatyn va kallit* (a song about the boats that were lost) (19st.) (MTSSF/I: 11).

Printed versions: Harrison (1869: 80–89; 18st.) with Intro.; text ent. *Arrane mysh ny Baatyn-skeddan va caillit ec Doolish 'sy vlein 1787, Sep. 21st*. Note: 'The author of this is Quayle Vessee'. Broadside printed by Juan Christeen Faragher, *Mona's Herald*, Douglas, 18st. ent. *Arrane mysh ny Baatyn-Skeddan Va Caillit ec Doolish*

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21   Alternative form: *Neddy Tom Peg* (Neddy son of Tom, son of Peg) in Moore (1896: 184).

'sy vlein 1787, Sep. 21st, with Eng. trans. n.d. [c. 1870]. Broadside 'Destruction of the Manx Herring Fleet in Douglas Bay, on St. Matthias' Night, [21] Sept. 1787'. In pencil is marked 'edited by John Cottier'. Douglas: J. C. Faragher n.d. [c. 1872]. Broadside 'An Account of the Loss of the Manx Herring Fleet on the 21st September 1787, with the Ballads in Manx and English,' ed. William Harrison. Douglas: Matthew Glover, 1872, 37pp (MNHL MS J8 2X F1&2). Moore (1896: 150–153; 18st. ent. *Coayl jeh ny Baatyn-Skeddan* with Eng. trans., from Harrison 1869).

Tune: Clague: Version 1 C3/43: 3 John Cain, ent. 'Herring fleet', Douglas, Version 2 C3/36: 2 Mary Gawne, Peel, ent. 'Herring fleet', Version 3 (C1/14: 4) John Ratcliffe, The Howe RU, ent. *Trooid shiu ooilley gethan vie* (come ye all to the good) (carval) (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 120–121, 121–122). As Gilchrist (1924–1926: 121–122) notes:

> Dr. Clague seems to have noted six versions, three of which, including a Dorian form, are printed in *Manx National Music* (32, 44, 48). The variant obtained from John Ratcliffe, The Howe, was used as a carval-tune [...]. The tune seems to have been one used for ballads of shipwreck [...] (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 121–122).

But two other tunes also noted: C4/22: 6 ent. 'Loss of [the] herring fleet' E. Corteen [Maughold], C4/26: 5 'Loss of [the] herring fleet' P. Caine [Baldwin]. Moore (1896: 240, 241) gives two versions of the tune from John Cain, Douglas, and Mary Ann Gawne, Peel, respectively, but, as noticed by Gilchrist (1924–1926: 121), noted rather differently.

This song relates to the loss of a portion of the Manx herring fleet which happened off Douglas Harbour on 21 September 1787 when some fifty vessels were either totally wrecked or very badly damaged and twenty-one[22] lives lost in a severe storm. The song was apparently written by a certain Quayle Vessie (Quayle son of Bessie) of Castletown (Moore 1896: xxxvi). For details of the loss, see Harrison (1872: 5–12).

ARRANE MYSH COAYL NY BAATYN-SKADDAN (song frag.)
Edward Kennah (1860–1938), Ronague, Arbory, 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2499; HLSM/I: 396–397).

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22   In a footnote to an English poem on the tragedy (Harrison 1872: 25 note), it would appear from stanzas IV and V '...that the crews of *three boats* [editor's italics] and one old man only, were lost. Assuming that each boat had five men, this would only account for sixteen, whereas the other ballad [in Manx] makes the number amount to twenty-one.'

kuni ʃu ʃedn ɑs 'ɛːg	Cooinee shiu shenn as aeg
erə 'vliːdn ʃɛːx x´id 'dʒɛg	er y vlein shiaght cheead jeig
kɛːr 'fid´ɑs 'ʃɛːx ɛr kidn 'ɣuliʃ	kiare feed as shiaght er keayn Ghoolish
trɛː hiŋk ɑ mə'k´ɔːn [sic]	tra haink eh mychione [sic][23]
vɛ 'jiːstɑx vɑːi ɔːn	va eeastagh vie ayn
l´eʃ 'iriʃ fiːʳ 'ɛːlin´ɑs 'mῑliʃ	lesh earish feer aalin as millish.

[Remember ye old and young / the year seventeen hundred / eighty-seven on the sea at Douglas / when it came about / there was good fish to be had / and the weather was very fine and pleasant].

2.5 ARRANE OIE VIE (Good night song) (song frag.)

Text: Clague Bk. 5: 50, Bk. 10: 130v. Printed texts: Moore (1896: 58; 2st. from various sources, not specified), Mona Douglas (1928: 32–33: Tom Taggart, Malew, 2st.), MTSSF/II: 5 (Bk. 5).

Tune: C1/3: 1 E. Corteen, Surveyor of Roads (ent. *Te traa gholl thie dy gholl dy lhie* (it is time to go home to go to bed); *Thie Quiggin* (Quiggin's (ale-)house), and C4/23: 1 E. Corteen; in Gilchrist (1924–1926: 186–187). The Manx tune, according to Gilchrist (1924–1926: 188), seems to belong to an early type of folktune. She adds:

> The rhythm of these short detached phrases has a foundation in nature in the regular rise and fall of the breath - the cæsura corresponding with its expiration. It might be called 'breathing measure.' In the Manx song, the rhymes come upon these natural resting-notes (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 188).

A Manx 'Good Night' song traditionally of two stanzas. This would seem to belong to a genre of convivial parting or goodnight songs found in Scotland, Ireland and Man, but not in England, which even today has to borrow *Auld Lang Syne* for the ending of festive gatherings. The Manx version recollects the older Irish parting song *Níl sé 'na lá* (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 185). The Manx *Te traa goll thie* (it is time to go home) is reminiscent of similar Scottish songs having short melodic phrases, the tune attached to it a variant of 'Geordie'. See JFSS V (1923): 110–114 for eight versions of the Manx tune.

The Manx *Arrane Oie Vie* was the last song sung at the end of an *Oie'll Voirrey*,[24] a protracted session of carval singing on St. Mary's Eve (Christmas Eve), after which most of the company adjourned to a local hostelry for hot-spiced ale after which the revellers sang *Arrane Oie Vie* then went to bed (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 187).

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23   *gy kione* '[came] to pass/about', as in Moore (1896: 150) and Gilchrist (1924–1926: 120).

24   Pron. /iːl 'vɛri/ (G *oidhche fhéil' bheiridh).

ARRANE OIE VIE (song frag.)
James Cannell (1816–1903), Kirk Michael (of Peel) with wife (of Michael), 26 July 1890 (Rhŷs 6/69–70).

tʰɛ tʰrɛː ðə gɔl 'tʰɑi as gol ðə lɑi	T'eh traa goll thie as goll dy lhie
tʰa sməl ðəu ʧət ɛr ən ãil[25]	ta smayl dhoo çheet er yn aile.

    [It is time to go home and go to bed / a blackness is coming on the fire].

ARRANE OIE VIE (song frag.)
Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, June–July 1929 (M/II: 737; HLSM/I: 228–229).

ti trɛː gɔl 'taːi	T'eh traa goll thie
də gɔl də ɬɛï	dy goll dy lhie
tɛ 'foːd døu ərə 'ʧalax	Ta foaid dhoo er y çhiollagh
tɛn 'stoːl´tɛ foːn´	Ta'n stoyll ta foin
grɛː dʊn´gɔl roːn´	gra dooin goll roin
ti taːn gös trɛː ən laβax	T'eh tayrn gys traa yn lhiabbagh.

    [It is time to go home / to go to bed / the turf-sod is black on the hearth / The stool that is under us / says to us to go our way / It is getting near to bedtime].

ARRANE OIE VIE (song frag.)
Thomas Taggart (1846–1933), Grenaby, Malew, 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2479; HLSM/I: 390–391).

ti trɛː gɔl taːi	T'eh traa goll thie
ɑs gɔl ðə laːi	as goll dy lhie
tɛ fɔːd döu erə talɑx	Ta foaid dhoo er y çhiollagh
tɛːn stɔːl´ tɛ foːn´	Ta'n stoyll ta foin
grɛː hɔːn´ gɔːl rɔːn´	gra hooin goll roin
ti taːˑn gəs trɛː ən l´abəx	t'eh tayrn gys traa yn lhiabbagh.

    [It is time to go home / and go to bed / the turf-sod is black on the hearth / The stool that is under us / says to us to be on our way / It is getting near to bedtime].

ARRANE OIE VIE (song frag.)
Joseph Woodworth (1853–1931), Smelt, Port St. Mary RU, 27 August 1930 (M/III: 1658; HLSM/I: 392–393).

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25   Known in Manx as *Arrane Oie Vie* ('The Good Night Song'). For the full text of two stanzas, see Moore 1896: 58.

tɛːn 'stoːl tɛ foːbm   Ta'n stoyll ta foym
trɛːl´grɛː 'roːbm   tryal gra roym
ti: 'taːʳn hʊk 'trɛː ən 'l´aβax   t'eh tayrn hug traa yn lhiabbagh.

[The stool which is under me / is trying to say to me / it is getting near to bedtime].

2.6 BRIG LILY (song frag.)

Text: Manuscript: (Manx) John Nelson, Fistard, Port St. Mary, Rushen 1853, ent. 'Lines on the Awful Catastophe of the Lily', 26st. MNHL 428A.

Printed text: Broadside ent. 'Lines on the late Awful Catastrophe of the "Lily" by John Nelson', 26st. M. A. Quiggin, Printers, 52, North Quay, Douglas (before 1862). In *Isle of Man Examiner* 29 January 1926 ent. *Moorchooir y Vrig Lily* (Wreck of the Brig Lily) 26st.

English text by Thomas Shimmin (nicknamed 'Tom the Dipper') (1899–1876/1879), 11st. ent. *Yn Coayl jeh'n Lillee* (the loss of the Lillee), c. 1860. Broadside. No place or printer. 'The Wreck of the Brig Lily. A ballad by John Nelson of Kirk Christ Rushen, trans. into English by P. W. Caine', printed in the *Isle of Man Examiner* 22 January 1926 (Cubbon Bib. II: 803).

Tune: Clague C1/4: 2 ent. *Brig Lily*; tune widely known, e.g. in Ireland as 'The Croppy Boy'. cf. also Gilchrist (1924–1926: 317, 323). The title is given in English by Clague but belongs to the Manx-Gaelic song repertoire.

Sailing from Liverpool and bound for Africa the brig *Lily* was shipwrecked on the rocks off the small island of Kitterland in the Calf Sound (between Man and the Calf of Man) on 28 December 1852. A sudden explosion of thirty tons of gunpowder, apparently caused by a forgotten candle stub left by a number of men seeking to salvage the cargo, instantly killed five crew and twenty-nine salvagers, mostly from Port St. Mary. A memorial stone to those who lost their lives stands in the churchyard of Kirk Christ Rushen (*Illustrated London News*, 8 January 1853), as does one erected during the 1990s at the Sound.

BRIG LILY (song frag.).
Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glenchass RU, 18 February 1953 (YCG/12; also PR1 (1947), IFC/40 (April/May 1948); HLSM/I: 352–353).

I

b´l´i:n´ha:x kid 'dʒeg gai 'jeg as dɑ¹d´ᴣ   Blein hoght keead jeig gaa yeig as daeed
ɪn 'atʃɪ 'ʃɔ: nax 'bʊn dən´ 'l´ed´ᴣ   yn atçhim shoh nagh bione dooin 'lheid
dʒai 'de:n´ə as 'fid də dʒidn va 'streitʃ   Jeih deiney as feed dy jeean va stroit
l´eʃ 'ɑīl´ as 'pu:ðə fi:ə döl'tatʃ   lesh aile as poodyr feer doaltatt

II

brɪg lɪli va-i: wu¹ʃ 'lɪv ɛ̃'pu:l   Brig Lily v'ee woish Liverpool
gəs 'afrɪ'kɛ: va-i 'k´ɛ:rit 'gʊl   gys Africaa v'ee kiarit goll
ax´ 'stɪrəm 'mu:r rain´ 'gait i 'tʃɔdn   Agh sterrym mooar ren geiyrt ee çhionn
'ʃt´a:x ərən 'al´an 'kītəlanᵈ   stiagh er yn ellan Kitterland

III

nə 'de:n´ə 'ʃɔ̃ va 'lɔ:rət ru: Ny deiney shoh va loayrit roo
'sɔ̃n də sa:'ue:l´ən 'brɪg as 'stu: son dy sauail yn brig as stoo
az 'ro¹ʃ va 'tre: ɒk 'saue:l´¹veg   Agh roish va traa oc sauail veg
hai 'brɪg as 'dön´ə sëis dʒen kreg   hie brig as deiney seose jeh'n creg.

ʃen 'ʊl´u ta 'ku:n´axtən em ɛ:ʳ, ax ta 'rɒnə il´ɛ   Shen ooilley ta cooinaghtyn aym er, agh ta
'em. tɛ mʊʃ tri: rɒnɒ ən rɪd 'il´ɛ em   ronney elley aym, t'eh mysh tree ronney yn
     red elley aym.

[1. The year eighteen hundred and fifty-two / this horror we have not known the like / thirty men were exterminated / very suddenly by fire and powder.
2. The Brig 'Lily', she was from Liverpool / to Africa she was bound / But a great storm drove her fast / in on to Kitterland island.
3. These men had been told / to save the brig and its cargo / But before they had time to save anything / the brig and men went up (exploded) off the rock.

That is all I remember of it, but I have another verse, it is about three verses, the other one I have].

2.7 COLBAGH BRECK ER STHRAP (speckled heifer on a tether) (song frag.)

Text: Clague Bk. 5: 98–102; 12st. & refr. as in MNHL MS unacc. (Clarke) for Harrison (1873: 108–119) and Moore (1896: 83 ent. *Car-y-Phoosee* (wedding reel), MTSSF/II: 2. Moore (1896: xxii) believes that the song was written by Rev. Philip Moore (1705–1783), part-translator and editor of the Manx Bible, c. 1750.[26] (Moore 1896: xxii–xxiii), but takes the view that the refrain is of much older date.
Tune A: Clague C1/19: 2 Mrs. Lawson, Jurby East; C3/37: 3 Thomas Kinraid, Ramsey ('played on fiddle') (Gilchrist (1924–1926: 173); C3/44 note: [John Cain, Douglas] 'sang "Colbagh Breac" as played by Kinraid', C4/26: 4 ent. *Yn Colbagh Breck er strap*, also Eng. 'The speckled heifer tethered', also *Car y phoosee* P[hilip] Caine, Baldwin, Moore (1896: 237 Philip Caine ('Phillie the Desert'), Baldwin) ent. *Car y Phoosee* (Wedding Song). Another tune collected by Mona Douglas from Robert Kerruish, Ballavelt, Maughold, with English words (Mona Douglas Coll.: 13). Gilchrist (1924–1926: 173) notes:

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26   For details of Rev. Philip Moore and the Manx Bible translation, see Thomson 1979: Introduction.

There are two other tunes of this name from the Clague Collection in W. H. Gill's *Manx National Music* [1898: 42, *Manx National Songs* 1896: 47, 98]. Both appear to belong to a song or dance-song with a chorus ('Chorus' being marked in one case [1896: 98]). But the one printed here [i.e. from Thomas Kinrade, Ramsey, and John Cain, Douglas], and the melody is in 3-bar phrases instead of the usual 4-bar, as in the case of the two others. All are of lively character and in ¾-time, and appear to me to be dance tunes, under which heading I have therefore placed the above [Kinrade & Cain] version (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 173).

Tune B: Moore (1896: 238 Mary Ann Gawne, Peel).

The song discusses the vagaries of married life, but reveals the benefits. Moore (1896: xxii–xxiii).

COLBAGH BRECK ER STHRAP (song frag.).

John Cain (1850–1939), Ballamoar, Jurby, 2 February 1933 (M/IV: 2635; HLSM/I: 314–315).

I
sõːn vaːn 'kɔlbax 'brɛk ɛr 'strɑp Son va'n colbagh breck er sthrap
nɛ hĩːn´ vɛ 'sauəʳ nee hene vees souyr
sõːn vɛ ən 'ʃan vʊk 'bödn kuːlə xlög son va yn shenn vock bane cooyl y chleigh
tɛː nən 'aːru üsə 'nauəʳ tayrn yn arroo ayns yn ouyr

[Refrain]
puːs ɔ 'puːs ɔ 'puːs Poost oh poost oh poost
ɔ puːs [ɔ puːs] vi ʃiːn oh poost [oh poost] va shin
sõːn vi 'faːðə 'ʃɛʳ vi 'puːs Son v'eh foddey share ve poost
an i ɑd vi 'tɑːlu dʒiːn´ cha nee ad ve taggloo jin

II
hĩŋk 'bɛn ɑ fuːði ʃt´aːx Haink ben y phoosee stiagh
ʃeːʳ ɑ frĩŋbɑg bei share y ?springbok beiy (*sic*)
də røu ʃin´ɑ fuːðə us trɛi dy row shin er phoosey ayns traa
hɑ røu ʃin´üs stɛd´ə trɛi cha row shin ayns stayd cha treih.

[1. For the speckled heifer was on a tether / is it not it which will be snug / For the old white bock behind the hedge / was drawing the corn in the harvest.
[Refrain]: Married, oh married / oh married, oh married were we / For it was better to be married / (than) that they talk about us.
2. The bride came in / better the springbok[27] beast / had we married in time / we would not be in such a sad state].

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27   The reference here to the South African antelope, the 'Springbok' (if that is what is meant; the spoken version is not all that clear) might at first seem surprising. But South Africa was no strange place to many a Manxman who went out there to work in the mines during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (NHIM/V: 235).

COLBAGH BRECK ER STHRAP (song frag.)

Mrs. Annie Kneale (1864–1949), Ballagarrett BR, April/May 1948 (IFC/39, also IFC/36; HLSM/I: 308–309).

I
an 'kɒːlbax 'brek ɛː 'strap	Yn colbagh breck er sthrap
nə 're: hi:dn vis 'sauəʳ	nagh re ee hene vees souyr
ɪn ʃan bok 'bedn gɔ'le:igˊ	yn shenn bock bane goll eig
tɛːʳn ən 'aːru sən 'auəʳ	tayrn yn arroo syn ouyr

[Refrain]
he puːs [as 'puːs as 'puːs]	Hey, poost [as poost as poost]
as puːs ðə 'lˊuːə va ʃiːn	as poost dy liooar va shin
te 'fɔːðə 'ʃɛː ve 'puːs	T'eh foddey share ve poost
na nɛ (sic) 'taːˑˑlə (sic) 'smeðə ve 'dʒiːn	na'n taggloo smessey ve jin

II
a[s] 'gaun ðə 'lɪnzi 'wʊnzi	As gown dy linsee-wunsee[28]
as 'bɔnad 'bedn sa'luːn	as bonnad bane shalloon[29]
as 'kwaif ðə 'ʃaːn lˊiːn skaðan	as quoif dy shenn lieen skaddan
as 'rɪbanən spi'nˊeːgˊín 'xˊuːn	as rybbanyn spinneigyn huin

[1. The speckled heifer on a tether / is it not itself that will be snug / The old white bok is failing / drawing the corn at the harvest.
[refrain]: Hey, married (and married and married) / and married enough were we / It is far better to be married / than to have the worst said of us.
2. And a gown of linsee woolsee / and a white bonnet of shalloon / and a quoif of old herring net / and ribbons of peeled rushes].

2.8 CRE'N SORÇH DY 'WRECK' (what sort of wreck) (song frag.)
<u>Text</u>: Clague Bk. 12: 15 (4 st.), MTSSF/II: 11–12 (Bk. 12).
<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

CRE'N SORÇH DY 'WRECK' (song frag.)

James Kewley (1849–1939), Maughold, 21 August 1929 (M/Diary 52; HLSM/I: 318–319).

kɛn söʳtʃ də rɛk də hai krɔg dʒɛk	Cre'n sorçh dy wreck dy hie chrog Jack
ə nörəxə mɛx ɔn gˊʊrə	cha nuirragh eh magh un geurey
vi dʒɛnt mə gɛːi ɔs'kˊuːn ə vɛːi	V'eh jeant myr gaih erskyn y Vaie
sɔn fɔːsi ənsə tɔurə	son p(h)osey ayns y tourey.

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28 *linsee woolsee* or *linssy-wulssy*: 'cloth made of linen and wool' (MMG/110).
29 Re: *shalloon*, cf. Gilchrist 1924–1926: 170 note: 'A light kind of woollen stuff, used for coat-linings, said to have derived its name from having been manufactured at Châlons-sur-Marne.'

[What sort of a 'wreck' of a house did Jack build / It will not last one winter / It was built like a toy above the bay / for a posey in the summer].

Seemingly a sarcastic reference to the Castle Mona, built in opulent style in 1804 for John Murray, Fourth Duke of Atholl and Governor of Man (1793–1830), as a place of residence. It is now a hotel. For a fuller text see MTSSF/II: 11–12.

2.9 EC NY FIDDLERYN (at the fiddlers) (song)

Text: Oral version (52li./13st.) in phonetic script with English translation collected by John Strachan and Richard Henebry from Tom Kermode, Bradda RU, summer 1883 ent. 'A Manx folksong' and published in ZCP I (1897): 54–58.[30]

Manuscript versions: MNHL MD 900 MS 08307: 20–22 n.d. [c. 1830–1840] 15st. ent. *Eg ny fidleryn ayns yn Ullic* (at the fiddlers at Christmas time), Clague Bk. 5: 50, 10: 130r, 16: 154 (all contain 1st quatrain) (c. 1896) MNHL MS 450A (Archdeacon John Kewley Coll.) MTSSF/II: 13 (Bk. 5); Clucas Coll. 6st. in hand of George Frederick Clucas (1870–1937) MNHL MS 263A, possibly copied c. 1900 from an ms. in the hand of Rev. John Thomas Clarke (1798–1888), a collector of Manx traditional songs c. 1860s (MTSSF/I: 18–19, 6st.); MK/M19 (1905) MNHL MS 09495 (Box 4)[31] (5st. or part quatrain).

Printed versions: Moore (1896: 218–221; 13st. from Strachan & Henebry with Eng. trans.); Roeder (1896: 179; frag. of 8 lines beginning *Dy row my milley er my doosey* (may my curse be on my girl), Moore (1896: 108; 4qq from Robert Gawne mss.) ent. *Mârish ny Fiddleryn* (with the fiddlers).

Tune: Clague C1/28:1 Tom Kermode, Bradda RU ent. *She ec ny Fiddlern ayns yn Ollic* (it was at the fiddlers' at Christmas time); C1/13: 2 John Ratcliffe, The Howe RU ent. *Ec Norree yn Fiddler* (at Norree the fiddler); C4/27: 6 W. Corlett [Minorca] ent. *Ec Ollick Ball ny Fiddleryn* (at the fiddlers' Christmas ball); Manx version a direct trans. from the English). Other variants: C3/35: 2 Thomas Crellin, Peel, ent. *Yn Shenn Dolphin* (the old *Dolphin* [name of boat]), C3/35: 3 Mary Ann Gawne, Peel (with same title).[32]

Anne Gilchrist (1924–1926: 132–134) prints four versions of the tune: 1) *Ayns yn Ollick ec Ball ny Fiddleryn* (at Christmas at the fiddlers' ball) without accreditation [but W. Corlett above] with 1st verse taken from Moore (1896:

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30 For a detailed discussion of the manuscripts and contents of this song with linguistic notes, see Broderick: 1984b.

31 For a detailed analysis and discussion of the Morrison-Kermode song collection, see Broderick: forthcoming I.

32 According to the minutes of the 1905 meeting of the Manx Language Society, the song *Ec ny Fiddleryn* was recorded on wax cylinder (apparently in 1904) from Edward Cubbon and John Cregeen, Peel, around that time. Also recorded at that time were: *Hop-tu-naa, Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey*, and *Mylecharaine*, cf. Miller 2014: 1–9.

108), 2) John Ratcliffe's version, 3) Tom Kermode's version, 4) Thomas Crellin's version. With regard to these versions Gilchrist (1924–1926: 133–134) remarks:

> [..]. Three versions of the tune are found in Moore (1896: 245, 250, 238)—the last sung to "Yn Çhenn Dolphin". The version on p. 245, under the title "Graih My Chree" ('love of my heart') has a single verse probably belonging to another song, though it might have formed a refrain to the "Ec ny Fiddleryn" verses. This variant was obtained from the singer of Version 4 above [...]. Miss [Lucy] Broadwood has noticed the likeness in Versions 1, 2 and 4 to the Gaelic air "Mo rùn geal dileas, dileas, dileas" ('my loyal brave love'). This is also evident in Moore's version p. 238 of "Yn Çhenn[33] *Dolphin*" - yet another variant, though disguised by wrong barring, of Versions 1, 2 and 4 above (Version 3 appears to me to be a different tune) [...] (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 133–134).

With regard to the content of the song Gilchrist (1924–1926: 133) notes:

> The story is of a false love; after a long courtship the girl, renewing her vows to her betrothed on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, marries another on Ash Wednesday morning. The only witness of their troth-plight was a dumb walnut tree; but [in] spite of her falseness, Greenland's snow will grow red as roses before he forgets her (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 133).

John Strachan (1862–1907), Hulme Professor of Ancient Greek and Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Religion, as well as of the Celtic languages, at Owens College, later the Victoria University of Manchester, visited Man in 1883 along with Father Richard Henebry (i.e. Risteart de Hindeberg 1863–1916 of Co. Waterford), an Irish priest, Irish language activist and musician, who worked in Salford, Manchester.[34] They interviewed Tom Kermode (1825–1901) of Bradda, Rushen, when Strachan took down from him in his own phonetic script (here in IPA script) Kermode's version of the Manx traditional song *Ec ny Fiddleryn*. Strachan visited Kermode alone in September 1895 and took it down from him again.[35] As noted above, Strachan printed the song under the title 'A Manx Folksong' in ZCP I (1897): 54–58. In supplying details of the background to collecting this song Strachan writes:

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33   *Shenn* in Moore (1896: 238).
34   I am advised by Ciarán Ó Gealbháin, University College Cork, that Strachan and Henebry knew each other, as they apparently had a mutual arrangement whereby Strachan would teach Henebry Old Irish and Henebry Strachan Modern Irish (p.c. 25 August 2017).
35   Father Henebry, too, returned to Man on his own 'six years later' (i.e. in 1889), but to visit Edward Faragher (Ned Beg Hom Ruy) (1831–1908), according to a letter from Faragher to Karl Roeder dated 25/12/[1889] (MNHL MS 2146/6A). Henebry evidently told Faragher that he had obtained some Manx songs from Tom Kermode [in 1883], which Faragher had apparently not come across ('but I never come across any of them') (Miller 2019 (*Manx Notes* 20 (2004)): 2).

In the summer of 1883 I spent a few days at Port Erin in the Isle of Man along with Father [Richard] Henebry, from County Waterford, Ireland, who speaks Irish as his native tongue. During that time we went about among the surrounding villages to see if we could discover any of the old folksongs or folktales of Man. For the most part our search was unsuccessful. The people have ceased to care for these things, and so they have fallen into oblivion.[36] But as a compensation for many disappointments we were lucky enough to obtain the following sweet little song from a genuine Manxman, Thomas Kermode of Bradda, near Port Erin, who, though he lost his eyesight in his boyhood, pursued till about three years ago [c. 1892] the calling of fisherman. He recited the song to us, and explained it, and we took it down as well as we could. In September of the present year [1895] I again visited Man, and I had the song recited to me again. Unfortunately Mr. Kermode was ill during part of my visit, and I was unable to see as much of him as I could have wished. Above anyone whom I met he is interested in and acquainted with the old lore of Man, though he told me that he had not heard a Manx song sung for the last forty years [i.e. since c. 1840s] (Strachan: 1897: 54).[37]

With regard to this song, Moore (1896: xxi, footnote) adds:

This was first obtained from Thomas Kermode, Bradda in 1883 by Professor J. Strachan and Father Henebry, and was published in phonetic Manx with a good translation in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, in March last.[38] Mr. W. J. Cain[39] has since then seen Kermode and has satisfied himself of the general accuracy of this version which he and I have translated (Moore: 1896: xxi, footnote).

Strachan then proceeds to detail his phonetic rendering of the song-text with reference to Rhŷs (1895). He then prints the text in his phonetic script and supplies an English translation.

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36 This is not quite the case, as both Rhŷs (1886–1893) and Roeder (1890s/1900s) were able to collect quite a fair bit of folklore material during their visits to Man, cf. Rhŷs: 1891, 1892; Roeder: 1904.

37 Strachan's September [1895] visit to Man is perhaps to be seen in his wish to have a contribution from Man for the first issue of the Celtic academic journal *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* in 1897. As already noted, the song-text appeared under the title 'A Manx Folksong' (Strachan: 1897: 54–58). Tom Kermode was the principal singer for Dr. John Clague whom Clague met for the first time in late December 1895 (Letter Dr. Clague - Deemster J. F. Gill 25/12/1895 MNHL MS 09702 Deemster J. F. Gill Papers, Box 2) and obtained much song material from him during 1896.

38 As Miller (*Manx Notes* 20 (2004): 2) points out, Moore's *Manx Ballads and Music* appeared during the year 1896, which would indicate that Moore's "March last" would refer to that year. This, if correct, would imply that ZCP I came out in March 1896, and not in 1897 as listed.

39 William Joseph Cain (1826-1911), Douglas, one of Moore's editorial assistants for his *Manx Ballads and Music* (Miller: 2017, Part. 8). He was also one of Rhŷs's main informants (see Broderick 2018b: 37ff.).

EC NY FIDDLERYN (song).

Tom Kermode (1825–1901), Bradda, Rushen, summer 1883 (Strachan & Henebry. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* I (1897): 54–58). The text in Strachan is set out in a block of 52 lines, implying thirteen four-line stanzas as indicated by the tunes cited above. For ease of reference the text and translation are provided here in thirteen stanzas.

I
ɛk nə fidl´arən ɔðən ulik
vɛn x´əd vo:l vi:t mi rĩʃ grai mə xri:
də graiax graiax həi ʃin ʃi:s kudʒax
as hug ʃin təijax ðən tu:r´i:

Ec ny fiddleryn ayns yn Ollick
v'eh chied voayl veeit mee rish graih my chree.
Dy graihagh, graihagh hie shin sheese cooidjagh
as hug shin toshiaght da'n tooree.

II
wi: ən u:rʲ ʃin dəs k´odn ʃˇax bl´i:ənə   5
ve: mə ɣrai ɒs miʃ mɛnik me'de:l´
ɒs jal i: dü:s l´ɛžə t´ʃinə folsa
na: d´ʒinax i: mi də brax xr´e'ge:l´

Veih yn oor shen dys kione shiaght bleeaney
va my ghraih as mish mennick meeiteil
as yiall ee dooys lesh e chengey foalsey
nagh jinnagh ee mee dy braagh hreigeil.

III
fastər d´ʒə'dü:ni roʃ lɛ: inid
hai mi də ji:ɣən grai mə xri: 10
hog i nə dɛ: lɛu os mə ɣɛ: lɛu
na bu:ðax i: fer ɛrax ax mi:

Fastyr Jedoonee roish Laa Innyd
hie mee dy yeeaghyn graih my chree.
Hug ee ny daa laue ayns my ghaa lau
nagh boosagh ee fer arragh agh mee.

IV
heŋk mi rom tai as mə xri: də gen´al
n´ji: erbi: ha rau d´ʒinu sə:ɣən dü:s
ən x´əd ski:əl xy:l mi mɑ:ri lɛ: inid   15
də rau mə ɣrai rĩʃ fer el´ə pu:s

Haink mee roym thie as my chree dy gennal
nhee erbee cha row jannoo seaghyn dooys.
Yn chied skeeal cheayll mee moghree Laa Innid
dy row my ghraih rish fer elley poost.

V
drau mə vi:l´ə erə du:ði
ɒs mi su:ri ʊri rĩʃ xwel´ən lɛ:
tra hanik i: na rau grai ɛk ɔrəm
ɔðax i: ve ən ɔbal trɛ: 20

Dy row my villey er y doodee
as mee sooree urree rish whilleen laa.
Tra honnick ee nagh row graih eck orrym
oddagh ee v'er n'obbal traa.

VI
ha d´ʒinəm d´ʒi:ʃ drɑxlu nə gweən
ha wiðəm drɑxfart´ʃən də hit nə rɛ:d
ax də d´ʒin i bo:ə dɛ ə kar´d´ʒən
ge ðə vel i ə jinu d´ʒi:ms ax krɛ:'d´

Cha jinnym jeeish drogh-loo ny gweeghyn
cha wishym drogh fortçhan dy heet ny raad.
Agh dy jean ee boggey da e caarjyn
ge dy vel ee er yannoo jeem's agh craid.

VII
ən bil´ə walnut na redn r´ju tɑ:lu   25
finiʃ ɛrax ha rau ɛm
niʃ tɛ: mə ɣrai ə fraual də folsa
as tə mi fɛ:ɣit mə lumarkən

Yn billey walnut nagh ren rieau taggloo
feanish arragh cha row aym.
Nish ta my ghraih er phrowal dy foalsey
as ta mee faagit my lomarcan.

VIII

hems rom ɛr ðə ən iːlˊpɛrək   Hem's roym er dy[s] yn 'Eaill Perrick
drɛðəm mi hiːnˊ mər skɒləg ɛːg erˈbiː   30   dressym mee hene myr scollag aeg erbee
hem ʃaɣə mə ɣrai os meːdn ə vargi   Hem shaghey my ghraih ayns mean y vargee
ha lˊigəm ɔrəm də vɛːɣəm iː   cha lhiggym orrym dy vaikym ee.

IX

biːms ðə haːðu os kˊjodn ə vargi   Beeym's dy hassoo ayns kione y vargee
jaums mə rœi dˊʒəˈnɛːn nə ɣɛː   yioym's my reih jeh unnane ny ghaa.
ax iː tə puːs rīʒ ə mɒltir folsa   35   Agh ee ta poost rish e molteyr foalsey
ha vɔði kundrə niː kaxˈlɛː   cha vod ee coonrey ny caghlaa.

X

in rɛːd mwüːər lˊjauər vˊɛm də hjuːl er   Yn raad mooar liauyr v'aym dy hooyll er
ɒðən oxtax jiːrax də jinu mi skiː   as yn ughtagh yeeragh dy yannoo mee skee
ha vɔðəm səi ʃiːs də ɣoalˊ mə 'ɛːʃ   cha voddym soie sheese dy ghoaill m'aash
na bin kᵛiːndˊʒax smœːnˊjax er grai mə xriː 40 nagh beign kinjagh smooinaght er graih my chree.

XI

oː ðə dˊʒinax ən gy wüər ʃeːˈdə   O dy jinnagh yn geay wooar sheidey
də vonʃ klaʃtən wiʃ mə ɣrai   dy voddin's clashtyn woish my ghraih
ɒˈði də hit əm hariʃ nə ardʃ lˊeːˈdən   as ee dy heet hym harrish ny ard-sleityn
viːdax ʃin axelˊə er tˊʃœu ən trai   veeitagh shin y cheilley er cheu yn traie.

XII

sgɛnˊal sgɛnˊal harin də veˈdeːlˊi   45   S'gennal, s'gennal harrin dy veeiteil ee
as fəs ve ɛm də 'reː mə ɣrai vex odn   as fys ve aym dy re my ghraih veagh ayn
oː sgɛnˊal sgɛnˊal həin ʃiːs lˊuːri   S'gennal, s'gennal hoiein sheese lioree
ɒs mə ri sən pillar ek fo ə kˊjodn   as my roih son pillow eck fo e kione.

XIII

oː də dˊʒinax ən kydn mwüːər tˊʃirmax   O dy jinnagh yn keayn mooar çhirmagh
rɛːd ðə jinu də derin truːˈd   50   raad dy yannoo dy darrin trooid.
ʃnˊjaxtə griːnlən ɛːðəs dˊʒarg mər roːzən   Sniaghtey Greenlyn aasys jiarg myr roseyn
roʃmə nɔðəm mə ɣrai jaˈruːd   roish my noddym my ghraih y yarrood.

[1. At the fiddlers during Christmas / was the first place I met the love of my heart / lovingly, lovingly we sat down together / and began our courting.

2. From that time to the end of seven years / my love and I often met / and she promised me with her false tongue / that she would never forsake me.

3. On the Sunday evening before Ash Wednesday / I went to see the love of my heart / She put her two hands in my two hands / that she would not marry another man but me.

4. I went my way home and my heart was happy / there was nothing causing me distress / The first news I heard on the morning of Ash Wednesday / (was) that my love was wedded to another man.

5. May my curse be on the hussie / and me courting her for many a day / When she saw she had no love for me / she could have refused me early.

6. I will not make bad curse or imprecation against her / I do not wish ill-fortune to come her way / but that she may give joy to her friends / although she has made a mockery of me.

7. The walnut tree that never did speak / no other witness did I have / Now my love has proved false / and I am left alone.

8. I shall make my way to Patrick's fair / I shall dress myself like any other

young man / I shall pass by my love in the midst of the fair / and I shall not let on that I see her.

9. I shall stand at the head of the fair / I shall take my choice of one or two / but she who is wedded to her false deceiver / she cannot barter or change.

10. The great long road that I have to walk on / and the steep hill to make me tired / I cannot sit down to take my rest / that I would be thinking always of the love of my heart.

11. O that the great wind would blow / that I might hear from my love / and she coming to me over the high mountains / we would meet each other beside the strand.

12. Happily, happily I would come to meet her / and my knowing that it is my love who would be there / O happily, happily I would sit down beside her / and my forearm for a pillow under her head.

13. O that the great sea would dry / to make a way that I might come through / The snow of Greenland will grow red like roses / before I can forget my love].

2.10 FREEINAGHYN AS SNAIDYN (pins and needles) (rhyme)

<u>Text</u>: No other texts known.

<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

FREEINAGHYN AS SNAIDYN (rhyme)

Thomas Crebbin (1847–1935), Bradda, Rushen, 1–2 September 1930 (M/IV: 2557; HLSM/I: 400–401).

tɛ frĩːnaxən as snɛðən ɛm	Ta freeinaghyn as snaidyn aym
as laʧ̣ən sɑn e'nˊiːnˊən	as laatchyn son inneenyn
as maˡ dʒĩn ʃɛdn fiðal að	As my jean (*sic*) shen fiddal ad
nĩmi kür 'dɛːu nə pĩŋən	nee mee cur daue ny pingyn.

[I have pins and needles / and laces for girls / and if they will weave them / I shall give them the pennies].

2.11 GOLL DY SCHOILL (going to school) (rhyme)

<u>Text</u>: *C'red oo goll* (where are you going?) (Roeder 1896: 178).

<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

GOLL DY SCHOILL (rhyme)

William Cowley (1842–1921), Creggan, Sulby Glen, Lezayre, 6 August 1909 (V/1088; HLSM/I: 316–319).

va kiət də rau va dʊnjə 'söːr gol erə raːd as vit e skɔlag 'veg ðə 'gĩlə, as vrai i dʒen ɣĩlẽ krɛːd ti goːl, as dut ən gilə rĩʃ:

Va keayrt dy row va dooinney seyr goll er y raad as veeit eh scollag veg dy guilley, as vrie eh jeh'n ghuilley c'raad t'eh goll, as dooyrt yn guilley rish:

gol ðə 'skɔ'l´	Goll dy schoill
as vrai dʒe:	as vrie eh jeh
krö:d vən 'ljp:ə	c'raad va'n lioar
as dõ:t i riʃ	as dooyrt eh rish
ʊnsən 'drɒ:ə	ayns yn *drawer*
as vra:i i dʒi:	as vrie eh jeh
krö:d tan 'drɒ:ə	c'raad ta'n *drawer*
as dõt i 'riʃ	as dooyrt eh rish
onsən 'ta:i	ayns y thie
as 'krö:d tən 'ta:i	as c'raad ta'n thie?
onsən 'vɑ:xə	ayns yn vagher
as 'kre.d tan 'vɑ:xə	as c'raad ta'n vagher
onsən slju:	ayns yn slieau
as kræ:d tan 'slju:	as c'raad ta'n slieau
onsən 'vɔ:l ve rju:	ayns yn voayl v'eh rieau.

[Once there was a gentleman going along the road and he met a young strap of a lad, and he asked the lad where he was going, and the lad said to him: Going to school / and he asked him / where was the book / and he said to him / in the drawer / and he asked him /and where is the drawer / and he said to him / in the house / and where is the house / in the field / and where is the field / on the mountain / and where is the mountain / in the place it ever was].

2.12 GRAIH MY CHREE (love of my heart) (song frag.)

Texts: Oral versions:
1. Harry Kelly, Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (M/III: 1917–1918).
2.Tommy Leece, Kerroomooar, Kerrookeil, Malew, Christmas/New Year 1950–1951 (Jackson 1955: 135–136). See also below.
Printed texts: J. R. Moore MNHL MS 09495 1st. ent. *Graih my Chree ta ayns Ballaragh* (love of my heart who is in Ballaragh), Moore (1896: 120 Thomas Crellin, Peel, 1st. ent. *O Graih my chree, O vel oo marym?* (O love of my heart, Oh, are you with me?)).
Tune: No tune known. But see under *Ec ny Fiddleryn* above.

GRAIH MY CHREE (song frag.).
Harry Kelly (1852–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (M/III: 1917–1918; HLSM/I: 330–331).

grɛ:i mə 'xri: vɛl grɛi ɛð 'ɔrəm	Graih my chree, vel graih ayd orrym
tɛ rɛd 'bɛg a 'nɛl mi 'faləm	t'eh red beg, cha nel mee follym
wuʃ rɛd 'bɛg hɛŋk rɛd 'mu:ʳ	Woish red beg haink red mooar
as wuʃ 'ʃɛdn hɛŋk grɛi ðə 'lju:r	as woish shen haink graih dy liooar.

[Love of my heart, have you love for me / It is a small thing, I am not devoid (of it) / From something small came something big / and from that there came love in abundance].

GRAIH MY CHREE (song frag.).

Tommy Leece (1859–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookeil, Malew, 9 October 1952 (YCG/32; HLSM/I: 374–375).

grɛi dʒe mə xri: vel grɛi ed ɒrəm	Graih jeh my chree, vel graih ayd orrym
tɛ rid beg ha nel ɛ fɒləm	t'eh red beg, cha nel eh follym
wuʃ rid beg hɪg rid mu:r	woish red beg hig red mooar
az wuʃ rid mu:r hɪg grɛi dɪ l'u:r	as woish red mooar hig graih dy liooar.

[Love of my heart, have you love for me / It is a small thing, it is not void / From a small thing something big will come / and from something big there will come love in abundance].

2.13 GUBBYLYN (clobber) (rhyme)

Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

GUBBYLYN (rhyme)

Thomas Crebbin (1847–1935), Bradda RU, 1–2 September 1930 (M/IV: 2557; HLSM/I: 400–401).

l´ig dūn´sɛi si:s ə'sɔ:	Lhig dooin soie seese [sic][40] ayns shoh
as kür ən g´ɔblən orən´ɛg l´ɛzjəʳ	as cur yn gubbylyn orrin ec *leisure*
sɔn tɛ a:ʳgəd ə'sɔ: ðə bi: kwɒi ən	son ta argid ayns shoh dy bee quoi yn
dūn´ə n´i: kür 'a:sa	dooinney nee cur ass eh.

[Let us sit down here / and put on our clobber at leisure / for there is money here whoever is the person who shall give it out].

2.14 HIE SON SKYLLEY BREESHEY (Hi for Kirk Bride) (song frag.)

Text: manuscript versions McLagan Manuscript 180, c. 1770, 4st., in hand of Rev. Philip Moore (1705–1783) MNHL MS 5382A (Thomson 1961: 19–20); A.W. Moore Coll: 14f, 2st. (from Robert Gawne MSS), MNHL MS 00221A.
Tune: Moore (1896: 264 from *Mona Melodies* (1820: 14–15). Moore (1896: xxix) supplies only the first verse of this song for the sake of the tune, 'the adventures of the party referred to being described in the rest of the ballad in language too coarse for publication.'[41]

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40 A Rushen pronunciation of Mx *sheese* (G *síos*), cf. HLSM/II: 395 v.s. *sheese*.
41 The version Moore gives in his ms. (MNHL MS 00221A) runs as follows: 1. *Hy son Skill y Breeshey / As Hy son Skill andrase / Jurby cosney yn Dhounsyn / dy rosh ad ooilloo er keagh. 2. As quei yn shaght vun / Charles Moore (a poet) Balla Ratler as Kerry Clugaaish / As Arthur Beg Brew .... / As heie Clark wish Dhoolish* [1. Hi for Kirk Bride / and hi for Kirk Andreas / Jurby to win the dances / (and) that they all got drunk. 2. Charles Moore Ballaratcliffe and Kerry Clucas / And Arthur Beg Brew / And Heie Clark from Douglas]. Evidently Moore could not make any sense of the text, as he

HIE SON SKYLLEY BREESHEY (song frag.).

John Cain (1850–1939), Ballamoar, Jurby, 2 February 1933 (M/IV: 2625; HLSM/I: 312–315).

I

hɑi sən skilə briːʒə	Hie son Skylley Breeshey
ɑs hɑi sən skjɛn (*sic*) anˈdreːs	as hie son Skyll Andreays
ðə jirəbi ɑs kaːslən (*sic*) döunlə	Dy Yurby as cosney'n daunsey
ɑs hɒi ɑd ðə gɔl köːx	as hie ad dy goll keagh

II

ðə kreː bwiː ɔs skjɛn anˈdreːs	Ta cray bwee ayns Skyll Andreays
ɑs baːskɑd wiː ɔːs jöːrbi	as baskad wee ayns Yurby
ɑs roːzən dʒɛg ʊs bɑlɑˈlaː	as roseyn jiarg ayns Ballalaa
ɑs mɛʃtəli ʊs sölbi	as meshtalee ayns Sulby

III

sɑdləʳ muːr nə köl`ə	Sadler Mooar ny Kella
bi prəˈtʃeːlˊ sən hwilˊən blˊeːdnˊ	bee preacheil son whilleen blein
ɑ røu fɑd ˈɛgə dus məˈlˊiːənə	Cha row fys echey dys mleeaney
ðə røu pɛɣə ɔs dʒɔːx ɑs fiːdn	dy row peccah ayns jough as feeyn

[1. Hi for Kirk Bride / and hi for Kirk Andreas / to Jurby to win the dance / and they went to go wild.
2. There is yellow clay in Kirk Andreas / and corn marigold in Jurby / and red roses in Ballaugh / and drunkards in Sulby.
3. Sadler Mooar (Big Sadler) of the Kella[42] / will be preaching for many a year / He did not know till this year / that there was a sin in ale and wine].

2.15 HOP DY NAA (Hollantide chant frag.)

Text (Manx): Clague (1911: 26–29 from Tom Kermode, Bradda RU ent. *Hop! Ta'n Oie* with Eng. trans.), Moore (1896: 68, ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*, various (oral), with Eng. trans.), Roeder (1896: 184–186; versions from Ramsey (Eng.), 'A Bannag from the Mull' RU (Mx), Surby RU (Mx), Port Erin RU (Mx; frag.), Ramsey (Eng.; frag.), Ballaugh (Mx; frag.), Glen Maye PA (Eng.)), Paton ([1941]: 76–82).
Text (English): Train (1845 II: 123), Harrison (1873: 148 ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*).
Tune: Clague C1/49:2 Tom Kermode, Bradda, ent. *Hop dy nai* (Gilchrist 1924–1926: 174), Moore (1896: 243 I: Mrs. [Margaret Frissel] Ferrier, Castletown, II: Philip Cain ('Phillie the Desert'), Baldwin BN.

   Manx *Hop-dy-Naa*, the name given to the last day of the Celtic year (31 October) on which children are wont to go from house to house chanting a rhyme and thereby earning sweets (nowadays money), does not appear to have any Celtic etymology.

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   writes 'no sense' to the right of each verse. To judge from his comments above, he had evidently obtained another version of the text, which to date has not seen the light of day.

42   '(farm of/by the) wood' (viz. Mx (*balley ny*) *Keylley*, G (*baile na*) *coille*), a farm near Sulby (SC391951), with ellipsis of the head word.

The phrase *Hop-dy-Naa* forms a vocable chorus to the rhyme chanted, which seems to have given its name to the event, formally *Sauin* (G *Samhain* 'end of summer'), *Oie Houney* /iː 'hɔunə/ (G *Oidhche Shamhna* 'the night of Souney/*Samhna*'), Eng. (Hollantide/Hallowe'en). Many customs are associated with this event.

According to Kelly 1866 v.s. *Baal-Sauin*,

[...]. On this night [i.e. Hollantide] [...] 'the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven' [...]. Much ceremony is observed in making this cake, which is sacred to love [...] and is called the 'soddag valloo' or dumb cake. Every woman is obliged to assist in mixing the ingredients, kneading the dough and baking the cake on glowing embers; and when sufficiently baked they divide it, eat it up, and retire to their beds backwards without speaking, from which silence the cake derives its name, and in the course of the night expect to see the images of the men who are destined to be their husbands [...] (Kelly 1866 v.s. *Baal-Sauin*, quoted also in Paton [1941]: 76).

Moore (1891: 125), in quoting the above, adds that the ingredients included 'flour, eggs and egg-shells, soot, &c.' For further details see Moore (1891: 122–125), Clague (1911: 23–31), Paton ([1941]: 76), Gilchrist (1924–26: 174–177).

Karl Roeder (1904: 17), a native of Gera, Thüringen, but then resident in Manchester, notes the following custom associated with Hop dy Naa:

On Holy Eve the girls used to go at 12 o'clock at night and carry a ball of woollen yarn in their hand, and steal to a barn without anyone knowing anything about it, and twisting the end of it round their wrist threw the ball in the darkness as far as they could; then after a little while they began to wind it up, beginning at the end twined around their wrist. If the thread was held they would cry out [in Manx]: 'Who is holding the thread?' and they expected whoever held it to say who he was; if there was no answer they were to be old maids (Roeder: 1904: 17, quoted also in Paton: [1941]: 77).

HOP DY NAA (chant frag.).
William Killip (1834–1922), Clyeen, Michael, 3 August 1890 (Rhŷs 6/95).[43]

noːx əi sɔuna, hɔp ðə nɛː, hɔp ðə nɛː   Noght Oie Houney, Hop dy Naa, Hop dy Naa
mɛːrax lɛː sɔuna, tra lə lɛː, tra lə lɛː   mairagh Laa Souney, tra lal laa, tra lal laa.

[Tonight is *Oie Houney*, Hop dy Naa, Hop dy Naa / tomorrow is *Laa Souney*, tra lal laa, tra lal laa].

HOP DY NAA (chant frag.).

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43   Rhŷs provides only the phonetic versions of his texts. The versions in Standard Manx Orthography, here as elsewhere, are supplied for convenience.

John Kermode (1811–1891), Surby, Rushen, 7 August 1890 (Rhŷs 6/105)

nɒːx əi houna, hɔp dʒu nɛ:, hɔp dʒu nɛ:	Noght Oie Houney, Hop Tu Naa
famən nə gəuna, tral lal lɛ:, tral lal lɛ:	famman ny gouney, tra lal laa
kjalax nə kiarkən, hɔp dʒu nɛ: &c.	kellagh ny kiarkyn, Hop Tu Naa.

　　[Tonight is *Oie Houney*... / tail of the heifer.../ cock or hens...]

HOP DY NAA (chant frag.).
William Corrin (1817–1892), Cronk y Doonee, Rushen, 8 August 1890 (Rhŷs 6/113).

nɒːx öi houna, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i	Noght Oie Houney, Hop Tu Naa
ʃivər nə gəuna, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i	shibbyr ny gouney, Hop Tu Naa
kən goːn marmad, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i	cre'n gouin marmayd, Hop Tu Naa
goːn spoːdax brɛk, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i, hɔp dʒəu nɛ:i	gouin spottagh breck, Hop Tu Naa.

[Tonight is *Oie Houney*... / supper of/for the heifer... / what heifer shall we kill... / a speckled spotted heifer...].

HOP DY NAA (chant frag.).
'Paaie Vooar' (Mrs. Margaret Taylor (1816–1890), Surby, Rushen, 8 August 1890 (Rhŷs 6/117–118).

nɒːx öi houna, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	Noght Oie Houney, Hop dy Naa
fidər nə gəuna, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	fidder ny gouney, Hop dy Naa
kən goːn marməd, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	cre'n gouin marmayd, Hop dy Naa
ən yoːn vɛg vrɛk, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	yn ghouin veg vreck, Hop dy Naa.
kən kɛru vɛrməd sə fɔt dʒɛ:,	cre'n kerroo vermayd sy phot jeh,
hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	Hop dy Naa, Hop dy Naa
ən kɛru vɛg dʒɛrə, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	yn kerroo veg jerrey, Hop dy Naa
heːst mi er ən jɛuri, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	haste mee er yn awree, Hop dy Naa
skold mi mə hɛn′ə, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	*scauld* mee my hengey, Hop dy Naa
rəi mi dəðən tʃivərt, hɔp ðə nɛ:, hɔp ðə nɛ:	roie mee dys yn çhibbyrt, Hop dy Naa.

　　[Tonight is *Oie Houney*... / weaver of/for the heifer... / what heifer shall we kill.../ the little speckled heifer... / what quarter shall we put in the pot... / the wee end quarter... / I tasted the broth... / I scalded my tongue... / I ran to the well...].

2.16 HUDGEON Y FIDDER (Hudson the weaver) (song frag.)
<u>Text</u>: Moore (1896: 212 from Prof. John Rhŷs).
<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

Moore (1896: xxix) notes: '*Hudgeon y Fidder* (Hudgeon [Hudson] the weaver) is the only [known] song which gives an intimation that there was once such a thing as smuggling in the Island.'

HUDGEON Y FIDDER (song frag.).
John Carrine (1824–1893), Chasm House, Cregneash, Rushen, 14 August 1892 (Rhŷs 6/189).

'At Fleshwick an old Manxman called *Carin Hurbi* (Carine of Surby) who showed us into a cave repeated to me the beginning of a ballad about a smuggler called [hədʒin ə fiđər] (Hudgeon the Weaver). He was a fellow with very big lips –

V'eh goll seose eg y Chreg Ghoo	(*dhoo* is pronounced by him dū [du:])
Cha row wheesh as troggal a chione	(pr. [tro:l] and [xˊjɔdn])
Son va daa veeall er Hyjin [hədʒin]	
Kiart wheesh my daa ghoarn	(the r was scarcely to be heard)
As va daa roll dy hombaga	(? as[45])
Ayns mean y vart connee.[44]	

    [He was going up at the Black Rock / he was not so much as lifting his head / for there were two lips on Hudgeon / just as big as my two fists / and there were two rolls of tobacco / in the middle of his load of gorse].

    There was more of this stuff and it used to be sung, as Hyjin [Hudgeon] seems to have been a noted character in these parts' (Rhŷs 6/189).

HUDGEON Y FIDDER (song frag.).
William Collister (18??–18??), c/o of Edward Collister, 9–16 August 1892[46] (Rhŷs 5/8b).

vɛ gɔl səs ɛk ən xrɛg ɣu:	V'eh goll seose ec yn Chreg Ghoo
ha rɔu hwi:ʃ as tro:al ə xˊjɔdn	cha row wheesh as troggal e chione
sɔn va dɛ vi:l ɛr hudʒin	son va daa veeal er Hudgeon
kjart hwi:ʃ mə dɛ ɣɔ:rn	kiart wheesh my daa ghoarn
as vɛ dɛ rɔl də hombaga	as va daa roll dy hombaga
o:ns men ə vart kɔni:[47]	ayns mean y vart chonnee.

    [He was going up at the Black Rock / he was not so much as lifting his head /

---

44   As with *Y Maarliagh Mooar* above, Moore obtained this song-fragment also from Rhŷs (Moore 1896: xxx) and prints it in his *Manx Ballads* (1896: 212) under the title *Hudgeon y Fidder* ('Hudson the weaver'), again 'correcting' the text.
45   Rhŷs's own comments.
46   Place of residence of the Collisters is to date not known, but given that they were aware of the song about Hudgeon, then probably somewhere in Rushen parish. Precise date of interview unknown.
47   For the text see also Moore (1896: 212).

for there were two lips on Hudgeon / just as big as my two fists / and there were two rolls of tobacco / in the middle of his load of gorse].

2.17 JUAN GAWNE (rhyme)
<u>Text</u>: No other text known.
<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

JUAN GAWNE (rhyme)
Mrs. Annie Kneale (1864–1949), Ballagarrett, Bride, 1948 (IFC/39; HLSM/I: 306–307).

va 'ʃan juan 'gudn as vi 'bɛːə ən maːr ain as va ʃeː 'ɛːrə (*sic*) oːn, as van taːi 'tuːt´eg´ɛ as va koːgi <u>house</u> 'tuːt´ as va bɔːl dən.., rĩʃən 'kaːbəl beg as ən 'buːə, as vi 'fiː sɔn 'böːᵊa, as vi 'grɛː - kəkə 'kɔk, as <u>then</u> vi 'grɛː

Va shenn Yuan Gawne as v'eh baghey yn magher ain as va shey ?acyr ayn, as va'n thie thooit as va coigee *house* thooit as va boayl da'n...rish yn cabbyl beg as yn booa, as v'eh fee son baghey, as v'eh gra, 'Cockacock', as *then* v'eh gra:

ə mɑr 'ɔuː tʰa 'miː ða 'dʒaːro	Myr ooh ta mee dy jarroo
dan'dʒɛːrax ðə ve 'brɪʃ	danjeyragh dy ve brisht
as 'goriʃ ʃa.n 'vrɛːgən	as gollrish shenn vraagyn
va k´aut´ʃ as 'ʊs kə'neːl	va ceaut ass ayns corneil
fɛːgit´ʃ as 'treːgit´ʃ	Faagit as treigit
as mə 'kɔrag: 'ʊs mə 'viːəl	as my corrag ayns my veal
as 'goriʃ ʃan 'v[r]ɛːgən	as gollrish shenn v[r]aagyn
va 'k´aut´ʃ as 'ʊs kə'neːl	va ceaut ass ayns corneil.

[There was old Juan Gawne and he was living (in) our field and there were six acres in it, and he had a thatched house and a thatched loom house, and there was a place for the small horse and the cow, and he was weaving for a living, and he used to say, 'Cockacock', and then he would say:
Like an egg I am indeed / in danger of being broken / and like old shoes / that were worn out and (thrown) in a corner / left and abandoned / and my forefinger in my mouth / and like old shoes / that were worn out and (thrown) in a corner].

2.18 KIARK KATREENEY MARROO (Catherine's hen is dead) (chant)
<u>Text</u>: Clague Bk 5: 48, Moore (1896: 68 from Moore 1891: 127).
<u>Tune</u>: Moore (1896: 227 John Bridson, Colby AR).

With regard to the custom, Moore (1891: 126–127) makes the following comment:

December 6th—*Laa'l Catreeney* (Catherine's feast-day) (old style). On or about this day possession must be taken on the South side of the Island of lands,

when there is a change of occupier. A fair was held on this day in the Parish of Arbory, when the following curious distich was repeated.

Kiark Catreeney marroo,	Catherine's hen is dead,
Gow's y kione,	Take thou the head,
As yoyms ny cassyn,	And I will take the feet,
As ver mayd ee fo'n thalloo.	And we will put her underground.
	(Moore 1891: 126–127).

Clague (1911: 43–45) supplies further details:

[...] [B]efore there were any attorneys, the people of Colby Mooar put aside all their fallings out that were between them at the feast of St. Katherine, and that each party would peel (pluck) some of the feathers [from a hen] and bury them, and the case was settled.

I have heard an old man say that his mother kept a public-house, and she had told him that the men and young boys of the neighbourhood would kill a hen, and they would walk two and two, holding the hen between them, and other persons would walk two and two through the fair with their hats off, as if they would be at a funeral, and sing,

> *Kiark Katreeney marroo*
> *Gow uss y kione, as goym's ny cassyn*
> *as ver mayd ee fo halloo*

They would then go to the public-house and get plenty of ale.

A wake was kept (held) over the hen, and early the next day the men went to 'peel the hen.' The head and the feet were cut off, and they were buried. It gave them an opportunity to get a little drop on the next day. Anyone who went to the public-house (tavern) on the day after the fair, people said, 'He is going to peel the hen.'

Moore (1896: xxi) has:

The quaint distich *Kiark Katreeney Marroo* 'Katherine's hen is dead' was formerly sung at a fair held on the 6th of December, this being Laa'l Katreeney 'Katherine's Feast Day' at Colby, in the parish of Arbory. Those who sang it got possession of a hen which they killed and plucked, and, after carrying it about, buried. If any one got drunk at the fair it was said *T'eh er goaill fedjag ass y chiark* 'He has plucked a feather from the hen' (Moore 1896: xxi).

KIARK KATREENEY MARROO (chant).
Capt. Henry Watterson (1816–1894), Colby, Rushen, 18 September 1888 (Rhŷs 6/21).

A Fair is [mar´gɛ/mɛr´gɛ] St. Catherine's fair at Colby used to be held on the 6th of December and will be again probably (there is a lawsuit about the feild [*sic*] for holding it) and it began with a procession in which a live hen was carried about (and probably killed) and ended (?next day?) by the hen being carried about plucked and dead. A rhyme was used then to the following effect:

Kiark Catr[i:]na 'marroo
Dous/Gows yn [kjɔn] as goms ny cassyn ([kazən])
As vermayd ([vɛ:rmadʲ]) ee fo'n thalloo (Rhŷs 6/21).

[Catherine's hen is dead, you take the head and I shall take the feet / and we shall put her under the ground].

KIARK KATREENEY MARROO (chant).
Edward Faragher, Sr. (1803–1890), Cregneash, Rushen, 18 September 1888 (Rhŷs 6/24).

kjarg ka'tri:na maru,	Kiark Katreeney marroo
gous a kjɔdn as gɔms nə kazən	gow uss y kione as gowym's ny cassyn
as vɛrmad i fon tʰɑlu	as vermayd ee fo'n thalloo.

[Catherine's hen is dead, you take the head and I shall take the feet / and we shall put her under the ground].

2.19 LHIGEY, LHARGEY (galloping, galloping) (children's rhyme)
Text: MNHL MS 00221A/20 (A. W. Moore Coll.) (1 st.) ent. 'The Red Petticoats,'[48] Moore (1896: 216–217). According to Moore (1896: xx), he received this rhyme from Miss Elizabeth Jane Graves (1851–1931), Peel, who collected song material for A. W. Moore during the 1890s (Miller *Manx Notes* 2017/4: 14–15). Moore (*ibid*.) adds, that '[t]he girls when playing it kneel on the ground on one knee, and strike the other knee with their right hands as they say each word.'
Tune: No tune recorded as the rhyme was spoken.

LHIGEY, LHARGEY (children's rhyme).
Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glenchass, Rushen, April / May 1948 (IFC40; HLSM/I: 368–369).

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48   Text: *Ah heu my mothee beg goll gys y kiel / Cockal y famman er mullach y kys / Drib drab fud ny laghey / Geirt er ny mraane less ny unraghyn jeargey* [Ahoi my wee dog going to the church / cocking its tail on the top of its buttock / Drib drab through the mud / going after the women with the red petticoats] MNHL MS 00221A/20 (A. W. Moore Coll.)

ljigə ljö:gə gɔl gəs ə vö:ᵊgə	Lhigey, lhargey, goll gys y vargey
göit´er nə mrɛ:n l´eʂ nə ʊnᵈraɣən dʒö:ᵊgə	geiyrt er ny mraane lesh ny oanraghyn jiargey

ljigə ljö:gə gɔl gəs ə ki:l	Lhigey, lhargey, goll gys y keeill
gait´ʃ ɛ nə mrɛ:n l´eʂ nə ʊnᵈraɣən gri:dn	geiyrt er ny mraane lesh ny oanraghyn *green*.

[Galloping, galloping, going to the fair / following the women with the red petticoats / galloping, galloping, going to the church / following the women with the green petticoats].

2.20 MANNIN VEG VEEN *(dear wee (Isle of) Man) (song frag.)*

Text: manuscript versions: Fourteen stanzas taken down by Rev. J. T. Clarke from a recitation by Harry Quilliam, Peel (i.e. Harry Jack, Cronk Mona, Dalby) 'on December 15th 1868', according to MNHL MS unacc. (Clarke) for Harrison 1873: 136. Clague Bk. 3: 276 frag. 1st stanza beg. *Ayns thie Quiggin Vooar* (in Big Quiggin's (ale-)house) with Eng. trans., MTSSF/II: 26–27 (Bk. 16: 38, 147), 5st.
Printed versions: Broadside of above text by J. C. Faragher, Douglas, c.1870 (14st. + Eng. trans.), Moore (1896: 176 from Harrison 1873).
Tune: MNHL MS unacc. (supra) 'to the tune of Barbara Allen'; Clague C2/13:1 and C3/3: 5 informants unknown, both ent. 'In 1823 and March 23rd [day]', the latter also ent. *Hug shin seose y shiaull mean* (we hoisted the main-sail); cf. the line st. 4 *Eisht hrog shin shiaull erskyn nyn gione* (then we hoisted the sail above us, lit. 'our heads'). For the tune to *Barbary Allen* see Moore (1896: 242 Thomas Crellin, Peel). Below are the first and second stanzas respectively.

The song tells of the experiences of the Peel fishermen on their way to the herring fishing off the Calf of Man, and all ending up in Douglas in a local hostelry to celebrate the end of the herring season (September).[49]

MANNIN VEG VEEN (song frag.).
John Cannon (1815–?1893), Ballaugh, 15 July 1893 (Rhŷs 7/196).

manin vɛg vi:dn, ta uns mɛ̃:n y xiədn	Mannin Veg Veen, ta ayns mean y cheayn
ta unʒi wɛit jɛs'ti:rən	ta aynjee *weight* eeasteyryn.

[Dear wee Mannin which is in the midst of the sea / in which there are lots of fishermen].

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49   The Manx semi-speaker Ewan Christian (1907–1985), Peel (Broderick 2017: 48–49), told me in an interview in 1978 that he remembers Peel fishermen standing on a table in the *Marine* bar on Peel promenade during the 1920s and singing *Mannin Veg Veen*. Christian was unable to provide me with any details as to the tune, etc., other than that the song was sung with gusto.

Va yn 'Ferrish' yn ennym jeh y chied lhong-vree va troggit son Ellan Vannin

[It is long since I was a wee lad and very sure of standing on my own feet when we came to Folieu[51] to live. And there were people in there before us, but they had to leave as they could not pay the rent. I was on the high ground of the place one day and there was an old man sitting by the fire, and there was a wee wain sitting on his knees. He was nursing it and started to sing. These were the words he had:

The 'Fairy' has almost reached England / and the wheels (i.e. paddles) quickly turned.

The 'Fairy' was the name of the first steamship that was built for the Isle of Man].

'MANX FAIRY', The (rhyme).
John Cain (1851–1939), Ballamoar, Jurby, 2 February 1933 (M/IV: 2624; HLSM/I: 312–313).

tɛ ən fɛːriʃ ɛr rɔʃtˊən	Ta yn 'Ferrish' er roshtyn
wuʒ nˊiːr ɑs ʃɛn sɒːsən	woish neear-ass shenn Sostyn
tɛ ən fulˊən (*sic*) ɛg taβi ʧönˈdɛː	ta yn wheeylyn eck tappee çhyndaa
oː mãnənˊvig viᵈn	O Mannin Veg Veen
tɛ ən kriː ɛd/vɛl ə xriː ɛd tiᵈn	ta yn cree/vel y chree ayd jean
ɑ stïl buʒal mɒi ðə rumˈzɛː	as *still push*al mie dy Rhumsaa.

[The 'Fairy' has arrived / from the west of old England / her wheels (paddles) are quickly turning / O wee Mannin dear / your heart is full of enthusiasm / and still a good push (pushing well) to Ramsey].

2.22 MYLECHARAINE (song frag.)

Texts: manuscript texts: McLagan MS 180 (University of Glasgow); photocopy MNHL MS 5382A (6 coupl. + addl. refr.) c. 1770 in hand of Philip Moore (1705–1783); BL Addl. 11215 'An Old Manks Madrigal' c. 1789 in hand of Deemster Peter John Heywood (1739–1790) (7 coupl. + addl. refr.); MNHL MD 900 MS 08307 (c. 1830–1840) (p. 2) 3st.; (p. 6) 5st.; (p. 7) (6st.); MNHL MS 2151A in hand of T. E. Brown (1830–1897) (5 coupl. 1893);[52] Clague Bk 5: 48 (1st.) couplet beg.

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51   'under (the) mountain', a farm on the hillside near the main Ramsey-Laxey road (SC463933).
52   MNHL MS 2151A contains 5 stanzas written on the back of a note sent to Manx poet T. E. Brown (1830–1897) from the Ramsey Courier Office dated 26 August 1893. It is not included here, as the text derives from Harrison (1869: 57).

O Vylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo dty stoyr (O Mylecharaine, where did you find your store?). Variants range between 1 and 14 couplets.

Printed texts: Leech (1861: 125–126; 9 coupl.); Broadside with Thomas Shimmin's name appended, M. A. Quiggin, Douglas c. 1867 (9 coupl. + Eng. trans.); MNHL MS 28A (Wm. Sayle Coll.); Cookson (1868: 187; 2 coupl.); Harrison (1869: 57–58; 10 coupl.); Drennan (1870: 469 (8 coupl.)); MNHL MS 140 (Manx Language Scrapbook) pamphlet by J. C. Faragher, Douglas, c. 1870 (10 coupl.); Paton (1920: 30–39; 1 coupl.); Moore (1896: 52; 12 coupl. First 10 from Harrison (1869); last two from MD 900); Gilchrist (1924–1926: 205–206).

Oral texts: Collected in phonetic script by Prof. Carl. J. S. Marstrander, Professor of Celtic Studies in the University of Oslo, Norway, during his visits to Man (1929–1930):

1. From Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew, 16 June 1929[53] (M/IV: 2231–2235) (6 st.).

2. From Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin, Rushen, 28 August 1930 (M/III: 1659–1663) (8 st.).

Tune: MNHL J66 6523 MS 437A (Shepherd Music Coll.) c. 1815—this is the first notice of this tune. Clague C3/44: 1 John Cain [Douglas]; C4/29: 3 Eliza Cookson: 1859; C4/30: 2 Mylrea's version, C4/30: 3 Corteen's version, JFSS VII/28: 124–125; VII/29: 205, note 28; Moore (1896: 253 Henry Bridson, Cronkbourne, Tromode BN, *ibid.* 254; *Mona Melodies* 8–9); Gilchrist (1924–1926: 205–206) with discussion.

   With regard to the content of the song, Thomson (1961: 12) notes:

> The poem purports to refer to one Mylecharaine, who lived in or near the Curragh in Jurby [SC3696] in the north-west of the island, and who was supposed to have earned general execration by being the first Manxman to give his daughter a dowry instead of expecting a bride-price for her. The name, to judge from the earliest spellings, represents [G] Mac Ghille Chiaráin rather than Maol Chiaráin; the second element, however, had become identical with the common noun *carrane* (G *cuarán*), a shoe or sandal made of untanned hide, often with the hair on it, and this may have given particular point to the mention of his footwear in the course of mocking his parsimonious habits (Thomson 1961: 12).

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53   Marstrander visited Taggart for the first time on 16 June 1929 (Dagbok 16) when presumably he obtained a version of *Mylecharaine* from him, as in collecting a (similar) version of the song from Joseph Woodworth on 28 August 1930, Marstrander cites two variants he had obtained from Thomas Taggart (MIII: 1659–1663). Marstrander visited Taggart for the last time on 27 September 1930 (MIV: 2207b–2483).

For a discussion and analysis of the text, see Thomson (1961: 10–18), Broderick (forthcoming b). As with *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (below), this became one of the most renowned traditional songs in the Manx repertoire.

The name *Mylecharaine* is the Manx reflex of Gaelic *mac giolla Chiaráin*.

MYLECHARAINE (song frag.) [mɔləkɑ'rɛːn]
Thomas Taggart (1846–1933), Grenaby, Malew, 16 June 1929 (M/IV: 2231–2235)

I
'oː 'mɔlika'rɛːn, krɛ(ː)d hᵘuːru nə 'tɛːd?   O Mylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo ny t'ayd?
as nə lʊmarkən dɛːgu mi   as ny lomarkan daag oo mee
ʃiːʃ / 'ʃiːʃ unsə 'kʊrax 'döun 'döun də 'lʲuːr   Sheesh ayns y curragh dowin, dowin dy liooar
sɒn nə lʊmarkən dɛːg e mi   son ny lomarkan daag eh mee.

II
'oː 'mɔlika'rɛːn, krɛ(ː)d hᵘuːru nə 'tɛːd?   O Mylecharaine, c'raad hooar ny t'ayd?
nə duːr mi sə 'kurax e ɛðər 'dɛː 'ɛːd   Nagh dooar mee sy curragh eh eddyr daa aaid

III
ʃeː dɛː 'pæːr 'ɔːʒarən as o̞ːn pæːr brɛg   She daa piyr oashyryn as un piyr brag
væ ɛk mɔləka'rɛːn ʊns hɑːx 'blʲiːənə as fidʲ   va ec Mylecharaine ayns hoght bleeaney as feed

IV
'oː jeʒək oː jeʒək 'tæː miʃ go̞ːlʲ'nɛ̞ːrə   O yishag, O yishag, ta mish goaill nearey
də vɛlu gɒl gəsə 'kiːlʲ lʲɛʃ də kaˈrɛːnən grɛ̞ːnə   dy vel oo goll gys y keeill lesh dty carraneyn graney

V
'oː vʊði, 'oː 'vʊði ha 'lʲas döts go̞ːlʲ 'nɛ̞ːrə   O vuddee, O vuddee, cha lhiass dhyts goaill nearey
sɒn tæː ɛməs uns 'kʲo̞ɬ ə ko̞ːr vɛrə ɔːrts də 'gʲɛ̞ːrə son ta aym's ayns kione y koir[54] ver eh orts dy gearey

VI
ax mə vɔlaxt, mə vɔlaxt ɛr mɔləka'rɛːn   Agh my vollaght, my vollaght er Mylecharaine
sɒn væ ən kʲɛd dʊnʲə hʊg 'tɑːr də mə'rɛn   son v'eh yn chied dooinney hug toghyr da mraane

[1. O Mylecharaine, where did you get what you have / and alone you did leave me / down, down in the curragh, deep, deep enough / for alone you did leave me.
2. O Mylecharaine, where did you get what you have / Did I not find it in the curragh between two turf-sods.
3. It is two pairs of stockings and one pair of shoes / which Mylecharaine had in twenty-eight years.
4. O father, O father, I am ashamed / that you go to church in your ugly sandals.
5. O girl, O girl, you have no need to be ashamed / for I have in Kione y Koir that which will make you laugh.
6. But my curse, my curse on Mylecharaine / for he was the first man who gave a dowry to women].

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54   LN *?coan (n)y koir* 'hollow of the chest(stone)'.

MYLECHARAINE (song frag.).

Joseph Woodworth (1853–1931), Port Erin, Rushen, 21 August 1930 (M/III: 1659–1663).

I
'oː 'vɒlikə'rɛɬ, krɛd 'huːru də 'stɒːr ?
mə 'ləmaxən 'dɛːɣu mi
væ hiːs unsnə (*sic*) körax 'dɔun də 'lʹuːr
as mə 'ləmaxən 'dɛːɣu mi

O Vylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo dty stoyr?
my lomarcan daag oo mee
V'eh heese ayns y curragh dowin dy liooar
as my lomarcan daag oo mee.

II
'oː 'vɒlikə'rɛɬ krɛːd 'huːru nə 'stɒk ?
hiːs unsnə (*sic*) korax öðə dɛː vlɒk

O Vylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo ny stock?
Heese ayns y curragh eddyr daa vlock.

III
'oː vɒlikə'rɛɬ krɛːd 'huːru ne 'tɛð ?
hiːs unsnə (sic) kurax öðər dɛː foːdʹ

O Vylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo ny t'ayd?
Heese ayns y curragh eddyr daa foaid.

IV
ʃeː dɛː 'fæːr 'bːʒɛrən as õːn pæːr 'vrɛg
væ ɛk mɒlikɒ'rɛɬ uns 'ʃeː 'blʹiːnə as 'fidʹ

She daa phiyr oashyryn as un phiyr vraag
va ec Mylecharaine ayns shey bleeaney as feed.

V
væ ka'rɛɬ duː mɛːriʃ ka'rɛɬ 'bɛɬ
as 'pæːr dʒeː ən ɒːn xɒlər ɛk duliʃ dʒe'saʳn

Va carrane dhoo mârish carrane bane
as piyr jeh yn un chullyr ec Doolish Jesarn.

VI
'oː jiʒəg, 'oː jiʒəg, tæ mi gɒːlʹ 'nɛːra
də 'vɛlu gɒl dəsnə (sic) kiːl lʹɛʃ də ka'rɛɬən 'grɛːna

O yishag, O yishag, ta mee goaill nearey
dy vel oo goll dys y keeill lesh dty carraneyn graney.

VII
'oː iʹnʹiːn mə 'xriː 'a 'lʹas döt gɒːlʹ 'neːrə
sɒn 'tæː ɛᵇm uns kʹɒːɬ ə köːr as nʹiː köʳ 'ɒʳts geːrə

O inneen my chree, cha lhiass dhyt goaill nearey
son ta aym ayns kione y koir[55] as nee cur orts gearey.

VIII
ɑx mə vɒlax, mə vɒlax ɛr vɒləka'rɛɬ
sɒn viː ən kʹɛd dunʹə hug ruː taːɣa dɛː mə'rɛɬ

Agh my vollagh, my vollagh er Vylecharaine
son v'eh yn chied dooinney hug rieau toghyr da mraane.

[1. O Mylecharaine, where did you get your store / alone you did leave me / It was in the curragh deep enough / and alone you did leave me.

2. O Mylecharaine, where did you get your stock / Down in the curragh between two blocks (of stone).

3. O Mylecharaine, where did you get what you have / Down in the curragh between two turf sods.

4. It is two pairs of stockings and one pair of shoes / which Mylecharaine had in twenty-six years.

5. There was one black sandal with a white sandal / and two of the same colour when in Douglas of a Saturday.

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55   'end of the chest', a place name seemingly in Jurby Curragh (SC3696). Or perhaps for *coan (n)y koir* ('hollow of the chest(stone)')? For this see under *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (§2.25) below.

6. O father, O father, I am ashamed / that you go to church in your ugly sandals.
7. O daughter of my heart, you have no need to be ashamed / for I have in Kione y Koir that which will make you laugh.
8. But my curse, my curse on Mylecharaine / for he was the first man who gave a dowry to women].

2.23 MYR S'LIAUYR YN OIE-GEUREE (how the winter night is long) (song frag.)

Text: This is a version of *Arrane Sooree* (courting song), cf. MD 900 (c. 1830–1840): 19 ent. *Mor s'lauyr vah nee geurey buoy* (how the winter's night was long, boy) (3st, 2 half-stanzas), MD 900 19–20 no title, 7st. + part st. MNHL MD 900 MS 08307; Clague Bk 5: 94–98 (11st.), text identical with that in Moore (1896: 80–81). Also JFSS VII/28: 135–136, 29: 209–210, 30: 322 note.
Tune: Version A: Clague C1/19: 3 Mrs. Lawson, Jurby East JU. Version B: C1/22: 3 informant unknown (variant of 'As I went out one morning clear' C1/7: 1); C4/25: 1 John Quayle, Gordon PA, and Moore (1896: 234 John Quayle, Glen Maye PA (likely the same person; Miller (*Manx Notes* 2017/8: 9)). Latter two are variants of Tune B. All versions in Clague entitled *Sooree*.

MYR S'LIAUYR YN OIE-GEUREE (song frag.).
William Cowley (1842–1921), Creggan, Sulby Glen, Lezayre, 6 August 1909 (in Douglas) (V/1088; HLSM/I: 316–317).

ma 'sl´auəʳ ən æi 'gjɛu[ri]	Myr s'liauyr yn oie geu[ree]
ma 'stɔli i də 'k´au	myr s'doillee ee dy ceau
va mi nə 'haːðu ek ən dɔrəs	va mee ny hassoo ec yn dorrys
as mi ʊlju goːl ɛ: 'krɛːu:	as mee ooilley goll er-creau
mə 've:ə va gɔriʃ 'latən	My veir va gollrish lattyn
as mə fiːklən snagəriː	as ny feeacklyn snaggeree
as mə grai troᵇm nə 'kadlɛ	as my graih trome ny cadley
ha 'rau i klaːʃt´ən miː	cha row ee clashtyn mee
hog mi 'frap ɛːrən 'nənjag	Hug mee frapp er yn uinnag
as snip ɛːrə 'ᵛlɛːs	as snip er y ghless
as mə 'kri: l´ibm mar 'ʊʒag	as my cree lheim myr ushag
ʧɛu 'staːi dʒeː mə 'vrɛs	çheu-sthie jeh my *vreast*
as mə 'grai as mə 'grai	as my graih, as my graih
hed main 'kɔdʒax 'nɒːx nə 'jæːi	hed main cooidjagh noght ny yeih.

[How the winter night is long / how it is difficult to spend it / I would be standing at the door / and I would be all a-tremble / My fingers would be like lats and my teeth chattering / and my love sound asleep / she would not be hearing me / I tapped on the window / and knocked on the glass / and my heart would be leaping like a bird / inside my breast / And my love, and my love / we shall go together tonight after all].

2.24 NANE JEES, MYLECHREEST (one two, Mylechreest) (children's rhyme)

Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

NANE JEES, MYLECHREEST (children's rhyme)
John Cain (1850–1939), Ballamoar, Jurby, 2 February 1933 (M/IV: 2633; HSLM/I: 312–313).

nɛːn dʒiːs 'mɒlə kriːs	Nane, jees, Mylechreest
triː kʹeːʳ bɛti veːʳ	Tree, kiare, Betty Vayr
kwɛg ʃeː bĭl nə klʹeː	Queig, shey, Bill ny Cleigh
ʃaːx hɒːx tɔm ə lɒːx	Shiaght, hoght, Tom y Logh
nei dʒei tɔmi fei	Ney, jeih, Tommy Faaie
ɛnan dʒɛg banan wĭd	Annan jeig, ben yn woid.

[One two Mylechreest / three four Betty Vayr (of the road) / five six Bill ny Clay (of the hedge) / seven eight Tom y Logh (of the lake/swamp) / nine ten Tommy Faaie (of the flatt) / eleven, woman of the penis].

2.25 NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (the sheep under snow) (song frag.)
Texts: manuscript texts: MNHL unacc. for Harrison (1869: 127) from a manuscript of John Crellin (1764–1816) of Orrisdale MI, and Harrison (1873: 176); Clague Bk 5: 48 1st stanza plus refrain only, MK/M72; 1st., M73; 1st.) (1905) MNHL MS 09495 (Box. 6).
Printed texts: Peacock (1863: 64–65); Broadside c. 1870 by J. C. Faragher, Douglas (MNHL H140 Manx Language Scrapbook); Moore (1896: 187 from Harrison 1869 & 1873, all having 8 stanzas plus refrain).
Tune: MNHL MS unacc. for Harrison (1869: 126) from a ms. of John Crellin, Orrisdale MI; Clague C3/36: 1 Mary Gawne [Peel]; C4/30: 1 Mylrea; JFSS VII/28: 117–120; Mona Douglas MS 7 [10] John Matt Mylechreest, Thalloo Hogg LO, 1929.
Printed sources: Barrow (1820: 22); Moore (1896: from Harrison 1869 from ms. of John Crellin, Orrisdale MI); Kennedy (1975: 190, 199 from Mona Douglas MS Coll.).

The song is about the loss of a substantial number of sheep in deep snow on the mountains above Lonan parish by Nicholas Qualtrough of Raby LO c. 1700–1705. As with *Mylecharaine* (above), this became one of the most renowned traditional songs in the Manx repertoire. For a discussion and analysis of the song see Broderick (1984b).

NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (song frag.).
Thomas Vondy (1811–1896), Ramsey, Lezayre, 18 April 1891 (Rhŷs 6/143–144).

[refrain]
iri ʃu bɔɣlən   Irree shiu bochillyn
də ɣɔl ðəðə xlˊiu   dy gholl dys y chlieau
tʰa n kiri fo ʃnjãxtʰə   ta yn kirree fo sniaghtey
xa dɔuən as vəd ru   cha dowin as va'd rieau.

    [Arise, boys, / to go to the mountain, / the sheep are under snow / as deep as they ever were].

NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (song frag.).
John Skillicorn (1820–1893), Ballagare, Lonan, 21 April 1891 (Rhŷs 6/154).

'Kirree fo Niaghtey [kɪri fo nˊjæːxtθi] JSk "sheep under the snow" (folksong) (it was [a] genuine Kk. Lonan song and the hero of it was a real Lonan man; he was called [kɒlʧ̬ərax rɛːbi] [Qualtrough Raby]. Ræ̃bi [rɛːbi] is a place there)'[56] (Rhŷs 6/154).

[refrain]
iri ʒu giljən / bɔixən   Irree shiu guillyn/boyaghyn
as gɔu ʃu ðəðən kliu   as gow shiu dys yn clieau
θa n kɪri fo nˊjaxtθi   ta yn kirree fo niaghtey
ha dʰɔun as vəd riu[57]   cha dowin as v'ad rieau.

    [Arise ye boys/shepherds / and go to the mountain / the sheep are under the snow / as deep as they ever were].

NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (song frag.).
Mrs. Margaret Caine (1810–1894),[58] Ramsey, Maughold, 11 August 1892 (Rhŷs 6/176).

[refrain]
iːri ʃu bɔːxɛlˊən   Irree shiu bochillyn
gɔu ʃu ðən (sic) klˊiu   gow shiu da'n clieau
ta n kiri fo nˊæːxtə   ta yn kirree fo niaghtey
as (sic) ðɔunˊ as vəð riu   as (cha) dowin as v'ad rieau.

    [Arise ye, shepherds, / go ye to the mountain / the sheep are under snow / as deep as they ever were].

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56   Raby is situated just north-west of Laxey on a spur overlooking Laxey Glen (at SC4285). It means 'boundary farm' (Sc *rá-bý*) and adjoins the boundary between the treen of Alia Colby (in which it is situated) and that of Colby (PNIM/IV: 345).

57   For differing variants and a discussion of the song *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey*, see Broderick: 1984c.

58   'She has heard it sung, but she remembers no more of it though there was a great deal' (Rhŷs 6/176).

NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (song frag.).
John Nelson (1839–1910), Ramsey, 8 August 1909 (V/1094; HLSM/I: 320–323).

I
löːᵣg 'gjɛurə dɪ 'njaːxtə   Lurg geurey dy niaghtey
ɑs 'arax ðə 'rʲoː   as arragh dy rio
va nə ʃanː kiri 'maruː   va ny shenn kirree marroo
as nə 'i.dn veːɣə 'bʲoː   as ny eayin veggey bio

[refrain]
oː iːri ʃu gil´i[ən]   O irree shiu. guilley(yn)
as 'ga-uː ʃu dan 'kl´uː   as gow shiu da'n clieau
ta nə kiri fo njaxtə   Ta ny kirree fo niaghtey
hɒ daudn əs vad 'ruː   cha dowin as v'ad rieau

II
'ʃɒː duət nik 're:bi   Shoh dooyrt Nick Raby
as 'eːi nə laːi ʧɪŋ   as eh ny lhie çhing
ta nə kiri fo njaxti   Ta ny kirree fo niaghtey
ɒns 'brɛːid fa'rɛːnə fiŋ   ayns Braaid Farrane Fing

III
kiri tə 'ɛːm ɒns nən 'l´aːɣən   Kirree ta aym ayns nyn lhargan
as 'gɔːir sə kl´uː rəiː   as goair sy Clieau Ruy
kiri köːi kɒːn nə 'kiːʃt´ə   Kirree keoi Coan ny Kishtey
nɑx 'ʤig ðə bræx 'va-i   nagh jig dy bragh veih

IV
ta 'mɔlt ɛːm sɒnən 'ɔlik   Ta mohlt aym son y Nollick
as 'ʤiːs sɒn ə kɛːˈʃt   as jees son y Caisht
as 'ga nə triː 'elə   as gaa ny tree elley
sɒn ə trɛː jɒms 'bɛːs   son y traa yiowm's baase.

[1. After a winter of snow / and a spring of frost / the old sheep were dead / and the little lambs alive.
[Refrain]: O rise up, lad(s) / and go to the mountain / The sheep are under snow / as deep as they ever were.
2. This is what Nick Raby said as he lay sick / The sheep are under snow / in Braaid Farrane Fing.[59]
3. I have sheep in our *lhargan*[60] / and goats in Slieau Ruy[61] / wild sheep in Coan ny Kishtey[62]
4. I have a wether for Christmas / and two for Easter / and two or three others / for the time I shall die].

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59 A small stream on the eastern side of Snaefell at the present Les Graham memorial shelter (SC398875).
60 'steep hill slope' (ScG *leargan*). For the distribution of this element see PNIM/VII: Index of Place-Name Elements s.v. *lhargan*.
61 'red mountain', above Laxey (SC442873).
62 'hollow of the chest'. A large chest-like stone in the upper part of Cornaa Glen (c. SC424888).

NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY (song frag.).
Harry Kelly (1832–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (M/Cyl. 24 (lines 1–2), M/III: 1874).

I
αrax ðə sn´a:xtə   Arragh dy sniaghtey
αs darax ðə 'rʲɔ: as darragh dy rio
vε nə ʃedn kїri maru   va ny shenn kirree marroo
αs nə e:dn / dedn bɛɣə βl´ɔ: as ny eayin beggey bio.

II
i:ri vɔ:xələn ʃl´u: lānan   Irree, vochillyn Slieau Lonan,
as 'hai að ɛrə 'ʃu:l   as hie ad er y shooyl
as huɣað l´ɛʃ nə kїri mε:ru   as hug ad lesh ny kirree mâroo
dəs a:ɣliʃ va'ru:l   dys achlish Varool.

[1. A spring of snow / and a spell of frost / the old sheep were dead / and the little lambs alive.
2. Arise, shepherds of Slieau Lonan[63] / and they went over (Cronk y) Çhooyl[64] / and they brought the sheep with them / to the armpit of Barrule[65]].

2.26 OH, SOIEYM SEOSE SYN UINNAG (Oh, I'll sit up in the window) (song frag.)
Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

OH, SOIEYM SEOSE SYN UINNAG (song frag.)
Harry Kelly (1852–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (MIII: 1929; HLSM/I: 332–333).

o: seiəm 'so:s sən 'ünjag   Oh, soieym seose syn uinnag
as ke:n´əm lε: as 'i: as keaynym laa as oie
as 'ʃɛdn ə bɔ:l njim 'dɔβərɒnt (*sic*) as shen y boayl neeym dobberan
sɑ:n grɛ:i mī:n mə 'xri: son graih meen my chree.

[Oh, I shall sit up in the window / and I shall weep day and night / and that is the place I shall lament / for the dear love of my heart].

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63 'Lonan mountain', i.e. the group of the three mountains *Slieau Lhean* ('broad mountain', G *sliabh + leathan*), *Slieau Ouyr* ('dun-coloured', G *odhar*), *Slieau Ruy* ('red/brown', G obl. *ruaidh*) to the north of Laxey.
64 There was a farm just below Laxey Wheel known as *Cronk y Çhooyl* (SC432852) 'hill of the walking' (G *cnoc a' t-siubhail*), i.e. a gathering place for shepherds as they went (walked) on to the mountain (cf. PNIM/IV: 291). Or it could be *er y çhooyl* 'immediately, at once' (G. *ar an tsiubhal*).
65 Probably *Laggan Varool* (SC435902).

2.27 OLLICK GHENNAL (Happy Christmas) (chant)

<u>Text</u>: Kelly (1866) s.v. *Qualtagh* notes the following:

> the first person or creature one meets going from home. This person is of great consequence to the superstitious, particularly to women the first time they go out after lying-in.

Cregeen (1835) s.v. *Qua(a)ltagh* 'one who meets'[66] (10 li.). Otherwise known as 'first foot', Cregeen (1835: s.v. *Quaaltagh*) notes:

> The first person met on New Year's Day, or on going on some new works, &c. A company of young lads or men, generally went in old times on what they termed the *Qualtagh*, at Christmas or New Year's Day to the house of their more wealthy neighbours; some one of the company repeating in an audible voice the following rhyme.

Moore (1891: 102–103; 10 li. with Eng. trans.). Moore (*ibid*.) has this to say about the occasion:

> January 1, New Year's Day [...] was the occasion for various superstitions [...]. Among these was the 'first foot'. The 'first foot', called the *qualtagh* in Manx [G *cómhdháil* + *tach*][...]. The *qualtagh* (he or she) may also be the first person who enters a house on New Year's morning. In this case it is usual to place before him or her the best fare the family can afford. It was considered fortunate if the *qualtagh* were a person (a man being preferred to a woman), of dark complexion, as meeting a person of light complexion at this time, especially if his or her hair is red, would be thought very unlucky [...]. If the *qualtagh* were *spaagagh* [ScG *spàgach*], or splay-footed, it would be considered very unfortunate. It was important, too, that the *qualtagh* on New Year's Day should bring some gift,[67] as if he or she came empty-handed, misfortune would be sure to ensue. To meet a cat first on this day was considered unlucky. It was supposed to be necessary to exercise great care to sweep the floor of the house on New Year's morning from the door towards the hearth, so that the dust should go towards the hearth, for, if this were not done, the good fortune of the family would be considered to be swept from the house for that year. It was formerly the custom for a number of young men to go from house to house on New Year's Day singing the following rhyme (Moore 1891: 102–103).[68]

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66 cf. *G cómhdháil*.
67 Nowadays the visitor brings three items: a piece of coal, a potato, and some salt, to represent fire (warmth), plenty to eat, and good health respectively.
68 The full text, as given by Cregeen (1835: 132), runs as follows: *Ollick ghennal erriu as blein feer vie / Seihll as slaynt da'n slane lught-thie / Bea as gennalys eu bio ry-cheilley / Shee as graih eddyr mraane as deiney / Cooid as cowryn, stock as stoyr / Palçhey phuddase as skaddan dy-liooar / Arran as caashey, eeym as roayrt / Baase myr lugh ayns uhllin ny soalt / Cadley sauçhey tra vees shiu ny lhie / As feeackle y jargan, nagh bee dy mie* [A merry Christmas to you and a good New Year / Long life and health to the whole household / Life and happiness to you and sprightliness together / Peace and love between women and men / Goods and riches, stock and store / Plenty of potatoes and

Tune: No tune known.

OLLICK GHENNAL (chant frag.).
Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Cregneash, Rushen, 18 August 1972 (LSS/902).

ɔlikˊ 'genal: as 'bˊlˊeːn no 'vɑːi	Ollick Gennal as Blein Noa Vie
šiːlˊ əs feː dan 'slɛdn lɒx 'tɑːi	Seihll as fea da'n slane lught-thie
aran əʒ 'kɛːʒɛ 'iːbm əʒ rõɼt	Arran as caashey, eeym as roayrt
as ᵐbɛːs (*sic*) maːi 'lʊx ʊns 'ulən əs tõlt	as baase mie lugh ayns uhllin as toalt
ʃiː əs feː trɛː 'biː aʒ 'hedˊ ʃu ðə 'lɑːi	Shee as fea tra erbee as hed shiu dy lhie
as 'fiːklən nə dʒɑːɪgan nɑ 'biː ðə 'mɑːi	as feeacklyn ny jargan, nagh bee dy mie!

  [A Happy Christmas and a Good New Year / Life and rest to the whole household / Bread and cheese and butter in abundance / and a good death to the mouse in stackyard and barn / Peace and tranquillity whenever you go to bed / and the fleas' teeth, may they not be good!].

2.28 PIPE AS TOMBAGEY (pipe and tobacco) (rhyme)
Text: No other texts known.
Tune: No tune known.

PIPE AS TOMBAGEY (rhyme)
Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, July–September 1929 (M/II: 1267; HLSM/I: 212–213).

peip as tɔmbaːgə	*Pipe* as tombagey
as øuni ə'nɔːrn	as awree yn oarn
tɛ 'kør ɛr nə frødlaxən	T'eh cur er ny fritlagyn
krɛː ɛr mə hɔdˊnˊ	craa er my hoin

  [Pipe and tobacco / and soup of barley / it makes the rags / shake on my bottom].

2.29 ROW OO EC Y VARGEY? (were you at the fair?) (rhyme)
Text: oral versions: John Kneen (The Gaaue) (1859–1958), Ballaugh Curragh, 20 January 1952 (YCG5), Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen, 18 February 1953 (YCG12).
Tune: No tune known.

ROW OO EC Y MARGEY? (rhyme).
John Kneen (The Gaaue) (1859–1958), Ballaugh Curragh, 20 January 1952 (YCG/5; HLSM/I: 258–259).

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  herring enough / Bread and cheese, butter and fat / Death like a mouse in a stackyard or barn / Sleeping safely when you are in bed / And the flea's tooth, may it not be good].

rau u egə 'mɛ:gə	Row oo ec y margey
əs rin u 'faː:gən mənə 'slɛi	as ren oo fakin monney sleih?
rin u 'faː:gən tɔm ə 'snjɛ:gə	Ren oo fakin Tom y Snieggey
ma:kax er dribm 'vuk	markagh er dreeym vuck?
as hʲudn ə fə'snjɛ:g	As Hudn y Finneig
ma:kax e:r kʲali 'kʲa:k	markagh er kellagh kiark?
as vad 'gol mə'git ən 'mɛ:gə	As v'ad goll mygeayrt yn margey
dʒɛən e. ðɪ hulˈɪ rɪd va fju: 'faː:gən	jeeaghyn er dy chooilley red va feeu fakin
as va dʒɪbm ə 'snjɛ:gən	as va Jem y Snieggan
e:bəl gɔl nə 'spʰi:	abyl goll ny s'bieauee
sɔn: vi 'e:bəl gɛtlax hɛriʃ	son v'eh abyl getlagh harrish
ən dri.m ən vuk	yn dreeym yn vuck.
ʃɛn 'ulju ta mi ə klaː:ʃtˈən dʒe:	Shen ooilley ta mee er clashtyn jeh.

[Were you at the fair / and did you see many people / did you see Tom the Nit / riding on a pig's back / and Juan the Mite / riding on a gander / And they were going about the fair / looking at everything that was worth seeing / and Jem the Ant would be / able to go faster / for he could fly over / the pig's back.

That's all I've heard of it].

ROW SHIU EC Y VARGEY? (rhyme).
Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glenchass, Rushen, 18 February 1953 (YCG/12; HLSM/I: 356–357).

rau ʃu eɣə va:ɣə	Row shiu ec y vargey
nak ʃu mənə slɛi	naik shiu monney sleih
nak ʃu də'njə vö:ɣɛ	naik shiu deiney veggey
ma:kax keljax 'gœi - nɑ 're:	markiagh kellagh guiy - nagh re
va mi egə va:ʳɣə	Va mee ec y vargey
hanɪk mi ram slɛi	honnick mee ram sleih
ax ha vak mi dɛ'njə vɛ:ɣɛ	Agh cha vaik mee deiney veggey
ma:kax ɛ kaljax gœi	markiagh er kellagh guiy.

[Were you at the fair / did you see many people / did you see the little people (fairies) / riding on a gander - isn't it / I was at the fair / I saw many people / but I did not see the little people / riding on a gander].

2.30 SHANNON REA (smooth Shannon) (song frag.)
Text: <u>oral text</u>: Harry Kelly, Cregneash RU, 25 January 1933 (M/III: 1931–1932; Cyl. 5).
<u>Manuscript texts</u>: Clague Bk 5: 118, Bk 7: 50–52 ent. 'As I walked out on May Day morn', MTSSF/I: 19–22, J. R. Moore MNHL MS 09495.
<u>Printed texts</u>: Gilchrist (1924–1926: 212–213) 2qq, MTSSF/II: 30.

Tunes: Clague C1/6: 2 informant not named ent. *Shannon Rea* (smooth Shannon), C1/13: 1 John Ratcliffe, The Howe RU ent. *Moghrey laa Boaldyn* (May-Day morning), C1/29: 3 Tom Kermode, Bradda RU ent. *Moghrey Laa Boaldyn*, C1/30: 1 Tom Kermode, Bradda RU ent. *Myr hoill mee magh moghrey Laa Boaldyn* (as I walked out on May Day morning), C3/42: 1 John Joughin, The Garey LE ent. *Shannon Rea*, 'Three times I kissed her ruby lips', Gilchrist (1924–1926: 143–144). Seemingly derived from the broadside ballad 'Shannon Side' (c. 1803) (National Library of Ireland).

SHANNON REA (song frag.).
Harry Kelly (1852–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 25 January 1933 (M/III: 1931–1932; Cyl. 5; HLSM/I: 334–335).

trɛː hai mïʃ 'maːx lɛː 'bɔːldən	Tra hie mish magh Laa Boaldyn
as 'mɒːri 'faːidˊnˊ də 'lɛː	as moghree fine dy laa
nə 'ɔːʒagən vad 'sïŋal	ny usghagyn vʼad singal
as nə 'beːldʒən lɛdn də 'vlɛː	as ny biljyn lane dy vlaa
rɛdˊnˊ mïʃ məˈdeːal bɛn ɛːg ə bwɒːiax	Ren mish meeteil ben aeg cha bwaagh
a 'naːk mi 'riu nə 'bwɒːi	cha naik mee rieau ny sʼbwaaee
vɛ lˊaːɣarən (sic) 'ɛks mar 'roːzən	Va lieckanyn eckʼs myr roseyn
as 'sulˊən gɔriʃ 'smeːʳ	as sooillyn gollrish smear
vɛi 'beːtal nə 'leːdiən	Vʼee beatal ny ladeeyn
as ʧiːraɣən faːðə tui	ass çheeraghyn foddey twoaie
də 'smuːnˊaxtən ɛr 'graːi mə xriː	Dy smooinaghtyn er graih my chree
hüɣi 'ɑrəms ʃïlˊə dʒeːʳ	hug eh orrymʼs shilley jeir
as 'ʧɔdn də 'lˊuːʳ va mi ʃuːlˊmæːri	As çhionn dy liooar va mee shooyll mâree
gɔl truːd ən ʧanal (sic) 'reː	goll trooid yn Çhannon Rea.

[When I went out on Mayday / it was a fine day's morning / the birds they were singing / and the trees were full of bloom / I met a fine young woman / I never saw one more beautiful / her cheeks were like roses / and her eyes like blackberries / She surpassed the ladies from far northern countries / To think of my heart's love / she made me shed a tear / and close enough I was walking with her / as we went along the smooth Shannon].

2.31 SHEE AS FEA (peace and rest) (rhyme)
Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

SHEE AS FEA (rhyme)
Harry Kelly (1852–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (M/III: 1929; HLSM/I: 332–333).

ʃi: as 'fe: as ag´n´ə 'ma:i   Shee as fea as aigney mie
as baidn də 'jɑ:x nə 'xi:ʳtən   as bine dy yough ny cheartyn
ʃil´ə mu:ʳ 'grøu 'ʃi:ʳ dəðən 'øu   Shilley mooar grouw sheear dys yn Owe
ʃɛdn ə bɔ:l hwu:ʳ mi 'bɛdn   shen y boayl hooar mee ben.

xi:l mi ʃɛdn wʊʃ ʃɛdn ɣünjə   Cheayll mee shen woish shenn ghooinney.

[Peace and quiet and good will / and a drop of drink on occasion / A great gloomy sight west to the Howe / That's where I found me a wife.

I heard that from an old man].

2.32 SHOOYLL, SHOOYLL, YN DOOINEY BOGHT (Walking, walking, the poor man) (children's rhyme)

Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

SHOOYLL, SHOOYLL YN DOOINNEY BOGHT (children's rhyme)
Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glenchass, Rushen, April/May 1948 (IFC/40; HLSM/I: 368–369).

ʃu:l ʃu:l ən dən´ə bɔ:x   Shooyll, shooyll, yn dooinney boght
rœi rœi ən e:rin´ɒx   roie, roie, yn eirinagh
l´igə l´ig´ə líg´ə dən´ə sɛ:ˈʳ   lhiggey, lhiggey, lhiggey, y dooinney seyr.

ʃen: ta mi ə kla:ʃt´ən ə tʃen vrɛ:n´ grɛ: trɛ: vɑd bɔ:ndrəs nə l´anuən.

Shen ta mee er clashtyn ny çhenn[69] vraane gra tra v'ad boandyrys ny lhiannooyn.

[Walking, walking, the poor man / running, running, the farmer / galloping, galloping, galloping, the gentleman.

That's what I heard the old women saying when they'd be nursing the infants].

2.33 TOM JACK JOHN (rhyme)

Text: oral versions:
1. Thomas Taggart, Grenaby ML, 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2312).
2. Edward Kennah, Ronague AR, 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2533).
3. Tommy Leece, Kerrookeil ML, Christmas/New Year 1950/1951 (Jackson 1955: 136).
4. Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, 9 October 1952 (YCG/33).

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69   Seemingly a fossilised form of *shenn* 'old' (G *sean(n)*) in Rushen parish (cf. HLSM/II: 398 v.s. *shenn*).

Tune: No tune known.

TOM JACK JOHN (rhyme).
Thomas Taggart (1846–1933), Grenaby ML 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2312; HLSM/I: 388–389).

tɔːm dʒɛk dʒɔn vɛ sɪ̈ŋal mör 'lɔ̃n	Tom Jack John v'eh singal myr lhon
kɛːɣa 'muːˈ ũns 'nˈeːrən´	caggey mooar ayns Nherin[70]
bɑlɑ bɑˈruːl vɛ ʧɪ̈t ɛrə ʧuːl	Bella Barool va çheet er-y-çhooyl
plü̆yə faːɫt as klˈeːʒən	pluckey folt as cleayshyn.

[Tom Jack John, he was singing like a blackbird / of a great war in Ireland / Bella Barrule came at once / pulling at her hair and ears].

TOM JACK JOHN (rhyme).
Edward Kennah (1860–1938), Ronague, Arbory, 27 August 1930 (M/IV: 2522; HLSM/I: 396–397).

tɔ̃ dʒɛk 'dʒɔ̃n vɛ siŋal mə 'lɑ̃ːn	Tom Jack John v'eh singal myr lhon
ɑ'rɛːnən hiŋk wiʃ 'neːrin´	arraneyn haink woish Nherin
as 'bɛlɑ bɑ'ɛuːl vɛi ʧɪ̈t ɛrə xuːl	as Bella Barool v'ee çheet er y chooyl
as 're:βə fɔlt as klɛːiən	as raipey folt as cleayshyn.

[Tom Jack John, he was singing like a blackbird / songs which came from Ireland / and Bella Barrule she came up behind him / tearing at her hair and ears].

TOM JACK JOHN (rhyme).
Tommy Leece (1860–1956), Kerroomooar, Kerrookeil, Malew, Christmas/New Year 1950–1951 (Jackson 1955: 136).

‘A local verse on a half-witted lad who was terrified of the Irish, and hoped that his brother Harry of Barrule would come to rout them’ (Jackson 1955: 136).

tɒm dʒæk dʒɒn vɛː sıŋəl möɹ lɒn	Tom Jack John v'eh singal myr lhon
də rʌn kaːgə vuːr os nˈeːrən	dy row caggey vooar ayns Nherin
əs hærı vɛ'ruːl vi ʧɪt ɛr ı ʧuːl	as Harry Varrule ve çheet er-y-çhooyl
rɛːvə fɒlt əs klɛːən	raipey folt as cleayshyn.

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70 The *caggey mooar* here may refer to the 1798 Irish rebellion against English rule in Ireland in which a small French army also took part (Moody & Martin 1967: 245). Or to any of the subsequent minor risings: in 1803 (*ibid*.: 247), in 1848 (*ibid*.: 262), in 1867 (*ibid*.: 279).

[Tom Jack John, he was singing like a blackbird / that there was a great war in Ireland / and that Harry Barrule was coming soon / tearing (at his) hair and ears].

TOM JACK JOHN (rhyme).
Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig (1869–1962), Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory, 9 October 1952 (YCG/33; HLSM/I: 380–381).

tɔbm dʒak dʒɑːn sɪŋal mə lɑːn	Tom Jack John singal myr lhon
kaːgə muːʳ ʊs nʹeːrinʹ	caggey mooar ayns Nherin
harə bəˈruːl tʃɪt ɛrɪ ʃuːl	Harry Barrule çheet er-y-çhooyl
reːvə fɔlt əs kleːˈən	raipey folt as cleayshyn.

[Tom Jack John singing like a blackbird / of a great war in Ireland / Harry Barrule coming at once / tearing (at his) hair and ears].

2.34 VA YN DOW BUIRROOGH (the ox was bellowing) (rhyme)
Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

VA YN DOW BUIRROOGH (Rhyme)
Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, July–September 1929 (M/II: 1412; HLSM/I: 226–227).

vɛ ən døu baˈruːx	Va yn dow buirroogh
vɛ ɛd beg ɛr də kɔpər	va edd beg er dy copper
as vɛ brɛːgən ˈmuːʳ də jaːʳn	as va braagyn mooar dy yiarn
trɛː vi ʃeːdʒə ɛr nə ˈbeləsən	traa v'eh sheidey er ny bellyssyn
vi ɛʃ baˈruːx mɔr ˈkaːʳn	v'eh eisht buirroogh myr cayrn.

[The ox was bellowing / there was a wee hat on it of copper / and large shoes of iron / When it was blowing on the bellows it was then roaring (bellowing) like a trumpet].

2.35 V'EH DOOINEY VEIH BALLAHOWIN (he was a man from Ballahowin) (rhyme)
Text: No other text known.
Tune: No tune known.

V'EH DOOINEY VEIH BALLAHOWIN (rhyme).
Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, July–September 1929 (M/II: 1397; HLSM/I: 224–225).

vi dũn´ə vei bɑl´ə 'haun´	V'eh dooinney veih Ballahowin
vi ba'rɛːl´e trɛː də re: ʃlaun´	v'eh baarail e traa dy rea shliawin
as vi koːrl´ax əð stïl də krɛk nən 'eirax	as v'eh coyrlagh ad still dy creck nyn eiraght.

[There was a man from Ballahowin / he was slyly spending his time / and he was advising them still to sell their inheritance].

2.36 *VERMAYD CAABYL DYS YN ANKER (we'll put the cable to the anchor) (song frag.)*

<u>Text</u>: No other text known.
<u>Tune</u>: No tune known.

VERMAYD CAABYL DYS YN ANKER (song. frag.)
Harry Kelly (1852–1935), Cregneash, Rushen, 28 January 1933 (M/Cyl. 6; HLSM/I: 336–337).

ve mɑid´ kɛːbɑl dəðə naŋkə	Vermayd caabyl dys yn anker
ɑs 'rïgən dəðə 'xrɔdn	as rigging dys y chroan
g´il´ən 'ɛːgə dusnə ʃɔːltiən	guillyn aegey dys ny shiaulteeyn
sɒn te ən gyi: wuːr 'ʃeːdʒə 'tʃɔdn	son ta yn geay wooar sheidey chionn.

[We shall put a cable to the anchor / and rigging to the mast / young lads to the sails / for the great wind is blowing hard].

2.37 *YN GRAIHDER JOUYLAGH (*the demon lover*) (song frag.)*

<u>Text: Oral version</u>: Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, 9 October 1952 (YCG/32).
<u>Manuscript version</u>: MK/M34, 2st.), (38; 2½st.) (1905) MNHL MS 09495 (Box 6).
<u>Printed versions</u>: Moore (1896: 118 John Quayle, Glen Maye PA).

Giving the various titles as 'A warning for married women', 'Demon/Daemon lover', 'House carpenter', 'James Harris/Harries', David Speers (2016: 54 s.v. 'Banks of Italy') notes that the original version of the song (in English) was seemingly written in 1657 by a certain Laurence Price, though *Yn Graihder Jouylagh* seems to derive from 'The Daemon Lover or House Carpenter' (c. 1860). Speers adds (2016: 54):

[M]any variations have evolved but the basic story is of a woman pledged to her lover, who goes away to sea. When he returns after seven years as a ghost to make good the marriage vows, she says she is married (sometimes to a house carpenter). The ghost or demon tries to persuade her to leave and sail away with him (and he will take her to where 'the white lilies grow on the banks of Italy'). She goes with him but after less than three days, she regrets having left, and when he hears this he breaks the masts and sinks the ship (Speers 2016: 54).

Tune: Clague C4/24: 8 John Quayle, Gordon PA, G/105: 4 ent. Moore (1896: 233 John Quayle, Glen Maye PA ent. *Yn Graihder Jouylagh* (the demon lover). Both manuscript versions of the tune have the word '?Manx' to the side; G/105: 4 also has 'Demon Lover' pencilled in brackets. Gilchrist (JFSS VII/28: xv) notes this as one of those four songs that are a Manx version of the English original (cf. Moore 1896: 118; 7st. from John Quayle, Glen Maye PA (oral), Cashen 1912: 70).

YN GRAIHDER JOUYLAGH (song frag.).
Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig (1869–1962), Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory, 9 October 1952. Recited. (YCG/32; HLSM/I: 380–381).

I
trud mɛːrəm nɪʃ, trud mɛːrəm nɪʃ
[trud mɛːrəm] graːi mə kriː
[as inshym's dhyt cre haink orrym
er lhargyn Italee]

Trooid mârym nish, trooid mârym nish
trooid mârym, graih my cree
[as inshym's dhyt cre haink orrym
er lhargyn Italee].

II
ʃiːðə bɒːˈax vĩrɪms dɒtˈʃ
ʃiːðə bɒːˈax fʊðeː veː
ma hɪg ʊs meːrəm graːi mɪ kriː
ðʊs lɑːgən italiː

Sheeidey bwaagh verrym's dhyt
sheeidey bwaagh fod eh ve
my hig uss mârym, graih my cree
dys lhargyn Italee.

III
brɛːɣən bɔːˈax vɛrməds dɒtˈʃ
brɛːɣən ta eːə ta bɔu-i (sic)
ma hɪg ʊs meːrəm graːi mɪ kriː
dəs lɑːgən italiː

Braagyn bwaagh vermayd's dhyt
braagyn ta airh ta bwee
my hig uss mârym, graih my cree
dys lhargyn Italee.

[1. Come with me now, come with me now / (come with me) love of my heart / (and I'll tell you what came upon me on the banks of Italy).
2. Fine silk I will give to you / fine silk it can be / if you come with me, love of my heart / to the banks of Italy.
3. Fine shoes we'll give to you / shoes of yellow gold / if you come with me, love of my heart / to the banks of Italy].

2.38 YN MAARLIAGH MOOAR (the big thief) (song frag.)[71]
Text: oral version: Mrs. Margaret Caine, Ramsey, 11 August 1892 (Rhŷs 6/176).
Printed version: in Moore (1896: 214, 1 st., from Rhŷs). Regarding the contents of the song, Moore (*ibid.* xxix) comments: '[it] appears to convey the moral that evil is easily learned.'
Tune: No tune known.

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71   Moore (1896: 214) prints the song in his *Manx Ballads* under the title *Yn Maarliagh Mooar* 'the big robber', acknowledging that he had received it from Rhŷs (Moore 1896: xxx), but with 'corrected' text.

YN MAARLIAGH MOOAR (song frag.).
Mrs. Margaret Caine (1810-1894), Ramsey, Maughold, 11 August 1892 (Rhŷs 6/176).

'Aug. 11 Thursday I called on Mrs. Caine in the Mooragh Park: she is a native of Ramsey but was brought up in Maughold [...]. She gave me the beginning of some kind of ballad but she thinks there never was any music of it' (Rhŷs 6/176):

ma:rl´ax wūər va har sə kl´iu	Maarliagh wooar va har sy clieau
jarax ə riʃ mak re:gel´	yiarragh eh rish mac Regel
hygə (ə) vak də ʃu:l´ nə ðeən	hug eh e vac dy shooyl ny dhieyn
roʃ vi ə e:bəl	roish va eh abyl
hʊgə n fo:gə erə jylin	hug eh yn phoagey er e yeaylin
as nə lərg nə Le:u	as ny lurg ny laue
hʊgə ʃi:ʃ ən gl´ɔ̃n nən'i:	hug eh sheese yn glion ayn(s) yn oie
as huər ə n ræ:d də bræu	as hooar eh yn raad dy braew.

  [the big thief was over on the mountain / he would call him Mac Regel / he put his son to walking the houses (i.e. go begging) / before he was able / he put the bag on his shoulder / and the stick in his hand / he sent him down the glen in the night / and he found the way bravely].

3. How were Manx songs sung traditionally?

Although we do not possess any sound-recordings[72] of any Manx traditional songs at all, indicating how they may have been sung, we are fortunate in having two examples of written and one of oral evidence from various sources which we may find helpful:

  1. From a descendant of a Manx émigré to the USA in 1827, made in 1845.
  2. From one of the collectors of Manx traditional songs, W. H. Gill, made in 1898.
  3. From two old ladies from Peel in 1977 who had attended several carval singing sessions in the Methodist chapels during the 1920s/1930s.

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72 A number of cylinder sound-recordings were made 1905–1909 (perhaps to 1913) by *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* of native Manx speech and of some traditional Manx songs from Manx native speakers. Regrettably only four have survived, none containing any song material (Miller 2014: 1–9).

3.1 Diary of a Manx émigré to the USA in 1827, written in 1845

The first piece of evidence cited derives from a pseudo-diary seemingly derived from the actual diary[73] of Thomas Kelly, Sr. and his family of Doolough, Jurby, and their emigration to Ohio USA in 1827.[74] The pseudo-diary was apparently made by a Mrs. Mary Kelly Ames Denney, a descendant of Thomas Kelly, Jr. and his wife Jane Boyd Kelly, in which under the year 1845 (West 1965: 46) she comments as follows:

> [...] How they rush around, these Americans, afraid they will die before they can finish what they have begun [...]. They try to save time but what do they do with that Time when they have it Saved? I thought it would be a Comfort in this strange Land to sing with them the Songs of Zion, but when I had put in all the Quavers and hemi-semi-demi Quavers we loved at home, I was singing alone. The rest of the Congregation had no time for anything Extra (West 1965: 46).

Although appearing in the pseudo-diary, the quote would need to refer to something that actually took place in order for it to be credible. If so, the foregoing suggests that back home in Jurby they used quite some ornamentation in the delivery of whatever they were singing in church/chapel, whether it be ordinary hymns or carvals,[75] seemingly the latter. For this see §3.3 below.

3.2 Evidence of W. H. Gill, a collector of Manx traditional songs, given in 1898

The second piece of written evidence derives from W. H. Gill in his 'Manx Music: A Sketch', a short treatise on Manx traditional music as an Introduction to his *Manx National Music* (1898: v–x). Concerning the tunes Gill (1898: viii–ix) writes:

> To estimate truly the intrinsic value of these melodies, especially the more ancient ones, one ought in strictness to see them as we found them [...], bare naked melodies, without harmony or accompaniment of any kind [...], without polish or setting. Moreover, to appreciate their full flavour, one ought to come upon them in their original wild state, [...]. They should be heard sung to Manx words and with the vocal intonation peculiar to the people [...]. It is delightful to hear these old men expatiate upon the superior strength and beauty of their

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73   For details and a transcript of the actual diary, see Broderick: 2001.
74   Thomas Kelly, Sr. and family emigrated from Doolough, Jurby, in 1827 to Ohio, USA, cf. *Isle of Man Examiner* 4/11/18/25 October 1935. In the actual diary the son Thomas Kelly, Jr. mentions the death of his father Thomas Kelly, Sr. as taking place on 5 January 1828, aged 67, and buried two days later in Painsville 'Burying Ground', Ohio (Diary [38]). The last entry of the Diary (p. [38]) finishes with the shifting from Painsville to a farm recently purchased just north of Concord Township, Ohio. The pseudo-diary, written to serve the viewpoint that Manxmen left their native home reluctantly (which was clearly not the case with Thomas Kelly, Sr. and his family), continues to 1845. It is in this latter section that the above quote is to be found.
75   For these, see Moore: 1891. The carvals were sung traditionally on *Oie'll Voirrey* /iːl 'veri/ (G *oidhche'll bheiridh*) 'Eve of the Nativity', 24 December, earlier in the churches, later on in the Methodist chapels.

ancient language as compared with English - for they know both languages, and are keenly critical. At the end of a verse or a line they will suddenly stop singing and lose themselves in an ecstasy of admiration, commenting upon what they have been singing about, translating a Manx word here and there, explaining an idiom, or enlarging upon the incidents of the story [...] (Gill 1898: viii–ix).

Concerning the singers themselves and their songs Gill (1898: ix) notes:

In the singing of these old people, as well as in their recitation of poetry, of which latter they are particularly fond, we found at times almost a total absence of a definite metrical accent, and in its stead an ever smoothly-flowing rhythm, relieved here and there—often in the least expected places—by a pause of indefinite length. In fact such was the freedom of the 'phrasing' [Gill's quotation marks here and elsewhere], and to such an extent was the rhythmic structure concealed, that much of their music might be appropriately represented like 'plain song' without any bar-lines. Nor was this vagueness due to any lack of rhythmic sense on the part of the performer, for when a dance tune had to be sung it was rendered with due precision and clearness of accent. And yet, if the tunes could be written down, as with a phonograph, exactly as we heard them, and then reproduced faithfully, with all their vagueness of *tempo* [Gill's italics here and elsewhere], their uncertainness of intonation, their little quaverings and embellishments, quite unrepresentable by ordinary musical notation, if we had all these things faithfully registered, who would care for the result? Some would ask, 'Can these dry bones live?' Others would impatiently exclaim, 'How different from the singing of trained singers!' [...] (Gill 1898: ix).

With regard to the practicalities of noting the tunes Gill (1898: ix) outlines two 'practical difficulties', as he put it: The first only is given here as being relevant to the matter in hand:

[...]. First, as regards the raw material, the object was to obtain an absolutely *true record* of the melody [...] and in attaining this object the difficulty was two-fold, viz. to represent in the precise and inelastic terms of musical notation, without prejudice and uninfluenced by preconceived ideas of artistic right and wrong, the melody which, as actually heard, was often exceedingly vague and indefinite as regards both tune and time. In respect of *intonation*, the difficulty lay in discriminating between the peculiar *tonality* of the ancient 'modes' and that of modern music; while as regards *time,* the difficulty was the right placing of the bar-lines with due regard to the grammatical accent as distinguished from the artistic pause and emphasis imported by the individual singer (Gill 1898: ix).

As a trained Classical musician, Gill was clearly confronted with material that was difficult or nigh impossible to interpret in traditional 'Classical' staff-notation, particularly in producing on paper an accurate rendering of the vagaries of the melody, often modal in delivery, as produced by the singer.[76] The fact that such

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76 A developed methodology as used today by ethnomusicologists for such material can
     be seen in Percy Grainger (1908), also in *Tocher* (1971–2009), a monthly cultural

difficulties were experienced at all would put the rendition of Manx material, as with the Lincolnshire material noted by Percy Grainger (qv.), in a traditional music setting.[77]

3.3 Evidence from two old ladies from Peel in 1977 who had attended Oie'll Voirrey services during the 1920s/1930s

The third piece of evidence, oral in form, was collected in 1977 when Brian Stowell and myself interviewed two old ladies aged c. 75–80 (whose names now escape us) then living in 7 Mona Street, Peel, who, according to them, used to attend carval singing sessions during the 1920s/1930s. Such sessions, they said, would be held on St. Mary's Eve, 24 December, in the Methodist chapel. They said that after a short service the vicar would leave the chapel and the proceedings would be taken over by the clerk. The chapel would be brightly lit with candles and adorned with holly and ivy to give a warm appearance. The clerk would then call for the first carval singer, or singers (sometimes there were two who would sing alternate stanzas). A carval could be short or long, short with around twenty stanzas, long with up to sixty. The average carval would extend to some 35 stanzas or so. The session would last till three or four o'clock in the morning, they said.[78]

We asked them whether the carvals were in Manx or in English. They said in English—at least the sessions they attended, they said. When we asked them how the carvals were actually sung, they had some difficulty in expressing themselves, as it was clear they were not *au fait* with musical terminology. We then asked them whether they were they sung like ordinary hymns one would sing on a Sunday. They answered with a firm No, stating that there would be 'frills', as they put it, in

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magazine of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

77   Similar comment can also be found in the work of Australian composer and ethnomusicologist Percy Grainger (1882–1961) who recorded a number of traditional Lincolnshire singers at Brigg Fair in May 1908. In his description of English folksong singing styles, set in an end-piece entitled 'English Folk-Songs Sung by Genuine Peasant Folk-Singers', he notes: 'The scales and modes in which most of these tunes are cast are quite different from any that have been employed in art-music for some centuries. And the *interpretive traditions* [Grainger's italics, also elsewhere] that genuine peasant singers reveal in their performances are hardly less unique. Their rhythmic habits, ornaments, and allotments of syllables to notes have a flavour all of their own, and differ radically from the usages of art-singers; and it is a lack of knowledge of these *traditions of folk-song singing* that so often makes folksongs ineffective in the mouths of otherwise excellent artists. These records are not folksongs sung at second hand. They are folksongs sung by [...] the very men who have passed such songs down the centuries to us' (Grainger: 1908; Thomson: 1972). For an assessment of Percy Grainger as an ethnomusicologist, see Blacking: 1987.

78   Traditionally, hard dried peas would be thrown by the congregation at poor performance by carval singers. Manx occasions by all accounts could be somewhat exuberant at times, though the two ladies we interviewed said they had not witnessed this tradition.

the delivery of the tune and that the stanzas would be sung with some irregularity, they said.

If we take all three contributions together, the situation would seem to be as follows:

1. That the delivery of Manx traditional songs and carvals seems to have possessed a degree of ornamentation. It is difficult to say how much, but sufficient at least for it to be commented upon.

2. That there would be irregularity in the singing of each stanza, suggesting that no stanza was rendered the same as any other, that the stanzas were individual in their own right.

3. That the singer would occasionally stop suddenly in mid-song, at the end of a stanza, or of a line in a stanza, in order to explain the background to the text, or add additional information or explain this or that Manx word or idiom, etc.

4. It is clear that Gill makes a difference between trained classical singing and Manx traditional singing, implying that the difference was considerable.

5. The difficulties Gill experienced in noting down the tunes suggest that the singer's voice affected the rendering of the tune, in such a manner as to give an impression to the layman of 'deviation' or 'distortion' in the singer's voice or in the rendition, or that ornamentation of a sort had been employed, etc.

6. The whole would give the impression that Manx traditional songs were rendered in a similar manner to those in other branches of Gaelic tradition in Ireland and in Scotland.[79]

4. Conclusion

Though most of the above songs presented are in fragmentary form, they nonetheless give us a good idea of the extent of the song repertoire to be found among the last native Manx Gaelic speakers, recorded as they were between the years 1883 and 1972, as we have seen. However, as we have noted elsewhere (cf. Broderick: 2015, 2017 and 2018a & 2018b), already in Rhŷs's time, Manx was showing signs of obsolescence (Broderick: forthcoming c), and more so as time went on.

And so with their song repertoire. That is to say that the fragmentary form of their songs would seem to parallel the obsolescence of their Manx.[80] In principle, the songs in many cases could have been learned fully in early life and subsequently partially forgotten through non-use over time, or that only fragments of them were learned in the first place. Ned Maddrell, for instance, would recite, say, three stanzas of the song *Brig Lily* and then say, that is all he could remember of it (implying that

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79   I personally have witnessed similarities to §3.1 in Conamara *sean nós* singing during
     the 1970s/80s and to §§3.2 and 3.3 above in Scottish Gaelic traditional singing during
     the 1970s during my time in Edinburgh.
80   In this regard, see Broderick: 1999.

he had at one time learned more, if not all, of the song). Nevertheless, the complete mastery of the song *Ec ny Fiddleryn* by Tom Kermode, Bradda, Rushen, on the other hand, makes clear what was available, and also what was possible.

Abbreviations

Manx parish abbreviations

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

Other abbreviations

Addl.	Additional
beg.	beginning with
Bib.	A Bibliographical Account of Works relating to the Isle of Man (Cubbon I (1933), II (1939))
Bk. 1, 2, etc.	Book(s); referring to the Clague song collection MNHL MS 450A
BL	British Library
C	Dr. John Clague Manx music and song collections (1893–1898)
C1, 2, etc.	Clague music collection (Books 1, 2, 3), MNHL MS 448A [1, 2, 3], MNHL MS 449B
CM	Carl Marstrander
Coll.	Collection
coupl.	couplet(s)
Cyl.	Cylinder(s). Ediphone wax cylinders used for sound-recordings
ent.	entitled
G	Gill Manx Music Collection (1896–1898)
GB	George Broderick
HLSM	Handbook of Late Spoken Manx (Broderick 1984–1986)
IFC	Irish Folklore Commission (recordings 1948)
JFSS	Journal of the Folksong Society
JRM	J. R. Moore's Notebook of Manx traditional songs (c. 1910)
li.	line(s)
LN	Location Name
LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland (recordings)
M	Marstrander (MNHL MSS 05354-8). Vols. I–V
MK	Morrison-Kermode Collection of Manx traditional songs (c. 1905)
MMG	Moore, Morrison & Goodwin (1924)
MNHL	Manx National Heritage Library
ms(s)	manuscript(s).
MTSSF/I	Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments I (Broderick 1980–1981)
MTSSF/II	Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments II (Broderick 1982a)
n.d.	no date
NHIM	A New History of the Isle of Man (5 vols.)
nn.	no name (of informant given)
obl.	oblique case
p.c.	personal communication
p(p).	page(s)
PNIM	Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Broderick 1994–2005)
PR	Private Recordings (of Manx native speakers)
r.	recto
refr.	refrain
SC	refers to Ordnance Survey map coordinates
st.	stanza(s)
trans.	translation
unacc.	unaccessioned
v.	verso
V	Vienna Recordings (1909) + cylinder number
var.	variant
YCG	Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh (the Manx Language Society)
ZCP	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie

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[81] For details of an apparent early 1870s start to Clague's collecting Manx traditional music and song material, see Miller 2019 (*Manx Notes* 151 (2013): 1–6**)**.

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Beyond 'Word-for-Word': Gruffudd Bola and Robert Gwyn on Translating into Welsh

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The paper compares and contextualizes the comments of Gruffudd Bola (fl. 1270/1280) and Robert Gwyn (c. 1545–c. 1597/1603) on their strategies of translating (quotations from) authoritative religious texts. In the introductory section of his translation of the Athanasian Creed, which he produced for Efa ferch Maredudd, Gruffudd Bola employs the topos of '(sometimes) word-for-word' versus '(sometimes) sense-by-sense' to explain and justify his approach whenever the structural demands of the target language render a literal translation impossible. About three hundred years later, Robert Gwyn, the recusant author of *Y Drych Kristnogawl* ('The Christian Mirror', c. 1583/1584), argues that in the devotional-didactic genre the translations of quotations from authoritative religious texts such as the Bible need to be adapted to his audience's level of understanding. He thus subordinates fidelity on the literal level to the demands of comprehensibility. Both authors insist on the priority of successful communication, but approach the translator's dilemma in different frameworks.

Keywords: Gruffudd Bola; Robert Gwyn; *Y Drych Kristnogawl*; translation theory

Gruffudd Bola's reflections are well-known to scholars interested in medieval Welsh translations, since they represent, to the best of my knowledge, the most explicit engagement by a medieval Welsh translator with the practice and problems of his craft. They are contained in the introductory section of his translation of the Athanasian Creed with commentary, which he produced for Efa ferch Maredudd in the second half of the thirteenth century. Efa was the daughter of Maredudd ab Owain, who died in 1265, and a sister to Gruffudd ap Maredudd, for whom Madog ap Selyf translated the *Transitus Mariae* (*Marwolaeth Mair*) and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle.[1] Gruffudd Bola's text, with its introduction and colophon, in which he names himself, is transmitted in the first part of the White Book of Rhydderch (Peniarth 4 and 5).[2] Two passages of his prologue are relevant in our context. The

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1   On Efa ferch Maredudd and her brother Gruffudd, see, for example, Huws 2000: 249.
2   The other Welsh versions of the Athanasian Creed, in Oxford, Jesus College 111 (*Llyfr yr Ancr*), Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 15 and Llanstephan 27 respectively, do not feature Gruffudd Bola's introduction and colophon and are textually different, see Lewis 1930: 193.

first passage outlines his motivation and, with a humility trope, the limitations of his qualifications and achievements:

> *... can dyelleis i dy uot ti, enrydedus Eua verch Varedut, yn damunav caffel Credo Anathasius Sant yg Kymraec, y kymereis i arnaf vychydic o lauur y troy yr Credo hvnn yn ieith y gellych ti y darllein a'e dyall, o heruyd y synnvyr a rodes Duv ymi, kynny bechvn na chvbyl na pherffeith y traethu peth kyuuch a hynny, nac y wneuthur peth a vei wiw y'th vreint titheu a'th enryded.* (Lewis 1930: 195–196)

> '... since I understood that you, honoured Efa ferch Maredudd, wished to have the Creed of St Athanasius in Welsh, I took unto myself some small labour to turn this Creed into a language that you can read and understand, according to the understanding that God gave me, since I could not hope [?] to set out completely and perfectly something as sublime as that, or to produce something that was worthy of your rank and your honour.'[3]

This then leads into the second passage, in which Gruffudd Bola talks about the challenges a translator faces:

> *Vn peth hagen a dylyy ti y wybot ar y dechreu, pan trosser ieith yn y llall, megys Lladin yg Kymraec, na ellir yn wastat symut y geir yn y gilyd, a chyt a hynny kynnal priodolder yr ieith a synnvyr yr ymadravd yn tec. Vrth hynny y troe[i]s i weitheu y geir yn y gilyd, a gveith[eu] ereill y dodeis synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr heruyd mod a phriodolder yn ieith ni.* (Lewis 1930: 196)

> 'One thing, however, you should know to start with: when one translates a language into another, as Latin into Welsh, one cannot always replace one word with another and still retain well the property (*or* idiom) of the language and the sense of the statement. For this reason, I have sometimes translated word for word (*lit.* turned the word into another) and at other times I gave the sense for the sense, according to the mode and property of our language.'[4]

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3 For a discussion of the problematic form *bechvn*, see Lewis 1930: 195. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

4 This passage has also been translated by Roberts (2011: 218) and Lloyd-Morgan (1991: 56). Roberts (2011: 218) provides an important and insightful comment on Gruffudd Bola's achievements: 'Gruffudd Bola has obviously given thought to what translation requires and he is familiar with the contemporary discussions. His words call to mind those of Giraldus Cambrensis [in *Expugnatio Hibernica*, finished in 1189] as he introduced his projected volume of translations of Welsh prophecies: "As far as the difference in idioms allows, I have given a word for word translation of most of the text, but in some particular instances I have given a faithful rendering of the sense of the original." If Gruffudd Bola was the author of the commentary provided in Welsh with the translation of the Creed, he is revealed as one who knew his *auctores* and understood what he was about; if the commentary is a translation, he is able to express an intricate exegesis clearly and fluently. A distinction must constantly be drawn between translations, which are often vulgarisations of texts intended for popular audience, and the intellectual quality and training of the translators themselves.' The Latin original of the quotation from Giraldus reads: *in quantum idiomatum permisit diversitas, verbo ad*

Gruffudd Bola's phrases *y geir yn y gilyd* and *synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr* are firmly situated within pre-modern thinking about translation and take up the (post-)classical and medieval framework of the difference between *verbum-pro-verbo* and *sensus-de-sensu* correspondences, most famously captured perhaps in Jerome's dictum in his letter to Pammachius:[5]

> *Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo et misterium est, non verbo e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.*

> 'Now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek – except of course in the case of the Holy Scripture, where even the syntax [*lit.* the order of words] contains a mystery – I render not word-for-word, but sense-for-sense.' (Munday 2016: 32)

This implies the view of (non-scriptural) texts as divided, or divisible, between word and sense.[6] Gruffudd Bola acknowledges difficulties in the process of translating which arise from a clash between the implied ideal strategy of translating which ensures fidelity to the source, i.e., the word-for-word approach, and the structural demands of the target language, its 'mode and property'. In the end he subordinates, whenever he considers it necessary, the ideal to the practicalities, 'sometimes ... sometimes' (*weitheu ... a gveith[eu] ereill*). In his reflections on translation, he thus appears to foreground linguistic concerns, but his interest is ultimately in a successful communication with his audience, since he states that he wants his addressee to be able to comprehend the target text, to 'read and understand it' (*y darllein a'e dyall*).[7]

In his thought-provoking monograph *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler*, Frederick Rener attempted an ambitious reconstruction of a comprehensive, even if typically implicit, theory of pre-modern translation. He situates translation within a common theory of language and communication, based on the premise that '[t]ranslators during the period under study [i.e., from Cicero to the eighteenth century] embraced the theory of language which they inherited from

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      verbum plurima, sentencias autem in singulis fideliter expressi (Scott & Martin 1978: 256, 257).

5   On differences between these concepts in classical and post-classical/medieval approaches to translation, see, for example, Copeland 1995: 221–223.

6   Compare Morini (2017: 47, 35) on 'the medieval emphasis on "sentence" [or "sense"] as the only constitutive element of a text', versus 'a more modern idea of translation, according to which sense and words are all but inseparable, and the former cannot be fully transposed without the latter', characterised (and chronologically located) by Morini as the 'humanistic theory of rhetorical translation'.

7   For an analysis of Gruffudd Bola's performance when translating the Creed, see the chapter 'Sometimes word-for-word, sometimes sense-by-sense: translating the Creed' in Parina & Poppe (forthcoming a).

classical antiquity' (Rener 1989: 86). He suggests that 'the translators' prefaces and letters, their comments and particularly the "commonplaces" presuppose a common set of norms with which their readers were so familiar that a "commonplace" expression was sufficient to catch their attention' (Rener 1989: 5). His study sets out to reconstruct this implicit 'common set of norms', specifically the steps of translational practice within the framework of the commonly accepted theory of language, and it thus provides valuable points of orientation for an assessment of the background to Gruffudd Bola's thoughts on translating and translation.

Rener (1989: 22) takes it as given that 'the primary objective of the translator's undertaking was to render the content of the original' and refers to the translator's topos of *verbum-pro-verbo* versus *sensus-de-sensu* in application to the problems of appropriately rendering idioms, and by implication other language-specific constructions, in his source text:

> [...] even if a translator is translating word for word he must use the *ad sensum* when he encounters idioms in the original text. This situation probably accounts for a phrase which is found in the prefaces of some translations, a phrase which has all the qualities of a commonplace formula. The phrase is characterized by the doubling of the adverb of time 'now' (*nunc ... nunc*) used here as an adversative expression implying that at one time the translator used the literal approach and at another time he translated according to the sense. (Rener 1989: 126)

Rener (1989: 289) also mentions a variant *quandoque ... quandoque*—these formulae with a repetition of an adverb of time parallel Gruffudd Bola's phrase *weitheu ... a gveith[eu] ereill*.

Gruffudd Bola's observations on the translator's dilemma interestingly and strikingly resemble a passage mentioned by Rener in the preface to the thirteenth-century translation by Philip of Tripoli (or Philippus Tripolitanus) of the *Secreta Secretorum* from Arabic into Latin. I quote from a fourteenth-century manuscript of English origin (the same wording is also found in Roger Bacon's edition of the *Secreta* produced around 1275 (Bacon 1920: 26)), complemented by a fifteenth-century translation of the Latin version into Middle English:

> *... transtuli cum magno labore et lucido sermone de arabico ydiomate in latinum ad vestram magnitudinem et honorem, eliciens quandoque ex litera literam et quandoque sensum ex sensu, cum alius loquendi modus sit apud Arabes, alius apud Latinos ...* (Möller 1963: 1–2)

> '... I have translated, and that with full grete labour, and light speche, fro Arabik speche into Latyne vnto youre magnitude and honoure, chesyng out omwhile a letter of a letter, omwhile sense of sense, that is to sey, wysedome of wisedome, sithen that Arabies have oo maner of speche, and Latyne men another.' (Manzalaoui 1977: 19)

Note the parallel references to labour in the phrases *cum magno labore*/*full grete labour* and Gruffudd Bola's *[b]ychydic o lauur* as well as the reference to the addressee's *magnitudinem et honorem*/*magnitude and honour* and *y'th vreint titheu a'th enryded*—however, more comparative work on formulaic elements in such prologues is required.

The translator's prologue to the *Secreta* also contains a reference to his background and motivation, as does Gruffudd Bola's prologue.

> *Porro vestro mandato cupiens humiliter obedire et voluntati vestre sicud teneor deservire, hunc librum, quo carebant Latini eo quod apud paucissimos Arabes invenitur, transtuli ...* (Möller 1963: 1)

> 'And forsoth Y was he that coveyted youre comaundement to obeye, and to youre wille, for the obedience that I owe to youre sage wolle serve, this boke, that Latynes lakked, and is so rare that it is hadde but with full fewe Arabies, I have translated ...' (Manzalaoui 1977: 19)

The conceptual similarities between the observations by Gruffudd Bola and the translator of the *Secreta* are striking and may simply represent Rener's 'commonplaces'. However, a tenuous and speculative connection can perhaps be constructed between the Latin *Secreta Secretorum* and Gruffudd Bola. Steven Williams has highlighted the success of Philip of Tripoli's translation between the mid-thirteenth century and the early-fourteenth century:

> While the evidence for the *fortuna* of the *S[ecreta]S[ecretorum]* within both the Paris-Oxford scholastic milieu and the larger European scholarly world before 1250 is sparse, signs of the *SS*'s academic success for the next seventy-five years are abundant. What perhaps speaks most eloquently for this success are the great number of manuscripts still extant from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that can be definitely connected to a scholastic milieu: some twenty-five of them. Such numbers tell us that the *SS* was well known to university students and teachers throughout Europe, and much in demand. This was especially true at the universities of Paris and Oxford. For the Paris-Oxford scholarly milieu, there are sixteen manuscripts that we can say with a good deal of certainty date from the same period, with the majority of these—a good dozen—of Parisian origin. (Williams 2003: 195)

Williams (2003: 211–220) also notes the presence of manuscripts of the *Secreta Secretorum* in libraries of many religious orders, among them the Cistercians. The Parisian and wider success of the *Secreta Secretorum* in the late-thirteenth century may provide a link with Gruffudd Bola via the Cistercian community of Strata Florida: Huws (2000: 215, 226) suggested that the scribe of Stratum I of the Hendregadredd Manuscript, who was active c. 1300 and 'probably based at Strata Florida', picked up his 'very distinctive script' at a university, and he 'would look in particular at Paris manuscripts of the late thirteenth century'. Gruffudd Bola,

who produced his translation for Efa in the late thirteenth century, may have been a monk or a lay-brother in the Cistercian community of Strata Florida, according to Huws (2000: 216), and it is therefore just about possible that he there came across a copy of the *Secreta Secretorum*.[8]

Be that as it may, any immediate connections between Gruffudd Bola's observations and the preface of the *Secreta Secretorum* must for the time being remain in the realm of speculation, even though the conceptual similarities are striking. One further parallel should finally be noted, namely between the phrases and concepts *loquendi modus* (or Middle English *maner of speche*) and *mod a phriodolder yn ieith ni*. The Welsh term *priodolder* (*yr ieith/yn ieith ni*) is furthermore reminiscent of the concept of the *proprietas* (or *proprietates*) *linguae*, of features exclusive to a specific language, which Rener (1989: 81) identified as a commonplace of medieval and early-modern thinking about translations.

These features exclusive to a specific language are the reason that Gruffudd Bola regrets that 'one cannot always replace one word with another', and this observation implies that a word-for-word translation is the ideal aspired to, as it would be most faithful to the source. Practical difficulties, however, arise whenever the attempt to replicate both words and sense of the source proves incompatible with the demands of the structural properties of the target language. These cases then require a sense-by-sense translation, because the avowed aim of translation is the achievement of a grammatically and idiomatically acceptable and accessible version of the source in the target language—a translation which hides its status as translation by successfully adhering to the properties of the target language. Ideally therefore, Gruffudd Bola's translation should evince no irritating 'traces of translation'.[9]

The Athanasian Creed is an authoritative religious text, and thus different in textual status from the *Secreta Secretorum*. It is therefore significant (even if not unexpected) to see that translators of biblical texts faced Gruffudd Bola's dilemma as well. William Salesbury referred to it in the title of his translation of the New Testament of 1567, admittedly in a different cultural context: *Testament Newydd ein Arglwyd Iesv Christ Gwedy ei dynnu, yd y gadei yr ancyfiaith, 'air yn ei gylydd*

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8   For a brief survey of the impact of the Cistercians on medieval Welsh culture, see Davies 1991: 194–202. Furthermore, acquaintance in Wales with (parts of) the *Secreta Secretorum* is reflected in Welsh translations and adaptations of parts of the text—but not of the preface. For a survey of these Welsh translations, see James 1986: 141–150, 181–189.

9   For the concept of 'traces of translation' in a Welsh context, see Luft (2016); other theoretical concepts lurking in the background here are 'open translations', which aim at (a relatively high degree of) formal equivalence and whose 'status as translation is out in the open', versus 'covert translations', whose 'status as translated texts is hidden by the adaptation to T[arget]L[anguage] conventions' (Kranich, Becher & Höder 2011: 16).

or Groec a'r Llatin ('The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, Drawn, as far as the different idiom permitted, word for word from the Greek and Latin', Thomas 1967: 78, 79). Outside the Welsh context, but closer in time to Gruffudd Bola, Richard Rolle made a similar observation in the prologue to his *English Psalter* of c. 1345—an 'abbreviated (though still lengthy) version of Peter Lombard's standard Psalter commentary (with characteristic Rollean additions)', in which 'each verse is quoted in Latin, translated word for word so that the original can be understood [...], then paraphrased more loosely with a brief interpretation' (Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 244). Here, Rolle says about his strategy specifically of the translation of the Latin text of the Psalms:[10]

> In the translacioun I follow the lettere als mykyll as I may; and thare [*where*] I fynd na propire Ynglis, I follow the wit of the worde [*the meaning of the sentence*], swa that thai that sall red it thaim thare noght dred errynge [*there is no need for them to fear falling into error*]. (Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 246, 248)[11]

Rener's general characterisation of what he calls the 'translator's dream' in the pre-modern period, and of some of the obstacles he would encounter in this translational practice, reads as if it was written specifically with Grufudd Bola's observations in mind, which, of course, it was not;[12] the fact that it can seamlessly be applied to them, however, situates Gruffudd Bola within the larger European tradition which is the subject of Rener's study:

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10 Rolle contrasts his *translacioun* with his *expounynge* 'exposition', in which, he says, he 'folgh[s] haly doctours' (Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 246). Compare further, for example, Copeland's (1995: 225) analysis of the Prologue to the second recension of the Wycliffite Bible (end of the fourteenth century) which 'defines translation expressly in terms of a hermeneutics of access. Here accessibility is a property both of the text, which must be "open" or lucid, and of social reception, for the text will be available to all audiences, and translation becomes a socially inclusive gesture'. The Prologue takes up the conventional word-sense contrast: 'First, it is to know, that the best translating is out of Latin into English to translate after the sentence, and not only after the words, so that the sentence be as open, either opener, in English as in Latin, and go not far from the letter; and if the letter may not be sued in the translating, let the sentence ever be whole and open, for the words owe to serve to the intent and sentence, and else the words be superfluous either false' (Pollard 1964: 194, his modernised orthography). Examples given of 'resolutions [which] may make the sentence open' are various ways of rendering in English a Latin ablative absolute.

11 Wogan-Browne et al. (1999: 248) comment on the phrase *folow the lettere*: 'translate word for word (i.e., follow Latin word order and syntax), or follow the literal sense (rather than any of the passage's allegorical meanings)'.

12 An anonymous reader cautions that observations such as Gruffudd Bola's on the translator's ideal and dilemma may have been a commonplace intended to ward off criticism of the translation, rather than considered engagements with translational methods.

The translator's dream was to arrive at a text which would bring not only the content of the original but also every word used by the original author. This ideal was beyond reach for several reasons, some being intrinsic and others extrinsic. One of the major obstacles was the differences between the two languages in the vocabulary and also in many aspects of grammar and syntax. (Rener 1989: 326)

By way of illustration I quote the observations on these 'obstacles' of two translators, separated in time by about 800 years, but employing similar tropes. The first passage, from 1688, is taken from the prefatory letter of the first Welsh translation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Taith neu Siwrnai y Pererin*:[13]

Ni chedwais i Eiriau, ond ystyr a meddwl yr Awdwr (mewn amryw fannau) yn y cyfieithiad: Canys fal y gŵyr y Dysceddig yn ddigon da; nid oes un Llyfr a gyfieithir, o un iaith ir llall, Air yng Air, *a dâl ei ddarllain; oblegit bod Phrases (ymadrodion) a Geiriau yn brydferth mewn un iaith, y rhai nid ydynt felly mewn iaith arall.* (Bunyan 1688: A2v)

'I did not keep the words, but the author's sense and meaning (in various places) in the translation: since—as the learned men know well enough—there is not one book which is translated *word-for-word* from one language to the other which is worth reading, because phrases (expressions) and words are seemly in one language which are not so in another language.'

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13   Wogan-Browne et al. give further examples from late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth-century English translators who engage with the same problem: John Trevisa in his 'Epistle to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, on the translation of Higden's Polychronicon and the 'Prologue' to the *Pseudo-Augustinian Soliloquies*. Trevisa writes (with repetition of the adverbial phrases *in somme place*): 'To make this translacioun cleer and pleyne to be knowe and understonde, in somme place Y shal sette worde for worde, and actif for actif, and passif for passif, arewe [*in succession*] right as thei stondeth, without chaunging of the ordre of wordes. But in somme place Y mot chaunge the rewe [*sequence*] and the ordre of wordes, and sett the actif for the passif, and ayenward [*vice versa*]. And in somme place Y mot sett a resoun [*sentence*] for a worde and telle what it meneth. But for alle siche chaunging, the menyng shal stonde and nought be ychaunged' (Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 134–135, 138, 430). For the passage from the 'Prologue', see Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 225. Nearer at home, Gruffydd Robert (c. 1527–1598), in his grammar of Welsh, which he published in four instalments between 1567 and 1584 in Milan, similarly comments on the difficulties of preserving the idioms of the source language word-for-word in translation: *rhaid hefyd caḍu adroḍueḍau'r gamraeg, a eilu'r groeguyr phrases, canys nid oes ḍim urthunach nog ymadroḍ ni bo ynḍi briaụd phrasau, ag arferaụl adroḍuedion yr iaith. a diflas fyḍ ceissio air ynghair, gen y gyrmaeg [!] atteb i ieithoeḍ eraiḷ bob amser* (Robert 1939: [204], 'it is also necessary to preserve the idioms of Welsh, which the Greek call phrases, since there is nothing more offensive than a clause in which there are no proper phrases and customary idioms of the language, and it will be tiresome to try word-for-word, with the Welsh corresponding to other languages all the time'). Like Gruffudd Bola, Gruffydd Robert highlights the translator's linguistic dilemma.

In the ninth century, King Alfred stated in his Old English translation of Boethius's *De consolatio philosophiae* ('Consolation of Philosophy') about his technique of translation, employing the *quandoque ... quandoque* formula (OE *hwilum ... hwilum*), as did Gruffudd Bola, and explicitly mindful of the importance of the comprehensibility of his work:

> *Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa he hit þa sweotolost 7 andgitfullicast gereccan mihte ...* (Sedgefield 1899: 2)

> 'Sometimes he translated word for word, sometimes sense for sense, so as to render it as clearly and intelligibly as he could ...' (Keynes & Lapidge 1983: 131)

From Gruffudd Bola in the late-thirteenth century we now move on three-hundred years, linguistically into the Early Modern Welsh period and culturally into the Elizabethan Age. I will here focus on *Y Drych Kristnogawl* 'The Christian Mirror' (c. 1583/1584), which is believed to be an original work of Robert Gwyn (c. 1545–c. 1597/1603). His family was one of the gentry families of the Llŷn peninsula in northern Wales, and they appear to have conformed to the Established Church. Robert Gwyn graduated from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1568, but then embraced the Catholic faith and became a student in 1571 in the 'English College' in Douai (in the Spanish Netherlands, now northern France), which had been founded in 1568 for Catholic refugee students who intended to become missionary priests in Britain.[14] He was ordained priest there in 1575 and was active in Wales from 1576 onwards as a missionary priest. He produced six original works, of which four are still extant, and two translations, from Latin and English respectively, of selections of Cardinal Francisco Toledo's *Summa Casuum Conscientiae*, a treatise on moral theology, and of *A Manuall or Meditation and most necessary Prayers with a Memorial of Instructions right requisite. Also a Summary of Catholike Religion*, a book of private daily devotions.[15]

Y Drych Kristnogawl 'The Christian Mirror' is one of his original works, a treatise on the Roman Church's teachings on the Four Last Things, Death, the Day of Judgement, Hell, and Heaven. Its first part was printed secretly in 1586/1587 on an illegal press in a cave at Rhiwledyn (or The Little Orme), a promontory east of the modern town of Llandudno, near Penrhyn Creuddyn, the estate of the recusant Robert Puw (or Pugh). The Catholic martyr William Davies (executed in

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14 For some background and the Welsh students at Douai, see Thomas 1971: 29–33, and compare also Southern 1950: 18–21, 26–33.

15 For a survey of his life and work, see Bowen (1996) and also January-McCann (2014). For a succinct survey of the religious and literary culture of the period, see, for example, Williams 1991: 138–172.

Beaumaris in 1593) lived in Puw's house and was involved in the printing.[16] The text and preface were (falsely) attributed to G. R. and R. S. respectively and the book had a fictitious imprint Rhotomagi (= Rouen) 1585. The printing of Catholic literature had been prohibited by law in 1559. The only extant manuscript text is incomplete and found in Cardiff 3.240, written in 1600 by the recusant scribe and poet Llywelyn Siôn (1540–1615?).[17]

The passage I am interested in is found in the author's foreword (taken by Bowen from the printed text since the manuscript is defective here): *Yr awdvr nev'r gwr a wnaeth y llyfr yma at ei garedigion Gymry yn erchi phynniant a llwyddiant iddynt* (Bowen 1996: 1, 'The author, or the man who produced this book, to his beloved Welshmen, seeking success and prosperity for them'). It features a section in which Gwyn explains and justifies some faults that may be thought to be found in his book (*rai o'r beieu a ellir dybieid eu bod yn y llyfr yma*, Bowen 1996: 8). Among these he mentions three issues pertaining to his use of language and his strategy of translating: the use of foreign words,[18] the mixing of words from the southern and northern dialects of Welsh,[19] and an imprecise translation of quotations from Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. His vindication with regard to the first two points—and, as we will see in greater detail, to the third as well—refers to the requirements of successful communication with his audience in order to achieve his ultimate goal, namely to give spiritual advice to the unlearned (*rhoi cynghor sprydol i'r annysgedig*, Bowen 1996: 8):

> *Ag er mwyn cael gann y cyphredin ddeall y llyfr er daioni iddynt, mi a ddodais fy meddwl i lawr a cheir eu bronneu hwy yn yr iaith gyphredinaf a sathrediccaf ymhlith y Cymry yr owron.* (Bowen 1996: 8)

> 'And in order that the book can be understood by the ordinary people for their good, I set my thoughts down and before them in the most common and familiar speech among the Welsh these days.'

It should be noted that similar words and phrases are also employed by other Welsh (authors and) translators of the period, and this approach cuts across religious affiliations. Glanmor Williams (1991: 160) observes that both 'Protestants

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16 For an account of the life and martyrdom of William Davies and for the historical background to recusancy in North Wales, see Thomas 1971.

17 For this background, see Bowen 1997: 222–229, Bowen 1999: 28–42, and McCann 2016: 3–10; for characteristic features of Gwyn's language and style, see specifically Bowen 1996: xxxv–xli and McCann 2016: 36–58.

18 'arfer o eirieu anghyfieith, megis o eirieu Seisnic ag o ereill ny pherthynant i'r iaith Gymraec' (Bowen 1996: 8).

19 '[c]ytgymyscu geiriau'r Deheudir a geirieu Gwynedd, pan fydddant heb gytuno' (Bowen 1996: 8).

and Catholics expressed their intention of writing in a plain, unadorned style'.[20] Maurice Kyffin (c. 1555–1598), for example, states in his preface to *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* ('A Defence of the Faith of the Church of England', 1595), the translation of Bishop John Jewel's defence of the Anglican Church, that he used

> the easiest, most accessible and well-used words that I could in order to make the run of the expressions used clear and free of stumbling blocks for those who know only habitually-used Welsh. (Jarvis 1997: 141–142.)

> *[...] y geiriau howssaf, rhyddaf, a sathredicca 'g allwn i wneuthur fordd yr ymadrodd yn rhydd ag yn ddirwystrus i'r sawl ni wyddant ond y gymraeg arferedig.* (Hughes 1951: 89)[21]

A similar sentiment is voiced by the Puritan translator Robert Llwyd (1565–before 1660), in the introduction to *Llwybr hyffordd yn cyfarwyddo yr anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd* ('An Easy Footpath Leading the Ignorant to Heaven', 1630), his translation of Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*:

> *Am dull yr ymadrodd, mi a wneuthum fyngoreu ar ei osod ar lawr yn wastad, yn ddigeingciog, ac yn rhwydd i w ddeall, [...] geiriau an-arferedig a ochelais yn oreu ac y medrais, gan ymfodloni a r cyfryw eiriau sathredig, ac y mae cyffredin y wlâd yn gydnabyddus â hwynt, ac yn yspys ynddynt.* (Hughes 1951: 130)

> 'Concerning the form of the discourse, I did my best to set it down smoothly, undiverted, and easy to understand, [...] I avoided, as best as I could, unusual words, being content with such familiar words as the ordinary people of the country are acquainted with and are plain to them.'

But to come back to Robert Gwyn and the third point in his vindication of his approach, which is the most relevant in the context of this discussion. With

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20 See also Williams (1997: 221), '[a]lmost without exception, their authors [i.e., of Protestant works] expressed their intention of writing in a plain, unadorned style', and Williams (1997: 224), '[t]heir authors [i.e., of Catholic works] maintained that they were writing simply and clearly for the benefit of the unlearned'. These parallels require further research and contextualisation.

21 Kyffin adds, however, that for 'essential word', *ryw air angenreidiol*, which have no equivalent in Welsh, he introduces loanwords, see Jarvis 1997: 142 and Hughes 1951: 89. Maurice Kyffin also translated Terence's comedy *Andria* into English, and it is noteworthy that in his 'Preface to the courteous reader', he explained his strategies for translation with phrases which are very similar to what he says in *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*: 'I have used, as near as I could, the most known, usual, and familiar phrases in common speech to express the author's meaning. [...] My chiefest care hath been to lay open the meaning of the author, especially in all hard and difficult places of this comedy, and to utter the same in such apt, plain, and familiar words as are most meet for this low style and argument' (Rhodes, Kendal & Wilson 2013: 434–435). I wish to thank Oliver Currie for reminding me of the relevance of Kyffin's translation of *Andria* into English.

regard to his strategies for translating quotations from authoritative works he has the following to say:

> *Atfydd hefyd y beient arnaf rhyw rai o'r Cymbry dyscedigion am nad wyf yn y llyfr yma yn troi'r Scrythur Laan a doydiadeu'r saint a'i haraith yn gymhwys i'r iaith Gymraec wrth ddodi gair tra gair, ag i bob gair rhoddi ei enw anianol, megys y bydd rhaid wrth gyfieithu a throi peth o vn iaith i'r llall. Ag yn enwedig wrth gyfieithu'r Scrythur Lan a geirieu'r saint, rhaid yw bod yn bryderus i geisio geiriau cyfaddas, cynhwynawl i henw pob peth. Gwir iawn yw hynn oll. Pan fytho dyn yn cyfieithu ag yn trossi'r Scrythur Lan i iaith arall, ag yn ei dodi a'i gossod allan i ddynion y'w darllain yn enw Scrythur Laan, yna, y bydd rhaid ymchwel bob geir yn gymhwys ag yn ei briawd anian, cyd bo tywyll i lawer. Ond pan fytho vn yn pregethu i ddynion cyphredin ag ychydig deallt ganthynt, yna y dychon gyfieithu'r geirieu yn y modd goreu ag y gallo'r cyphredin bobl y ddyallt, drwy ei fod ef yn cadw'r vn meddwl a'r synnwyr yn y geirieu ag y mae'r Yspryt Glaan yn ei feddwl a'r Eglwys Laan Gatholig yn ei ddangos. Ag am fy mod i yma yn ceisio dyscu'r cyphredin Gymry, rhaid i mi droi'r geirieu yn egluraf a goleuaf y gallwyf i gaphel ohonynt eu deallt hwy yn ddibetrus, heb ymwrthod nag ymadel ohonof ddim a meddwl yr Yspryd Glan na'r Eglwys wrth droi'r geirieu i'r Gymraeg.* (Bowen 1996: 11–12)

> 'Perhaps some of the learned Welshmen will also blame me because in this book I do not translate (*troi*) Holy Scripture and the sayings of the Saints and their oration exactly into Welsh, by putting word for word (*gair tra gair*), and by giving each word its natural meaning (*enw*), as it is necessary when translating (*gyfieithu a throi*) something from one language into the other. And especially, when translating Holy Scripture and the word of the saints, it is necessary to be careful to seek appropriate, proper words to denote everything. All this is very true. When a man translates (*yn cyfieithu ag yn trossi*) Holy Scripture into another language and publishes it (*ei dodi a'i gossod allan*) for men to read it as Holy Scripture, then it is necessary to translate (*ymchwel*) each word exactly and in its proper nature, although it may be opaque for many. But when one preaches to ordinary people who have little understanding, then one can translate the words in the way best for the ordinary people to understand, by keeping the same sense and meaning in the words as the Holy Ghost intends it and the Holy Catholic Church discloses it. And since I here intend to teach the ordinary Welshmen I have to translate (*troi*) the words as clearly and evidently as I can, in order that they can understand them unambiguously, without me rejecting or leaving out anything of the meaning of the Holy Ghost and the Church when translating (*troi*) the words into Welsh.'

It is at this point instructive to compare Gwyn's position with the observations of Gregory Martin, the translator of the Rheims-Douai *New Testament* published in 1582, who translated the Bible into English at the behest of William Allen, the founder of the Douai Seminary, for the use of Catholic preachers:

> [...] continually keeping our selues as neere as is possible, to our text & to the very wordes and phrases which by long vse are made venerable, though to

some prophane or delicate eares they may seeme more hard or barbarous, as the whole style of Scripture doth lightly to such at the begīning: acknowledging with S. Hierom, that in other writings it is ynough to giue in trāslation, sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we misse the sense, we must keepe the very wordes. (Southern 1950: 243)

Here, accuracy in terms of closeness to the source text is advocated, even if this may alienate (some) readers. Martin also remarked on 'wordes also and phrases [in his translation] which may seeme to the vulgar Reader & to common English eares not yet acquainted therewith, rudenesse or ignorance' (Southern 1950: 243–244). This is close to Gwyn's observations on the translation of Scripture-to-be-read-as-Scripture, which may necessarily remain, at least in part, 'opaque for many', and it is tempting to speculate about Gwyn's acquaintance with Martin's position.[22]

Gwyn's first priority was to reach his audience, the common, ordinary people of Wales (*cyphredin Gymry*), as part of his missionary activities, and translation is just one aspect of a larger act of communication. He refers to the translator's trope of word-for-word (*gair tra gair*),[23] but he considers it necessary to subordinate absolute fidelity to the wording of even authoritative religious sources to his overriding communicative purpose, whenever he fears that the sense may otherwise remain opaque. He realizes that he has options for translation—exact, but opaque versus best for the ordinary people to understand—and he positions his argument firmly in relation to genre and intention: the contexts, in which his translations need to function, are didactic and popular, as part of his counter-reformation missionary activities, not theological and scholarly. In this functional argument, he prioritizes the translator's communicative dilemma, whereas Gruffudd Bola prioritized the linguistic dilemma, even though ultimately both want to effect successful and smooth communication with their intended audiences.

Gwyn's insistence on successful communication connects his reflections with what Rener considers to be a typical concern of pre-modern translators: 'By profession [...] the translator was an explainer [...]. Being an explainer, the translator had to place *perspicuitas* ['clarity'] at the very top of his obligations and, consequently, regard *obscuritas* as his archenemy' (Rener 1989: 218), because he needed to mediate between the source text, and its author, and the reader (or more generally, the audience) of the target text. For this reason, 'the relationship between the translator and the reader was a permanent factor in the prefaces'

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22   On the Rheims-Douai Bible, Martin's strategies for translation, and the contemporary controversy between Martin and the Anglican William Fulke, see Southern 1950: 231–262, Norton 1993: 122–138, Rhodes, Kendal & Wilson 2013: 20–24, 124–167.

23   The word-for-word trope is also referenced by Huw Lewys in 1595 in *Perl mewn Adfyd*, the translation of Miles Coverdale's *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*, when he writes: 'oni chanhlynais, fy Awdur air yngair [...]' (Lewys 1929: xxiii, 'if I did not follow my author word for word [...]').

(Rener 1989: 243), and so it is in Gruffudd Bola's and Robert Gwyn's prefaces. Rener (1989: 219) points out that 'clarity is not an absolute value but varies from reader to reader' and that '[t]he translator [therefore] relies on his judgement and on the classical categories based on the level of education, namely the learned and the simple readers'. His intended audience's level of education, and specifically its lack, has a central role in Gwyn's line of argument—see his references to the 'unlearned' and to the 'ordinary people who have little understanding'.[24]

Building on work by A. C. Southern (1950) on Elizabethan recusant prose in English, Bowen (1997: 224) highlighted that successful communication was the priority of the authors emanating from the Douai College. Southern summarized the contribution of recusant authors of the Elizabethan period to the history of English prose in the following words:

> Primarily, as must be evident, they were not concerned with literature as an accomplishment at all. Their business was to combat what they believed to be error and to expose the truth, not to produce literary masterpieces, and their writing is altogether directed towards this end. But they are not unstudied in their manner of composition. It is clear that they aimed at a simple and straightforward exposition of their themes, such as would appeal to the unlearned or at least to those not versed in the technicalities of theological niceties. As a rule, therefore, they preferred the plain style while at the same time insisting upon the dictates of reason. (Southern 1950: xii)[25]

As mentioned earlier, Gwyn advocated the use of plain language, of the 'most common and familiar speech' (*yr iaith gyphredinaf a sathrediccaf*), for the exposition of his arguments in *Y Drych Kristnogawl*, so that his 'book can be understood by the ordinary people for their good', and he also applied the principle of successful communication to the translation of quotations from authoritative

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24 In the light of his programmatic statement presented here it will be rewarding to compare Gwyn's translations of biblical passages quoted in *Y Drych Kristnogawl* with their parallels in contemporaneous (Protestant) Welsh Bibles or in other religious works. This is beyond the remit of this paper, but will be explored in the Marburg research project 'The Welsh Contribution to the Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Sixteenth-Century Strategies of Translating into Welsh', which is part of the German Research Council's (DFG) Priority Programme 'Cultures of Translation in the Early Modern Period' and within which the research on Robert Gwyn was conducted. For some preliminary results, see Parina & Poppe (forthcoming b).

25 See, for example, the assessment in 1580 of William Allen: '[...] certain books of our men in English [...] in which for the comprehension of the people, with a wonderful clarity almost all the deceits of the heretics and their consequences, their disputes, blasphemies, contradictions, absurdities, falsifying both of the Scriptures and Doctors of the Church were exposed' (Southern 1950: 30). The phrase 'wonderful clarity' connects to Rener's observations on the importance of *perspicuitas* and reader orientation, but is used here not with reference to translations, but to works in the vernacular and their presentation of the arguments.

religious works—in his specific devotional and didactic context. It is this emphasis on audience orientation that connects his approach to that of the English authors emanating from the Douai Seminary. The remarks of Maurice Kyffin and Robert Llwyd quoted above, however, indicate that the priority of accessibility was a concern of Anglican and Puritan writers as well. Williams (1997: 223) points out that 'Welsh Catholics and Protestants, in spite of being irreconcilably opposed to another in doctrine, had more in common than might have been supposed', and he mentions the patriotism of the two groups, their pride in the language and history of Wales, and the importance of literacy and the printed book, and he stresses that 'neither could count on a large, enthusiastic, or literate public for their books' (Williams 1997: 223).[26]

As translators, Gruffudd Bola and Robert Gwyn were separated by three hundred years and by the different cultural and intellectual traditions and contexts in which they worked, but both were confronted with similar problems in their task to translate authoritative religious texts and to convey the meaning of their sources to their intended audiences—translators' eternal challenges. Gruffudd Bola highlights the translator's linguistic dilemma, resulting from differences in the lexicon and the grammar of source and target language, and he opts for what may be called a 'sometimes-sometimes' strategy. Robert Gwyn foregrounds the purpose of a translation and the respective demands of genre; because of his specifically didactic intentions in *Y Drych Kristnogawl*, he subordinates fidelity on the literal level to the demands of comprehensibility and accessibility. Their perspectives conceptually differ with regard to the perception of the location of translational problems. Both authors approach the translator's dilemma in different frameworks, linguistic versus functional, but both insist on the priority of successful communication. To do so would appear to be the obvious and natural choice, but it must be remembered that Robert Gwyn draws attention to contexts that require the alternative—literal but opaque—approach. The history of translation in the early modern period shows, furthermore, that some translators indeed opted for this approach in their translational practice. Names that come to mind are Niklas von Wyle (c. 1415–1479), whose translations into German aim to follow the Latin source exactly ('vf das genewest dem latine nach'), and Richard Carew of

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26 See also Gruffydd (1997: 358): 'Most [Anglican] translators, within the constraints which the practice of their art imposed upon them, aspired to as plain a style as possible in order to reach the maximum number of readers, and it is fairly clear also that they expected their books to be read aloud in company as well as privately'. The question of general trends in Welsh translational strategies in the early modern period requires further research which will be conducted in the Marburg research project, 'The Welsh Contribution to the Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Sixteenth-Century Strategies of Translating into Welsh'.

Anthony (1555–1620), the translator of the first five canti into English of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.[27]

The two Welsh translators discussed here, Gruffudd Bola and Robert Gwyn, were separated by time and historical and cultural contexts, but linked by the shared burden of wanting to achieve in their translations accuracy in relation to their sources and communication with their intended audiences. Both authors insist on the priority of successful communication, but then focus on different, though related aspects of the translator's dilemma, Gruffudd Bola on the linguistic challenge and Robert Gwyn on the communicative one. Their remarks on translational strategies connect on the one side to their educational and missionary intentions (with, in Robert Gwyn's case, their own specific background) and on the other side to a larger set of traditional and contemporaneous commonplaces and tropes of thinking about translations in the pre-modern period.[28]

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The Intersection of Literature and Law: The Saga of Fergus mac Léti

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The story of Fergus mac Léti is a fascinating text as it provides both a saga tale as well as an insight into the Old Irish legal tradition. The tale itself has primarily been discussed within the legal context, and understandably so as its extant Early Irish versions exist exclusively within legal material. This paper examines *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* within the context of the literary *echtra* tradition and compares it to the existing corpus of *echtra* material, discussing key elements that are common across all the texts. This paper argues that the similarities between the text and the other extant *echtrai* are enough to consider that the extant version may reflect the original version identified in Tale List B and contends that *Echtra Fergussa maic Lete* has earned its place within the saga material.

The Saga of Fergus Mac Léti[1] is attested in two versions in two manuscripts. The first of these is written on a single leaf inserted into London, British Library MS Harley 432 f.5 (CIH ii: 354.28–355.41). In his discussion of the codicological information, Binchy (1952: 35) notes that this version of the text (the one he refers to as L) was the only one that was available to Thurneysen, who suggested that it was an invention of eleventh-century jurists (Thurneysen 1921: 539 f., 668), as he was not aware of the second version of the text. The second version is written in Dublin, Trinity College MS 1337 pp. 363b–365a, better known as H. 3. 18 (CIH iii: 882.4–883.28) and has been dated by Binchy to the eighth century (Binchy 1952: 45) although Bisagni (2012: 52) has argued that none of Binchy's dating criteria are particular to the eighth century, and has suggested that instead of dating it so precisely, it instead should be understood as belonging to the Old Irish period generally. The two versions of the story make up a part of the commentary of the *Senchas Már*, used as a 'leading case' on discussions of distraint.

    In the opening sections of *Cethairṡlicht Athgabálae*, one of the constituent tracts of *Senchas Már*, there is a verse version that gives the rough outline of the

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major plot points of the saga, indicating the tale must have existed already in the seventh century (see Qiu 2013: 126). The first section of verse was considered by Binchy to be both prose and unrelated to the tale, and he edited only the second section (Binchy 1952: 46), while McLeod (2011: 88–10) has edited the first section of three stanzas (CIH ii: 352.26–31, CIH v: 1897.16–21), and considered both sections to belong together. The glosses on this poem provide an additional outline of the story, in broad strokes, though they are not included in Binchy's edition. There is another, more modern prose version of the story that alters the content of the story to enhance the role of the leprechaun king and that has been edited by O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica,* entitled *Aidedh Ferghusa* 'The Death of Fergus' (1892 vol. i: 238–252).[2]

The Saga of Fergus Mac Léti begins with a feud over the sovereignty of the Féni, one of the three primary races in Ireland, along with the Ulaid, and the Gáilni whom the text equates to the Laigin. Eochu Bélbuide son of Tuathal Techmar, and Conn Cétchathach, also known as Conn Cétchorach, are the two primary contenders for the throne.[3] Eochu, having inflicted thorough violence on Conn, flees to Ulster and into the protection of our eponymous king. He remains with Fergus for a significant period of time, before returning to his people in search of peace where he is slain by Conn's son, Asal, the four sons of Buide mac Ainmirech, and Buide's grandson, named in the Harley 432 copy of the text (see Binchy 1952: 36, L§1) as Fotlin.[4]

The text itself is illustrative of a number of legal principles (McLeod 2011), a few of which are necessary for the understanding of the story. Having attacked the Féni, Eochu likely faces legal repercussions himself and he flees to avoid these consequences and requests 'litigation protection' from Fergus. While under this protection, the accused cannot be attacked without his honour-price being owed

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2 O'Grady (1892: vol. i 238–252) contains the edition of the text, with translation found in vol ii. 269–285, though the translation is not complete.

3 The version of this text contained in Harley 432 contains only two rivals, Eochu Bélbuide and Conn Cétchathach, while the text contained in MS H. 3. 18 names three: Eochu and both Conn Cétchathach and Conn Cétchorach, but makes no distinction between the two Conns in the rest of the text. McLeod (2011: 2 n. 9) has suggested we understand the Conn referred to in the rest of the text as Conn Cétchathach when he is settling martial disputes and Conn Cétchorach when dealing with legal disputes.

4 Binchy (1952: 40 n.4) identifies the son's name as Foitlinne, though the text he edited contains only the version Fotlin. Preceding the tale itself, the name appears twice as Foitline in the commentary: *co ndeochatar in .ui. do chuardugud i sliab nuaid, conid and dorala doib a marbad; ⁊ desimirecht air: Asal eochu, garg a ngle. foitline ⁊ tibraite. enda ailill, an a clu. Seser las torchair eochu* (CIH ii: 354.5–354.7), 'the six persons had gone to search for him in Sliabh Fuaid, where they overtook and killed him, as this quotation shows: "Asal, Eochu, fierce and fair, / Foitline and Tibraite, / Enda, Ailell, noble their fame, / were the six by whom Eochu was killed"' (ALI: i 69); *.i. a cinaid a meic foitline* (CIH ii: 353.38), 'for the crime of her son, Foitline' (ALI: i 69). Here I have opted to use the version found within the text.

to his protector (Kelly 2015: 141). McLeod (2011: 20–21) has suggested a further option, that there was another protection in early Irish law that allowed a person in danger (as Eochu would be, fearful of the Féni seeking revenge) to seek protection of another, specifically a foreigner in a protector's home kingdom and that this perhaps is the protection that was violated.

With his protection violated, Fergus marches with his armies in order to avenge the death of his protégé (§3). Restitution is paid to him in the form of gold, silver, Conn's land and Fotlin's mother, Dorn, who is expected to serve him (§3). The enslavement of Dorn may seem peculiar to the modern reader: the text explicitly states that her son was involved in the murder, not Dorn herself, and thus the motivation for her punishment is unclear. A *mac déoraid*, the son of an outsider, is not the responsibility of his paternal family because they live outside the kingdom, and therefore outside the scope of the Irish laws (McLeod 2011: 21; CIH ii: 442.13; CIH v: 1575.17).

As per the text, Fotlin is the son of Dorn and a foreigner: *₇ mac ronuc dorn ingen buide do deorath*[5] (§1) 'and a son whom Dorn, the daughter of Buide had borne to an outlander' (Binchy 1952: 37, 39). In this instance, with the paternal family absent and unaccountable, the maternal family would be responsible for the child, unless the woman's father disapproved of the union (see McLeod 2011: 22; CIH v: 1894.8), which Harley 432 explicitly states is the case in this instance: *mac deoraid no albanaig he ₇ tar sarugu no i nainfis fine maithre dorinne he* (Binchy 1952: 36 L§3) 'he was the son of a stranger, or of an Albanach (Scotsman), and was begotten against the wish or without the knowledge of the tribe of the mother' (ALI i: 71).

As well as within the text, the commentary preceding it makes a nearly identical observation, but the suggestion that the father may have been Scottish is absent: *uair mac deoraid he, ₇ tar sarugud fine mathar no i nanfis fine mathar dorigne he* (CIH ii: 354.1–354.2) 'for he was the son of a stranger, and had been begotten against the wish of the mother's tribe, or without the knowledge of the mother's tribe' (ALI i: 69).

Thus, without his paternal kin to pay his fines, his maternal kin equally avoiding responsibility and Fotlin seemingly to have fled, the only one left responsible for Fergus' restitution is Dorn. Presumably without the ability to pay the fine herself, Dorn is offered in servitude: a noblewoman worth seven *cumala* is equivalent to Eochu's own honour-price. While the tale itself does not specify whether Dorn offered herself or if her function as surety was imposed upon her, the commentary makes it explicitly clear that this was the decision of Fotlin: *₇ is ed dorineth: a mathair do thidlacad ina cinaid do Fergus a ndaire no cum a ngill* (CIH ii: 354.2–

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5   In his edition Binchy indicated expansions by italicisation. As I have italicised the text itself, the opposite applies.

354.3) 'and it was he that, for his crime, gave up his mother in bondage, or as a pledge to Fergus' (ALI i: 69).

After receiving his spoils and returning home, Fergus ventures to the seaside, accompanied by his charioteer, and they soon both fall asleep. During their slumber, sea sprites[6] separate Fergus from his sword and carry him from his chariot to the sea. When his feet touch the water, Fergus awakens and grabs three of the sprites—one in each hand and one against his chest. The chief of the sprites requests mercy and Fergus complies, requesting three wishes. The sprites agree, and Fergus asks only for the ability to travel underwater. The sprites supply him with either herbs to put in his ears or a mantle to wind about his head that will allow him to do so. The text provides both options, and acknowledges them as competing traditions:

> *Dobertatar didiu in lucuirp luibe dosom ina cluasa(ib)*, ⁊ *imtiged leo fo muirib* (§4). *Asberat araile iss int abac dorat(a) a brat do* ⁊ *atcortad fergus ima cenn fo(r)bered muire* ⁊ *uisce samlaid* (§5)

> 'Some say that the dwarf gave him his cloak and Fergus used to wind (?) it about his head, and in this way used to pass under seas and water. Then the sprites gave him herbs [to put] in his ears, and he used to travel about with them underseas.' (Binchy 1952: 41–42)

The chief sprite warns Fergus that while he has been given these gifts, he is prohibited from using them to traverse under Loch Rudraige, which was situated in Fergus' territory. Fergus does not follow these explicit directions and decides that he would like to swim underwater in his own lake and travels to Loch Rudraige with his charioteer. He submerges himself and encounters a fearful water-monster that is described as writhing and contracting in a manner akin to a smith's bellows. The monster is so incredibly fearsome that Fergus' mouth is permanently stretched open in horror:

> §6 *A lluid fon loch con(f)aca[e] in muirdris and peist uiscide uathmar. ala nuair rosraiged[7] in uair naili nosnimairced[8] amal* ⁊ *bolg nobenn. La diuderc do fuire rosiapartha a beoil doa dib culadaib*

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6   This is, according to the estimation of Binchy (1952: 41 n. 2), our earliest extant reference to the modern leprechaun based on his dating of the text. Bisagni (2012: 52) has noted that while this might be the earliest in-text reference to the term, there is a scribal notation of the form *luprucan* with superscript scribal emendation to *lucrupan*, which is the second form found subsequently with a marker of lenition over the *c* indicating *luchrupan*. These forms are found in Lebor na hUidre, an earlier manuscript than those containing the text as discussed here, see Best & Bergin 1929: 2a31 & 2a45 respectively.

7   Binchy suggests this be read as *no-s·riged*.

8   Binchy suggests this be read as *do-s·n-immairced*.

'When he dived under the lake he saw there a *muirdris*[9], a fearful water-monster which kept alternately inflating and contracting itself like a smith's bellows. At the sight of it, his mouth was wrenched back as far as his occiput…' (Binchy 1952: 42)

Fergus returns to the shore and his charioteer and queries as to how he is looking. His charioteer assures him that sleep will lessen his affliction and lays Fergus down.

While his king sleeps, the charioteer returns to Ulster where he consults with the wisemen of Emain Macha, telling them of his king's newfound affliction, and asks whom they would want to have in his stead, as it would not be fitting for a blemished king to reign in Ulster. The wisemen decide that Fergus will continue to rule; however, his household will be emptied of any common folk, jester or fool who might mock or otherwise call attention to the blemish, and that Fergus shall have his hair washed while lying on his back so that he may never be confronted with his own disfigurement (§7).

For seven years, Fergus' shame is hidden, with the assistance of Dorn who by now is functioning as his slave and is the one in charge of his washing. One day, Fergus asks Dorn to wash him and finding her too slow in completing her task he strikes her with a horsewhip. Furious, Dorn retaliates by mocking his disfigurement. Fergus then kills her by cutting her in two with his sword (§8).

He returns to Loch Rudraige, perhaps believing that defeating the monster will cure him, and dives underwater. The lake bubbles and froths from the great fight between him and the sea-beast, lasting an entire day until Fergus emerges, victorious, holding the head of the monster aloft and declaring himself the victor. He then dies and sinks down to a watery grave (§8). H. 3. 18 continues to explain that the Féni requested an *éraic*-fine for the death of Dorn and for the restoration of their land, but that it was not returned for some time due to the inability of the Ulstermen to decide upon a king (McLeod 2011: 6–7). The commentary surrounding the verse version provide us with essentially the same narrative, with the only two major differences being that Fergus' blemish and the monster are not mentioned until after Dorn has been killed (CIH ii: 354.9, 354.14–354.19) and her death is brought about by a *cloich fothraicthe* (CIH ii: 354.11) 'bathing stone' and not a sword.

Neither the prose, the verse nor the commentary provide us with the title *Echtra Fergussa maic Lete* utilised by Binchy, instead, this title has been taken from the Tale Lists (Mac Cana 1980: 53). Purported to be a catalogue of a *fili*'s repertoire (Mac Cana 1980: 33) there are two extant Tale Lists known to modern scholarship

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9   Borsje (1997) discusses this monster in particular in relation to other monsters who equally expand and contract, or spew water, in the early Irish tradition.

as List A and List B.[10] List A, found in Dublin, Trinity College MS 1339, better known as H. 2. 18 or the Book of Leinster (LL), 189 b 43 and Dublin, Trinity College MS 1336, better known as H. 3. 17 col. 797, does not contain the title of our text. However, *Echtra Fergussa maic Lete* appears in List B which is found within the Middle Irish text of *Airec menman Uraird maic Coise*, and contained in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 N 10, p. 29; Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B. 512, f. 109; and London, British Library Harley 5280, f. 47. Though the two lists are similar in order and content, there are differences: List A has seventeen categories of tales, compared to the fifteen in List B, with thirteen common between them including *echtrai* (Mac Cana 1980: 41–49). Of the *echtrai* themselves, Mac Cana notes that they include only three titles that are common to both lists, with eleven original in A and seven in B (Mac Cana 1980: 69).

Without an attestation of the accompanying title, we cannot definitively link the (potentially lost) text intended by List B, and the extant versions of the text contained within the legal material. Binchy was of the view that this version of the story does not represent the original narrative, but instead is a fairly faithful retelling with added 'legalistic trappings' (Binchy 1952: 48) in order to better suit the intention of the jurists. Thurneysen (1930: 103–104) and McLeod (2011:12) both consider the text to be an invention of jurists and while McLeod does not explicitly address the question of whether or not this version of the tale is the one referenced in List B, he does state that he believes it was composed as a legal teaching tale due to the number of legal principles it expertly illustrates. Considering the evidence that the law tracts were a cooperative effort between ecclesiastics, academics and lawyers, the inclusion of the *fili* in the composition of the law tracts (see Breatnach 1990: 3–5)[11], and the propensity for the jurists to rely on saga material as 'leading cases' (Binchy 1952; Dillon 1932) it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti*, if the invention of jurists, is the same *echtra* known to the compiler of List B. The compilers of the law tracts were undoubtedly skilled enough to invent a convincing saga text that contained all the necessary characteristics to conform to others in the tradition and that could have earned its place within the repertoire of a *fili*.

Borsje (1996: 19–20) has suggested that the text was not a legal invention and that it existed independently before its inclusion in the *Senchas Már*, and that it represents a native Irish tale that was amalgamated into the legal corpus during the

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10   There are two additional, shorter lists in Edinburgh, Advocates Library MS vii f. 7r b. and London, British Library Harley 432 f. 3D., see Mac Cana 1980: 64–65. Both contain only four categories and neither include the *echtrai*.

11   For further discussion of the authorship of law tracts, see Breatnach (1984: 459) for *Bretha Nemed*; Breatnach (1986: 46–47) for *Cáin Fhuithirbe*; McLeod (2005: 155) for *Bretha Déin Chécht*. See also Carey (1994: §9) for the introduction to the *Senchas Már* that cites its own authors as three bishops, three kings and three poets or judges.

compilation of the *Senchas Már*. This idea of the narrative as an independent story is perhaps supported within the text itself by the evidence of differing versions of the tale such as the example of competing traditions about what the sprites gave to Fergus (§4–5), as well as an inserted line about Fergus leaving his servant Ogma and his hound (§5) that is in contrast with a gloss on the subsequent poem that names the servant as Aibinn and the hound as Ogma (Binchy 1952: 46). Additionally, the slight variations present within the commentary and the verse versions (such as Fergus' weapon of choice in Dorn's murder being a bathing stone and not a sword) suggest that different versions of the tale were known to the compilers of the law tracts. Had they invented this narrative it would presumably not contain references to other material, or any internal inconsistencies.

McLeod (2011: 13–19) has expertly detailed the ways in which this tale, specifically the verse found within the *Senchas Már*, illustrates the legal concept of distraint and allowed the Féni to reclaim their land as restitution for the slaying of Dorn, a topic which does not need to be revisited here. Instead, we will now turn to the elements of the tale that align with our other saga material and the way in which it fits within our current understanding of early Irish material. Some broader points will be briefly touched upon before turning specifically to a comparison with other *echtrai*.

Outside of this text, our hero, Fergus is relatively absent. He appears twice listed as a predecessor to Conchobor mac Nessa in the early material,[12] and for this reason, he is often considered to be a double of the better-known Fergus mac Roích (O'Rahilly 1946: 68) who likewise met an aquatic end (Meyer 1906: 34–35). As discussed by Ó hUiginn (1993: 35–37) the two men are made distinct in the material, both listed as guests at Bricriu's feast (Best & Bergin 1929: 249) and with Fergus mac Róich describing the second Fergus as *mo chomalta fén* 'my own foster-brother' in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (O'Rahilly 1976: 225). On this basis, Ó hUiginn (1993: 37) argues that while there are certainly overlaps in the two characters, they are hardly identical and suggests that perhaps their 'partial identity' is the result of two competing genealogical traditions concerning the historical and mythological king.

A common theme within medieval Irish sagas is the idea of a king being an embodiment of physical perfection (McManus 2009: 59). A king must be *dianim* 'without blemish,' in order to be a suitable king (Binchy 1970: 10). An introduction to the *Bretha Éitgid* expresses explicitly that it was a *geis*, a taboo, to have a blemished king in Tara (CIH i: 250.13–15). This idea of physical perfection as a necessary aspect of a righteous king is part of the concept of *fír flathemon* or 'king's truth' that necessitates a king must be exemplary in every way: physically,

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12   See Stokes (1895: 404) and Meyer (1918: 217).

intellectually, martially and socially (McCone 1990: 127). Watson (1986: 133) expresses this best:

> sovereignty must create order in all things. This is why the king's truth is seen as so all important in early Irish society. Schematically, the king is viewed as someone whose truth and person must be flawless, for it is by upholding his own honour that he upholds the honour and face of his tribe. The monarch creates order in a society by himself being a personification of order. If the king cannot embody these concepts, then disaster can befall the tribe which he rules.

Texts such as *Togail Brudne Dá Derga* (Knott 1936), *Tecosca Cormaic* (Meyer 1909) and *Audacht Morainn* (Kelly 1976) exemplify the importance of this concept, though not all texts appear to follow it. *Fír flathemon* is alluded to in *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* (see Nagy 1983: 40) when the wisemen of Emain Macha and his charioteer discuss how it would be unsuitable for Fergus to remain on the throne while disfigured. However, instead of requiring him to abdicate, there is an agreement that allows him to continue to rule and he does so until his death. This decision is not unique, despite the emphasis on kingly perfection:[13] Conchobor mac Nessa, incapacitated by having had a brain-ball hurled into his head and permanently disfigured, was allowed to continue his reign (albeit ineffectually) until his death some seven years later (Meyer 1906: 10, §8). A similar case (like our own Fergus, found in legal material and not saga), is that of Congal Cáech, a king of Tara who was blinded in one eye by a bee and thus ousted from the kingship of Tara (Charles-Edwards & Kelly 1983: §31–32). There is a second tradition in which Congal Cáech is a king of Ulster, still blinded by a bee (Marstrander 1911: 234) but his kingship is not taken from him, and he dies in battle as a king (Marstrander 1911: 242).[14] In these instances, it would seem that the kingship of Ulster was not as strictly bound by the requirements of an unblemished king as was the kingship of Tara.

One of the difficulties of the Tale Lists is that while they provide us with convenient thematic categories and a classification of tales, they do not provide us with criteria that would elucidate the reasons behind the categorisation of the tales. The differences between some categories are clear, but the differences between the *echtrai* and the *immrama*, for example, have been long discussed

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13 See McManus (2009) for a fuller discussion on the importance and implications of physical perfection.

14 There is an additional Middle Irish tale in the Yellow Book of Lecan which discusses Labraid Lorc, a king over all of Ireland who had *dachluais capaill fair* 'two ears of a horse (on him)' (Stokes 1873–1875: 197). He retains his kingship by concealing his blemish and executing anyone who discovers it, specifically those tasked with shaving his head. Stokes (1873–1875: 198) notes that this is an Irish retelling of the Phrygian Midas tale, and thus is a non-native text, though it certainly engages similar elements.

and debated.[15] Though it is generally accepted that an *echtra* involves a voyage to the Otherworld (Mac Cana 1980: 75)[16] one of the best known *echtra*, *Echtra mac Echach Muigmedóin* (Stokes 1903) does not contain an explicit journey to the Otherworld, though there is an encounter with an Otherworld woman.

Duignan (2011: 38) in her comprehensive overview[17] has identified certain criteria for defining *echtrai* as a genre, many of which will be discussed below: the spatial and temporal context of the invitation; the identity of the person invited; the identity of the person/figure issuing the invitation; the purpose of the invitation; the location of the Otherworld and the journey to it; depictions of the Otherworld; the nature of the hero's intervention; the hero's relationship with Otherworld figures; and the objects acquired from the Otherworld. I have opted here to highlight the common traits between the stories, as some of the categories laid out by Duignan yield exceptionally varied results: while certain elements such as fair lands and abundance certainly appear in multiple texts (Duignan 2011: 52), there is no single description of the Otherworld that appears in all of them. Equally, the location of the Otherworld (see below) is significantly varied, as is the journey there itself; as noted by Dumville (1976: 79) 'the journey (which is by no means necessarily over sea) is an unimportant aspect of the story.'

The Saga of Fergus mac Léti is similar to *Echtra mac Echach Muigmedóin* in that there is no overt journey to the Otherworld, and no description of the Otherworld is given. The Otherworldly encounters in these tales are closely associated with water as the sprites attempt to carry our hero into the sea, and the beast is encountered under Loch Rudraige, while the Otherworld woman is encountered by Níall and his brothers by a well. The concept of liminality in relation to both water and the Irish Otherworld is well known;[18] Carey (1982: 39–41), in his discussion on the location of the Otherworld in early Irish tradition, notes that the Otherworld is often encountered within *síd* mounds, underwater, on islands in the water, off the coast as well as within buildings that appear at night and disappear in the morning. He has, in subsequent scholarship, included wells and houses found 'in darkness, storm or mist' to the list (Carey 1987: 2).

The most analogous text to that of Fergus is that of *Echtrae Lóegairi* (Jackson 1942, hereafter EL) in which Lóegaire and his fifty warriors descend into the lake (EL: 382.67) in order to enter the Otherworld, just as Fergus' sprites seem to

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15   See as examples Dumville (1976) and Oskamp (1970: 41).
16   Carey (1982: 39) notes that, speaking specifically about *Echtrae Chonnlai*, the Otherworld voyage itself is 'secondary and extraneous.' Dumville (1976) reaches the same conclusion as Mac Cana.
17   Duignan does not include *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* in her overview of the genre, considering it to be a 'lost *echtra*', and concludes that without evidence that the extant text is the one referenced in List B, it should be excluded (Duignan 2011: 18–19).
18   See Nagy (1981–1982) for further discussion on liminality.

inhabit an underwater realm as does, of course, the *muirdris*. There are also liminal conditions surrounding the arrival of Fiachna mac Rétach, the Otherworldly warrior who invites Lóegaire into the Otherworld, as he arrives *triasin ciaig* 'through mist' (EL: 380.4).

Echtrae Nerai (EN) has Nera enter the Otherworld through a *síd* at Samhain, a liminal time (Meyer 1889: §1, §6). *Echtrae Chonnlai* (EC) occurs at Bealtaine, and the Otherworld is found on an island across the water (McCone 2000: §1, §14), which is likewise where the Otherworld of *Echtrae Airt maic Cuinn* (EA) is located (Best 1907: §20). *Echtrae Chormaic maic Airt* (ECA) likewise occurs at Bealtaine and Cormac is transported to the Otherworld by mist (Stokes 1891: §25, §32).

In many of the *echtrai*, an Otherworldly figure is involved in the passage to the Otherworld; our adventurer does not independently stumble upon the Otherworld, they are either led there or invited for the first time. Nera follows a host into the *síd* (EN: §6), Connla (EC: §5) and Art (EA: §3) both follow an Otherworld woman, while Cormac (ECA: §53) and Lóegaire (EL: 380.10–17) are both invited by a warrior. If we understand the lake near which Fergus rests to be an Otherworldly space, based on the sprites' habitation therein, the attempt to bring him into the lake could potentially be viewed as an 'invitation' of sorts, similar to that of Nera who is not explicitly invited but is ushered towards the *síd* by the host. It is interesting to note that both Nera and Fergus, after their initial Otherworldly encounter, are able to re-enter the *síd*, or the lake, seemingly at their own will: Fergus returns to Loch Rudraige to fight the *muirdris*, without invitation and without his magical charms, while Nera is able to return to his wife in the *síd* (EN: §12), exit, re-enter and exit again with the purpose of retrieving a cow (EN: §15), before finally bringing the host of Connacht into the *síd* and remaining there (EN: §19).

The adventures within the Otherworld are varied, some are martial, such as Lóegaire who massacres an Otherworld host (EL: 382.72–78), and some are entirely peaceful, such as Cormac (ECA: §27) who makes an alliance with an Otherworldly warrior. Connla's Otherworld adventure revolves around an Otherworldly woman, and Nera's adventure revolves around saving the people of Connacht. The texts themselves follow no particular template: there are only a few overlapping plot points, as discussed here and equally in Duignan (2011), and characters do not behave in identical ways.

Whatever the nature of the encounter is, the hero tends to return to the mortal realm with Otherworldly gifts. Fergus has his mantle or herbs that allow him to swim underwater; Nera (and his king, Ailill) receive the mantle of Lóegaire in Armagh, the crown of Briun in Connaught and the shirt of Dunlaing in Leinster (EN: §9); Art receives hostages, gold, silver and a wife (EA: §28); Cormac returns with a cup that discerns truth and a branch that plays music (ECA: §53); Lóegaire

receives gold, silver and a joint sovereignty with the Otherworld and the mortal realm (EL: 384.99–102); and Connla receives an everlasting apple (EC: §8).

The *Saga of Fergus mac Léti* contains a few primary elements that align with the other *echtrai*, and considering the variability within the other established *echtrai* the divergences in Fergus' tale should not be considered evidence that the tale found within the law tracts is not representative of an original *echtra* tale, especially considering that other texts have equal divergences. As examples, Nera is the only adventurer who is not explicitly named to be either a king or descended from kings, and *Echtrae Connlai* is the only text in which there is no impact on the sovereignty of either the mortal or the Otherworld realm. Fergus' adventure follows a similar pattern to the other *echtrai*, namely in that there is an Otherworldly encounter (arguably this encounter includes an invitation) whose spatial or temporal location is liminal,[19] and while the exact adventures are too varied by which to compare, Fergus' saga aligns again with his receiving of Otherworld gifts. Judging by these metrics, *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* seems to retain features, or at least be a convincing imitation of, the *echtra* tradition.

The *echtra* that diverges the most from this pattern, and yet is likely the best known of the tales, is the *Echtra mac Echach Muigmedóin* (EEM). The text follows Níall, the son of a king and a slave-woman, who suffers from the common affliction of a wicked stepmother (EEM: §1, §5, §8), the mother of his four half-brothers. After repeated prophecies and insistences that Níall be king (EEM: §3, §6, §7), he and his brothers set out hunting. At rest, having kindled a fire, the brothers are thirsty and one of the brothers, another Fergus, breaks from the group to seek water (EEM: §10). He encounters a hag by a well who requests a kiss in return for the water he seeks. Repulsed by her appearance, Fergus refuses, is denied water and returns to his brothers unsuccessful (EEM: §10–§13). A second brother, Ailill, sets off on the same quest but also meets the same hag and again denies her request for affection. He too, returns to the hunting party empty-handed. The eldest brother, Brian repeats the mistake of his younger brothers, equally denies the hag

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19   It is possible to argue that the seashore on which Fergus has his first Otherworldly encounter is not a liminal space, and I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion. Though the presence of water may not indicate liminality, it is certainly associated with the supernatural: the Otherworld encountered by Lóegaire is underwater; Níall and his brothers encounter a supernatural woman by a well; and both Connla and Art cross water in order to reach their respective Otherworld locations. As noted by Carey (1982: 40) Otherworldly denizens are often encountered living under bodies of water, on islands as well as off the coast, indicating a clear supernatural association with water. As the beings encountered by Fergus are undoubtedly supernatural and equally connected with the water, perhaps the distinction could be made that the location of the invitation to the Otherworld—or the encounter itself—be understood as having either liminal qualities (as with Nera) or otherwise supernatural associations (as with Níall and Lóegaire).

her kiss and returns unsuccessful. The fourth brother, Fiachra, agrees that he *would* kiss her and in return is promised that he will visit Tara, a promise the text tells us is fulfilled as two of his progeny would become kings (EEM: §13), unlike his brothers who, by refusing the hag her kiss, have deprived themselves of water in the present and their progeny of kingship in the future.

Although Fiachra was amenable to the hag's amorous intentions, he too returns empty-handed, presumably having not gone through with the deed. Níall, the final brother, goes to fetch water and meets the same hag by the well. The hag repeats her request and Níall more than enthusiastically complies and the hag is transformed into a beautiful woman who promises him and all his descendants uncontested kingship, with the exception of Fiachra's two future kings. She likewise gives him water and instructs him to not share it with his brothers until he extorts fealty from them (EEM: §14–§16). Níall again follows the instruction of the now-clearly-identified sovereignty goddess, and his brothers submit to him.

Níall's adventure diverges from the other traditions in that it contains no explicit foray into the Otherworld; while the presence of the well arguably creates a liminal space, Níall and his brothers are not mentioned as having crossed or traversed under water, travelled through mist or passed through a *síd* as in the other texts. While Níall's exploits do have implications for sovereignty, namely, he and his descendants will rule forever, the only material good Níall receives is the water, which is unlike the gifts received by our other heroes in that it does not appear to be magical or supernatural in any way, as there is no mention of abundance, magical qualities, or any particular mythological associations. The only function of the water is that of extortion, as Níall uses it to force fealty from his brothers. The tale equally lacks an invitation into the Otherworld, whether it be explicit or implicit, and thus we are given no indication that the well itself is intended to be understood as being outside the mortal realm.

Duignan (2011: 39, 71) asserts that in all the texts examined in her study, all of them make a royal site the location of the 'invitation', a suggestion with which I disagree in a few cases. Lóegaire receives his invitation at Énloch, which the text tells us was on Magh Aí (EL: §1), the plain in which Crúachan was located. Whether or not this constitutes a royal site is debatable: how far can a 'royal site' be considered to extend?

In both EEM and a tale Duignan refers to as the 'Five Lugaids,'[20] the action of the tale is instigated by an instruction to go hunting: in EEM the brothers are instructed by the smith, Sitchenn (EEM: §5), and in the 'Five Lugaids' by a druid

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20   This account is contained within *Cóir Anmann* (edited by Arbuthnot 2007) and concerns the five sons of Dáire Doimthech. There is no evidence for a title, however Duignan states she elected to include it as the story both refers to the prior action as an *echtra* and contains similar narrative elements to that of EEM (Duignan 2011: 28).

(Arbuthnot 2006: §72). Both of these instructions were given at royal sites (Níall and his brothers were at Tara, the five Lugaids at Tailtiu) however this demand can hardly be seen as an 'invitation' to enter the Otherworld, not only because they both lack an explicit invitation of any kind, but also because neither are instigated nor followed immediately by an Otherworldly encounter. Perhaps if the wilderness into which the sets of brothers go to hunt were considered the Otherworld, then possibly placing their adventures as having begun with the hunting quest would make sense. However, even in Duignan's (2011: 51) analysis of the descriptions of the Otherworld she does not discuss the woods and within the texts themselves the woods lack any expected depiction of the Otherworld, with no mention of abundance, beauty or prosperity.

Instead, as discussed, Níall and his brothers have an Otherworld encounter near a well, but do not venture into the Otherworld itself. The five Lugaids are beset by snow, and stumble upon an Otherworld home (Arbuthnot 2006: §72), in a manner which is more or less identical to the way in which the Otherworld home is encountered in *Compert Con Culainn* (Van Hamel 1933: §2–§3).

Conversely, we have Nera whose adventure undoubtedly begins at a royal site but who is not issued an explicit invitation either: he follows a group of Otherworldly figures, but he is neither asked nor commanded to follow them. It would seem, therefore, that while an explicit invitation is often extended, it is not strictly necessary if there are other liminal or supernatural conditions, i.e. a snowstorm, the presence of water, a royal site (Carey 1987: 6), a liminal time or any combination of the above.

Níall and Fergus' tales are interesting to compare, because the primary way in which *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* diverges from the other *echtrai* is that the repercussions of his Otherworld adventure are negative. In contrast, Nera saves his people (EN: §19); Art and Níall both receive sovereignty (EA: §30; EEM: §18); Lóegaire receives silver, gold and Otherworldly kingship (EL: 384.99–102, 386.128–130); Cormac not only receives gifts but saves his family (ECA: §54); and though Connla never returns, it is implied that he is happy (EC: §15).

Fergus, however, returns from his Otherworldly encounter disfigured. He returns to his kingdom shamed, and no longer deserving of his throne. After his second overt excursion in which he fights the *muirdris*, Fergus dies. But these negative repercussions are unsurprising because Fergus differs from our other adventurers in one very important way: he explicitly disobeys the rules of the Otherworld. In all the other *echtrai*, our adventurers comply, they fight battles for the Otherworld denizens, they are invited in and obey the rules of the world, and they exhibit kingly qualities whilst on their adventures.

Fergus, on the other hand, attacks the sprites as they attempt to lead him in. He explicitly disobeys his single instruction and dives into Loch Rudraige, wherein he

does not even attempt to fight the monster, an act entirely unbefitting of a king as, according to *Críth Gablach*, a king who demonstrates cowardice in battle reduces his honour-price (Kelly 2015: 19), and Fergus' failure is physically manifested. Fergus' behaviour, then, is more comparable to that of Níall's brothers, who do not comply with the wishes of the sovereignty goddess and are consequently punished both by their failure to procure water, but also by the denial of kingship for themselves and their descendants. Fergus' *echtra* can thus be understood as a cautionary one; a tale of what goes wrong when you disobey the rules and flout the guidelines laid out by the Otherworld beings.

The Saga of Fergus mac Léti contains elements that are present in the other saga material, as well as vivid illustrations of early Irish legal principles. The variability of the other *echtrai*, and the common elements and themes between them, allows for this extant version of the text to be considered a part of the collection of *echtrai*, or at the very least, an authentic retelling of a saga text with legal influence. *The Saga of Fergus mac Léti* provides an excellent insight into medieval Irish society, providing us both with a text that exemplifies a variety of legal material, as well as a text that manages to be both in keeping with the wider *echtrai* tradition, but that shows us the opposite end of the spectrum: when the adventurer is not noble and not obedient he is judged by the Otherworld as not being worthy, and he suffers for it.

Abbreviations

ALI   *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland* (Hancock et. al. 1895–1901)
CIH   *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Binchy 1978)
EA   *Echtrae Airt maic Cuinn* (Best 1907)
EC   *Echtrae Chonnlai* (McCone 2000)
ECA   *Echtrae Chormaic maic Airt* (Stokes 1891)
EEM   *Echtra mac Echach Muigmedóin* (Stokes 1903)
EL   *Echtrae Lóegairi* (Jackson 1942)
EN   *Echtrae Nerai* (Meyer 1889)

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The Promotion of Cornish in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly: Attitudes towards the Language and Recommendations for Policy

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The promotion of Cornish as a widely-spoken community language has become more evident, especially after the creation by Cornwall Council of the first language strategy in 2004 and the current strategy for the period 2015–2025. However, since Cornish speakers constitute not much more than 1% of the total population, it is important to take into account not only their position but also the attitudes of non-Cornish speakers in order to achieve some success (Fishman 1991: 174). The literature about the use of Cornish and attitudes towards its promotion is very scarce. SGRÙD Research provided some details about the use of Cornish amongst speakers in 2000, such as the approximate number of speakers, totalling about 300 individuals. PFA Research (2007) described general apathy and rather weak opposition to the promotion of Cornish while the Cornish Language Partnership (2013b) and Croome (2015) presented some positive data amongst employees of Cornwall Council and teachers. The present study, based on the answers of 367 individuals to a questionnaire, provides a more detailed and updated report concerning the views of the inhabitants of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. It describes a very different panorama from those outlined previously, with attitudes radically opposed between self-declared Cornish nationals and those not identifying with Cornish nationality. It is expected that the recommendations based on these results may help increase the possibilities of success of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015–2025 in a way that may benefit Cornish and attract people to the language without encouraging opposition from the rest of the population.

Keywords: Cornish; language policy; language attitudes; language revitalisation; language education

1. Introduction

After facing severe difficulties from the very beginning of its revitalisation in 1904 (Tanner 2004: 240), Cornish is being promoted with the intention of making it a widely-spoken community language in Cornwall. The Cornish Language Strategy 2015–2025 pursues four main objectives, namely 1) the need to increase the numbers of Cornish speakers, 2) the need to increase the use of Cornish as a community language, 3) the need to maintain and increase the profile and status

afforded to Cornish in public life and 4) the need to maintain and develop Cornish as a dynamic language that can be used for a full range of purposes in all fields of human activity (Cornwall Council 2015: 12). Cornish is also spoken by some individuals in the Isles of Scilly, where it used to be a living language until the seventeenth century (George 2009: 490). Despite the scientific activity around the language, data about the current state of Cornish, both among speakers and in the context of Cornish society more generally, is still fragmentary. Moreover, some of the studies about the sociolinguistics of Cornish either rely excessively on a relatively small group of individuals or organisations or offer a very generalist view on the topic. This implies much more than a scientific gap. If Cornish is intended to be promoted, all inhabitants of Cornwall and possibly Scilly are to be affected and, for this reason, they may have an opinion on whether the promotion is necessary and/or on how it may be carried out. Therefore, in order to increase the possibilities of success of the Language Strategy, a new and more in-depth understanding of language attitudes amongst the inhabitants of the area is necessary.

The situation of revived Cornish has been studied by several scholars, especially after the 1990s. One of the first academic papers dealing with the sociolinguistics of revived Cornish was George & Broderick (1993). Although the paper did not include much statistical data, such as the use of Cornish in general domains, the number of speakers, etc., it provided a necessary review of the situation and the recent publications and strategies to promote the language. A revised edition of the same work, edited by Ball & Müller, was published in 2009, in which George & Broderick added some more recent details about the promotion of Cornish, such as its recognition by the British Government as a British language falling under Part II (Article 7) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (George & Broderick 2009: 753–760). Another milestone study was carried out by SGRÙD Research (2000). This was the first paper to offer some hints based on a scientific investigation about the use of Cornish and the number of speakers, which was established at about 300 individuals including some dozens living in London (SGRÙD Research 2000: 20). The recognition by the British government in 2002 as a British language allowed Cornish to be protected by the authorities, in contrast with the situation during the previous decades, when the language was only supported by volunteers and enthusiasts. Five years after this historical advancement, PFA Research (2007: 102–105) included a few general questions related to the knowledge of and attitudes towards the Cornish language in a survey entitled *A Report to the Cornwall Strategic Partnership: Quality of Life Tracker Survey*. According to this study, most people of Cornwall were aware of the existence of the Cornish language, to which almost 50% of the respondents were rather indifferent. During the following years, the Cornish Language Partnership (now Cornish Language Office) undertook a series of surveys mostly among Cornish speakers (Burley 2008; Cornish Language

Partnership 2013a) and employees of the Cornwall Council (Cornish Language Partnership 2013b). These reports stated that the skills in Cornish of most speakers were very limited and only 16% of the speakers were fluent speakers (Cornish Language Office 2013a: 8). In 2011, the British Census provided an approximation of the number of fluent Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Scilly, since almost 500 individuals in the area stated that Cornish is their 'main' language (Office for National Statistics 2013: 7–8). A recent piece of research, *Cornish Language Strategy 2015–25 Evaluation and Development Report*, was carried out by Ioan & Jones (2015). It is mostly based on consultations with language organisations and interviews with relevant individuals in order to evaluate the progress of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015–2025. Although it contains some positive points, it emphasises the weak state of Cornish in education and in official contexts. The same year, Croome (2015) published an interesting study about teachers' attitudes towards the Cornish language which depicts a rather positive approach towards the incorporation of Cornish in the school curriculum. Finally, one of the latest papers published on Cornish sociolinguistics establishes the number of those with at least minimal skills in Cornish, such as the use of some words and phrases, at more than 3,000 individuals living in Cornwall and Scilly. Approximately 500 of them are estimated to be fluent speakers (Ferdinand 2018: 57).

The present investigation is based on the responses to a survey of 367 individuals from the three main groups living in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, namely 1) Cornish speakers including all those who claimed at least minimal skills in Cornish, such as the use of isolated words and phrases, 2) non-Cornish-speaking self-declared Cornish nationals, who theoretically may be more attached to the language despite their lack of competence in it, and 3) non-Cornish speakers not identifying with Cornish nationality, mostly British and/or English individuals with usually very little historical links with the Cornish language. This self-identification is not related to the place of birth or to family history, but to the respondents' personal perception of their national identity. The research aims to answer four main questions.

When a language is to be promoted, a central issue is to have a body of speakers with enough knowledge of the language in order to teach it to others. Moreover, ability to speak the minority language may also increase the level of visibility which, in turn, may attract non-speakers to learn it (Fishman 1991: 91). Therefore, the first question to be answered, '*how developed are the Cornish language skills amongst the speakers?*', deals with the current abilities of the speakers and their capacity to promote the language by making it accessible to other people.

Nevertheless, although having some fluent speakers or even a relatively large number of them is necessary, it may not be sufficient to make a language into a community language. Positive attitudes towards learning amongst non-speakers

or towards improving their knowledge amongst those with minimal competence occupy an important place in the survival of the language (Fishman 1991: 174). For this reason, the second research question, '*what are the attitudes of non-Cornish speakers towards learning the language and of Cornish speakers towards improving their knowledge?*', explores the extent of these attitudes amongst the population.

Some of the attitudes found in the second research question may have their origin in traditional views about the language. For this reason, the third research question, '*what are the current views on the Cornish language more generally?*', is related to general attitudes or views on Cornish by both speakers and non-speakers. As the label 'general' suggests, these views do not imply any skill in the language or real disposition to learn it. They are, in fact, a tool to determine whether the old clichés which led to the substitution of Cornish by English in the past are still supported by the population today. The answers to this question may help Cornish policymakers apply certain approaches in order to refute negative views that may exist or to build their policy on already existing positive ideas.

Finally, even if not everybody, due to different reasons, would be likely to learn Cornish or may have different personal views about the language itself, their support or lack of it may have an important impact on the development of an adequate language policy. For this, the fourth question to be answered is '*to what extent is the promotion of Cornish supported by the inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly?*'

2. Methodology

A questionnaire was prepared in order to conduct a survey amongst Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speakers living in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. The confidence level for the survey was established as at least 95% with a 10% margin of error. According to the survey platform Survey Monkey,[1] this would require at least 94 answers from Cornish speakers (estimated population: maximum of 4,000 individuals), and 97 answers from non-Cornish speakers (estimated adult population: maximum of 500,000 individuals).

The participants were informed that they were not compelled to answer all the questions, since their participation was voluntary. Only one questionnaire was prepared to be distributed among Cornish speakers and non-speakers. It was designed exclusively in English in order to facilitate participation and understanding. It was hypothesised that a Cornish version might have provoked suspicions among some participants who do not favour the promotion of the language. Moreover, English

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1   Margin of error calculator available at: https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/margin-of-error-calculator/?ut_source1=mp&ut_source2=sample_size

is the only language that is spoken and understood by all the inhabitants of the area. The final version of the questionnaire comprised eleven close-ended questions, some of them divided into several sub-questions (see Appendix).

In order to contact participants, several steps were followed. According to previous research, approximately one third of Cornish speakers are members of or are somehow associated with language organisations (Burley 2008: 8). Therefore, it was considered convenient to reach many of the speakers by sending a brief explanation in Cornish and English about the research to those organisations, and invitations for their members to participate. Some invitations were also sent to the eight *yeth an werin* groups (conversation groups) operating in Cornwall (at that time there was no group in Scilly). A number of other speakers were contacted either directly or through their companies, schools or universities.

The survey among non-speakers was conducted using a simple random sampling, since all the participants were chosen randomly from the wider population with the condition of being older than sixteen and living in Cornwall or Scilly. In order to reach them, a number of individuals, as well as some social, educational, political and administrative (government) organisations and private companies were invited to participate. All the invitations were sent by email, specifying in English the nature of the research, and attaching a link to the survey.

The questionnaire was uploaded to the online platform www.sogosurvey. com and the volunteers were directed to this website to participate in the survey. Additionally, individuals who may have had any problem accessing the online survey were given the possibility of participating by other means, such as email or using a hard copy of the questionnaire. All the answers were received between October and December 2016.

3. Overview of Participation

A total of 220 individuals, 128 males and 92 females, with skills in spoken Cornish participated in the survey. Only one participant was located in the Isles of Scilly, while the rest were living in Cornwall. Approximately three quarters of the speakers (n=162) identified themselves as Cornish nationals only or along with another nationality, such as British or English. At this point, it is important to clarify that the identification as 'Cornish national' is a personal view and it may include people who were born in Cornwall, lifelong residents and some others who nevertheless self-describe as Cornish and/or Scillonian. Slightly over 6% (n=14) of the Cornish speakers were aged between 17 and 30 years old, 44% (n=97) belonged to the intermediate generation aged between 31 and 59, and over 49% (n=109) were aged 60 and older. The participants represented the main socioeconomic sectors of Cornwall and Scilly in similar rates as those provided by the 2011 Census.

The group of non-Cornish speakers encompassed 147 individuals, 143 based in Cornwall and four in the Isles of Scilly. 83 of them were males while 64 were females. The majority of participants, 71% (*n*=105), did not identify with the Cornish/Scillonian nationality, although some of them had been born in Cornwall or Scilly. According to their ages, this group was distributed in a similar manner to the Cornish speakers, namely 8% (*n*=12) were aged between 17 and 30 years old, 46% (*n*=67) were aged between 31 and 59, and 46% (*n*=68) were aged 60 and older. Although none of these respondents was able to speak Cornish, thirteen individuals declared very limited command of written Cornish. As in the Cornish-speaking group, there were non-Cornish-speaking respondents in all the main socioeconomic sectors of Cornwall and Scilly in similar rates as those provided by the 2011 Census.

Although all sampling methodologies have the risk of being biased to a certain extent, the similarities in gender distribution, age and socioeconomic stratification between Cornish-speaking and non-Cornish-speaking participants, and between these and the data provided by the 2011 Census, suggests that the sampling was appropriate for the investigation and may reflect the attitudes of the different groups under study sufficiently (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2018: 214).

4. Findings

4.1 Competence in Cornish and engagement in learning and improving skills

Previous studies have suggested a rather low proficiency in Cornish amongst the speakers. In 2000, SGRÙD Research estimated the number of fluent individuals at approximately 23% of speakers (SGRÙD Research 2000: 20). In 2013, the Cornish Language Partnership lowered the figure to only 16% of fluent individuals amongst all speakers (Cornish Language Partnership 2013a: 8). Ferdinand (2018: 57) provided similar results, establishing the percentage of fluent Cornish speakers at 14% of the total. These results are confirmed by the responses to Question 8 of this investigation. According to the answers of the 220 individuals with some Cornish skills, only 19% (*n*=42) are fluent speakers, while 60% (*n*=133) can only speak a few words and phrases (Figure 1).

4.2 Attitudes towards improving/learning Cornish

When a language is spoken by a minority, a first step in determining whether revitalisation is attainable should include a study of both its speakers' disposition towards improving their language skills, and the non-speakers' attitudes towards learning it (Fishman 1991: 174). In order to explore this point, participants were
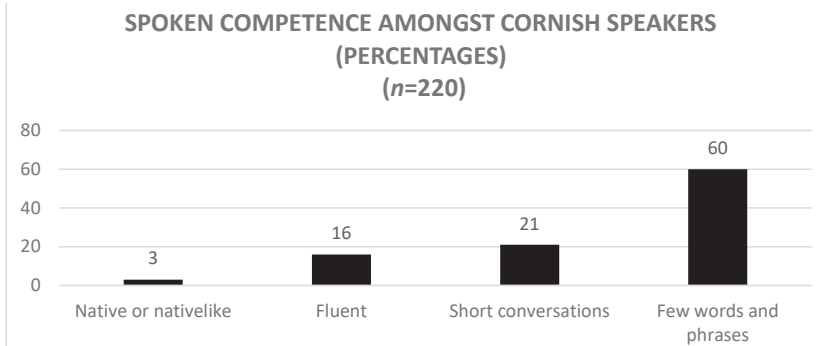
SPOKEN COMPETENCE AMONGST CORNISH SPEAKERS (PERCENTAGES) (*n=220*)

Native or nativelike	3
Fluent	16
Short conversations	21
Few words and phrases	60

Figure 1. Spoken competence amongst those who claim some knowledge of Cornish

asked their opinion to a direct statement, '*I want to learn/improve Cornish*' (Question 10a).

Figure 2a shows how most of those who claim some knowledge of Cornish seem to be very engaged in pursuing their study of the language. 48% (*n=105*) 'strongly agree' with the possibility of improving their competence in Cornish, and another 29% (*n=64*) 'agree' with this statement. On the opposite side, only 13% (*n=28*) deny any interest in improving their Cornish skills, while another 10% (*n=22*) feel neutral about it. Moreover, in response to Question 11, '*How often would you like to speak Cornish?*', 48% (*n=105*) of the speakers state their willingness to use Cornish in a balanced way along with English (Figure 2b). There is also a high percentage, 41% (*n=89*), who would like to use Cornish as their main language, including 3% (*n=7*) who would opt for speaking only in Cornish.

The answers of the non-Cornish speakers who identify with Cornish nationality show an almost symmetrical division between those who declare at least some interest in learning Cornish, 39% (*n=16*), and those who reject the idea, 41% (*n=17*). When asked how often they would like to use Cornish, almost half of the group, 44% (*n=18*), show negative attitudes either by denying the possibility of speaking Cornish or by stating their lack of knowledge of the language. Approximately one third of the self-declared Cornish nationals, 34% (*n=14*), answer that they would use mostly English although they would not neglect the use of Cornish. Those who would use Cornish in a similar way as English account for 20% (*n=8*) of the participants and only an almost imperceptible 2% (*n=1*) would be prone to use Cornish as their main language.

Finally, only 17% (*n=18*) of the respondents who do not identify themselves as Cornish nationals state that they would be willing to learn Cornish, while 74% (*n=78*) deny such a possibility. Interestingly, even in the case of being able to speak
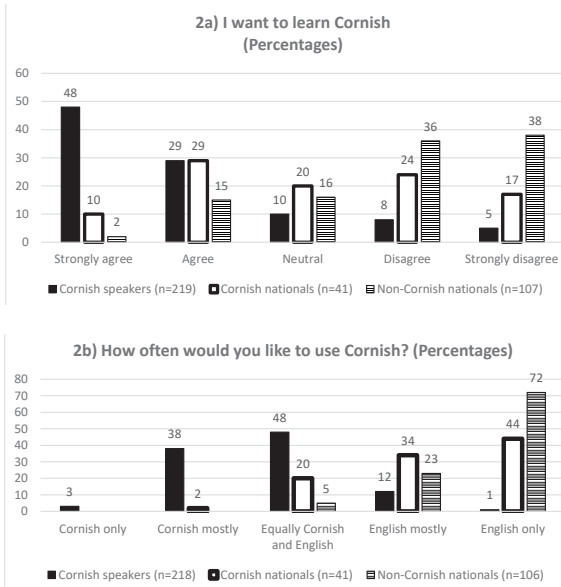
2a) I want to learn Cornish (Percentages)

■ Cornish speakers (n=219) ☐ Cornish nationals (n=41) ☰ Non-Cornish nationals (n=107)

2b) How often would you like to use Cornish? (Percentages)

■ Cornish speakers (n=218) ☐ Cornish nationals (n=41) ☰ Non-Cornish nationals (n=106)

Figure 2. Learning (improving) and using Cornish.

Cornish, only a minority of 28% (*n*=30) would use it, though in most cases only as an auxiliary language to English. It is also true that some non-Cornish-speaking respondents may have misunderstood the question thinking that, since they cannot currently speak Cornish, they would not be able to use it in a hypothetical future. In any case, the differences between Cornish nationals and those who do not declare any Cornish nationality are evident and suggest that the disposition to speak the language, if they know it, is notably stronger among those who identify with Cornish nationality.

4.3 Attitudes towards the Cornish language: General views on the language
One of the factors which caused the strong decline of speakers of Cornish between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was its loss of prestige and the lack of interest of the speakers towards preserving it (Ferdinand 2013: 209; Mills 2010: 200). Statements 10b, '*Cornish is interesting*', and 10c, '*Cornish is a low-class language*', were designed to elucidate whether the old prejudices against the language are still valid.

In response to these statements, Cornish speakers show themselves very supportive towards the language by almost unanimously considering it an

interesting language (95% (n=208)) and denying it to be a low-class language (87% (n=190)). Both groups of non-Cornish-speaking participants hold similar views of the language as the ones expressed by the speakers. The majority of them also agree that Cornish is an interesting language, 80% (n=31) among those who identify themselves as Cornish nationals and 58% (n=62) among those who do not (Figure 3a). Similarly, 73% of both groups (n=30 among Cornish nationals and n=79 among those not identifying with Cornish nationality) deny Cornish to be a low-class language (Figure 3b).

Besides the aforementioned old clichés, two other viewpoints about the language are also examined. Question 6c was designed to explore the possible connections between the Cornish language and the degree of identity as a Cornishman/woman (Figure 3c). According to the answers received, the language is a mark of Cornishness for more than half of the respondents. However, there are some differences between groups. Interestingly, the largest percentage of people who perceived some relationship between language and identity are those who do not identify themselves as Cornish nationals, namely 55% (n=59). This viewpoint is shared by only 42% (n=17) of the Cornish nationals and 41% (n=89) of the Cornish-speaking respondents. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the combination of a number of factors. On the one hand, the sentiment of being Cornish does not depend solely on the language spoken, but on the convergence of different factors such as heritage, music, cuisine, etc., which may be different for each individual. For this reason, the non-Cornish-speaking participants who identify with Cornish nationality may not see the language as a determinant feature of their nationality. On the other hand, Cornish speakers may understand that they constitute a minority and thus, besides learning Cornish, there are other ways to express people's attachment to Cornwall.

In spite of this, the still widely perceived link between language and identity may induce some people to think that there may be a connection not only between language and identity but also between language and Cornish nationalist or secessionist political ideologies, such as those who see Cornwall as a separate country within the United Kingdom, or even as a Celtic nation occupied by the English. In fact, according to the answers to Question 6b, those who do not identify with the Cornish nationality have a slightly stronger inclination to assign some degree of political ideology to the Cornish language (34% (n=34)) than the Cornish nationals (29% (n=11)). Some of these individuals may support the view that English is the 'natural' language of the area, while Cornish is one of the political tools used by Cornish nationalism. In any case, the most common response of both groups is the neutral one (39% (n=39) amongst those who do not identify with Cornish nationality and 33% (n=13) amongst the self-declared Cornish nationals). Finally, only 15% (n=32) of the Cornish speakers perceive any link between the

3a) Cornish is an interesting language (percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=219)   Cornish nationals (n=41)   Non-Cornish nationals (n=107)

3b) Cornish is a low-class language (percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=220)   Cornish nationals (n=41)   Non-Cornish nationals (n=108)

3c) Speaking Cornish is a mark of Cornishness (percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=217)   Cornish nationals (n=40)   Non-Cornish nationals (n=103)

3d) Cornish language is related to Cornish nationalism (percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=215)   Cornish nationals (n=40)   Non-Cornish nationals (n=101)
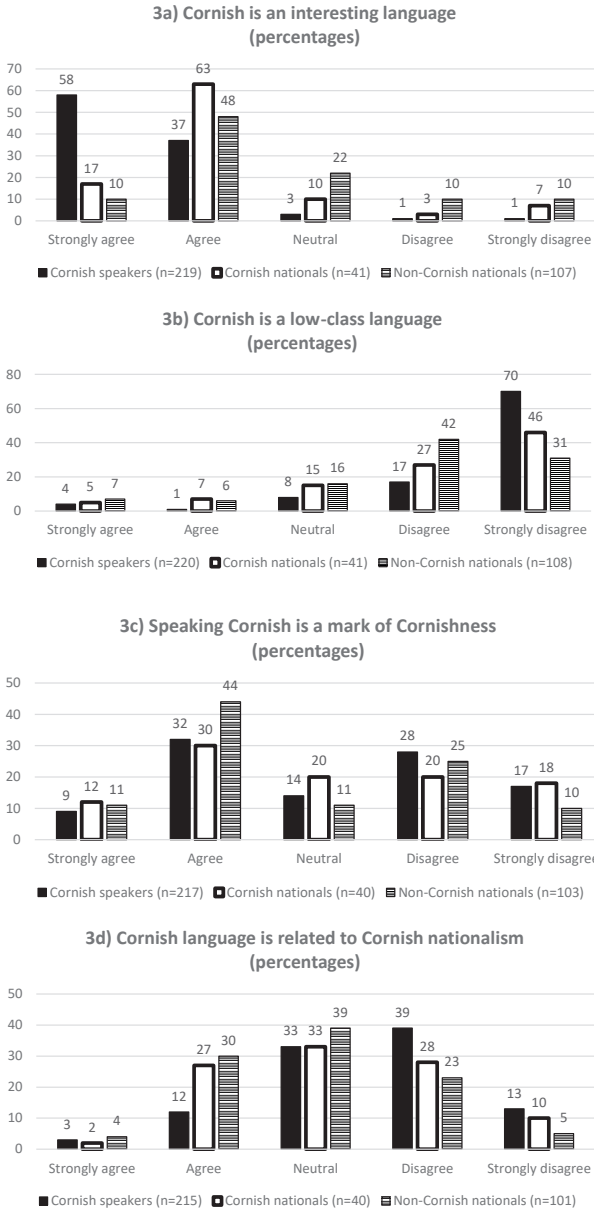
Figure 3. Views on the Cornish language

language and political activism (Figure 3d). These results and the fact that Cornish-speaking participants are more likely to identify with Cornish nationality may seem contradictory. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the identification with Cornish nationality should not always be understood as a political view but as a cultural perspective. For some it may be identification with the local culture and/or realisation of the differences between Celtic Cornwall and Germanic England, but not the pursuit of any political goals. It is also true that others may have a political agenda, but this is also true amongst some English speakers. In any case, the data collected for this investigation does not give us information on the prevalence of these or other views.

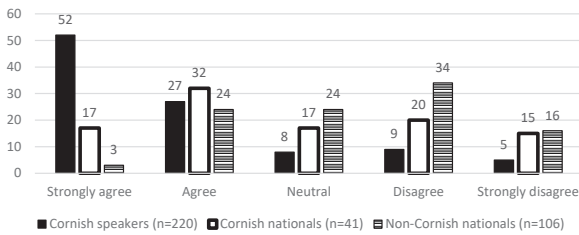### 4.4 Attitudes towards the promotion of Cornish

Promoting a certain language in an area where not everybody can speak it, as is the case with Cornish in Cornwall, usually has an important effect on both speakers and non-speakers who may have their opinion on the convenience and methodology of the promotion. In order to explore these points of view in Cornwall and Scilly, participants were requested to express their agreement with four statements included in Question 10, namely '*Cornish should be made official*', '*Street signing must include Cornish*', '*Authorities must promote the use of Cornish*' and '*Promoting Cornish is a waste of resources*'. The results obtained show strong consistency when compared to each other. In general, approximately 51% (n=75) of the non-Cornish-speaking respondents are against the use of Cornish in official domains (Figure 4a); 57% (n=84) do not want the language to be made official or employed in street signing (Figure 4b); 50% (n=73) do not want authorities to promote Cornish (Figure 4c) and 44% (n=65) consider promoting Cornish a waste of resources (Figure 4d). However, once again, the differences between self-declared Cornish nationals and those who identified with other national identities are notable. While the opposition to the promotion of Cornish among Cornish nationals is generally around 30% (n=12), the opposition among those not identifying with Cornish nationality is around 50% (n=53). On the other hand, the support usually reaches 50% (n=20) among Cornish nationals and only 25–30% (n=26–37) among non-Cornish nationals. The highest support towards the official use of Cornish is expressed by the speakers, with more than 70% (n=161) in favour and only between 10% and 15% (n=22–33) opposed.

The promotion of Cornish also involves its introduction in the field of education, one of the most relevant tools to promote languages (Grenoble & Whaley 2005: 32; UNESCO 2003: 12; Fishman 1991: 95; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977: 316). Nevertheless, despite the process of revitalisation and promotion of the language and even the reported positive attitudes of teachers and schools across Cornwall, the use of Cornish in education is still very limited or non-existent in most of
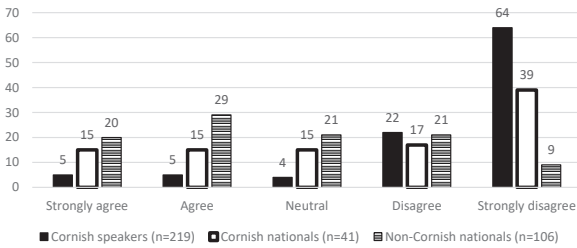
4a) Cornish should be an official language (Percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=220) Cornish nationals (n=41) Non-Cornish nationals (n=106)
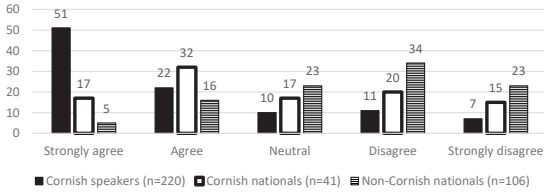
4b) Authorities must promote Cornish (Percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=220) Cornish nationals (n=41) Non-Cornish nationals (n=106)

4c) Promoting Cornish is a waste of resources (Percentages)

Cornish speakers (n=219) Cornish nationals (n=41) Non-Cornish nationals (n=106)

4d) Street signing must include Cornish (Percentages)

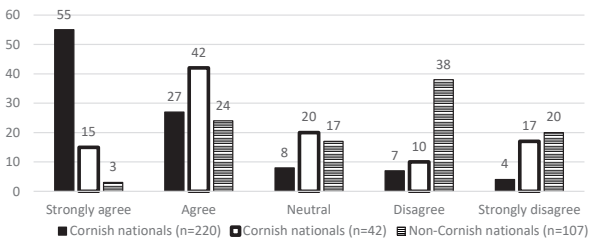Cornish nationals (n=220) Cornish nationals (n=42) Non-Cornish nationals (n=107)

Figure 4. Cornish in official domains

Cornwall and Scilly. In fact, only a few primary schools and preschool play groups teach it, but mostly as an extracurricular activity (Croome 2015: 121; Sayers, Davies-Deacon & Croome 2019: 15, 19).

Question 7a focuses on the respondents' opinion on whether Cornish should be introduced in education to promote its use. An overwhelming majority of 80% (*n*=179) of the speakers agree with this point. Still a high percentage, 50% (*n*=20), of the non-Cornish speakers who identify themselves as Cornish nationals declare their support for the measure. However, only 30% (*n*=28) of those not identifying with Cornish nationality agree with the proposal (Figure 5a). Question 7b is more specific, proposing to have Cornish made into a compulsory school subject for all students. In this case, the level of approval falls notably, as compared to the results of the previous question. Half (*n*=108) of the Cornish-speaking participants support this measure, which may reflect a positive attitude by the speakers towards the non-speakers, avoiding any imposition of Cornish on those who do not want to learn it (Figure 5b). The introduction of a Cornish-language school subject for all students is supported by only 22% (*n*=9) of the Cornish nationals and 11% (*n*=12) of those who do not identify with Cornish nationality.
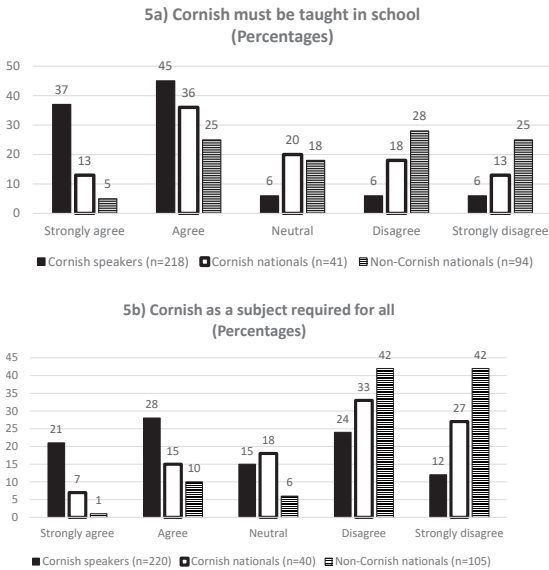

Figure 5. Cornish and education

5. Discussion

This research has confirmed the results of previous investigations, which suggested that the percentage of fluent speakers amongst those with spoken skills in Cornish may be relatively low. This percentage may be established at approximately 20% of all speakers. On the other hand, despite their low skills, most speakers would be happy to use Cornish as often as possible. Another positive point is the relatively high percentage of non-Cornish-speaking participants, approximately 25%, who state that they would like to learn some Cornish. This situation suggests an urgent need to increase the level of fluency of the speakers and the number of people who can speak Cornish. Obviously, this would have to be supported by the creation of opportunities for using the language, as proposed by the Cornish Language Strategy 2015–2025 (Cornwall Council 2015: 12). The following points may serve as a reference to work on these goals:

- Creation of a form of simplified Cornish in the shape of the Basque '*Euskara Errazean*', Norwegian '*Lettnorsk*', or Finnish '*selkokieli*'. This would allow those with low skills in Cornish, such as new students, to express themselves in a range of situations with a minimum number of vocabulary items and constructions. For those who want to pursue their study of the Cornish language, simplified Cornish may also serve as the most appropriate platform from which to acquire higher competence
- Preparation of material specifically aimed at different levels according to the rules of simplified Cornish
- Introduction of international standards to label language levels, such as those described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, from A1 to C2. This would help students and others, such as authorities, employers, etc. to determine the actual level of the speaker. In addition, it may also serve as a reference to create new resources based on graded material in other languages

The responsibility to create opportunities to speak Cornish cannot fall solely on the speakers, who often may not know each other, but external help is required by public and, if possible, private institutions. Some points that may be applied include the following:

- There are several events related to the Cornish language that occur every year, but their attendance is usually very low. One of the reasons for this may be the lack of awareness of the existence of these events. In fact, many of them are publicised by the often small language organisations on their websites or on difficult-to-find links on the Cornwall Council website.

Local governments should therefore publicise the occasions related to the Cornish language in more prominent places, such as easy-to-find internet banners. This should be done in English, since most people are unable to understand written Cornish. This would also help break the isolation of the speakers by opening such events to non-Cornish speakers, making them popular festivities

• In Cornwall and Scilly, not all the speakers know each other. Therefore, another way to implement the language would be by encouraging Cornish-speaking officials at government offices, clerks in shops, and employees working in various businesses to identify themselves as Cornish speakers. A voluntary identification would help avoid most negative reactions by those opposed to this strategy, but at the same time would allow speakers to use Cornish in places and domains which may be previously neglected. This may be done with badges, posters or any other appropriate sign, as is done, for example, with sign-language officials

The promotion of Cornish is something that also affects non-speakers living in the area. In fact, after its recognition as a British language falling under Part II (Article 7) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Cornish has become an object of protection by the authorities. This protection has been a key element in the adoption of the Standard Written Form (*Furv Skrifys Savonek*), the increased use of Cornish in public signage and the organisation of a number of new language-related events. Although the advancements in this field are evident, the promotion of the language requires continuity in order not to lose the ground gained. As described in this paper, the majority of the population consider Cornish an interesting language, which generally has no negative connotations. Moreover, in contrast with what happened during the eighteenth century, the language has also ceased to be associated with low-status occupations and it is considered a rather strong mark of Cornishness (George 2009: 532; Mills 2010: 200). This favourable situation may be used to promote the language in a positive manner, which would link directly with points three and four of the Strategy 2015–2025, namely the need to maintain and increase the profile and status afforded to Cornish in public life and the need to maintain and develop Cornish as a dynamic language that can be used for a full range of purposes in all fields of human activity (Cornwall Council 2015: 12).

Therefore, the language can be presented from different perspectives, such as a tool for developing cognitive abilities (Serratrice 2012: 99), as a tool for opening new possibilities (Canadian Council on Learning 2008: 4), or as a mark of distinctiveness (Martínez de Luna 2013: 56). The latter, however, must be employed carefully due to the risk of associating the language with certain social

classes or political ideologies, as happened in the United Kingdom during the 1980s with the teaching of standard English (Ager 2003: 144). In addition, consideration must be given to the results of this research which show that the supporters of the promotion of the language are still a large minority, while most people may be either neutral or against it due, for example, to their perception of how this process may affect local budgets. For these reasons, it might be appropriate to work in two directions, namely the continuation and increase of the promotion of Cornish and the attraction of more individuals towards more positive positions. Some of the points that may be followed to continue the promotion of the language may include the following:

- Assigning the Cornish language some value in accessing positions in which interaction with both English and Cornish speakers may take place on a daily basis, such as advisors, police officers or information assistants. Cornish would be employed in a similar fashion to the British Sign Language, since all the Cornish-speaking officials would be able to carry out all their responsibilities in English as well. In the short term, it may be advisable to avoid creating positions aimed only at the Cornish-speaking population, such as information officers in Cornish only or official translators of Cornish. This would serve to help the Cornish language without upsetting unnecessarily the high percentage of the population who feel that supporting the language is a waste of resources
- Another inexpensive means of promoting Cornish consists of creating official bilingual forms for different purposes. Besides respecting the rights of the speakers of both English and Cornish, this strategy would accomplish the goal of making Cornish more visible to the general population without interfering in their preference of language use

Visibility occupies a strategical position in the promotion of Cornish. Street signing may make Cornish visible even to those who have never heard the language spoken. However, approximately half of the participants not identifying with Cornish nationality and more than a quarter of those who did identify with Cornish nationality are reluctant to see Cornish in signs. In view of these circumstances, the policy promoting visibility of the language should consider the following points:

- As it is already being carried out by Cornwall Council, the installation of new signs including Cornish must be performed only to substitute deteriorated old signs. In this manner, the introduction of Cornish would not suppose any economic load on the taxpayer, avoiding criticism as much as possible

- In cases where the old sign had been conceived as a traditional or artistic manifestation, the new sign should respect the old design in shape, material, colour and fonts as much as possible. This would help to avoid criticism or blaming the language for new (sometimes unwanted) modern sign designs
- Maximalist measures, such as compulsory signing in Cornish, must continue to be avoided, especially in the private sector. However, businesses and shop owners should always be informed about the possibility of introducing Cornish in their permanent signage, and given assistance to do this

However, the visibility of the language must not be limited to street or commercial signage. Another step to increase it may include the following:

- Despite not being an official language, Cornish should be displayed along with English as much as possible in general communications, advertisements, internet banners, etc. by the authorities. In addition, Cornish and links to Cornish sections must be more evident on the websites of official administrative bodies, such as Cornwall Council. The section devoted to the Cornish language on the Cornwall Council's website was found on a tab titled in English only '*culture and leisure*' along with a number of other topics. This may make it very difficult for visitors to the site to realise that a Cornish-language section exists

The other key domain in which the introduction of Cornish must be considered is education. Most people in Cornwall and Scilly are English monolinguals, and only a minority of those with some skills in Cornish are fluent speakers. For this reason, the acquisition of the language by children cannot be exclusively entrusted to their families. Therefore, the introduction of Cornish into education may help create a new generation of speakers (Cornwall Council 2015: 16). Nevertheless, before this can be implemented, two initial concerns would need to be considered:

- *Teachers*. Promoting Cornish in education would require the preparation of educators who would be able to teach the language or even to teach other subjects in Cornish. Therefore, it would be necessary to equip already qualified teachers to teach Cornish with the required skills, and to design programmes or modules to help university students become Cornish teachers as an *additional* skill to the other subjects they had chosen
- *Material*. Cornish, being a language spoken only in Cornwall, cannot depend on material prepared in other countries or regions. Moreover, teaching a language at school requires specific material which may be substantially different from the books and courses prepared for evening

classes or for independent learners. However, this does not mean that Cornish education specialists are totally on their own. Many ideas could be extracted from material prepared for other languages promoted under similar circumstances, such as Basque, Welsh, or Manx Gaelic

Nevertheless, none of these proposals can be successful if the Cornish language is not in use in the school to a certain extent already. It seems logical to assume that very few university students would be willing to be enrolled in a module to become Cornish teachers if they do not see that it may be utilised in their future careers. Equally unsuccessful would be the creation of material for schoolchildren if the language were not to be studied at school. These points, therefore, should run parallel with the actual promotion of the language in the schools of Cornwall (and possibly in the school on the Isles of Scilly). However, this must be done according to a carefully planned strategy in order to be successful and to prevent it being considered an imposition by the half of the population who are not favourable. In this regard, it would be advisable to proceed according to the following recommendations:

- Avoiding excessive and even intermediate goals. Most of the participants in this investigation, including many Cornish speakers, do not see the introduction of a compulsory Cornish language school subject as convenient. However, even if the majority were favourable to this measure, there would be several basic deficiencies, such as the aforementioned lack of teachers and material, which would make it impossible
- Introducing Cornish as an *optional* subject in a number of schools. At the time of writing this paper, Cornish was taught as an extracurricular activity in a few schools and as a regular subject at Pensans Primary School, in Penzance. Very often, it has to compete against other languages or even other core subjects, which hinder its possibilities to be chosen by parents and students. Cornish must be introduced as an optional regular school subject according to an approved official curriculum. It should be offered during the regular class time as an alternative to other similar subjects, such as a second (or even third) language or other activities
- Continuing the organisation of language tasters. The promotion of Cornish at school as a regular subject must be done gradually. It would be necessary to produce enough material, to prepare enough teachers and to make such measures known to all the parents and students. For these reasons, it may take years until a considerable number of schools may be able to offer Cornish. In the meantime, all these schools must have the possibility of having special sessions or even extracurricular activities related to the

language. The material for learning Cornish must also be available in these centres and parents must be informed of the possibilities for their children to learn Cornish. Parents must also have the possibility to request Cornish classes for their children. The schools, in turn, should contact the authorities in order to be able to fulfil the parents' demands as much as possible

The final part focuses on changing people's apathetic and/or negative attitudes towards the language to more positive ones. An appropriate approach may include the use of language campaigns mirroring those carried out, for example, in the Basque-speaking areas of Spain and France. The design of these campaigns may be based on the following recommendations:

- Due to the concern about the employment of funds to promote Cornish, some campaigns may be carried out mostly via the internet. This would reduce expenses and would reach thousands of individuals all over Cornwall and Scilly
- The official campaigns should be evident for the whole population, not only to the people who are already interested. For this reason, internet ads and banners should be displayed in prominent places on the websites of Cornwall Council, local councils and/or language and cultural organisations. In the case of using printed material, it should be placed in public places accessible to all visitors of official buildings and offices
- Language campaigns must be free from any political ideology. In this case, the emphasis may be placed on the language as an asset and/or as a part of the heritage of the area, independently of people's national views. Other approaches such as learning Cornish due to the benefits of bilingualism should also be used to attract new adult students and to show parents how studying a small language such as Cornish can also be beneficial
- Use of easy-to-remember slogans, songs, etc. These may include:
  1) Widely known Cornish words used in the Anglo-Cornish dialect, such as *bal* (mine), *oggy* (pasty), *wheal* (place of work, mine) or others
  2) Cornish words that have survived in expressions or place names, such as *tre* (farm, town), *lan* (church), *avon* (river)*, chi* (house) or *porth* (harbour)
  3) Easy slogans or rhymes in Cornish, such as '*Eus keus?*' (Is there [any] cheese?) in the manner that other rhymes are employed in other languages, such as '*hoffi coffi*' (I like coffee) in Welsh or '*ekin, ukan, ekin*' (come on, get started!) in Basque. In this case, a translation or an auxiliary message must also be included in order to make the message clear to non-Cornish speakers
  4) Slogans in English

6. Conclusion

Cornish, a Celtic language originally spoken in the areas of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, is a revived language after a hiatus of approximately a hundred years. The language is currently being promoted in Cornwall to become a widely-spoken community language along with English. Cornish is also spoken by a few individuals in the Isles of Scilly, where it has no official recognition. This promotion affects not only speakers and institutions, but the whole population. For this reason, this paper has explored the attitudes of Cornish speakers, non-Cornish-speaking individuals who identify themselves as Cornish nationals, and individuals not identifying with Cornish nationality living in Cornwall and Scilly. Despite the positive views on the language as a relevant cultural feature by the majority of the participants, there were other findings which have to be considered. On the one hand, the skills amongst the Cornish speakers are confirmed to be generally low. Moreover, a considerable part of the non-Cornish-speaking participants stated that they are interested in learning some Cornish. Both groups constitute an important asset to increase the knowledge of Cornish among the inhabitants of the area and must be given the possibility to improve/learn and use the language in different domains. On the other hand, the opposition by approximately half of the population to officialise the language and to give it more possibilities in the educational domain, due in part to the perception of the promotion as a waste of resources, asks for a cautious approach by the authorities. This, however, must not signify a stagnation of the Cornish language revitalisation, but a clear insight into the strategies that can be applied and the manner in which it should be done. The Cornish language can and must continue to be promoted as established in the Strategy 2015–2025 (Cornwall Council 2015: 12). The possibilities to proceed, while avoiding criticism as much as possible, must be based on *optionality* more than obligation, with a strong component of *invitation* by making it more visible and/or available in more domains.

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Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE
1. How old are you? (please write your age in the box provided)
2. Are you male or female? (Please tick. One box only)
3. Where do you live most of the time? (Please tick. One box only)

Cornwall	Isles of Scilly	Other

4. How do you define your nationality? (Please tick. One box only)

Scillonian only	Scillonian and other	Cornish only	Cornish and other	Other

5. Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about the promotion of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Cornish should be made official					
b) Street signing must include Cornish					
c) Authorities must promote the use of Cornish					
d) Promoting Cornish is a waste of resources					

6. If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do YOU think that most probably...?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) He/she supports secessionist ideas					
b) He/she is 'more Cornish' than the average					

7. Cornish and education

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Cornish should be introduced in education to enhance its use					
b) A Cornish language subject should be compulsory for all students in Cornwall and Scilly					

8. Can you speak Cornish?

	Native or nativelike	Fluent user	Short conversations/ texts	A few words and phrases	Basically nothing
Speak					

9. What do you consider your main language (as you answered in the Census 2011)?

Cornish	English	Other

10. Please, say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about the Cornish language:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) I want to learn (or improve) Cornish					
b) Cornish is interesting					
c) Cornish is a low-class language					

11. How often would you like to use Cornish?

I would like to speak English only
I would like to speak mostly in English
I would like to speak equally English and Cornish
I would like to speak mostly in Cornish
I would like to speak always Cornish

Book reviews

Ritari, K. *Pilgrimage to Heaven: Eschatology and Monastic Spirituality in Early Medieval Ireland.* **Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2016. xi + 223 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-56539-2. €65.**

As we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century, eschatology is on the minds of many people, whether they be motivated by religious sentiments or by the threats of global climate change. Within medieval Celtic Studies, eschatological studies have been produced by many scholars associated with University College Cork in Ireland, including work of the present reviewer in an earlier volume of this journal and others that are forthcoming. The successful *De Finibus* project based at UCC published in 2014 an excellent two-volume collection called *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatology* (eds. Carey, Nic Cárthaigh & Ó Dochartaigh), to which the author of the present monograph under consideration, Dr. Katja Ritari, contributed. As an exemplary scholar of early Irish ecclesiastical history, sources, and theology, Dr. Ritari is—in full disclosure—a dear friend and colleague and fellow alum of UCC. *Pilgrimage to Heaven* represents an intriguing approach to the subject of eschatology in that it examines this theme in a variety of texts that may not be as obvious as those in *The End and Beyond* in their specific eschatological concerns.

Those elucidating these subjects tend to be aware that there are (at least) two dimensions of eschatology that are intertwined in a Christian context: the cosmic sense of eschatology as the end of the created universe, and the personal sense of eschatology as the final fate of the human soul after the last judgment and its eternal reward in Heaven or punishment in Hell thereafter. As the Christian soteriological schema, the bulk of its sacramental theology, and the entirety of its moral teaching is based upon preparation for this second, personal eschatological dimension, it is fair to say that eschatology colors every aspect of Christian life. This is particularly so with the perpetual life of penance exemplified by those in monastic orders, and thus examining texts of these provenances or with these subjects is entirely appropriate when considering questions of eschatology.

After a brief introduction on life, death, and spirituality in a monastic context, Dr. Ritari proceeds to examine two hagiographical sources from the Columban tradition of Iona to see how their subjects—St. Adomnán and St. Colum Cille/Columba himself—represented the paradigm of post-eschatological existence while still on the earth. The priority given to Adomnán in this study is due to the chronological precedence of his tenth-century Irish life over Colum Cille's twelfth-century Irish

vita that feature in this analysis. While Adomnán's own *Vita Columbae* does come into the discussion, the focus on the Irish text of Iona's founder here is noteworthy. In the case of Colum Cille's life, the Irish text itself is more interested in the sanctity of holy places founded by the saint in Ireland (particularly Derry and Kells), which are both historically relevant to the situation during which the text was written, and which become sites of pilgrimage due to the presence of the saint's relics. Adomnán's *vita* portrays him as being particularly wise and possessed of supernatural insights which make him effective as the leader of his community, in the same fashion that the possession of *fír flathemon* ('truth of rulers') enables an Irish king to be an effective sovereign and just judge. It is this supernatural insight, as well as his other powers to produce miracles, which makes the ninth abbot of Iona an example of the heavenly life on earth.

The next two sections of the discussion focus upon themes of pilgrimage in particular texts as eschatological locales, with sermons of the peregrine St. Columbanus and the popular monastic voyage-tale *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* as the primary subjects. St. Columbanus' writings are examined to see that not only does the idea of perpetual pilgrimage—the *glas* martyrdom spoken of in some Irish ecclesiastical texts—as a kind of exile for spiritual ends emerge, but that the entirety of human life, and especially of monastic life, and its necessity to turn towards otherworldly aims and motivations is in itself a pilgrimage, an inner journey that

may not actually necessitate an outward wandering. 'Columbanus invites his audience to see the world around them as the creation and thereby to learn about the power behind it all—i.e. the Creator. Worldly things thus have significance only to the extent that they bear relation to the true reality of God' (p. 90).

The wonders on the sea and isles found in the narrative of the *Navigatio* are understood as allegories for the monastic search for eternal heavenly salvation, and some of the denizens of these insular locales are understood as hermits and fellow travelers on the way to paradise in the same way that traveling to visit other hermits was a characteristic of the traditions of the Desert Fathers in Egypt at the beginnings of Christian monastic spiritual history. The ways in which the fasting and feasting of Brendan's monks are portrayed demonstrates the ascetic need for penitential purification in order to achieve a suitable state in which the reward of feasting can be enjoyed as a spiritual consolation rather than an occasion for indulgence or gluttony. This process of ascetic and monastic liturgical discipline in their voyage toward the Promised Land of the Saints makes Brendan and his returning monks very much like the travelers in the secular *immrama* tales, as witnesses to the otherworld and its wonders instructing those who are still on the way. 'By telling the tale, they provide examples of ideal monastic life and trust in God's providence and, most importantly, they bear the message of the reality of the heavenly kingdom, which

awaits everyone after death, as well as the way to get there' (p. 143).

The final text examined returns—at least eponymously—to the first, in that it treats the otherworldly geography presented in the *Fís Adomnáin*, a late-tenth-century text surviving in several later manuscripts. Often cited as a precursor to Dante, Dr. Ritari emphasizes that this text should be judged on its own merits as an outstanding example of visionary literature, and one of the finest from the Irish literary tradition's ample instances of such. Rather than beginning with Hell and ending with Paradise as Dante's text, the *Fís* instead presents all souls as passing through the gates and past the guardians of the Seven Heavens, and then (if so doomed) proceeding to the appropriate punishments in the Seven Hells. Adomnán as a visionary possessed of supernatural knowledge is the ideal figure to be attached to such a tradition, Dr. Ritari suggests, and in her concluding section of this chapter, she discusses at some length the later Irish *Visio Tnugdali* in comparison to the structure of the *Fís*. Ending an examination of eschatological themes in ecclesiastical texts with an actual description of the afterlives awaiting humans is an appropriate way to conclude such a discussion before a short summarizing concluding chapter in this volume.

Dr. Ritari's book is enjoyable and utilizes the broadest range of sources on the texts discussed to illuminate the discussion. Though some repetition of material is inevitable in such a treatment where earlier textual parallels are drawn, the overall content and quality of this work does not suffer from it, and the dialogue between these sources remains vibrant under Dr. Ritari's able hand and mind. For those interested in the topic of eschatology, or general early Irish spirituality and theology, this book will be a boon, and even beyond such a specialist audience, the writing remains clear and accessible so that students at all levels will be able to benefit from the extensive mastery of the material which Dr. Ritari demonstrates in spades herein.

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Lewis, G. & R. Williams (tr.): *The Book of Taliesin: Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain.* London: Penguin. 2019. lxxx + 224 pp. ISBN 978-0-241-38113-7. £20.

Two Welsh bards, one of them a former Archbishop of Canterbury, effect magical transformations upon sixty-one poems from the Book of Taliesin, a treasure of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, where it is MS Peniarth 2. Their volume of translations is a triumph. It combines poetic vision with up-to-date scholarship. It is handsomely produced. It will win prizes.

Their achievement is the greater because the Book of Taliesin's contents are far older than the fourteenth-century manuscript in which they survive. Some are described as being from North Britain, praising victories of Urien Rheged, ruler of Cumbria and its borderlands in the 590s. More tranquil is an anonymous (ninth-century or later) eulogy of Tenby in south-west Wales, telling how its king made gifts to poets at his fortress by the sea. War returns with 'The Prophecy of Britain', a bloodthirsty call for liquidation of the English, possibly written in 940 after a humiliating capitulation by the West Saxons to the Vikings at Leicester (if this is the 'Lego' of its text). Events outside Britain, such as the Almoravid invasion of southern Spain in 1086, may be reflected in certain sections. There is also legendary material on Arthur and Alexander the Great, and obscure glimpses of Celtic mythology. It is quite a mix.

In taking on this difficult body of verse, the translators display imagination and resolve. Here are samples of their work. Lauding Urien's martial prowess (p. 16) the purported author, Taliesin, who may have written in the sixth century, speaks of 'An abundance of corpses, / Crows red with warriors' blood'. According to other critics, all the 'Taliesin' poems represent a pseudonymous work from the ninth century onwards. In a mystical spirit are words (p. 65) by the magician Taliesin of legend (not history), 'Who made the penny / From a circle of silver? / Whence comes the quick sea, / As loud as a chariot?' So there is variety galore.

There is also major progress on the interpretation of these archaic texts, often corrupt. Historians may henceforth use the volume for information on Urien and other North British rulers of the years about 600. Students of poetic inspiration may consult it as well for translations more reliable than those quoted by Robert Graves in his contentious *The White Goddess*. A century of editorial endeavour allows a revolutionary new understanding of poetry that had bewildered previous generations. *The Book of Taliesin* can now be offered with confidence to enquirers. Valuable as well is the editors' introduction, explaining how the tradition of Taliesin bestowed a venerable prophetic authority on creative spirits in Wales and even beyond.

The volume at once summarizes research of the past and indicates routes for that of the future. Here are some corrections to help investigators on their way. The borderland 'Fortress of

Caradawg' of Britain's 'heroic age' (pp. ix, 32) may be misplaced. It was not near Shrewsbury, but further south, at present-day Caradog, on the Wye south of Hereford (see Ekwall 1936: 82). Because 'Arechwydd' (p. xxi, 8, 127, 136) means 'by fresh water', it may denote Urien's territory around York, which neighboured the River Ouse's ancient marshlands. Despite 'Echwydd' meaning 'fresh water', there are those who still take it as the Solway Firth, where the water is salty. There is evidence to date the *Mabinogion* story of Branwen to the early twelfth century, not 'the eleventh' (p. xxxii). Some scholars yet hold the older view that the 'Fortress of Gwair' (pp. 109, 122) is an unidentified stronghold on the River Wear, Co. Durham, but the allusion of the Early Welsh (*g*)*wair*, meaning 'bend', may be to the huge bend of Duncansby Head in Scotland's far north. The 'Spring Song' must allude (pp. 133, 216) to the English victory of Brunanburh in 937, which was not fought in Cheshire (as claimed). It instead took place ten kilometres west of Durham, as indicated in *The Battle of Brunanburh* (Campbell 1938: 61 n. 2).

As for the prophecy 'May God Lift Up the British People' (pp. 141–142), it is hardly of the thirteenth century (as alleged), but may be of the 940s, for the following reasons. The enemies of Gwynedd there vilified are not the English, but those in South Wales. The editors correctly identify its 'Din Clud' as Dumbarton. Its more obscure 'Din Maerud' seems to be 'Din Metcaud' or Lindisfarne, its 'Din Daryfon' may be

'Din Guricon' or Wroxeter, and its 'Din Riedon' is perhaps 'Din Perydon' or Rockfield, near Monmouth. The bard vents his scorn on Gwynedd's foes. Whether they run away to Dumbarton or Holy Island in the North, or Wroxeter on Wales's borders, they will find no security. They will not be safe even at Rockfield, where English overlords collected tribute from the Welsh (an extortion fiercely denounced in 'The Prophecy of Britain').

This is not all as regards toponyms. The Battle of the *Uinued* in 655 (p. 149) took place on the River Went, north-west of Doncaster, Yorkshire. 'Cafis' (p. 152) can be taken as Cadiz, Spain, and occurs in lines on the Almoravid invasion of Andalusia, which sent shockwaves throughout Christendom in 1086. They are likely not about the First Crusade ten years later. 'Pen ren Wleth' (p. 205) is probably not Penwith, Cornwall, with which it has been traditionally identified. It is more likely to be 'Penryn Wrach' or the great headland by Gourock on the Firth of Clyde, Scotland. Compare *Wleth* (also corrupt), an allusion to the cape at Gourock in a Latin Life of St Kentigern, Glasgow's patron. Welsh (*g*)*wrach* means 'hag, old woman', and Gourock's name is a Cumbric one with its origin in Granny Kempock's Stone, a prehistoric monolith on the cliffs there (see Jackson 1958: 311–312). Despite editorial comments to the contrary (p. 209), there is much point in identifying obscure place names associated with Alexander the Great. They (a) refer to places conquered by him and (b) are lifted from Orosius's fifth-century world history, evidently the

poet's source. Comparison with *The Old English Orosius* (ed. Bately 1980) brings this out. 'Ynys Wair' (p. 210) denotes the Orkneys, facing the *Gwair* 'Bend' or promontory at John o' Groats already mentioned. It is nothing do with Lundy in the Bristol Channel.

Readers will see from the above what a Herculean task awaited our two translators of the Book of Taliesin. To make intelligible their 'Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain' required immense labour and thought. This Penguin Classics volume is hence an essential purchase for all Celticists and libraries of Celtic Studies. By analysis of place names and the like, it casts a swathe of light on the politics of Dark-Age Britain, the sources used by poets, and legends known to the authors of the *Mabinogion* tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*, and the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*.

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Sims-Williams, P.: *Buchedd Beuno: The Middle Welsh* Life *of St Beuno*. **Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Medieval and Modern Welsh Series vol. XV. 2018. ix + 234 pp. ISBN: 978-1-85500-236-4. €30.**

Patrick Sims-Williams' new edition of *Buchedd Beuno* is a significant contribution to the study and pedagogy of medieval Welsh texts. The volume consists in a substantial introduction, a short grammar of Middle Welsh, the text edited from Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 (the Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi), a short section of variants and notes, a glossary, and a reproduction of the diplomatic edition of *Buchedd Beuno* (from the same manuscript) published by John Morris-Jones in 1912.

Although this book is explicitly aimed at students at the beginning of their studies, its introduction provides new advances in scholarship. An example is the ingenious suggestion that the unexplained masculine form 'Wenefredi' found in the anonymous Life of Winefride might derive from a misunderstanding of the synod of Llanddewibrefi. *Buchedd Beuno* and the related Latin lives of Winefride have a complex textual history and this edition engages well with the earlier part of this. *Buchedd Beuno* is based on a lost *Vita Sancti Beunoi*, which, as argued by Fiona Winward (1999), was a substantial source for the two lives of Winefride. Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of Winefride was subsequently translated into Middle Welsh as *Buchedd Gwenfrewy*. In discussing dating, a *terminus a quo* of c.

1100 for *Vita Sancti Beunoi* is presented perhaps a little too confidently, as is the date-range of 1135 × 1138? for the anonymous Life of Winefride. The list of miracles which follows the anonymous Life may well have been compiled over time and need not be contemporary with the composition of the Life itself.

Sims-Williams' main new argument regarding the relationships of all these texts, is that *Buchedd Beuno* drew on Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of Winefride as well as its main source, the lost *Vita Sancti Beunoi* (stemma on p. 31). This is an interesting proposal (first suggested but not treated in detail in Sims-Williams 2001: 124). It is based primarily on correspondences between *Buchedd Beuno* and Robert's Life of Winefride, where they agree against the anonymous Life of Winefride in the section describing Winefride's martyrdom and resurrection. It is true that the passage is far shorter in the anonymous Life, but I would not agree that it is inferior because of that (contra p. 29) and do not believe that the author of the anonymous Life would have seen it in this way either. Rather the shorter passage fits well with the pared-down simple style of the anonymous Life throughout, and could be a deliberate adaptation. Robert of Shrewsbury's verbosity is well known and it is likely that he retained more of his source than the brief anonymous Life. As such, agreement between *Buchedd Beuno* and Robert's Life of Winefride against the anonymous Life is not unexpected and does not require the translator to have read Robert's Life. Nevertheless, in the messy textual world of the Middle Ages, it is quite possible that Robert's Life fed back into versions of *Vita Sancti Beunoi* or was read by the translator who produced *Buchedd Beuno*. The argument, therefore, while not being certain or necessary, in my view, is indeed plausible. This forms just part of a rich and helpful introduction (to students and scholars) and the author's willingness to present exciting new arguments is highly productive.

This edition is based on one medieval manuscript with very few variant readings offered, a decision clearly justified by the need to provide students with a readable text of the medieval material. Nevertheless, as highlighted by the two dissertations cited (Lloyd-Evans 1966; Dahlman 1976), *Buchedd Beuno* has a large and protean later manuscript tradition, further study of which would greatly add to our knowledge of Beuno traditions, particularly in the early modern period. To the (comprehensive) list of manuscripts of *Buchedd Beuno* in n. 26 should now be added New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn fb 229 (s. xvii in.). The publication of a full critical edition of *Buchedd(au) Beuno*, comparing all the manuscripts and indicating how they relate to one another, remains a desideratum.

The short grammar of Middle Welsh the edition includes will be useful for all students beginning their study of the language. It is less formidable than that provided by Simon Evans and presents useful information in a concise format. More tabular descriptions of verb conjugations would be helpful and would complement the glossary which tends simply to list the conjugated forms of

verbs rather than defining them e.g. as 3 sg. pres. subjunctive.

The text itself is divided into chapters and, within these, each sentence is numbered. While this may be a little frustrating for those who wish to read the text fluently, it will be helpful for beginners, and teachers of Middle Welsh will easily be able to pick out practice sentences to test their students. The editor has replaced the incurring v-form <ɤ> with <v> and regularized the use of <u>, <v>, and <w> to represent consistently /ü/, /v/, and /u/ or /w/. This will help students although it may be a little misleading for when they come to read other Middle Welsh texts (including in the Dublin red book series), which are not normally regularized in this manner. More controversially, <d> is replaced by <ð> when it represents fricative /ð/ initially and medially, but not finally. This may help improve students' pronunciation of Middle Welsh, but is more likely to give them a misleading impression of Middle Welsh orthography. The edition's inconsistency in deploying <ð> only initially and medially (and not at all in the glossary) is not helpful in this regard. Students can of course compare the original orthography in the text printed at the end of this volume, but the necessity of reprinting John Morris Jones' diplomatic edition is perhaps questionable, given that both this edition and the manuscript itself have now been digitized.

Overall, this is an excellent addition to the DIAS Medieval and Modern Welsh Series. It is useful to novices and experienced scholars. It makes new critical contributions in its introduction, while incorporating features such as the numbering of sentences which will be helpful pedagogically. It is certainly an edition I would consider using as an initial set text for students with no previous knowledge of Welsh.

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