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Declaration

I, Mona Jakob, certify that the present thesis is all my own work and that I have not obtained a degree in the National University of Ireland, Galway, or elsewhere on the basis of any of this work.

Mona Jakob

22 November 2013

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0.1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of the rhyming pairs as they are contained in the *deibide*-section of the Irish epic poem *Saltair na Rann*, both on an orthographic as well as on a phonetic level.

Old and Middle Irish metrics, and, as part of this, rhyme, have been the subject of several articles and books that strive to describe the mechanics of Early Irish metrics. In this work, use has been made of the vast corpus of Old and Middle Irish verse as well as of the various metrical tracts that have been preserved. It is surprising, however, that none of these works have looked at *Saltair na Rann* in greater detail. A poem with over 8,000 lines, most likely written by a single author, is a unique and valuable source for the study of Old and Middle Irish language and poetry.

The present study is as unique as its corpus, because not only does it assemble a vast amount of data, but it also classifies the data so as to make it accessible to modern metrical theory to gain a deeper understanding than before of how Middle Irish poetry works and, more importantly, why it does.

Due to the nature of the approach to the present corpus, the aim of this study is twofold: it is intended to study the mechanics and the deeper layers of rhyme in Old and Middle Irish. The rules of Irish rhyme have been presented by such scholars as Rudolf Thurneysen,¹ Kuno Meyer,² and Gerard Murphy,³ mostly relying on metrical tracts that have been preserved in various manuscripts. As Thurneysen said himself, however, we will always gain the best knowledge about Irish poetry from the poems themselves rather than from the metrical tracts, ‘denn mittelalterliche Lehrbücher mit ihrer mangelhaften Disposition und Systematik gewähren niemals einen vollständigen Überblick’.⁴ And although there exist a number of descriptive studies of Irish rhyme, only very few of these combine both the rules of the metrical tracts and the facts from a corpus where these rules can be found – or not – as they were applied in live poetry. This analysis will consider both phonological as well as orthographical rhyme, specifically focusing on any irregularities that occur and assessing how irregular these are. What Edward V. Arnold said about Vedic metre is also applicable to Irish poetry:

‘It is difficult to think that a professional bard should without motive have left his verse with an irregular rhythm, when any European scholar, without serious

¹ Thurneysen (1891).

² Meyer (1909).

³ Murphy (1961).

⁴ Thurneysen (1891) p. 2; [for medieval school books never give a complete overview [of the matter] due to their faulty disposition and their systematics].

practice in the art of versification, can put it into order for him with hardly a perceptible alteration in the meaning. It is also difficult to think that professional reciters and their instructors could by mere accident have left stanzas in a shape which must make them a perpetual burden to the memory. In these “irregularities” there may be meanings not easily recognized, and for this reason they deserve to be carefully studied.’⁵

Furthermore, the rules of rhyme are used in the present thesis to investigate the phonological developments from Old to Middle Irish and further to Early Modern Irish. Because *Saltair na Rann* was written towards the end of the tenth century, we can actually see some of the contemporary changes reflected within the text. Through the analysis of poetry, in itself a structure closely bound to rules and as such a most profitable and reliable object of study, the fundamental phonological changes of that period, which predominantly involve the reduction in the articulation of elements before and after the main stress accent of a word, can be traced through the rhyme.

The first chapter is dedicated to an overview of the work that has been done on the principles of Old and Middle Irish metre and rhyme and reflects the classical approach to the subject. This will serve as a contextual point of reference for the central survey of the thesis.

The following chapter introduces a range of concepts from metrical theory, especially focusing on the use of linguistics in metrical surveys. The theories that are presented come from a variety of backgrounds and include examples from Slavic, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, English, Finnish and, indeed, Irish poetry. A brief overview of the discussion of the possibility of Indo-European metre is also included.

The third chapter presents a summary of the history of *Saltair na Rann* itself. It briefly discusses the text’s genesis and gives an overview of the discussion on the *Saltair’s* authorship and date. It also includes studies on the poem’s language and metre and presents the earliest approaches to its metrical system.

Chapter four introduces the data-base that is presented in the following chapters, and provides instructions on how to use it. It also gives examples of the data-base and explains its organisation.

Chapters five and six, then, present the actual metrical survey of *Saltair na Rann*. The fifth chapter contains each individual rhyming pair and describes each rhyming combination on a phonetic and orthographic level. Exceptions are dealt with only briefly at this stage, because the sixth chapter is dedicated only to those rhyming pairs that form exceptional combinations. These include actually faulty rhymes as well as those combinations that do not form perfect but

⁵ Arnold (1905) p. 21 §69.

still metrically valid rhymes. Each case is discussed in detail, considering Greene's text and translation of the complete *Saltair*, Greene's and Kelly's edition of *The Irish Adam and Eve Story*, Stokes' edition without translation as well as readings from Rawlinson B 502.

This is then followed by the final chapter that presents the recapitulation of the previous chapters and the conclusion of the thesis.

1.0 Early Irish Metrics

This chapter is intended to give a concise overview of what we know today about the principles of Old and Middle Irish metre and rhyme. It is not an attempt to rewrite or update this knowledge nor does it seek to give a full account of the sources dealing with early Irish poetry, but is merely to serve as a contextual point of reference for the metrical survey below.

Firstly, a limited overview of the secondary literature regarding the principles of Old and Middle Irish metre will be presented. This outline will not be comprehensive, but will focus on the works that are referred to frequently in the present thesis.

1.1 Studies of early Irish metrics

Rudolf Thurneysen's 'Zur Irischen Accent- und Verslehre'⁶ as well as 'Mittelirische Verslehren'⁷ are among the first works dealing in depth with certain aspects of early Irish metrics. The former looks at the stress-pattern in the Irish language and deals with the origins of Irish metre⁸ whereas the latter is an edition of Irish metrical tracts that is followed by comments and explanations regarding the metres that have been explored in the tracts: the first text deals with the metres of the poetry of the bards,⁹ the second text is described by Thurneysen as a school book for the Irish *fili*¹⁰ and the third one contains about 200 different metres with examples for each type.¹¹

Kuno Meyer followed Thurneysen with his *Primer of Irish Metrics*,¹² looking at how early Irish metrics work, basing much of his writings on Thurneysen's groundwork. Meyer begins his survey with listing three successive periods of Irish versification: alliterative, unrhythmical syllabic and rhythmical, the latter of which is not part of his study.¹³ He then briefly gives an outline of the rules that apply to the earliest, i.e. alliterative poetry.¹⁴ Although he does not delve into the question of the origin of Irish types of poetry, he briefly mentions that 'as Thurneysen [...] has conclusively shown, this [i.e. syllabic poetry] metrical system was derived from Latin hymn-poetry of the fifth and sixth centuries'.¹⁵ Meyer accepts Thurneysen's conclusion without further comment. He proceeds by giving a brief overview of the rules of

⁶ Thurneysen (1883–1885).

⁷ Thurneysen (1891).

⁸ See below, pp. 10–19.

⁹ Thurneysen (1891) p. 107.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 110.

¹¹ Op. cit. p. 124.

¹² Meyer (1909).

¹³ Op. cit. p. v.

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 2.

¹⁵ Op. cit. p. 5; for a discussion of the origin of Irish metre see below, pp. 10–13.

alliteration that apply both to earlier as well as later poetry, describing which pairing of vowels and consonants form valid alliterative matches.¹⁶ This is followed by a short outline of syllabic poetry that spans the eighth to the seventeenth centuries.¹⁷ In a few paragraphs he then covers some technical terms, the mechanics of rhyme, internal rhyme and *deibide*-metre as well as consonance.¹⁸ Finally, Meyer gives a list of metres that he divides into four groups: a) stanzas with rhyming couplets with homosyllabic verses and verse-ends, b) *deibide*, c) stanzas with rhyming couplets with heterosyllabic verses and verse-ends and d) stanzas of a different structure.¹⁹ He lists twenty-three types of metre in the first group, seven in the second, thirty-five in the third and six in the final group.²⁰ Meyer concludes his short survey with a list of ‘The Poets of Ireland’ in which he gives the name of the poet and the year of his death or the century during which the poet was active.²¹ Curiously, this list also contains non-historical poets, such as the literary character Suibhne Geilt.²² This is followed by a short ‘Glossary of the Rarer Words’.²³

Meyer’s work was the basis for Gerard Murphy’s *Early Irish Metrics*, usually the first point of reference for every modern student of early Irish poetry.²⁴ The first third of the book is dedicated to the ‘three main periods of Irish versification’, in which Murphy explores what he calls the ‘rimeless non-stanzaic alliterative verse’,²⁵ ‘rimed stanzaic verse containing a fixed number of syllables’²⁶ with a comparison to Latin verse and ‘richly assonated stanzaic verse in which syllabic equality in corresponding lines is not strictly adhered to’.²⁷ Murphy states that for the development of the latter two types ‘Christian Latin poetry formed the basis’.²⁸ During the following third of his book Murphy deals with the chief features of Irish syllabic verse, detailing ‘some general terms connected with poetry’²⁹ as well as rhyme and other ornamentation in early Irish poetry. Finally, Murphy analyses ‘a representative selection of

¹⁶ Meyer (1909) pp. 3–4.

¹⁷ Op. cit. pp. 5–6.

¹⁸ Op. cit. pp. 6–10.

¹⁹ Op. cit. p. 13.

²⁰ Op. cit. pp. 13–26.

²¹ Op. cit. p. 27–58.

²² See Meyer (1909) p. 55.

²³ Op. cit. pp. 59–63.

²⁴ Murphy (1961).

²⁵ Op. cit. p. 1; Murphy’s spelling of ‘rime’ will not be followed in the present work.

²⁶ Murphy (1961) p.1.

²⁷ Op. cit., p. 1.

²⁸ Op. cit., p. 8.

²⁹ Op. cit., p. 26.

Irish syllabic metres’,³⁰ adding an alphabetic list of Irish names of metres and terms connected to poetry.

In *La langue de la poésie irlandaise archaïque* Victor Kalyguine looks both at the historical background of the Irish poets and at the language and style of genealogical poems.³¹ Thus, the first part of his work is dedicated to the function of the *fili* and the various genres of Old Irish poetry. He also looks at how the poets, regulated by poetic licence, were able to change the regular forms of words to fit the metre or rhyme. He mainly bases his research on the *Auraicept na nÉces* and the *trefhocul*-treatise. The second part of his work is dedicated to the language and style of Old Irish genealogical poetry. He analyses the phonetic organisation of the verses, semantics and syntax.³² He finds that the very formal style of poetry as opposed to the vernacular can be compared with a relationship of the language of gods to the language of man.³³ Kalyguine points out that the essential feature of genealogical poetry is repetition on a phonetic as well as syntactical level.³⁴ A very important part of repetitive features are alliteration and various rhetorical figures that were employed by the poets.³⁵

Stephen Tranter’s *Clavis Metrica* is also of interest, because he compares ‘prescriptive metrics at its inception in Ireland and Scandinavia, concentrating on stanzaic-syllabic verse’.³⁶ He analyses both Irish and Icelandic metrical systems and how those rules are represented in the primary sources. The various chapters compare the development of the stanzaic form, poetical terminology, rhyme, alliteration and accent, syllabicity and word boundary as well as the metrical and grammatical tracts themselves from both Ireland and Scandinavia. Tranter also briefly considers the development of metres of each culture based on his corpus of metrical tracts and he comes to the conclusion that ‘the development of all syllabic-stanzaic metres listed in MV 1 [the first Middle Irish metrical tract] is due to the influence of imported culture’.³⁷ As far as rhyme is regarded Tranter finds that this feature is vital in both metrical systems, but from his studies he concludes that Irish rhyme ‘was liable not only to have developed as an acoustic feature alone, but with the support of written analysis’, whereas the

³⁰ Murphy (1961) pp. 46–74.

³¹ Kalyguine (1993).

³² See Kalyguine (1993) pp. 77–148.

³³ Cf. op. cit. p. 150: ‘Selon toute apparence, l’opposition ‘poétique (élaboré) vs quotidien (non élaboré)’ est étroitement liée à l’opposition “langue des dieux vs langue des hommes”.’

³⁴ Cf. Kalyguine (1993) p. 150.

³⁵ Cf. op. cit. p. 151.

³⁶ Tranter (1997).

³⁷ Op. cit. p. 201.

Icelandic system was mainly an acoustic one.³⁸ This observation will be of importance in regard to the corpus of the present study.

1.2 The mechanics of early Irish rhyme

Before looking at the possible origins of certain Irish metres, the following paragraphs will deal with how early Irish rhyme works. A number of articles have been written on Irish metre and rhyme and one of the most central ones in regard to the present thesis is Brian Ó Cuív's 'The Phonetic Basis of Classical Modern Irish Rhyme'.³⁹ Ó Cuív briefly summarises different views on the development of alliteration in Irish poetry before he turns his attention to rhyme. He states that rhyme may have come into Irish from Latin, but that 'the Irish poets developed a distinctive form of rhyme in which phonetic similarity rather than identity was the most striking feature'.⁴⁰ He then sets out to explain the phonetic basis of the Irish rhyming system and in doing so mentions the various classes of consonants. He also looks into the rhyming combinations of consonantal groups, in parts recreating a classification made earlier by Tomás S. Ó Máille in his article 'Cairn Conson i gComhardadh'.⁴¹

David Sproule also discusses rhyme in Irish, although he focuses on what he calls 'full rhyme', speculating that at one stage poets may have favoured the identity of vowels and consonants in rhyme on the basis of data collected from four Old Irish poems.⁴² He also suggests that the concept of the stressed-unstressed combination of the *deibide*-metre may have arisen 'at a time when final unstressed rhyme in both rhyming words was practised'.⁴³ He argues that the *deibide* stressed-unstressed combination 'would have been a secondary result originally, resulting from the rhyming of a one-syllable word [...] with a polysyllable'.⁴⁴

In 'Some Developments in Irish Metrics' Brian Ó Cuív investigates 'the developments which led to the adoption [...] of a formal distinction between *dán díreach* and the looser forms of riming syllabic verse [...]'.⁴⁵ To this end, Ó Cuív analyses a number of Old and Middle Irish poems and shows an increase in ornamentation the younger the poems are. He also analyses parts of *Saltair na Rann* in regard to the stanzas' ornamentation.⁴⁶

³⁸ Tranter (1997) p. 195.

³⁹ Ó Cuív (1966).

⁴⁰ Op. cit. p. 95.

⁴¹ Ó Máille (1946).

⁴² Sproule (1987).

⁴³ Op. cit. p. 199.

⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 199.

⁴⁵ Ó Cuív (1968) p. 275.

⁴⁶ Op. cit. pp. 282–3.

Worth mentioning is the article in response to Robert Atkinson's inaugural lecture 'On Irish Metric' by Whitley Stokes.⁴⁷ Apart from a rather scathing criticism of some of Atkinson's equally scathing remarks, Stokes also goes over some of the rules regulating consonance in Old and Early Middle Irish rhyme, especially in connection to *Saltair na Rann*. However, he does not mention any of the licensed exceptions that may occur.

Irish rhyme, then, equals parallelism of sounds. However, as has been pointed out by Ó Cuív⁴⁸ and Tristram⁴⁹ among others this does not mean identity of sounds but rather similarity of sounds. Considering the metrical fault called 'bridge of alliteration', where too many words are alliterating unmutated with one another in sequence,⁵⁰ identity in rhyming sounds would have been perceived as too monotonous. Thus, consonants were grouped together according to phonetic classes. Hence it was noted that the voiced plosives, voiceless plosives, *lenis* voiced continuants, *fortis* voiced continuants, voiceless continuants and the voiceless sibilant only rhymed within their own groups to give regular rhyme.⁵¹ Additionally, the quality of the consonants had to be identical, i.e. a palatal rhymed with a palatal consonant and a non-palatal rhymed with a non-palatal consonant.

However, it has been noted that there was a wide range of exceptions that still created a metrically valid rhyme. Thus, *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants could be combined to give rhyme 'under certain conditions, namely (i) in final position after long vowels and diphthongs as *Niall:ciar*, and (ii) between vowels as *binne:file*'.⁵² The combination of voiced and voiceless continuants was called a frequent but permissible exception by Gerard Murphy in his work,⁵³ and the pairing of voiced and voiceless plosives he considered to 'have been recognized by the poets themselves as giving imperfect rhyme, necessitated by the difficulty of attaining perfection'.⁵⁴

At this point it should be noted that the authors that are referred to here are not mutually consistent in their phonological classification of consonants. It will be evident further on that

⁴⁷ Stokes (1883–1885).

⁴⁸ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁴⁹ Tristram (1996) p. 454.

⁵⁰ Cf. Bergin (1921–1923) p. 83: 'In Ir.Gr. Tracts I. § 2 reference is made to a metrical fault called *droichead úama* 'bridge of alliteration.' [...] From this it is clear that a sequence of alliterating words, unrelieved by lenition or eclipsis, was displeasing to the ear. It would certainly have been monotonous, and if it had been accompanied by final and internal rime, in the English sense, the result in the more elaborate metres would have been an intolerable jingle.'

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Murphy (1961) p. 32 or Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁵² Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96; but see Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Cathain a dhéanfaidh consan teann comhardadh slán le consan éadrom?', *Ériu* 57 (2007), 61–6 who finds that in the age of *dán díreach* this is only true for the combination of *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants that come after a long vowel, whether intervocalic or word-final.

⁵³ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁴ Loc. cit.

none of the classifications presented here will cover the corpus of *Saltair na Rann* satisfactorily. Gerard Murphy provides six classes, according to the ‘Early Modern metricists, describing the riming system prevalent in Irish poetry of the Early Modern period (1200-1650)’.⁵⁵ Thurneysen offers four classes in his ‘Zur Irischen Accent- und Verslehre’ that organise the voiceless and voiced continuants together into one class and the voiced and voiceless stops together in another.⁵⁶ Kuno Meyer gives two different classifications. He says that ‘in the older poetry the consonants fall, for the purposes of rhyme, into [...] three classes: [...]’.⁵⁷ However, ‘in later times stricter rules prevail’⁵⁸ and Meyer follows this statement with presenting the six classes that have already been discussed. Tomás S. Ó Máille gives the identical six consonant classes in his article on the rhyming of consonant clusters, looking at the stricter form of poetry of the *dán díreach* verse.⁵⁹ Eleanor Knott also provides six classes in her work on Irish syllabic poetry of the late medieval and early modern period, basing her findings on the system of *dán díreach*.⁶⁰

Rhyming consonant clusters are, due to their greater complexity, of special interest. To begin with, ‘two consonants might equate with *two, three* or *four* consonants’.⁶¹ If we follow Ó Cuív’s system of different prosodies⁶² for the moment, plosion, continuance and non-voice need to be balanced in the other consonantal group should either occur in one group, additionally to the correlation of the phonetic classes of each consonantal pair.⁶³ The rules regarding consonantal groups containing the voiceless sibilant differ slightly from the ones just

⁵⁵ Murphy (1961) p. 32; he gives six classes of consonants: voiced stops, voiceless stops, voiceless spirants, *lenis* voiced continuants, *fortis* voiced continuants and *s* (which can only rhyme with itself).

⁵⁶ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 329 FN 2; the *fortis* voiced continuants form another class and the sibilant provides the fourth rhyming class. Thurneysen does acknowledge, however, that further subdivisions are made at a later time (‘Später werden weitere Unterabtheilungen gemacht [...]’). He refers to John O’Donovan’s *A Grammar of the Irish Language* (1845) p. 415; six classes are provided here – the same that are proposed by Murphy – based on the system of *dán díreach* verse. O’Donovan also remarks that ‘the Irish poets teach that the consonants exceed each other in power and strength, according to the above classification. They assert that *s* is the chief, or queen, of all consonants. Next after it they rank the three soft consonants, *p, c, t*, which exceed the succeeding classes in force or strength; likewise that the hard consonants [*b, d, g*] excel the rough consonants [*f, ph, ch, h*], and the strong [*ll, mm, nn, ng, rr*] the light ones [*bh, dh, gh, mh, l, n, r*], which are reckoned the meanest and feeblest of all the consonants.’ (p. 416)

⁵⁷ Meyer (1909) p. 7 § 12: voiced and voiceless stops comprise one class, all continuants form the second class and *s* rhymes only with itself.

⁵⁸ Meyer (1909) p. 7 § 13: voiceless stops, voiced stops, voiceless continuants, voiced continuants, *fortis* voiced continuants, *s*.

⁵⁹ Ó Máille (1946) p. 95.

⁶⁰ Knott (1966) p. 5: class *b* (voiced stops), class *c* (voiceless stops), class *ch* (voiceless continuants), class *bh* (*lenis* voiced continuants), class *ll* (*fortis* voiced continuants) and class *s*.

⁶¹ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 100.

⁶² Op. cit. p. 97: ‘Therefore in order to understand fully the Irish rhyming system we must go beyond the level of phonemic analysis and consider certain features for which I use the term ‘prosodies’. [...] I postulate six ‘prosodies’: voice ^v, non-voice ^h, occlusion with plosion *P*, continuance *C*, continuance with length (or emphasis) *L*, and sibilance *S*.’ The term ‘prosodies’ stems from John R. Firth’s linguistic school of prosodic analysis. See, for instance, John R. Firth, ‘Sounds and Prosodies’, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 47 (1948), 127–51; repr. in *Papers in Linguistics 1934–1951*, ed. by John R. Firth (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 121–38.

⁶³ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 101.

mentioned. Ó Cuív postulates that (a) the sibilant has to be present in both consonantal groups, that, (b) should a plosive be present in one group, it has to be present in the other, that (c) a continuant does not need to be balanced if it accompanies /s/ and a plosive, but that (d) it has to be balanced if there is no plosive.⁶⁴

The rules regarding the combination of vowels are the other important part of Irish rhyme. The rhyme begins with the first stressed vowel in a word. According to the rules for Old Irish the vowels had to be identical, i.e. agree in quality and quantity.⁶⁵ This still holds true for the Middle Irish period with one important exception – the rhyming of unstressed vowels. As is known, ‘any remaining distinctions between short unstressed vowels had been lost as a result of the conversion of all such vowels into an obscure /ə/ similar to the unstressed vowels (in bold italics) of English words such as *father, bigger, pasta, jealous*’.⁶⁶ For the rhyme this meant that any short unstressed vowel could rhyme with any short stressed vowel, because the short unstressed vowels all had the same phonetic value.

The rules regulating consonantal and vocalic rhyming combinations will be explored and – where appropriate – amended when looking at the material from *Saltair na Rann*.

1.3 The origin of early Irish metres and rhyme

The question of the origin of certain Irish metres – as mentioned above – has been discussed at some length by various scholars. Two main schools of thought stand out in this discussion: one argues that the syllabic metres were based on Latin models, the other that syllabic metres have an indigenous origin.

It was Thurneysen in ‘Zur irischen Accent- und Verslehre’ who suggested as one of the first scholars that it is very unlikely that a language whose stress was so important would create a syllabic metre all by itself.⁶⁷ Thurneysen assumes that the Roman catalectic trochaic tetrameter was the model for the Irish syllabic metres, the rhythm of which can also be found in Latin hymns.⁶⁸ He gives an example of how this rhythm was adopted by Irish authors writing

⁶⁴ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 102.

⁶⁵ Murphy (1961) p. 30.

⁶⁶ McCone (2005) p. 175; see also L. Breatnach (1994) p. 230: ‘Ritheann gutaí gearra ina chéile mar schwa a litrítear de ghnáth le *e, i* nó uaireanta le *iu, i* ndiaidh chonsain chaoil, agus le *a*, nó uaireanta le *o, u, i* ndiaidh chonsain leathain.’

⁶⁷ Cf. Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 336: ‘Es ist a priori wenig wahrscheinlich, dass eine Sprache mit so stark wirkendem Accent, wie das Irische, von sich aus eine rein silbenzählende, zum Theil unrythmische Metrik erzeugt habe. Diese scheint mir vielmehr aus dem Lateinischen zu stammen [...]’

⁶⁸ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 337; in classical terms the trochaic tetrametre refers to a line that contains four trochaic feet, or four trochees, i.e. a long or stressed syllable followed by an unstressed one [DA-da]. Catalexis refers to the incomplete final foot of such a line, i.e. the line lacks the final unstressed or short syllable [DA-da DA-da DA] (see for example Raven (1965) p. 74 § 47A).

Latin poetry and thus, he concludes, this metre was transferred by Irish monks to their native poetry as well.⁶⁹ In his article, Thurneysen mentions three modifications of the hymn-metre that is – according to him – copied into the vernacular poetry. The first change is the reduction of three to one syllables in the final rhyming word, simply because trisyllabic words in Irish are not as common as they are in Latin. Furthermore, Thurneysen looks at the line-structure: he states that the Latin model usually consists of two long lines that are each divided into heterosyllabic parts by a caesura, whereas the Irish version is divided into four short lines of identical syllabic length. Moreover, he argues that the *deibide*-metre with its stressed-unstressed rhyme basically came into being due to the nature of the Latin verses: the syllable just before the caesura is always stressed whereas the end of the line is unstressed.⁷⁰ He also finds that there is a third variation of the Latin model which results in the Irish *rannaigecht*-metre in which only the second and fourth line rhyme. He further claims that several technical terms regarding poetry that can be found in the prologue of the Irish hymns count as proof that Latin was the model for Irish syllabic poetry.⁷¹

As mentioned above, Meyer follows Thurneysen's idea in his *Primer*. Thus, he mentions in the preface:

‘As he [Thurneysen] first traced the origin of the syllabic metres to the Latin hymn poetry of the fifth and sixth centuries, so he was also the first among modern scholars to recognize and establish all the essential laws of this kind of poetry. By basing his exposition upon the form of the verse-end in the different metres, he has brought light and order into the chaos of native tradition.’⁷²

Similarly, Murphy follows Thurneysen's thought in his *Early Irish Metrics*. When looking at rhymed, stanzaic verse in Irish, Murphy holds that ‘the metres of Christian Latin poetry formed the basis for the development under consideration’.⁷³ He claims that ‘Irish syllabic metre resembles the metre of those hymns not alone in the syllabic equality of corresponding lines, but also in the fixity of final feet, in the employment of rime, and in being broken into stanzas’.⁷⁴ Murphy remarks that the earlier Irish forms of poetry did not show any

⁶⁹ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 338: ‘Also dieses Versmass, von dem alle folgenden ausgehn, ist durch die irischen Mönche aus der lateinischen Hymnenpoesie übernommen worden.’

⁷⁰ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 340.

⁷¹ Op. cit. p. 346: ‘Beweisend für lateinischen Ursprung sind ferner die technischen Bezeichnungen in den Vorreden zu den irischen Hymnen (s. Goid. 92 ff.). Das Versmass heisst *rithim=rhythmus*, die Strophe *caiptle=capitulum*, die Halbzeile *líne=linea*.’

⁷² Meyer (1909) p. v.

⁷³ Murphy (1961) p. 8.

⁷⁴ Op. cit. p. 12.

of these traits and that one of the later metres, the *dían midseng*, ‘agrees completely with a non-quantitative reading of the Latin trochaic tetrameter catalectic, common in hymns’.⁷⁵

David Sproule follows a similar line of thought in his article in which he states that ‘while the origins of rhyme in Irish verse are obscure, the most accepted theory seems to be that it was derived from Latin rhyme, which “was normally only in an unstressed last syllable, though occasionally, perhaps accidentally, stressed rime appears” in the Latin models which are thought by some scholars to have influenced Irish poets in the earliest part of the historical period (Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* 13)’.⁷⁶

Kim McCone agrees with this hypothesis in *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*.⁷⁷ He quotes Gerard Murphy’s work and states that Murphy’s hypothesis was supported by David Sproule’s article, in which it was argued that the poet worked from the final syllable backwards, ‘a system easy enough to derive “from Latin rhyme”’.⁷⁸ He states that ‘the obvious overall explanation is that a native accentual and alliterative measure incorporated a syllabically regular cadence under the influence of accentual Latin hymnody and that this resulted in pressure towards isosyllabism alongside a two- or three-stress count, the former gradually displacing the latter as the basic rhythmical principle’.⁷⁹

Counter-arguments in the discussion of the origin of early Irish metres were made, among others, by James Travis. His *Early Celtic Versecraft* was published in 1973. Aside from the metrical formalities he also deals with the origin of ‘Celtic versecraft’ and maintains that it has an indigenous origin despite Latin influence. He states that ‘there is [...] no more inherent necessity to seek a non-Celtic source for Celtic verse forms and ornament than for Celtic languages’.⁸⁰ He approaches the topic by first looking at the structure of ‘Celtic’ verse. He analyses the rhythm, form and ornaments in both Irish and Welsh metrical systems and finds that there is no need to try to explain the various characteristics with a Latin origin. In fact, ‘the theory of the Latin derivation of Irish stanzaic form, first fully enunciated by Thurneysen, though generally taken to show that the Irish adopted Latin measures, actually shows that the distinguishing features of the Irish measures are not realized in Latin verse and *attempts to show* that these features were derived from suggestions offered by the structure of Latin hymns’.⁸¹ He states that Thurneysen’s theory – that the Irish syllabic stanzas were derived from

⁷⁵ Loc. cit.

⁷⁶ Sproule (1987) p. 199.

⁷⁷ McCone (2000).

⁷⁸ Op. cit. p. 39; for David Sproule’s article see above, p. 7.

⁷⁹ McCone (2000) p. 41.

⁸⁰ Travis (1973) p. 2.

⁸¹ Op. cit. p. 108.

Latin hymns – rests partly on one substantial assumption, namely that *ymnum dicat* was composed by St Hilary of Poitiers.⁸² However, Travis remarks that the poem is only found in Irish manuscripts and that the style of *ymnum dicat* differs radically from other verse that is safely attributed to St Hilary.⁸³ Thus, he questions whether *ymnum dicat*, Thurneysen’s seed for Irish syllabic metres, could not be of insular, i.e. of Irish origin itself.⁸⁴ He also mentions that there are three types of Irish stanzaic verse types that cannot be derived from Latin.⁸⁵ Travis nevertheless argues that ‘Celtic versecraft evolved from Indo-European archetypes’.⁸⁶

Graham Isaac also cautions against an attempt to derive Irish metres from Latin poetry. He states in his article ‘Zur frühen keltischen Metrik’ that accentual Celtic metrics are not a fact, ‘sondern lediglich ein aus der nunmehr fraglichen Interpretation der germanischen Metrikgeschichte übernommenes Vorurteil’.⁸⁷ Isaac mentions that due to the nature of the written sources Latin is naturally very much the focus for medievalists, but that it should be kept in mind that much more of European poetry was composed in the vernacular than in Latin.⁸⁸ He states that there is no distinction between an indigenous alliterating metre based on stress and a syllabic rhyming metre that is based on a Latin model, but rather that both are two ends of the same system that developed continuously over time.⁸⁹

1.3.1 Indo-European origins of Irish metres?

At this point it is appropriate to present at least briefly another important part of the discussion of the origin of Irish metres. Indo-European linguistics brought with it, among other comparative studies, the concept of Indo-European metrics where it is sought to find a relationship between metrical systems of different Indo-European languages. This topic can only be dealt with briefly in the present thesis and thus the number of works referred to will be limited.

As one of the first Indo-European metricists Antoine Meillet studies the origin of Greek metre in his work.⁹⁰ He states that Greek metre is of the same kind as Vedic in that both

⁸² Op. cit. p. 99.

⁸³ Travis (1973) p. 100.

⁸⁴ Op. cit. p. 100.

⁸⁵ Op. cit. p. 104: the *ochtfochlach*, *deibide* and *draigneach*.

⁸⁶ Travis (1973) p. 151.

⁸⁷ Isaac (1999) pp. 79–80.

⁸⁸ Op. cit. p. 79.

⁸⁹ Op. cit. pp. 93–4.

⁹⁰ Meillet (1923); here, the chapter ‘Les origines de la métrique grecque’ from Antoine Meillet’s work on Greek metre ((1913), pp. 151–9) serves as reference.

systems are quantitative and thus distinguish between long and short syllables.⁹¹ Meillet also finds that the rules regarding long and short syllables are identical in both languages: a syllable is long if the vocalic element is long, i.e. if it is a long vowel or a diphthong or where a short vowel is followed by two consonants.⁹² The most important part of the line in both systems is the ending where the rules regarding the quantity of the syllables are applied most strictly.⁹³ On the other hand, there is almost no defined alternation between long and short syllables at the beginning of Vedic verse.⁹⁴ Meillet also explains the lack of strict rules applied at the beginning of a verse in certain Greek metres.⁹⁵ To compare the Greek and Vedic metres in more detail, he first looks at the Vedic *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh*.⁹⁶ He finds that the prosodic structure, the placement of the caesura and the distribution of long and short syllables is very similar in Greek metres in many cases.⁹⁷ These similarities, he holds, cannot be arbitrary and thus he suggests that both systems go back to a common ancestor.⁹⁸ Meillet also suggests that other Indo-European languages cannot be used for comparative metrics, because they have already gone through linguistic changes that do not allow the recovery of the original metres.⁹⁹

However, following the idea of a common Indo-European metre, Roman Jakobson bases his study on Slavic metrics.¹⁰⁰ He states that although researchers are able to study Indo-European languages and go back to an Indo-European ancestor to a certain extent, Indo-European speech cannot be recovered as such.¹⁰¹ However, he suggests that ‘comparative folklore [...] can reveal a common patrimony in metrical and musical norms, in tropes and figures, in composition and fixed formulas’.¹⁰² He finds that even for lines composed recently, archaic metres underlie the composition.¹⁰³

He starts his study by looking at the Serbo-Croatian decasyllabic epic metre and by describing its most important features. He then proceeds to compare this metre to traditions in other Slavic languages and finds, much like others before him, that ‘it survives to this day in the

⁹¹ Meillet (1913) p. 151.

⁹² Meillet (1913) pp. 151–2.

⁹³ Op. cit. p. 152.

⁹⁴ Op. cit. p. 153.

⁹⁵ Op. cit. p. 153.

⁹⁶ *jagatī* contains lines of twelve, *triṣṭubh* lines of eleven syllables. Both metres have quantitatively regular cadences and a caesura after the fourth or fifth syllable.

⁹⁷ Meillet (1913) pp. 154–7.

⁹⁸ Op. cit. p. 156.

⁹⁹ Op. cit. p. 157; Meillet’s work is taken up and fruitfully expanded by Gregory Nagy in *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

¹⁰⁰ Jakobson (1952).

¹⁰¹ Cf. op. cit. p. 22.

¹⁰² Op. cit. p. 22.

¹⁰³ Cf. op. cit. pp. 22–4.

oral tradition of other Slavic areas, while remaining alien in a non-Slavic environment [...].¹⁰⁴ However, he remarks that the presence of the same metre in South Slavic areas is not a proof for its antiquity. The fact that it can also be found in West Slavic areas is more remarkable.¹⁰⁵ Jakobson also looks at Ukrainian lyrical songs as well as Belorussian poetry where he finds the identical decasyllabic metre, albeit with variations and it is also far less frequent.¹⁰⁶

The question that follows from his observations is whether Balkan Slavic and Great Russian forms can be traced to a common origin or whether there is no relation due to the great difference between them. To answer this question Jakobson compares Serbo-Croatian and Russian laments. He also looks at Russian epic verse. He finds that ‘we come face to face with the traditional conclusion that the two metres “bear no resemblance to one another” [...].’¹⁰⁷ However, ‘a systematic investigation of Russian and Serbo-Croatian verse-forms clearly reveals their common origin’¹⁰⁸ and he compares the method of comparative Indo-European linguistics with his studies. He concludes that it is without doubt that these two traditions have a common source.

From comparing Slavic metres with one another, Jakobson suggests to go ‘one step further into the past’¹⁰⁹ and try to find a common Indo-European metre. In this, he follows Meillet who ‘for the first time systematically applied the technical devices of comparative philology to metrics, in an attempt to achieve a conclusive reconstruction of the common Indo-European prototypes of some archaic forms of Greek and Vedic verse’.¹¹⁰ He finds that Meillet’s four main features of Indo-European verse as outlined below are reflected also in the Slavic epic decasyllable and thus Jakobson concludes that ‘the Slavic epic decasyllable is traceable to an Indo-European prototype’.¹¹¹ He also points out the similarity between the Greek paroemiac and the Slavic epic decasyllable, both in form and function.¹¹² For Jakobson Slavic is thus the ‘third witness to the foundations of the Indo-European verse’¹¹³ additionally to Meillet’s Greek and Vedic.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit. p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. op. cit. pp. 29–32.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Jakobson (1952) pp. 32–3.

¹⁰⁷ Op. cit. p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit. p. 62.

¹¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹¹ Op. cit. p. 63.

¹¹² Op. cit. p. 65; the paroemiac contains lines of ten syllables and is regularly used for proverbs, from which the metre gets its name. See also the glossary entry of Martin L. West, *Greek Metre*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 198 and Index A, p. 90, of Raven (1962): ‘A name originally applied, perhaps to the second half of the hexameter, [...] but in practice now used in anapaestic verse for the “catalectic” dimeter [...] which is the last line of a system.’

¹¹³ Jakobson (1952) p. 66.

Calvert Watkins focuses more on Irish poetry in connection with comparative Indo-European metrics in his article ‘Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse’.¹¹⁴ He follows the work especially of Antoine Meillet, Roman Jakobson and Theodor Bergk.¹¹⁵ The relationship between Greek and Vedic Sanskrit metre was the main focus of these scholars. Watkins postulates that the paroemiac gnostic-epic decasyllable in Greek is the most archaic Greek metre and its organisation into three cola and a shorter line of dual character ‘is a characteristic feature of all three metrical systems inherited from Indo-European, Greek, Vedic and Slavic; it may safely be attributed to the common original’.¹¹⁶ He summarises the ‘structural features of Indo-European verse, as established by Meillet’¹¹⁷ within four points:

- (1) a constant number of syllables in the line; (2) a final anceps preceded by a fixed quantitative close (cadence); (3) freedom in the quantity of the initial syllables; (4) a compulsory caesura with a fixed and slightly variable position.¹¹⁸

Watkins dedicates the first part of his article to the comparison of Greek, Vedic Sanskrit and Slavic, concluding from his comparative study that the cadence in certain short-line metres in those metrical systems go back to an Indo-European short line.¹¹⁹ He then focuses on Irish poetry, justifying his search for ‘a continuation of Indo-European poetics in Early Irish’ by ‘an extraordinarily archaic and conservative linguistic tradition within the Indo-European tradition’.¹²⁰ He also points to the archaisms in the Irish language, vocabulary and social structure, which makes early Irish culture seem closer to an Indo-European model than many other cultures.¹²¹

Watkins proceeds to review some of the Irish technical terms connected to poetry and poets, such as *fili* or *creth*, making a point of the connection of poetry to magic and spells that can be found in many Indo-European societies,¹²² not to mention the Indo-European roots of the Irish words themselves. Watkins states that due to the loss of final syllables Irish words are shorter than, for example, words in Greek or Sanskrit and thus the lines of any given poem in Irish can be expected to be shorter as well.¹²³ He indeed focuses on the very common seven-syllable line and observes that these shorter lines can be derived from longer lines, ‘simply by

¹¹⁴ Watkins (1963).

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Theodor Bergk, ‘Über das älteste Vermass der Griechen’ [1854], *Opuscula Philologica*, 2 (1886), 392–408.

¹¹⁶ Watkins (1963) p. 195.

¹¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 210.

¹¹⁸ Loc. cit.

¹¹⁹ Cf. op. cit. p. 212.

¹²⁰ Loc. cit.

¹²¹ Cf. op. cit. p. 213.

¹²² Op. cit. pp. 214–17.

¹²³ Op. cit. p. 217.

the suppression of the partially regulated middle colon'.¹²⁴ He also remarks that the function of the heptasyllabic verse, mainly used in law, indicates its archaism and closeness to an older, Indo-European model and thus he contradicts Murphy's and Thurneysen's assumption that it was a seventh-century experiment modelled on Latin hymns.¹²⁵ He states that he would rather think of a symbiosis than of an importation of the Latin system.¹²⁶

Watkins then goes through other Irish verse types with five, six and eight syllables where he always finds the same cadence, i.e. three syllables after the caesura with the stress on the first or with the stress on the first and the last syllable and he mentions that the latter variation in stress may well have played a role in the development of the *deibide*-metre.¹²⁷ Watkins also compares this variation in syllables of Irish verse lines and the fixed cadence with the Greek paroemiac metre that may also show a variation in syllabicity but always contains a fixed cadence. Another point of comparison for Watkins is catalexis that exists in all three metrical systems of Greek, Slavic and Vedic.¹²⁸ Watkins indeed finds that variations of line lengths exist in Irish poetry, e.g. a line of [3|2] next to the common variant of [3|3]. He also finds the relation between the Irish shorter and longer line comparable to the one in the Greek shorter and longer line.¹²⁹ Furthermore, he points out the functional parallels that exist between Irish and the Greek, Vedic and Slavic systems: Watkins states that the longer lines were used – in all systems – for a more formal style.¹³⁰ Looking at the Indo-European longer line that was split in three by two caesuras, he also finds a parallel in Irish: he finds the same trisyllabic cadence but a longer line split into three cola in both the *Bretha Nemed* as well as in the *Amrae Coluimb Cille*¹³¹ and he concludes that 'as in the other cognate verse systems, the shorter line of 6–8 syllables may be derived from this longer line, merely by the suppression of the middle colon'.¹³² He concludes further that 'the exact agreement between this extremely archaic Irish line and the cognate longer lines, in syllabic length, colon structure, and relation to the shorter line of 6–8 syllables, may be taken as the conclusive argument for the Indo-European origin of archaic Irish metre'.¹³³

¹²⁴ Loc. cit.

¹²⁵ Cf. Watkins (1963) p. 220.

¹²⁶ Cf. op. cit. p. 248.

¹²⁷ Cf. op. cit. p. 229.

¹²⁸ Cf. op. cit. p. 234; catalexis is 'the reduction of the syllabic length of the cadence'.

¹²⁹ Watkins (1963) pp. 237–8.

¹³⁰ Cf. op. cit. p. 240.

¹³¹ Cf. op. cit. pp. 242–3.

¹³² Op. cit. p. 244.

¹³³ Loc. cit.

Additional work on Indo-European metrics was carried out by Martin West. In his ‘Indo-European Metre’¹³⁴ he follows the assumption made by Antoine Meillet, Roman Jakobson and Calvert Watkins ‘that Indo-European prototypes underlie the metrical forms at least of Indian, Iranian, Greek, Slavic and Celtic poetry’.¹³⁵ He aims to provide a more detailed discussion by also including Italic and Germanic metres. He states that he will only focus on the standard metres to provide not so much ‘every variety of metre recorded among speakers of IE. languages’, but rather ‘a framework of theory that will provide some insight into the character of IE. verse’.¹³⁶

He then proceeds to give a brief overview of the main metres of different metrical systems individually and seeks to answer the question how different metres of a single system are or could be related. He also looks into how each system could be traced back to an Indo-European prototype and establishes a list of those Indo-European prototypes after having discussed some of the Greek metres. When discussing ‘Celtic’ (i.e. Irish) metre, West relies on Watkins’ work, although he states that he does not agree with all of his equations.¹³⁷ His working assumption is that ‘a stress accent (regularly initial) has replaced quantity as the formative factor in versification’ and that ‘the line has on the whole a fixed length’.¹³⁸ West also focuses on the hepta- and octosyllabic verse lines that Watkins compared to the paroemiac epic verse in Greek and Slavic metrical systems. However, West prefers a slightly different model of origin and he also states that the very long lines of twelve or thirteen syllables ‘seem to correspond exactly to the Russian longer epic line’.¹³⁹ He also finds that there exists ‘a complete series of ‘acatalectic’ measures [...] with a matching series of ‘catalectic’ ones’.¹⁴⁰ Thus, he disagrees with Watkins’ derivation of this system that, according to West, fails to explain the absence of the verses ending in |ǰx and x|ǰxx.¹⁴¹

He then concludes with a paragraph on Indo-European metre in which he discusses stanza-form, the uses of different metres and ‘the origin and significance of the cadences’.¹⁴² As far as the stanza-forms are concerned West finds that three patterns recur among several of the Indo-European languages under discussion: the alternation of a longer with a shorter line (ABAB), two short verses plus a long one (AAB) and three shorter lines followed by a longer

¹³⁴ West (1973).

¹³⁵ West (1973) p. 161.

¹³⁶ Loc. cit.

¹³⁷ Op. cit. p. 174.

¹³⁸ Loc. cit.

¹³⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit. p. 174.

¹⁴¹ Op. cit. p. 175.

¹⁴² Op. cit. p. 183.

one (AAAB).¹⁴³ However, he states that ‘some of these similarities may be fortuitous, but perhaps some of them reflect IE. strophic patterns’.¹⁴⁴ He treads more carefully when surveying the uses of certain metres, but he mentions that ‘it is worth pointing out the wide-spread use of eight and seven-syllable lines for epic and gnomic poetry’.¹⁴⁵ He summarises his findings by stating that ‘the desire to make the balance of phrases more perfect led them [Indo-Europeans] to the principle of isosyllabism’,¹⁴⁶ claiming that by a more refined technique the Indo-European metrical system became more sophisticated at an earlier stage than the one in the Near East.

1.4 Summary

This chapter gave an overview of the mechanics of early Irish rhyme and presented a selection of literature that studies and describes early Irish metrics. Rudolf Thurneysen’s and Kuno Meyer’s work was the basis for Gerard Murphy’s *Early Irish Metrics*, the latter being the main point of reference for the present thesis. Brian Ó Cuív’s article has also been shown to have had an important influence on the study of Irish metrics, especially on the study of *dán díreach*. It has become clear that the phonological classifications of the various authors do not agree in all points and it is intended that the study of the present corpus will, where possible, amend these systems. Following the literary review, the mechanics of early Irish rhyme were summarised to serve as a contextual point of reference for the analysis of the rhyming pairs in *Saltair na Rann*.

Furthermore, the possible origin of Irish metre and the two main schools of thought in this discussion – Latin origin vs indigenous origin – have been presented. Thurneysen was the first to discuss the possible Latin origin of Irish metre, an idea that is taken up, among others, by Sproule and McCone. Travis, however, does not see the need to look for a non-native origin of Irish metre, a view that is also supported by Isaac.

In connection to the origin-question of Irish metre the concept of Indo-European metrics has also been discussed briefly, presenting a selected bibliography dealing with the comparison of different metrical traditions. A pioneer in the field was Antoine Meillet who compared Greek and Vedic metres with one another, concluding that they must have had a common origin. Jakobson added Slavic metres to the metrical equations and Watkins built on Meillet’s and Jakobson’s work to study a possible Indo-European metrical ancestor for Irish. A brief outline of West’s discussion of a common Indo-European metre concludes the overview. It should be

¹⁴³ Op. cit. p. 184.

¹⁴⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁵ West (1973) p. 184.

¹⁴⁶ Op. cit. p. 187.

noted that the study of Indo-European metrics is regarded to be fruitful only by a minority of scholars and has been included in the present thesis for the sake of completeness.

The following chapter will introduce a range of metrical theory from different traditions with different methodological backgrounds.

2.0 Metrical theory

The last chapter presented a summary of the most important works on Irish poetry and metrics as well as the main theories on the origin of Irish metre and rhyme. The mechanics of how rhyme works in early Irish poetry was also looked at. The present chapter will be dedicated to a general view of theory of metre and rhyme. Irish metrics have always been dealt with rather practically and with the focus very much restricted to the details of that field itself. The literature concerned with Irish metrics mainly deals with the mechanics of rhyme, syllable count and alliteration, answering the question how rhyme in Irish poetry works rather than why it does.

It is essential to review these theories here to demonstrate the existence of a broader context of metrical theory in which the study of the *Saltair* can be placed. Although the several metrical theories summarised here will not be directly applied to the data that has been gathered from *Saltair na Rann*, it will become clear that various aspects of its metre are amenable to analyses that go beyond the practical approach in the field.

The present survey introduces different concepts and tools that can be employed when studying metre. It will contextualise the present approach to Irish metrics and is meant to encourage an exchange of methodological tools for others that are available to change the focus of metrical studies in Irish poetry.

The order that has been kept in this presentation follows the schools of thought rather than a strict chronological arrangement. Firstly, the work of Roman Jakobson, a pioneer in applying linguistic methodology to metrical studies, will be summarised.

2.1 Roman Jakobson

Roman Jakobson's work laid the foundations for many of the theories that are discussed below. He was the pioneer of using concepts of linguistics to approach metrical structures. His fundamental thoughts on metrics can be found, for instance, in his article 'Linguistics and Poetics' in which he reasons that 'poetics deal with verbal structure' and 'since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics'.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, he states that 'many poetic features belong not only to the science of language but to the whole theory of signs, that is, to general semiotics'.¹⁴⁸ He aims to explore the poetic

¹⁴⁷ Jakobson (1960) p. 350.

¹⁴⁸ Op. cit. p. 351.

function and ‘its place among the other functions of language’.¹⁴⁹ According to Jakobson, the following factors are featured in any speech event:

‘The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to [...], graspable by the addressee, and either verbal or being capable of being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee [...]; and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication.’¹⁵⁰

Jakobson states that each of these factors ‘determines a different function of language’¹⁵¹ and thus ‘the verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function’.¹⁵² He proceeds to exemplify those different functions, such as referential¹⁵³ or emotive¹⁵⁴ functions. He also adds the phatic function¹⁵⁵ which serves to attract the attention of the addressee and he touches upon the metalingual function¹⁵⁶ which is defined as using language to speak about language.

Jakobson then explains that the poetic function of language is the ‘focus on the message for its own sake’.¹⁵⁷ However, he cautions that linguistics must not limit itself to poetry when dealing with the poetic function of language.¹⁵⁸ He also states that different poetic genres focus on different functions of language, e.g. epic poetry focuses very much on the referential function.¹⁵⁹ His central axiom concerning the inherent feature in any piece of poetry is that ‘the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination’.¹⁶⁰ In other words, in regular verbal behaviour ‘the selection is produced on the base of equivalence [...] while the combination [...] is based on contiguity’,¹⁶¹ whereas in poetry equivalence is the basis of combination.¹⁶² ‘[...] Equation is [then] used to build a sequence.’¹⁶³ He states that ‘only in poetry with its regular reiteration of equivalent units is the time of the speech flow experienced, as it is [...] with musical time’.¹⁶⁴

¹⁴⁹ Jakobson (1960) p. 353.

¹⁵⁰ Loc. cit.

¹⁵¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁵² Loc. cit.

¹⁵³ I.e. orientation towards the context; cf. loc. cit.

¹⁵⁴ I.e. focused on the addresser and their attitude toward their conveyed message; cf. op. cit. pp. 354–5.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. op. cit. pp. 355–6.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. op. cit. p. 356.

¹⁵⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. loc. cit.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. op. cit. p. 357.

¹⁶⁰ Op. cit. p. 358.

¹⁶¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁶² Loc. cit.

¹⁶³ Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁴ Loc. cit.

He then looks at the structure of verse in general and discovers that there always is ‘at least one (or more than one) binary contrast of a relatively high and relatively low prominence’¹⁶⁵ to be found. Accentual verse, for example, uses stressed and unstressed syllables, whereas quantitative verse uses long and short syllables to mark the more and less prominent positions.¹⁶⁶

In regard to the rules that regulate these compulsory features, Jakobson also points to the rules regulating optional features: ‘We are inclined to designate such phenomena [...] as deviations, but it must be remembered that these are oscillations, departures within the limits of the law.’¹⁶⁷ He states that ‘meter [...] underlies the structure of [...] any single verse instance’ and that ‘design and instance are correlative concepts’.¹⁶⁸ He calls metre a ‘linguistic phenomenon’ because it has ‘so many intrinsically linguistic particularities’.¹⁶⁹ He stresses that though each performance of a poem is an event and thus varies every time, the poem itself ‘must be some kind of enduring object’.¹⁷⁰ Thus, ‘the verse shape of a poem remains completely independent of its variable delivery’.¹⁷¹ He cautions against assuming that ‘verse is [...] a “figure of sound”’ exclusively:¹⁷² it is ‘primarily, always, but never uniquely’¹⁷³ so and ‘to confine such poetic convention as meters, alliteration, or rhyme to the sound level are speculative reasonings without any empirical justification’.¹⁷⁴

He then turns his attention to the metrical feature of rhyme and emphasises that although rhyme ‘by definition is based on a regular recurrence of equivalent phonemes or phonemic groups’,¹⁷⁵ it certainly also involves semantics. He addresses various questions that may be asked when dealing with rhyme, such as whether the ‘rhyming members carry the same syntactic function’ or whether there is a ‘simile between rhyming lexical units’¹⁷⁶ and Jakobson clearly states that both sound and meaning of the rhyming words are ‘necessarily involved’ and that ‘equivalence in sound [...] inevitably involves semantic equivalence’.¹⁷⁷ At the same time the ‘poetic sound texture’ needs to ‘take into account the phonological structure of the given

¹⁶⁵ Jakobson (1960) p. 359.

¹⁶⁶ Op. cit. p. 360.

¹⁶⁷ Op. cit. p. 364.

¹⁶⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁹ Op. cit. p. 365.

¹⁷⁰ Op. cit. p. 366; Jakobson quotes an article by W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley (1959) p. 587, § II: ‘A performance is an event, but the poem itself, if there *is* any poem, must be some kind of enduring object.’

¹⁷¹ Jakobson (1960) p. 367.

¹⁷² Loc. cit.

¹⁷³ Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁵ Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁶ Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁷ Op. cit. p. 368.

language'.¹⁷⁸ He exemplifies how the similarity of sound affects the similarity of meaning with the help of Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Raven'.¹⁷⁹

Jakobson returns to one of the main features of poetry – parallelism – in his article 'Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry'.¹⁸⁰ He claims that the opposition of grammatical categories can be the basis for a strong poetic image.¹⁸¹ He reasons that 'poetry is the most formalized manifestation of language' and therefore 'grammatical concepts [...] find their widest application in poetry'¹⁸² and it is impossible to regard 'such a crucial linguistic and poetic problem as parallelism [without] any discussion of grammatical and lexical meaning'.¹⁸³ He says that 'any noticeable reiteration of the same grammatical concept becomes an effective poetic device'.¹⁸⁴ In that sense, grammatical contrasts can also serve to highlight the metrical division of a poem.¹⁸⁵ He finds that especially in imageless poetry, i.e. poetry without tropes of any kind, grammatical figures are very prominent.¹⁸⁶ Jakobson also sees strong links between rhyme and grammar and he says that 'the rhyme technique is "either grammatical or antigrammatical" but never "agrammatical"'.¹⁸⁷ He compares grammar in poetry to geometrical patterns in the art of a painter, also because grammar as well as rules of geometry are abstract and underlie the actual instances of those rules.¹⁸⁸

It is indisputable that Jakobson's work was ground-breaking in the field of metrical theory. He was the first to approach metrics from the view-point of a structural linguist and brought poetry as a verbal art into the field of linguistics. His discussion of the poetic function was one of the major contributions to the field of metrics. He also worked on the interaction between metre and semantics and although stressing that verse is always a figure of sound it is not exclusively so. His work will not be applied directly in the analytic chapters discussing the rhymes in *Saltair na Rann*, but some of his ideas will be of a more important role for the future project of discussing the semantics of rhymes in the *Saltair*.

¹⁷⁸ Jakobson (1960) p. 374.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. op. cit. pp. 371–2; the words 'pallid' and 'Pallas', for example, in the line 'On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door' 'were blended earlier in another epithet of the same bust – placid /plæsId/ – a poetic portmanteau, and the bond between sitter and the seat was in turn fastened by a paronomasia: "bird or beast upon the ...bust."'

¹⁸⁰ Jakobson (1987).

¹⁸¹ Cf. op. cit. pp. 121–2.

¹⁸² Op. cit. p. 124.

¹⁸³ Op. cit. p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ Op. cit. p. 127.

¹⁸⁵ Op. cit. p. 128.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. op. cit. pp. 128–32.

¹⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 132.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. op. cit. p. 133.

His work provided, as mentioned above, the foundation for various other scholars who followed his approach. The next section will discuss John Lotz's approach to metrics, which is firmly based on Jakobson's ideas.

2.2 John Lotz

John Lotz follows Jakobson in that he deals with a theory of metrics 'founded on phonetics and orientated toward structural linguistics',¹⁸⁹ analysing metres from various cultures. His aim is to set up a basic typology to cover the most important aspects for a general theory of metrics. First, he discusses linguistic foundations. He describes verse as a text which has been 'numerically regulated'.¹⁹⁰ With 'numerically regulated' Lotz refers to a 'strict determination of the syllabics and, in some cases, also of certain prosodic features [...]'¹⁹¹ and this is also what distinguishes verse from prose. Lotz states, however, that these regulations can also be relaxed, but that he will focus on strictly regulated verse.¹⁹² Furthermore, he defines verse as a 'purely formal notion. It refers to the language signal alone without reference to function and can correspond to a variety of functions.'¹⁹³ Because there is no single function behind all verse, Lotz – like Jakobson – urges that metrics be approached from linguistics, since 'all metric phenomena are language phenomena'.¹⁹⁴ Following this he states that 'not all aspects of language are relevant'¹⁹⁵ for metrics and thus metrically relevant features have to be selected.

He also discusses the concept of poetic grammar that studies phenomena in verse that would not appear in the normal use of the language.¹⁹⁶ According to Lotz the linguistic study of metrics involves both phonological constituents and syntactic constituents.¹⁹⁷ Regarding the phonological constituents, Lotz assumes that 'all strictly regulated metric systems are founded on *syllabification*'.¹⁹⁸ What is metrically relevant for Lotz is the 'syllabic pulse, characterized by a dominant syllabic rather than the syllable as such'.¹⁹⁹ Additionally to the basis of syllabification in the versification systems that Lotz is looking at, prosodic features, such as

¹⁸⁹ Lotz (1960) p. 135.

¹⁹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹⁹¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁹² Cf. op. cit. pp. 135–6; as examples he uses the Mordvinian decasyllabic verse, Sapphic verse, blank verse and Tang Dynasty metre.

¹⁹³ Lotz (1960) p. 137.

¹⁹⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁵ Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁶ Op. cit. p. 138.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. op. cit. pp. 138–9.

¹⁹⁸ Op. cit. p. 138.

¹⁹⁹ Loc. cit.

‘pitch, intensity and duration’,²⁰⁰ are also metrically relevant parts of the phonological constituents.²⁰¹

Sentences, words and phrases or colons are part of the syntactical analysis of a metrical system.²⁰² He says that ‘the syntactic constituents provide the frame for which the numerical regulation of the phonological material can be stated’.²⁰³ Still looking at the linguistic side of metrical theory, Lotz describes the superstructure of metrics, such as lines and stanzas. All these are necessary for verse, whereas alliteration, rhyme, parallelism do not, in themselves, constitute metre.²⁰⁴

He then proceeds to discuss the types of metre. He identifies two fundamental types based on the numerical regulations of syllabic and prosodic features: the pure-syllabic metre and the syllabic-prosodic metre.²⁰⁵ The former only controls the number of syllables. The latter also controls the number of syllables, but additionally requires prosodic features, such as the position of quantities as in Latin and Greek metres, the position of heavier and lighter syllables as in German metre or the position of pitches like in Classical Chinese.²⁰⁶ Lotz also mentions that there are mixed types of metre. French metre, for example, is generally pure-syllabic, but the final element must be heavy.²⁰⁷ This demonstrates that syllabic and prosodic features are mixed and jointly contribute to constitute the metre.

Finally, he gives sample analyses of Mordvinian syllabic metre (that he classifies as pure-syllabic), Classical Chinese classified as tonal, English and German (dynamic) and Greek and Latin metres (durational).²⁰⁸

Thus he establishes a basic typology for strictly regulated verse in which he distinguishes between simple – i.e. pure-syllabic metres – and complex metres, i.e. tonal, dynamic and durational. The former only regulates the numbers of syllables in a line; the latter

²⁰⁰ Lotz (1960) p. 138.

²⁰¹ Cf. op. cit. p. 138; it should be pointed out that Lotz’s understanding of the term prosodies/prosodic features represents the traditional definition. Ó Cuív’s definition of the term (mentioned in the previous chapter) is very different from Lotz and goes back to Firth’s linguistic school of prosodic analysis (cf. above, p. 9, FN 62). Lotz refers to his own definition in his essay ‘The Structure of Human Speech’ (1954) p. 377: ‘For speech, the following types of perceptual categories are relevant: (1) *timbres*, which depend on the shape of the profile structure; and (2) *prosodic* features – which on the whole – are the perceptual correlates of the three parameters of the time-frequency-intensity representation: (a) *pitch*, the perceptual correlate of differences of well-organized harmonic structures along the frequency axis; (b) *loudness*, correlating with differences between intensity levels; and (c) *duration*, which corresponds to the organization of the acoustic material along the time dimension.’

²⁰² Cf. Lotz (1960) p. 139.

²⁰³ Loc. cit.

²⁰⁴ Cf. op. cit. pp. 139–40.

²⁰⁵ Cf. op. cit. p. 140.

²⁰⁶ Cf. loc. cit.

²⁰⁷ Cf. op. cit. p. 141.

²⁰⁸ Cf. op. cit. pp. 143–8.

also takes different prosodies, such as quantity and pitch, and positioning of these prosodies into account. He remarks that other typologies could be established, e.g. a typology to define the syntactical composition, but he finds that ‘these typologies [...] would probably turn out to be less informative and, often, trivial’.²⁰⁹ The salient point of his paper for the present thesis is that he bases his typology on a linguistic background.

2.3 Morris Halle

Morris Halle follows the direction Jakobson and Lotz proposed in their respective works. He starts his essay ‘On Meter and Prosody’ with a definition of verse in which he says that ‘the utterances that make up a piece of metrical verse exhibit regularities in the sequential arrangement of their phonetic, morphological or syntactic components which are not found consistently in normal everyday language’.²¹⁰ In his article he aims to make clear the distinction between the abstract idea of the metre the poet chose and the actualisation of the metre in words, very much like the relationship between a phoneme and its phone or phones. He proceeds to find an abstract representation of the metrical pattern from actual verse, assigning the symbol ‘X’ not to every syllable of a line but only to certain syllables.²¹¹ This is important, because otherwise very different metrical patterns would be covered by the same unspecified ‘mapping rules’. The examples ‘Rain, Rain, go away’ and ‘Rings on her fingers, bells on her toes’²¹² show that although both lines contain a different number of syllables, both contain the equal amount of metrically relevant stresses that can both be represented by ‘XXXX’. Hence, it is essential that each representation of a metre is accompanied by an individual mapping rule.

Halle explains that ‘there are numerous metrical patterns [...] that are made up of entities of two distinct types, and, as one would expect, the associated mapping rules differ accordingly’.²¹³ He demonstrates this with the help of three different metres: the Serbo-Croatian epic decasyllable, the Greek hexameter and the English iambic pentameter. These three metres are composed of weak and strong syllables,²¹⁴ that he encodes ‘w’ and ‘s’ respectively.²¹⁵

Furthermore, he points out that the mapping rules that he suggests are far more precise in describing and prescribing what is metrically valid. For example, whereas ‘traditional

²⁰⁹ Lotz (1960) p. 143.

²¹⁰ Halle (1970) p. 64.

²¹¹ Op. cit. p. 65.

²¹² Op. cit. pp. 66–7.

²¹³ Op. cit. p. 67.

²¹⁴ ‘Strong’ and ‘weak’, however, are defined differently in each metre.

²¹⁵ Halle (1970) pp. 67–75.

treatments of metrics' would call variations in the regular stress pattern of the iambic pentameter 'allowable deviations', they fail 'to provide criteria for deciding whether or not a given deviation will be "allowable"'.²¹⁶ In expanding on his mapping rules, Halle finds it also useful to create a numerical scale of complexity as far as the metrical structure is concerned, starting at zero for the least complex structure.²¹⁷

He further comments briefly on some similarities that appear among different metres of different languages, but he also cautions against the conclusion that a common source might be the basis for these metres, because

'it must not be overlooked that the similarities concern extremely rudimentary properties of words (mapping rules) and of sequential arrangements of abstract entities (meters). In view of their rudimentary character it is not *a priori* implausible that the parallels are the accidental results of identical inventions made independently in a number of places and periods.'²¹⁸

He then proceeds to give a general overview of abstract metrical patterns and their structure. There are two factors that matter in every metre: length of the line, which according to Halle 'can be probably safely restricted to a maximum of twenty or thirty entities [...]',²¹⁹ and the entities themselves of which there are no more than three types.²²⁰ He distinguishes between periodic and aperiodic metres, the former of which are those that repeat a certain sequence, i.e. a metrical foot.²²¹ Since the number of elements in a foot is restricted, 'the variety of feet, and hence, also of periodic meters, is severely restricted'.²²²

He concludes that metrical patterns are quite simplistic, because the only restrictions that exist are the length of the line and the type of entity the lines are composed of.²²³ He stresses that the complexity of a metrical pattern, e.g. s w s w s w, differs vastly from that of the metrical rules that govern the actual verse. Thus, the simplest case is a 'one:one relationship between the entities of the meter and the syllables of the line of verse'.²²⁴ Regarding the complexity, Halle stresses that 'not all actualizations of a given meter are equal'²²⁵ and

²¹⁶ Halle (1970) p. 71.

²¹⁷ Cf. op. cit. p. 73.

²¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 68.

²¹⁹ Op. cit. p. 75.

²²⁰ English pure stress verse is an example for metres created of one type of entities, i.e. stressed syllables are relevant for the metre. Serbo-Croatian epic decasyllable exemplifies a metre consisting of two metrically relevant entities, i.e. weak and strong positions. Halle admits that 'patterns composed of entities of three distinct types are exceedingly rare; the only meters of this kind known to me are certain of the meters of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (*i.e.*, the meters of the so-called fourth cycle [...])'. (Halle (1970) p. 75).

²²¹ Cf. Halle (1970) p. 75.

²²² Loc cit.

²²³ Cf. op. cit. p.78.

²²⁴ Loc. cit.

²²⁵ Op. cit. p. 79.

therefore it is important to be able to describe the various complexities of the different actualisations. He finishes his essay by stating that many questions still remain unanswered and that ‘the relationship between the mapping rules favoured by a particular language and the phonetic properties of the language’ still need to be studied extensively.²²⁶

2.4 Paul Kiparsky

A student of Halle’s, Paul Kiparsky discusses metrics with a background of generative phonology and uses the Finnish *Kalevala*²²⁷ and the *Rigveda*²²⁸ to exemplify his views in successive articles. However, in contrast to Halle, he ‘views metrics as being governed not by syllable- or stress-count, but by rule and schema’.²²⁹ Thus, alliteration is explained as being thought of by poet and reader as schemata rather than as ‘actual phonetic character’.²³⁰ This way ‘many otherwise anomalous alliterative patterns can be explained by this principle’.²³¹ Kiparsky’s general idea is that certain metrical rules apply before certain phonological rules. Hence, ‘a word’s *metrical value* and its surface form may not be identical’.²³²

In ‘Metrics and Morphophonemics in the *Kalevala*’ Kiparsky aims to show that instances of apparent deviations from the metrical rules are, in fact, regular if ‘justice is done to the phonological structure of the Finnish language’.²³³ The first part of his paper is dedicated to the analysis of the metrical structure of the line in the *Kalevala*. Kiparsky finds that the basic rule for the octosyllabic lines is that ‘stressed syllables must be long on the downbeat and short on the upbeat’.²³⁴ Additionally, this rule is waived in the first foot, occasionally broken in the second, rarely broken in the third and always employed in the fourth foot. Kiparsky points out that the ‘increase of metrical strictness towards the end of the line is an interesting and almost

²²⁶ Cf. Halle (1970) p. 79.

²²⁷ The *Kalevala* is a Finnish folk epic compiled by Elias Lönnrot at the beginning of the 19th century. He collected the material on numerous journeys and, taking Homer as a model, edited the various folk poems to create one coherent epic (see, for instance, Laitinen (1985) pp. 59–65); Elias Lönnrot, *Kalevala*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, 14 (Helsinki: Jyväskylä, 1995); translation see, for instance, *Kalevala: The Land of the Heroes*, trans. by William F. Kirby, Everyman’s Library (London: J. M. Dent, 1970–1974).

²²⁸ The *Rigveda* is a collection of sacred Sanskrit hymns. See, for example, *Rig Veda – A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*, ed. by Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, Harvard Oriental Series, 50 (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1994); for a translation see, for instance, Ralph T. H. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rgveda – Translated with a Popular Commentary*, 2 vols (Benares: E. J. Lazarus and Co., 1889).

²²⁹ Kiparsky (1970) p. 165. This quote is part of an introduction to Kiparsky’s article.

²³⁰ Loc. cit.

²³¹ Loc. cit.: ‘Furthermore, certain facts of the Finnish diphthongal alliteration suggest that an alliteration schema applies to certain vowels at a level in their phonological derivation before the diphthongization rule applies.’

²³² Loc. cit.

²³³ Op. cit. p. 166.

²³⁴ Op. cit. p. 167.

constant feature of numerous widely differing metrical systems of the world'.²³⁵ He also points out that 'the words of a line are arranged in order of increasing length' and that 'a monosyllabic word is not permitted at the end of a line'.²³⁶ Furthermore, he discovers that there is a tendency to split a line into two equal halves, i.e. a caesura between the fourth and fifth syllable.

He then focuses on the alliteration in the lines. The most common type of alliteration is where the words 'share the initial consonant (if any) and the first vowel'.²³⁷ Kiparsky distinguishes between alliteration with a consonant+vowel and without a consonant, i.e. the word begins with a vowel. However, he finds the fact problematic that these types of alliteration are treated equally, i.e. a...a... corresponds to ta...ta... but not to t...t....²³⁸ Kiparsky suggests that the resolution of this problem lies in the definition of alliteration itself: if it is not thought of as repetition of phonological segments, but rather as 'identity of portions of words defined by an alliteration schema fixed by poetic convention',²³⁹ the above alliterations are regular; '[...] two words in a line alliterate if their analyses are identical'.²⁴⁰

He proceeds to discuss the morphophonemic basis of the metre and alliteration by looking at alliteration of diphthongs. Seemingly, *o* and the diphthong *uo* do not match in Finnish, but because the diphthongs are 'morphophonemically geminated vowels', the alliteration is still valid.²⁴¹ He stresses that 'a consideration of the underlying forms and the rules which relate them to the phonetic shapes will clarify these seeming irregularities'.²⁴² He concludes from this that 'the metrical correctness of a line depends on its form at a certain cutoff point in the derivation'.²⁴³ Consequently there are homonymous word pairs that will never be metrically identical, because they have gone through different stages of linguistic derivation.²⁴⁴ Thus he concludes that it is necessary to distinguish 'between the underlying design of the verse and its actual instantiation'.²⁴⁵

²³⁵ Loc. cit.; Kiparsky assumes an underlying trochaic metre for all lines (i.e. downbeat/ictus/strong position + upbeat/breve/weak position). He exemplifies this with the line 'Luvan antoi suuri Luoja' ('The great Creator gave permission', p. 166), where, after the first syllable, the stressed syllables are long on the downbeat and short on the upbeat.

²³⁶ Kiparsky (1970) p. 168.

²³⁷ Op. cit. p. 169.

²³⁸ Loc. cit.: Kiparsky finds it paradoxical that a...a... is a one-segment alliteration that corresponds to a two-segment alliteration (ta...ta...).

²³⁹ Kiparsky (1970) p. 170.

²⁴⁰ Op. cit. p. 171.

²⁴¹ Op. cit. p. 172: the underlying form of the diphthong *uo* is /oo/ and thus can alliterate with *o*. This means that 'alliteration, then, is defined on morphophonemic representations, or, at any rate, on representations to which the diphthongization rule has not applied'. (p. 172)

²⁴² Kiparsky (1970) pp. 172–3.

²⁴³ Op. cit. p. 175.

²⁴⁴ Cf. op. cit. p. 176: to illustrate this, Kiparsky uses the example of the words /pakko+hon/ 'compulsion' and /pako+hon/ 'flight' that both 'merge phonetically to *pakkoon*'. 'However, they retain distinct forms at the metrical

Kiparsky follows a similar line in his paper on the metrics of the *Rigveda*.²⁴⁶ He sets out by stating that it was ‘long an unquestioned axiom of metrical theory that the metrically relevant features of a line are phonetic, that is, audible in the recitation intended by the poet [...]’.²⁴⁷ However, he finds that ‘potential audibility is not always necessary’²⁴⁸ and that – as mentioned above – ‘prosodic constraints may involve stages in the derivation that are not (even optionally) realized on the phonetic level’.²⁴⁹ In this article Kiparsky uses the metrics of the *Rigveda* to demonstrate his point. By looking at supposed exceptions, he shows that these instances are in fact not exceptional or faulty, but that they were still part of the regular metre.²⁵⁰ He finds that sometimes the same colon²⁵¹ is used twice ‘but with different metrical value’.²⁵² Despite the differences Kiparsky states that ‘the situation is linguistically much more systematic’²⁵³ than has been thought by others. He is trying to show how the ‘linguistic differentiation accounts for the metrical facts’.²⁵⁴ He establishes that it is not a particular phonological law that was optional ‘but that the proper explanation for the optionality within this metrical system lies in the interaction of morphophonemic, as well as phonetic, representations with the meter’.²⁵⁵ He explains this by comparing the metre to a filter, and that a line can pass this filter not only ‘in its phonetic shape, but also at certain earlier stages of the phonological derivation’.²⁵⁶ He argues that ‘a living poetic tradition, especially an oral one, tends to weed out archaisms to a far greater extent than is often realized’.²⁵⁷ On the other hand Kiparsky concedes that ‘some forms may be retained as conventionalized archaisms in spite of being synchronically dead [...]’.²⁵⁸ He deduces ‘that the meter of a poem reflects a historical process in some cases (the synchronically opaque ones) but not in others (the synchronically transparent ones)’.²⁵⁹

cutoff point, where the first syllable of one is long and the first syllable of the other is short. [...] These, then, are word pairs which are always homonymous but never metrically equivalent.’ (p. 176)

²⁴⁵ Kiparsky (1970) p. 180.

²⁴⁶ Kiparsky (1972).

²⁴⁷ Op. cit. p. 174.

²⁴⁸ Op. cit. p. 175.

²⁴⁹ Op. cit. p. 176.

²⁵⁰ Op. cit. pp. 178–83.

²⁵¹ Here, the term colon is used to describe a structural unit in any metrical system.

²⁵² Kiparsky (1972) p. 179: He refers to the difference in scansion regarding *y* and *v* which can also be scanned as syllabic *i* and *u*.

²⁵³ Kiparsky (1972) p. 179.

²⁵⁴ Op. cit. p. 183.

²⁵⁵ Op. cit. p. 185.

²⁵⁶ Op. cit. p. 186: ‘Phonological derivation’ describes either the process or the product of applying phonological rules to an underlying form of a phonetically actualised word. Thus it is a synchronic process.

²⁵⁷ Kiparsky (1972) p. 191.

²⁵⁸ Loc. cit.

²⁵⁹ Loc. cit.

Kiparsky concludes his article by tackling the question what the general conditions might be under which ‘nonphonetic representations may be metrically relevant’.²⁶⁰ He proposes ‘four constraints on the use of language in poetry’.²⁶¹ Firstly, he claims that ‘a metrical range cannot be discontinuous’, meaning metrically relevant stages in the derivation cannot be interspersed with metrically irrelevant stages.²⁶²

Secondly, since he has not discovered a rule that a line is only metrically valid if it is metrically valid ‘at every point in the metrically relevant part of its derivation’,²⁶³ he claims that the ‘scanning over a metrical range must be disjunctive’.²⁶⁴

The third point of investigation is in what kind of units a filter deals with a line.²⁶⁵ He suggests three possibilities:

- a) the strongest constraint is line-by-line in which there would be no two possibilities for a word within that line to be scanned;
- b) a word-by-word scansion that would allow for a different level of derivation even for the same word;
- c) a segment-by-segment scansion in which each segment of a word could be derived from a different level and the resulting word as such would appear nowhere in its actual history of derivation.²⁶⁶

Finally, he turns his attention to phonological properties of the metrical range. He finds that in the *Rigveda* phonologically conditioned rules can be metrically disregarded, whereas morphologically conditioned rules cannot.²⁶⁷

2.5 Gary Miller

D. Gary Miller focuses on the relationship between linguistic developments in a language and the ‘poetic options’ that exist in the given language. He says that “‘poetic licence’” consists of the relaxation, re-ordering, generalization, inversion, etc. of rules of the natural language to yield metrically relevant representations that may differ considerably from outputs in the spoken language’.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁰ Kiparsky (1972) p. 194.

²⁶¹ Loc. cit.

²⁶² Cf. loc. cit.

²⁶³ Op. cit. p. 195.

²⁶⁴ Loc. cit.

²⁶⁵ Cf. loc. cit.

²⁶⁶ Cf. loc. cit.

²⁶⁷ Cf. op. cit. p. 197.

²⁶⁸ Miller (1977) p. 21.

He introduces his study with a summary of three kinds of poetic complexity that have to be regarded when dealing with metrics: linguistic complexity, i.e. ‘the degree to which a given metrical representation deviates from the spoken norm’,²⁶⁹ metrical complexity, i.e. ‘the degree of permissible deviation of a given verse line from the abstract metrical norm’,²⁷⁰ and rhythmic complexity, i.e. a complexity caused by a change to the abstract metrical norm, e.g. a trochaic foot in an iambic line.²⁷¹ Miller states that he will not answer the question which approach – i.e. linguistic, metrical or rhythmical – should be chosen to measure the complexity of a deviation in a metrical line, but that he will try ‘to show how in some cases general (non-English-specific) principles of certain poetic options can be attained by measuring linguistic rather than metrical or rhythmical complexity’, and to examine them ‘in the context of their counterparts in linguistic change’.²⁷²

He then demonstrates with the help of various examples of Greek and English verse how poetry has the licence to ignore or relax certain rules that may not be broken in the normal use of the language, such as stress rules or rules that govern the like-vowel contraction in Greek.²⁷³

Furthermore, he exemplifies how poetry may ignore Selkirk’s Monosyllable Rule ‘by which “a monosyllabic dependent loses its stress when it precedes its head or a co-dependent in surface structure”’.²⁷⁴ Thus, poets can use normally unstressed modals, prepositions and the copula in stressed or strong positions.

He proceeds to discuss what he calls ‘poetic re-ordering’.²⁷⁵ This means that the poet had the licence to re-order certain changes in the natural language to create a metrically valid word. As an example, Miller cites Homer who, in some instances, re-orders the development of (1) contraction, (2) *w*-deletion and (3) antevocalic shortening for metrical purposes.²⁷⁶ He remarks, however, that this licence must have had restrictions.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁹ Miller (1977) p. 21.

²⁷⁰ Loc. cit.

²⁷¹ Cf. op. cit. p. 22.

²⁷² Op. cit. pp. 23–4.

²⁷³ Cf. op. cit. p. 24; thus Homer was able to use the uncontracted form *epartées* which could be scanned as ˘ - - ‘with its surface phonetic representation’, i.e. the one that is expected normally, as well as ˘ - ˘˘ ‘with its underlying representation’. The latter, the ‘relaxed’ scansion, made the word metrically valid.

²⁷⁴ Miller (1977) p. 25; cf. Selkirk (1972) pp. 43–4.

²⁷⁵ Miller (1977) pp. 29–30.

²⁷⁶ Cf. op. cit. p. 29; Miller exemplifies this with the derivation of the nominative plural of the word *hippeĩs* ‘charioteers’: /hippēw+es/ → (1) *w*-deletion: hippēes, (2) Shortening: *hippées, (3) (Re-ordered) Contraction: hippeĩs. Homer uses the latter form to suit the metre. Miller calls this ‘poetic re-ordering’. (p. 30)

²⁷⁷ Cf. Miller (1977) p. 30, FN 3.

The next point Miller makes is the ‘rule generalization’.²⁷⁸ This means that the poet has the licence to adopt a rule from the natural language and introduce it to the *Kunstsprache* of his verses.²⁷⁹ He also states that ‘it seems necessary to recognize grammars of poetry, containing mapping rules to derive the metrically relevant representations by whatever changes are required from the rules of the ordinary spoken language’.²⁸⁰

Finally, Miller looks at ‘poetic rule inversion’, using Greek poetry as an example.²⁸¹ He sums up by stressing that it is not only important to recognise the degree by which a form deviates from a pattern, ‘but also the degree to which the representation that is metrically relevant deviates from the spoken norm by means of a rule generalized, re-ordered, inverted, relaxed etc.’.²⁸²

In his article Miller explains that what he calls ‘poetic options’, i.e. certain licences to seemingly bend phonetic rules to fit the metrical line, are of the same nature as rules of historical language changes and that the poet has the licence to access different points of phonetic derivations of words to fit them into the metre. Once more tools from a different field are applied to illustrate a particular metrical behaviour.

2.6 Optimality Theory

Janet Grijzenhout and Astrid Holtman focus on early Irish rhyme from the view point of a modern phonological theory.²⁸³ Their analysis is one of the most recent ones in early Irish metrics. They strive to provide a framework ‘which is able to express the shared properties in such a way that all attested rhyme combinations can be accounted for’.²⁸⁴

They find that the traditional binary-valued classification of consonants, i.e. consonantal sounds arranged only by place and manner of articulation, is insufficient to explain why lenited stops can rhyme with lenited sonorants. Thus they introduce the feature ‘Sonorant Voice’ to be able to describe voiced fricatives and lenited sonorants as one rhyming class.²⁸⁵ They also

²⁷⁸ Cf. Miller (1977) pp. 30–4.

²⁷⁹ Cf. op. cit. p. 30; the example Miller gives is the schwa deletion between resonants in English, e.g. factory → fact’ry, the ‘English stress reduction’ (pp. 31–3) and metrical lengthening in Greek (pp. 33–4).

²⁸⁰ Miller (1977) p. 31.

²⁸¹ Op. cit. pp. 35–6: On p. 35, Miller gives the example of the inversion of the degemination rule in Greek where poets had the choice of letting an initial resonant count as geminate (i.e. before the rule was applied in the natural language, i.e. reverse to a state before the rule) or not. Even a word that never contained an initial cluster could thus behave as if it had.

²⁸² Miller (1970) p. 36; thus he does not agree with the Halle-Keyser theory in that they measure metrical rather than linguistic complexity: Halle/Keyser (1966).

²⁸³ Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994).

²⁸⁴ Op. cit. p. 46.

²⁸⁵ Cf. op. cit. pp. 48–50; they state that the earlier system that described consonants ‘as a bundle of distinctive binary-valued features’ (p. 47) is not able to capture this.

employ Steriade's concept of Aperture Position to distinguish non-continuant consonants and continuant consonants.²⁸⁶ They conclude that 'early Irish voiced fricatives and lenited sonorants can now quite naturally form a class with respect to poetic rhyme, based on the fact that these segments are characterized by *one* Aperture Position with *SV* [sonorant voice] associated to that position'.²⁸⁷

Having classified voiced fricatives and lenited sonorants, they aim to incorporate the rhyming combinations into the so-called Optimality Theory. This theory is also employed in the field of prosodic morphology, i.e. the study 'of how morphological and phonological determinants of linguistic form interact with one another in a grammatical system'.²⁸⁸ 'In Optimality Theory, the output representation is selected by a set of well-formedness constraints that are ranked in a hierarchy of relevance, so that a lower-ranked constraint may be violated in order to satisfy a higher-ranked one.'²⁸⁹ In other words 'a universal set of phonological constraints exists and this [...] set is ordered, with some constraints being more highly ranked than others. The higher the constraint is ranked, the more influence it exerts on the language.'²⁹⁰

One morphophonemic phenomenon that has been studied with the help of the Optimality Theory is reduplication. Thus there are languages that reduplicate parts of a morpheme or a whole morpheme to express the plural, e.g. the Australian language Warlpiri (*kurdu*, 'child' → *kurdukurdu*, 'children').²⁹¹ Grijzenhout and Holtman state that 'rhyme shows some striking resemblances to reduplication' and thus Optimality Theory offers an adequate tool of analysis of early Irish rhyme that for their purposes can be interpreted as 'poetic reduplication'.²⁹² They explain that there are four types of relations between the base of a morpheme, 'the phonological material to which a reduplicative affix is attached',²⁹³ and the reduplicant, 'the phonological projection of the reduplicative morpheme':²⁹⁴

- (a) contiguity, i.e. no element of the base may be skipped by the reduplicant,

²⁸⁶ Cf. Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 48; see also Steriade (1993): The aperture position 'zero' describes complete closure of the vocal tract and the aperture position 'released' describes a certain degree of closure. Thus, stops and nasals are represented by the same aperture positions, although nasals have a higher degree of sonority.

²⁸⁷ Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 50.

²⁸⁸ McCarthy/Prince (2006) p. 318.

²⁸⁹ Op. cit. p. 357.

²⁹⁰ Fromkin/Rodman/Hyams (2011) p. 263.

²⁹¹ Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 51.

²⁹² Cf. op. cit. pp. 50–1.

²⁹³ Op. cit. p. 51.

²⁹⁴ Loc. cit.

- (b) anchoring, i.e. if the reduplicant is prefixed its initial element corresponds to the initial element of the base and if the reduplicant is suffixed its final element corresponds to the final element of the base,
- (c) base-dependence, i.e. ‘every element in the reduplicant has a correspondent in the base’²⁹⁵ and
- (d) maximality, i.e. ‘every element in the base has a correspondent in the reduplicant’.²⁹⁶

Grijzenhout and Holtman explain that the first three types ‘have the special property of being nearly unviolable’, whereas the fourth is frequently breached, because ‘in many languages we find partial reduplication rather than total reduplication’.²⁹⁷

Seeing that end-rhyme usually focuses on a stress-bearing vowel (in English) and on the material to the right of that, they assume that rhyme can be compared to suffixing rather than prefixing reduplication.²⁹⁸ For the English language, however, they also discover a rather high-ranking constraint, namely that the onset of the reduplicant (i.e. the rhyming element in a line) may not be the same as that of the base (which may consist of the whole line).²⁹⁹ This means that ‘in rhyme, there is one consonant (or consonant-combination) which is barred from the Onset of the Reduplicant and that is the corresponding consonant (or consonant-combination) of the Base’.³⁰⁰ They exemplify this with the rhyming pair *heart-start* which is a perfectly valid rhyming pair in English, whereas *heart-heart* is not.³⁰¹

For Irish rhyme the rules cannot be the same, because similarity rather than identity of sounds was desired. Grijzenhout and Holtman accommodate for this fact by saying that the constraint of Anchoring³⁰² needs to be redefined ‘to include the fact that rhyme in Irish is based on identity in sonority rather than total identity’.³⁰³ Thus, they state that ‘the final element of B [base] should belong to the same class as the final element in Rh [rhyme reduplicant]’.³⁰⁴ The authors are only focusing on the rhyming consonants, so their anchoring-constraint for Early Irish refers to the above mentioned classification of consonants according to their Aperture Position and +/- Sonorant Voice.

²⁹⁵ Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 51.

²⁹⁶ Cf. op. cit. p. 54.

²⁹⁷ Op. cit. p. 52.

²⁹⁸ Cf. op. cit. p. 54.

²⁹⁹ Cf. op. cit. p. 55.

³⁰⁰ Loc. cit.

³⁰¹ Loc. cit.

³⁰² I.e. the final element in the reduplicant (i.e. rhyming word) is identical to the one in the base, assuming that rhyme can be compared to suffixing reduplication rather than prefixing reduplication.

³⁰³ Cf. Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 59.

³⁰⁴ Op. cit. p. 60; they present five different classes that are each defined by aperture and sonorant voice.

They conclude that the feature of aperture position and sonorant voice rather than traditional features need to be applied to be able to explain the rhyming classes of consonants. They also find that Optimality Theory can be applied to describe rhyme in different languages considering that ‘only a slight adaptation of a constraint making use of independently motivated principles is needed in order to account for these differences’.³⁰⁵

Grijzenhout’s and Holtman’s approach gives a further application of a modern theory from the linguistic field of phonology to metrics. The authors focus exclusively on rhyme in early Irish poetry and discuss the rhyming classification of consonants without studying the rhyming vowels. Nevertheless, this is one of the few articles that focus on early Irish metrics employing modern phonological theory and is therefore an important example on how modern theory can be applied to early Irish verse.

2.7 Government Phonology

Another approach to specifically Irish metre based on modern phonological theory is made by Krzysztof Jaskuła who analyses the structure of Old and Middle Irish rhyming consonants and consonant clusters. He argues that ‘rhyming patterns were established as early as Primitive Irish’ by employing ‘a theory of representations called Government Phonology’.³⁰⁶ Government Phonology is a theory of representation that was developed ‘chiefly as a result of the dissatisfaction with Generative Phonology’.³⁰⁷ The theory of Generative Phonology relies on ‘vast numbers of phonological rules’ to explain phonological phenomena whereas Government Phonology ‘is non-derivational’, i.e. it does not rely on rules, because ‘there are no phonemes or their phonetic realizations, there are only phonological segments’.³⁰⁸ ‘Government’ in this theory is defined by Kaye

‘as a binary, asymmetric relation holding (for the current discussion) between two skeletal positions. [...] certain segments have governing properties: they may be associated to [sic] governing skeletal positions. Other segments are governable: they may be associated to skeletal positions that are governees.’³⁰⁹

In his study of Irish rhyme Jaskuła especially focuses on how consonantal clusters behave in rhyme. His starting point is Greene’s division of monosyllables into three different

³⁰⁵ Grijzenhout/Holtman (1994) p. 61.

³⁰⁶ Jaskuła (2007) p. 49.

³⁰⁷ Op. cit. p. 58.

³⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

³⁰⁹ Kaye/Lowenstamm/Vergnaud (1990) p. 198; ‘skeletal points’ or ‘skeletal positions’ (each usually represented by ‘x’; see examples below) are representations of phonological units and they exist on a level between syllabic constituents (nucleus, onset) and their phonemic realisation. The concept of the ‘skeleton’ (a string of skeletal points) enables the phonologist to capture all sound properties of a segment unambiguously and will also show those that are not visible to phonology.

types: short, long and half-long.³¹⁰ Long syllables are composed of long vowels or diphthongs followed by a single consonant, a tense sonorant or a voiceless fricative+voiceless stop.³¹¹ Short syllables are comprised of short vowels followed by a single consonant or a voiceless or sonorant fricative+voiceless stop.³¹² Greene identifies two types of half-long syllables: (a) a short vowel followed by a tense sonorant and, optionally, a homorganic voiced stop,³¹³ or (b) a short vowel followed by sequences of resonants or the dental voiced fricative plus heterorganic voiced obstruents.³¹⁴

Jaskuła finds that short syllables only rhyme with short, long only with long. However, the two types of half-long syllables not only rhyme with the same type but also with each other.³¹⁵ What he finds intriguing is that consonant clusters of short and long syllables were able to rhyme with single consonants within their own type, but that consonant clusters from the second type of half-long syllables – i.e. (b) – were able to rhyme with single consonants only from the first type of half-long syllables, i.e. (a).³¹⁶ To account for these facts he analyses the development of these clusters and finds that the structures of the clusters from the groups of half-long syllables ‘have changed considerably’ over time.³¹⁷ A monosyllabic word of the second type of half-long syllables like *bolg* ‘developed epenthetic vowels in Modern Irish’.³¹⁸ He states, however, that it is not known when exactly this modern epenthesis occurred.³¹⁹ Jaskuła refers to Greene’s proposal that the epenthesis that is present phonetically but not orthographically in Modern Irish, occurred in late Primitive Irish, but that ‘[...] the whole word is still treated as a monosyllable’³²⁰ at this period while it is clearly disyllabic in Modern Irish, even if this is not reflected in the orthography.

Looking at the first type of half-long syllables Jaskuła finds that words like *cland* have lengthened the vowel and dropped the final stop to give *clann* (e.g. [klauN] in Munster Irish) by Modern Irish.³²¹ The fact that in Old Irish these words were sometimes spelled without the final

³¹⁰ Cf. Jaskuła (2007) pp. 50–5 and Greene (1952) p. 218.

³¹¹ Cf. Jaskuła (2007) p. 51; e.g. *cét*, *cíall*, *trácht* or *íasc*; see also Greene (1952) p. 218.

³¹² Cf. Jaskuła (2007) pp. 51–2; e.g. *fer*, *techt* or *derc*; see also Greene (1952) p. 218.

³¹³ Cf. Jaskuła (2007) pp. 52–3; e.g. *ferr*, *meld* or *ball*; see also Greene (1952) p. 218.

³¹⁴ Cf. Jaskuła (2007) p. 53; e.g. *delb*, *madm* or *fedb*; see also Greene (1952) p. 218: he calls these consonantal groups ‘heavy’.

³¹⁵ Cf. Jaskuła (2007) p. 54.

³¹⁶ Cf. loc. cit.

³¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 55.

³¹⁸ Loc. cit.

³¹⁹ Op. cit. pp. 55–6; he mentions the first type of epenthesis, or svarabhakti, that occurred before Old Irish and just after apocope and syncope, e.g. in **doŷna* → **doŷn* → *domun*. This is the only type of svarabhakti that ‘has ever found its reflection in the spelling’. (p. 55)

³²⁰ Jaskuła (2007) p. 56.

³²¹ Cf. loc. cit.

stop and that single tense sonorants could rhyme at this period with clusters ‘suggests that the simplification of sonorant+stop sequences as well as levelling were under way in Old Irish’.³²²

He then proceeds to analyse the clusters with the help of the Government Phonology theory. He analyses the phonetic structure of the rhyming words with ‘skeletal slots’.³²³ Each word consists of a sequence of pairs of Onsets, ‘be [they] empty or filled with a consonant’, and a Nucleus, ‘be it void or occupied by a vowel’.³²⁴ What is important about this theory is that it ‘assumes that there exist empty categories in phonology’,³²⁵ a concept that had previously only been applied to morphology or syntax. This is important, because ‘each position and each relationship [between onsets and nuclei] must be “licensed”, i.e. allowed to exist’.³²⁶ Nuclei always allow the preceding onsets to exist and assuming that every word ends in a nucleus, words like ‘[...] *bet* must be analysed as one with a word-final empty nucleus which licenses the preceding onset’.³²⁷ Following this thought, consonant clusters have to be described as ‘sequences of onsets which may enter into governing relations’.³²⁸ For example, the Irish word *duit* is analysed as Onset-Nucleus-Onset-[empty Nucleus]:

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂
x	x	x	x
d	u	t ¹	

[dut¹] *duit* ‘to you’

The word *guirt* is analysed as Onset-Nucleus-Onset-[buried Nucleus]-Onset-[Empty Nucleus], where the buried nucleus is filled with the schwa-vowel between *r* and *t*:³²⁹

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	[N ₂]	O ₃	N ₃
x	x	x	x	x	x
g	u	R ¹		t ¹	

[guR¹t¹] *guirt* ‘of the field’

³²² Jaskuła (2007) p. 56.

³²³ Op. cit. p. 58.

³²⁴ Op. cit. p. 59.

³²⁵ Op. cit. p. 58.

³²⁶ Op. cit. p. 59.

³²⁷ Loc. cit.

³²⁸ Loc. cit.

³²⁹ Cf. op. cit. pp. 72–3.

He argues that ‘what mattered for metrics was the number of nuclei visible to phonology’.³³⁰ In the first example, *duit*, there are two nuclei, one filled by a vowel, the other empty, that are both visible to phonology. The second example also contains two nuclei that are visible to phonology: the first one filled by a vowel and the third one that is empty. The second nucleus is ‘buried’ and thus not visible. Thus, on a phonological level, the structure of both words is identical *regarding their nuclei* and they can rhyme with one another.

Jaskuła proceeds to investigate why words from the first type of half-long syllables, like *land*, and from the second type of half-long syllables, like *selg*, can rhyme with one another. He finds this rhyming possibility interesting because the consonantal clusters of these words have different phonological structures. *land* is described as Onset-Nucleus-[Empty Onset]-[Buried Nucleus]-Onset-[Empty Nucleus]:³³¹

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	[N ₂]	O ₃	N ₃
x	x	x	x	x	x
L	a			N	

[LaNd] *lan(d)* ‘layer, plate’

A different structure is evident for *selg* that is analysed as Onset-Nucleus-Onset-Nucleus-Onset-[Empty Nucleus]:³³²

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂	O ₃	N ₃
x	x	x	x	x	x
s ¹	e	l	ə	g	

[s¹eləg] *selg* ‘hunt’

To explain why these two words can rhyme with one another despite their different Old Irish phonological structures, Jaskuła takes a step back in the phonological development. He finds that the ‘homorganic [Nd] and the heterorganic [lg] voiced clusters had identical phonological clusters only in that phase’ where the final vowels had been reduced to schwas (**LaNda*→**LaNdə* and **selga*→*selgə*):³³³

³³⁰ Jaskuła (2007) p. 73.

³³¹ Op. cit. p. 68.

³³² Loc. cit.

³³³ Op. cit. pp. 68–9.

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂	O ₃	N ₃
x	x	x	x	x	x
L	a	N		d	ə

O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂	O ₃	N ₃
x	x	x	x	x	x
s	e	l		g	ə

Hence, he follows that ‘if phonology had anything to do with poetry, these Primitive Irish structures were taken into account while the rhyming patterns of the verse were being established.’³³⁴

Jaskuła’s article deals with an aspect of end rhyme in early Irish metrics that is central to this thesis: the rhyming combinations of consonant clusters. He uses the phonological theory of Government Phonology to describe and explain the different rhyming behaviour of various consonant clusters that have already been classified by David Greene. He focuses particularly on the fact that consonant clusters from short and long syllables can rhyme with single consonants, but clusters from half-long syllables cannot. In the context of the present thesis it should be noted that Jaskuła’s study focuses on the rhyming combination of monosyllabic words only and although monosyllabic rhyming pairs occur in *Saltair na Rann*, the majority belongs to the stressed-unstressed pattern, i.e. a monosyllabic *Rinn*-word rhymes with a polysyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. However, the application of his theory concerning the consonantal clusters regardless of the syllables they are embedded in will be reviewed in the conclusion of the present thesis.³³⁵

2.8 Grid Theory

Nigel Fabb’s and Morris Halle’s book³³⁶ is one of the most recent works on metre. Their ambitious aim is to create a theoretical framework to be able to visually represent any metre in any language of any period. As a starting point – and crucial to their theory – they assume that

³³⁴ Jaskuła (2007) pp. 69–70; cf. also above p. 31, where Kiparsky’s idea ‘that prosodic constraints may involve stages in the derivation that are not (even optionally) realized on the phonetic level’ was presented (Kiparsky (1970) p. 176).

³³⁵ See below, Chapter 7, p. 404.

³³⁶ Fabb/Halle (2008).

the most important distinction between poetry and prose is that poetry is always arranged in lines.³³⁷

The first part of the book is dedicated to the establishment of their theoretical framework before they test their theory on various metres from various cultural traditions, although they do not use any Celtic material. They set out by stating that lines in ‘metrical poetry must satisfy requirements on length and the location in the line of marked syllables’.³³⁸ They explain that their approach is very much different from others since they are not focusing on the rhythm of a line, because they assume that ‘rhythm is a by-product of the way line length is restricted’.³³⁹

To represent the metre they create what they call a grid³⁴⁰ consisting of abstract symbols that is ‘the formal embodiment of the meter of the line’:³⁴¹ an asterisk is a projection of each syllable and parentheses arrange the syllables into groups, e.g.

(* * (* * (* * .³⁴²

‘Traditionally the groups are called feet’, although the authors do not use this term consistently in their theory.³⁴³ Their first conclusion is that ‘the meter controls primarily the number of groups [i.e. what they call ‘feet’ in other places] in a line, and only secondarily the number of syllables’.³⁴⁴ They establish that the procedure of grouping also restricts the length of the line. Thus, the main function of the grid is the length restriction of the line.³⁴⁵

Their method also shows that ‘the meter (represented by the grid below the line) does not necessarily follow the same pattern as the rhythm (represented by the accent marks on the syllables)’,³⁴⁶ as they demonstrate, for example, in:

Pléasure néver is at hóme

(* * (* * (* * (*
(* * (* * (* * (*
(* * (* * (* * (*
*³⁴⁷

Additionally, they find that the grid is connected to restrictions of word boundary, syllable quantity, tone and alliteration and thus ‘the metrical grids represent one way in which

³³⁷ Fabb/Halle (2008) p. 1.

³³⁸ Loc. cit.

³³⁹ Op. cit. p. 3.

³⁴⁰ Op. cit. pp. 4–7.

³⁴¹ Op. cit. p. 12.

³⁴² Op. cit. p. 4.

³⁴³ Cf. op. cit. p. 5.

³⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 5.

³⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 7.

³⁴⁶ Op. cit. p. 9.

³⁴⁷ Op. cit. p. 8.

the well-formedness of lines might be determined'.³⁴⁸ Their central claims around which their work pivots are that

‘every well-formed line of metrical verse consists not only of the phonemes and the syllables that determine its pronunciation, but also of what we have called the metrical grid, i.e., a pattern, which though not pronounced, determines the perception of a sequence of syllables as a line of metrical verse, rather than as an ordinary bit of prose. Our further claim is that each grid is the output of a computation whose input is the string of syllables that make up the verse line: the grid is not preconstructed and then attached to the line, but is generated separately from each individual line. [...] the computation consists in the ordered application of a licensed set of rules selected from a finite set of rules [...]. [...] a verse line is well formed metrically if and only if its grid is well formed and if the syllables composing the line satisfy certain further conditions.’³⁴⁹

Thus their metrical grid ‘is a theory of the organization of the syllables in the line, not a representation of its rhythm’.³⁵⁰

In the second part of their work the theory that has been developed in the first part is applied to a variety of different metrical traditions, ranging from English poetry to Greek, Arabic and Chinese metres. They also, very briefly, touch upon the question of biblical verse. As has been shown, their approach is very broad, but at the same time their examples are actually quite restricted and their focus lies very much on the European and Classical tradition that is also reflected in some of the Arabic and Sanskrit traditions that they discuss. The various metres are mostly very similar. It is hardly possible to include every single poetic tradition of the world in a project like this. However, their discussion of certain verse traditions is rather superficial and does not go beyond a certain depth that is also reflected in the length of the chapters. *Beowulf*, for example, is dealt with on five pages.³⁵¹

Thus one of the main flaws that this study contains is that the authors’ view is rather narrow and there is room for suspicion that they picked traditions that most easily fit their theory. The other side of this coin is that their theory does not find any discrepancies in any of the traditions they analyse. Of the selection of verse traditions they present there is not a single case where their grid-theory is not applicable. This leads ultimately to the question how their theory helps find answers or raise questions in the field of metrical theory in the first place.

³⁴⁸ Fabb/Halle (2008) p. 9.

³⁴⁹ Op. cit. p. 11.

³⁵⁰ Op. cit. p. 43.

³⁵¹ Op. cit. pp. 263–7.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has given a rough overview of how metrical theory developed regarding linguistic theory, in particular involving phonology. Roman Jakobson was the starting point not only for this brief survey, but also for a new approach to metrical theory in the middle of the 20th century. As has been shown, his work influenced various scholars in the field. Jakobson is the first to place metrics in the field of linguistics.

John Lotz follows Jakobson in his linguistic approach and his work that has been discussed above establishes a typology for strictly regulated verse and provides a description of the metrical superstructure.

Morris Halle focuses on the abstract representation of the metre in his work and creates mapping rules that are also able to show the varying degrees of complexity that occur in various metres.

Paul Kiparsky uses both Finnish and Sanskrit poetry to develop his theories. His central idea is that metrics are not ruled by syllable-count, but by rules and schema. With a background firmly based on generative phonology, he looks to morphophonemics to explore metrical phenomena. He describes metre as a filter through which phonological derivations of words have to pass to be valid in the lines of verse.

Gary Miller develops the idea of poetic options where the poet has the licence to make use of underlying forms of a word to fit the metre, rather than using surface forms. This theory is yet again strongly connected to phonological theory.

Grijzenhout's and Holtman's work as well as Jaskuła's article focus particularly on Irish metrics, especially on rhyme in early Irish poetry. Both apply phonological theories to survey certain characteristics in Irish rhyme. Jaskuła focuses on the rhyming behaviour particularly of consonantal clusters, while Grijzenhout and Holtman provide a theoretical framework to generally describe rhyme in early Irish.

Finally, Fabb and Halle have a very broad approach to metrics by trying to include any metre from various traditions in their theory. Their aim is to provide an abstract way of representing the metre that underlies any line of verse. As has been shown, despite their ambitions, their view is actually rather exclusive and their theory fails to raise new questions in the field of metrical theory.

This survey serves as a pool of ideas from which a different view on how to deal with metrics in early Irish poetry can be gained. The various theories show how tools from different linguistic fields can be applied to lines of verse rather than using the same measuring tape over

and over again. This chapter is not a prescription for a specific tool to be used in the survey below. It is rather an invitation to look into the toolbox of linguistics and explore the different utensils that are available to any student of early Irish metrics.

3.0 Saltair na Rann

Saltair na Rann – the ‘Psalter of the Stanzas’ – is a collection of early Middle Irish poems or cantos of varying length, the first 150 of which tell the biblical story of the creation of the world up until Christ’s death in the *deibide*-metre. Canto CLI is also composed in the *deibide*-metre, but diverts from the contents of the previous stanzas: it is a prayer for forgiveness. This is followed by eleven cantos that have been composed in the metre *rannaigeacht mór*³⁵² and the *rannaigeacht*-type *at freisligi*.³⁵³ They deal with several biblical topics, such as Doomsday and which signs precede it. The creation of the world is also discussed in a question-and-answer format.

The first 151 cantos contain 7824 lines and they are followed by 11 cantos containing 568 lines, so that the whole poem contains 8392 lines, the longest poem in Irish that has come down to us from the Old and Middle Irish period.

The *Saltair* has been published in its entirety but without translation in a diplomatic edition only by Whitley Stokes in 1883.³⁵⁴ He also included a list of vocabulary, but the list is by no means complete. Only in 1976 was a part of the *Saltair* published again, this time including a translation. David Greene and Fergus Kelly edited and translated *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann* in their critical edition that was accompanied by a volume of commentary written by Brian O. Murdoch.³⁵⁵ David Greene intended to publish an edition and translation of the whole *Saltair*, but his death in 1981 ended the project prematurely. However, his annotated typescript has been made available online by the *Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*.

The text as we have it is preserved in its entirety only in the twelfth century manuscript Rawlinson B 502. The first 1196 lines of the *Saltair* are also contained in a text independent of Rawlinson B 502³⁵⁶ in a sixteenth or seventeenth century manuscript in the *Royal Irish Academy* (RIA MS 24 P 27). There are three other manuscripts (F vi l, 23 G 25, 24 C 55) in the *Royal Irish Academy* that contain parts of the *Saltair* and they all derive directly from 24 P 27.³⁵⁷ Furthermore, a copy of Canto X is preserved ‘with readings independent of R

³⁵² One stanza is composed of four lines that consist of seven syllables. Each line ends in a monosyllabic word and lines *b* and *d* rhyme.

³⁵³ One stanza is composed of four lines that consist of seven syllables. Lines *a* and *c* end in trisyllabic words that rhyme with one another and lines *b* and *d* end in disyllabic words that rhyme with one another.

³⁵⁴ Stokes (ed.) (1883).

³⁵⁵ Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976); Murdoch (1976).

³⁵⁶ Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 8.

³⁵⁷ Cf. loc. cit.

[Rawlinson],³⁵⁸ in the fifteenth century *Leabhar Breac* (RIA MS 23 P 16).³⁵⁹ As Greene and Kelly remark in the preface to their edition a prose version that derives from the poem can also be used as a possible source, ‘which often embodies phrases of the original’.³⁶⁰ This was described, edited and translated by Myles Dillon.³⁶¹ It can be found in the *Leabhar Breac* (RIA MS 23 P 16).³⁶² This ‘forms part of a long Bible History compiled perhaps for reading in the refectory’.³⁶³ However, this is not a complete version of *Saltair na Rann*; ‘whole sections of SR are omitted, and the last twenty-seven poems are not treated at all’.³⁶⁴ Parts of this version are also to be found in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*³⁶⁵ and the *Book of Ballymote*.³⁶⁶ Eleanor Knott mentions another prose version that is ‘quite distinct from those in LB, etc.’³⁶⁷ that is to be found in the *Book of Uí Mhaine*.³⁶⁸ According to Knott, ‘this version follows SR more literally than the others, but like them it has some additions, pointing to a copy other than Rawl. for its exemplar’.³⁶⁹ The prose versions will not be considered in the present thesis.

The first 151 cantos are composed in the common *deibide*-metre in which each stanza is arranged in four lines with seven syllables each. The final word of lines *a* and *c* rhyme with the final word in *b* and *d* respectively. The *Ardrinn*-words, i.e. the final words in *b* and *d*, usually have to be at least one syllable longer than the *Rinn*-word, so that a stressed syllable is always rhymed with an unstressed syllable.

3.1 Date and authorship as discussed by Rudolf Thurneysen

The date and authorship of the poem have been discussed from a number of perspectives. It is generally accepted that the poem was a unitary work that was written at around the end of the tenth century. Thurneysen, who deals exclusively with the first 150 cantos of the *Saltair*, was the first to point out that the poet himself mentions an exact date:³⁷⁰ He notes that the poet brings up the date in line 2337 where he mentions a cattle plague and then gives a list of various kings that have reigned around that time,³⁷¹ evidence that has been argued to point to the year

³⁵⁸ Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 8.

³⁵⁹ p. 111 b.

³⁶⁰ Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 8.

³⁶¹ Dillon (1958).

³⁶² pp. 109–32.

³⁶³ Dillon (1958) p. 2.

³⁶⁴ Loc. cit.

³⁶⁵ Trinity College Dublin, MS 1318; see Dillon (1958) p. 2 for details.

³⁶⁶ RIA MS 23 P 12; see Dillon (1958) p. 2 for details.

³⁶⁷ Knott (1952) p. 101.

³⁶⁸ RIA MS D ii 1, ff. 127^ra–132^ra.

³⁶⁹ Knott (1952) p. 101.

³⁷⁰ Thurneysen (1883–1885) pp. 97–9.

³⁷¹ Op. cit. pp. 97–8.

988. However, Thurneysen says that the exact date of 988 could hardly have been the time of compilation. Firstly, he assumes that the date is actually a mistake, because the *Saltair* mentions that certain kings of the European continent were still ruling even though their death is recorded earlier than 988.³⁷² Secondly, Thurneysen remarks that this date may have been taken from a version that was used as a blueprint for the version that has been preserved in Rawlinson B 502.³⁷³ To support this argument he points out that the poet writes about a cattle plague and the rulers of that time in the past tense in canto V (ll. 2345–2348):

Tan tānic in dīgail truag
For innilib na n-iltuath,
Citni rīg rechta, rēim ndein,
Ro bātar ‘sind amsirsin?

[When the pitiful vengeance came
On the cattle of the many countries,
Who were the lawful kings, good course,
Who were in that time?]³⁷⁴

He does concede, nevertheless, that it is very likely that the psalter was written at some stage towards the end of the tenth century, also considering the ‘Zustand der Sprache’.³⁷⁵

Thurneysen also briefly turns his attention to the authorship of *Saltair na Rann*. He mentions the twelve cantos following the main body of the *Saltair* in which mention is made of Oengus Céle Dé (l. 8009) to whom the poem is ascribed by some scholars. However, Thurneysen says that this cannot be the case, referring to Stokes’ preface to his edition of *Saltair na Rann*.³⁷⁶ In this context Thurneysen also raises the question whether the first 150 cantos of the *Saltair* and the final twelve were composed by the same author. He argues that the final twelve cantos were added when the main body of the poem had already been ascribed to Oengus and his name was then included in the later composition.³⁷⁷

He then proceeds to compare the prose version of the psalter with the poem and he states that there is no doubt that the prose derived from the poem of *Saltair na Rann*. Here, he refers to the prose version in the *Leabhar Breac* that was mentioned above. He points out that this prose version has been shortened considerably, but that many poetical phrases have been

³⁷² Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 99.

³⁷³ Loc. cit.: ‘Die Zeitbestimmung kann ebensowohl der Vorlage angehört haben, welcher der Dichter bei seinen chronologischen Notizen sklavisch gefolgt ist [...]’

³⁷⁴ See Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 99 and Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, ll. 2345–2348.

³⁷⁵ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 99 [state of the language].

³⁷⁶ Op. cit. p. 97; ‘Als Verfasser des *Saltair* wird *Oengus Celi-De* genannt; dass diese Angabe unrichtig ist zeigt Stokes in der Vorrede pg. 1.’ Stokes claims that the ascription to Oengus cannot be correct due to the ‘numerous Middle-Irish forms’ and due to certain historical events that happened well after Oengus the Culdee (cf. Stokes (ed.) (1883) p. 1).

³⁷⁷ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 97.

taken over from *Saltair na Rann*.³⁷⁸ He also gives headings for the various cantos in the *Saltair* and matches them – where appropriate – with the lines of the prose version.³⁷⁹

Thurneysen then discusses other possible sources that the poet used to compile his work, such as the *Vita Adae et Evae* or the possible influence from Isidore's *De natura rerum*.³⁸⁰

Finally, although Thurneysen says that he cannot explore this issue in full detail, he refers to the importance for metrical studies that *Saltair na Rann* reflects and states that much can be gleaned regarding the rules of elision of vowels.³⁸¹ He also points out the importance of the rhyming pairs and how they provide useful information about the pronunciation of the rhyming words.³⁸²

In a side remark to this he expresses his opinion that the poet of the *Saltair* was not creating eye-rhymes, claiming there are several examples that prove his point.³⁸³ However, he does not actually give any of those examples and it will be shown below that there are indeed a good number of instances that strongly speak for the concept of eye-rhymes.

3.1.1 Gearóid Mac Eoin

Gearóid Mac Eoin dealt especially with the question of date and authorship of *Saltair na Rann*. He explored these issues in two articles between which lay more than twenty years. He goes back to the dating aspect that Thurneysen had already mentioned in his article 'Saltair na Rann': the king list that is included in lines 2333 to line 2388. Mac Eoin proceeds to compare the names of the Irish kings with the annals.³⁸⁴ Like Thurneysen, Mac Eoin finds that 'all the Irish, Scottish and British kings [mentioned in *Saltair na Rann*] were reigning in the year 988, whereas the English and continental kings were all dead by that date'.³⁸⁵ Mac Eoin holds that this discrepancy can only be explained if it is assumed that the list was compiled much later than 988, because if someone would have compiled the list in Ireland in the year 988 the information at least of the death of King Edgar of England must have been much more present in the author's mind. Like Thurneysen, he also points out that the stanza introducing the list of kings is written in the past tense.³⁸⁶ However, Mac Eoin draws a clear line between the stanzas

³⁷⁸ Thurneysen (1883–1885) p. 100.

³⁷⁹ Op. cit. pp. 100–03.

³⁸⁰ Op. cit. pp. 103–07.

³⁸¹ Op. cit. pp. 107–08.

³⁸² Op. cit. p. 108.

³⁸³ Loc. cit.: '[...] und dass der Dichter nicht für's Auge reimt, geht aus mehr als einem Beispiel hervor.'

³⁸⁴ Mac Eoin (1960) pp. 54–7.

³⁸⁵ Op. cit. pp. 56–7.

³⁸⁶ Op. cit. p. 57.

of the kings and the stanzas that surround it. In fact, he suggests that the king-list was a later interpolation,³⁸⁷ the date of which cannot be ascertained. According to Mac Eoin, however, it is still likely that the list was written by the same author at a later point in time, because the language ‘is not noticeably different from the rest of SR.’³⁸⁸ Thus, he generally agrees with Thurneysen’s estimation that the poem was written at the end of the 10th century, but Mac Eoin introduces the idea of the interpolation of the list of kings.

Mac Eoin approaches the question of the authorship of *Saltair na Rann* with dialectal issues in mind:

‘The importance of the identification of the author of SR. lies in its position at the beginning of the earliest period for which we can hope to gain some knowledge of dialect conditions in Ireland. [...] If we can with likelihood ascribe SR. to a native of the south of Ireland, we are justified in seeing in his work characteristics of southern linguistic usage where his vocabulary or grammar differs from that of his contemporaries in other parts of the country.’³⁸⁹

On the grounds of the poem’s contents and referring to the date of 988 Mac Eoin suggests Airbertach mac Cosse as possible author from Rosscarbery in County Cork.³⁹⁰ There are a few other poems that are attributed to Airbertach and Mac Eoin proceeds to examine the one that is also contained in Rawlinson B 502 more closely.³⁹¹ From this comparison he concludes that Airbertach mac Cosse and the author of *Saltair na Rann* had the same interest in biblical studies. He also mentions stylistic similarities between *Saltair na Rann* and the poem, although he admits that these similarities can also occur between different authors.³⁹² Mac Eoin also mentions structural similarities, for example the order of names of the four cantors that have a different order in the Bible but the same order in the *Saltair* and the poem.³⁹³ Furthermore, he compares the chronological order in both works and finds them to be almost identical. Seeing that the other poem was only written three years before the alleged composition date of the king-list in the *Saltair*, Mac Eoin concludes that there was not enough time for anyone else to know Airbertach’s shorter poem outside of his monastery and thus the two works have to be attributed to the same author.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁷ Mac Eoin (1960) p. 58.

³⁸⁸ Op. cit. p. 59.

³⁸⁹ Op. cit. p. 60.

³⁹⁰ Op. cit. p. 61.

³⁹¹ This poem is found in Rawl. B 502, f. 45^r and in the *Leabhar Laignech* on f. 135 a. It has been edited and translated by Thomas Olden, ‘On the Geography of Ros Ailithir’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2 (1879–1888), 219–52.

³⁹² Mac Eoin (1960) p. 63.

³⁹³ Cf. op. cit. pp. 63–4.

³⁹⁴ Op. cit. p. 67.

In the first article Mac Eoin never refers to the name that is mentioned in *Saltair na Rann* itself, Oengus céle Dé.³⁹⁵ But he returns to the subject in 1982 with his article ‘Observations on Saltair na Rann’.³⁹⁶ He notes that if the Oengus mentioned in the *Saltair* is identified as Oengus macc Oengobann who lived around 800 then this does not fit the aforementioned date of 988. Mac Eoin discusses the arguments that support and contradict the claim of Oengus macc Oengobann’s authorship so as to cover every possibility. To begin with, it is important to point out that Mac Eoin considers cantos I to CL as the proper *Saltair* whereas he treats the final 12 cantos as a separate unit. Firstly, he points out that the line which contains the name of Oengus céle Dé is part of ‘one of the twelve extra cantos added after the *Saltair* proper’ and thus ‘the admissibility of line 8009 as evidence in the debate on the authorship of SR remains undecided’.³⁹⁷

Focusing on the stanza in which the name *Oengus* is mentioned, he finds that the language and style of this stanza, of the entire canto in which it is contained and of any part of the added cantos is not different from that of the core-*Saltair*. He especially points out the vocabulary that is found in both the core-*Saltair* as well as in the final twelve cantos, such as the frequent cheville *glé* or the verb *etraigim* which does not occur regularly outside of the *Saltair*.³⁹⁸

He also highlights the strong ties of the contents of the canto containing Oengus’s name to the beginning of *Saltair na Rann*: the questions posed in Canto CLII are very similar to those from the beginning of the core-*Saltair* and some of them even seem to find their answers in the beginning of the poem.³⁹⁹ For example, Canto CLII asks about the winds, their numbers and functions and Canto I also discusses the nature of the winds and their numbers.⁴⁰⁰

He also finds similarities between the main body of the *Saltair* and Canto CLII as regards vocabulary and rhyme as well as linguistic features.⁴⁰¹ He concludes that Canto CLII, most likely Canto CLI and the remaining ‘added’ cantos are part of the same composition and thus the mention of the name had to be part of the original composition as well.⁴⁰²

Mac Eoin then turns to the question of who Oengus céle Dé was and he aims to show that he is indeed to be identified with the aforementioned author of *Féilire Oengusso*, Oengus

³⁹⁵ See line 8009 of *Saltair na Rann*: Is mé Oengus céle Dé/coemdos glé clére fo-d-chná/dia thuicthib deimnib Dé/tuicsin for cach ní ní-m thá.

³⁹⁶ Mac Eoin (1982).

³⁹⁷ Op. cit. p. 3.

³⁹⁸ Loc. cit.

³⁹⁹ Op. cit. p. 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. op. cit. pp. 4–5.

⁴⁰¹ Op. cit. pp. 8–10.

⁴⁰² Op. cit. p. 10.

macc Oengobann. Following this line of argument, Mac Eoin still finds himself confronted with the problem of reconciling the lifetime of Oengus of around 800 and the composition date of the *Saltair* of – if not 988 – then at least the end of the tenth century. Indeed, as he points out, there is a major difference between the language of Oengus’s *Féilire* and *Saltair na Rann*.⁴⁰³ Mac Eoin claims that Oengus’s name was introduced into the *Saltair* almost as a rhetorical figure in that ‘Oengus’s great learning as attested by his authorship of the *Féilire* was the factor which led the poet of SR to introduce him here as a witness’.⁴⁰⁴ Thus, ‘in the context of the last five stanzas of Canto 152 the introduction of Oengus’s name has no bearing on the authorship of SR but is merely a reaffirmation of man’s inability to understand God’s creation, as testified by Oengus who is speaking on his own behalf’.⁴⁰⁵

Mac Eoin raises another issue in connection with the *Saltair*. He argues that the *Saltair* as it is preserved is unfinished. As discussed above Mac Eoin concludes that Canto CLII is in fact part of the main body. He argues that this canto should be placed before Canto I, because it contains questions that should be followed by answers some of which are to be found in the first few cantos.⁴⁰⁶ Mac Eoin concludes that ‘the whole complex has the appearance of a composition left unfinished by the poet’.⁴⁰⁷ Following this idea, he finds that his suggested author Airbertach mac Cosse could indeed be the author of *Saltair na Rann*: The *Annals of Inisfallen* record that Airbertach mac Cosse was taken captive and was then released through ransom paid for him⁴⁰⁸ and thus his work would obviously have been interrupted. This fits Mac Eoin’s idea of the *Saltair* not being quite finished or at least still being in a working-stage.

Mac Eoin states that it does not seem possible to establish the identity of the editor who redacted *Saltair na Rann* and created the version that has come down to us today nor is it feasible to put a date on this final stage of compilation.⁴⁰⁹

3.1.2 James Carney

James Carney has a very different approach to the dating of *Saltair na Rann*. In his article ‘The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts’ he argues for an earlier compilation date of the epic poem.⁴¹⁰ He looks at more than 22,000 lines of poetry ranging from 500 to about 1000 AD. Among the

⁴⁰³ Mac Eoin (1982) pp. 11–4.

⁴⁰⁴ Op. cit. p. 14.

⁴⁰⁵ Loc. cit.

⁴⁰⁶ Op. cit. pp. 15–7.

⁴⁰⁷ Op. cit. pp. 17–8.

⁴⁰⁸ Op. cit. pp. 20–1.

⁴⁰⁹ Mac Eoin (1982) p. 21.

⁴¹⁰ Carney (1983).

corpus of poems Carney also lists *Saltair na Rann* which he believes was written around 870 by an author called Oengus.⁴¹¹ Seeking to find support for this date he refers to a transcription by Joseph Langan of a history of early Irish literature.⁴¹² This text, probably compiled by the Cork poet Seán Ó Coileáin around the end of the 18th century, contains a reference to the *Saltair* which states that it was written by a certain Oengus who lived in 890.⁴¹³

Carney also mentions a short poem contained in the late 11th century text *Sex Aetates Mundi* that is ascribed to an Oengus mac Suibne.⁴¹⁴ This poem consists of six stanzas and ‘is clearly earlier’⁴¹⁵ than the compilation date of *Sex Aetates Mundi*. Carney refers to this poem since it contains a feature that ‘can be paralleled in SR’ but not anywhere else in Old or Middle Irish:⁴¹⁶ ‘a curious instance of concordance of noun and adjective’⁴¹⁷ that can be found in the examples *dá mac roglach*, *Dí ingin áin* and *dí phiair báin* in the short poem contained in *Sex Aetates Mundi*. Adjectives are not expected to have a special dual form and the plural forms are used regularly. These examples, however, all have adjectives apparently in the dative singular case. Carney compares this with two lines from *Saltair na Rann* (ll. 2939–2940): *Imgil cen glora, cen grain/Dí ingin lóra Labáin*, where the adjective *imgil* – identical with the dative singular – agrees with the nominative dual of *ingin* in the next line.⁴¹⁸ Carney’s example, however, cannot count as proof or even as a suggestion for identical authorship of *Saltair na Rann* and the short poem. He concedes himself that ‘while such similarities can hardly prove the identity of Oengus of SR and of Oengus, son of Suibne, there is here at least a modest case to be made’.⁴¹⁹ It is doubtful whether even a ‘modest case’ can be made with these examples.

He then proceeds to go through some metrical and linguistic features of the poems contained in his entire corpus. Looking specifically at *Saltair na Rann* he finds that hiatus is a common occurrence.⁴²⁰ He also briefly discusses final unstressed vowels in the *Saltair*, especially looking at *-ae* and *-ai* that, as Carney says, ‘are sometimes historically and

⁴¹¹ Carney (1983) pp. 184–5. He refers to line 8009 of the poem where he interprets the line ‘I am Oengus céle Dé’ to have been actually written by the author.

⁴¹² Op. cit. p. 185; on the following page Carney concedes, however: ‘One would like, in this matter, to have support from a more impressive document, and I lay emphasis on it here only because of the fact that it lends such unexpected support to the approximate date that I had earlier argued.’ (p. 186)

⁴¹³ Carney (1983) p. 186.

⁴¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 187; Carney refers to the poem as it is contained in Rawl. B 502, f. 72^v.

⁴¹⁵ Op. cit. p. 187.

⁴¹⁶ Loc. cit.

⁴¹⁷ Loc. cit.

⁴¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 187 FN 18.

⁴¹⁹ Loc. cit. Carney also mentions that one line of the *Saltair* corresponds to one line in the short poem, that both poems entertain the idea that Benjamin is the youngest of the sons by describing him as *bán* (which could also simply mean ‘bright’) and the use of the long form of the article in one instance in the short poem. None of his points are convincing.

⁴²⁰ Carney (1983) p. 195.

grammatically correct, sometimes not, sometimes demonstrably artificial'⁴²¹ and he then adds a list of about twenty couplets that rhyme unstressed -(a)e/-(a)i in the *Ardrinn* with a stressed /e/ or /i/ in the *Rinn*-word.⁴²² He claims that 'rhymes like these which try to maintain the old system are completely absent in the work of the poets of the mid- to late tenth, and eleventh centuries'⁴²³ and thus he finds that his early date of composition of *Saltair na Rann* fits this rhyming feature.

Carney also discusses the use of the article *inna* and its shortened form *na* and he discovers that in the poems up to 920 AD 'the graph of *inna* falls slowly and regularly from 100% in the seventh century to zero from about 900 onwards [...]'.⁴²⁴ Thus he only finds three examples of *inna* in *Saltair na Rann*, but about 300 of *na*. He claims that the use of *inna* vs *na* 'is a dating criterion of some importance'⁴²⁵ although in regard to *Saltair na Rann* it only 'proves' that it was written around 900 or onwards. However, it is not clear whether Carney also looked into the poems after 920 and he does not actually quote the three examples of the long form of *inna* in *Saltair na Rann* or of any of the other poems. A possible metrical explanation for the use of a particular form of the article is therefore neglected.

Carney goes into several other grammatical and morphological issues, comparing the poems of his chosen corpus. In Carney's view all of these issues point to a date of compilation in the final stage of the ninth century for *Saltair na Rann*. However, even if all his arguments were consistent with a compilation date of *Saltair na Rann* towards the end of the ninth century – and as has been shown above, not all are – they certainly do not disprove a date of compilation towards the end of the tenth century.

Finally, he turns his attention to the question of Airbertach mac Cosse as possible author of the *Saltair*. He claims that 'the negative view that Airbertach did *not* write SR is as obviously true as is the positive view that he *did* unsustainable'⁴²⁶ and he follows this by stating that 'nothing more will be said about this matter'.⁴²⁷ Nevertheless, he continues to discuss the issue of authorship by looking at four other poems that have been attributed to Airbertach mac Cosse and by comparing certain morphological and grammatical features of the poems with

⁴²¹ Carney (1983) p. 197.

⁴²² Loc. cit. p. 197; e.g.: *lé:tigernai* (leg. -ae) (ll. 1161–1162).

⁴²³ Carney (1983) pp. 197–8; but see, for example, the poem *Carmun* in *The Metrical Dindshenchas* (Gwynn (1913) vol. 3 p. 10, ll. 170–8) where *glé* rhymes with *Machae* and Gwynn dates the poem to the middle of the 11th century on solid dating criteria (see Gwynn (1913) vol. 3 p. 471). The poem is attributed to Flann Mainistrech, one of the poets that Carney says do not use this rhyme (see Carney (1983) p. 198). It should be noted, however, that the poem is attributed to Flann in one manuscript only.

⁴²⁴ Carney (1983) p. 199.

⁴²⁵ Loc. cit.

⁴²⁶ Op. cit. p. 207.

⁴²⁷ Loc. cit.

each other.⁴²⁸ Firstly, he disagrees with Mac Eoin and other scholars that all four poems were indeed composed by Airbertach mac Cosse. In particular, Carney focuses on the poem *Fichi rígia cia rím as ferr* that Mac Eoin published in *Ériu*.⁴²⁹ Carney uses certain characteristics, such as the form *meic* in *Fichi rígia* that does not appear in the *Saltair*, to go back to the dating issue, i.e. he claims that *meic* only appears in later poems, thus placing the *Saltair* again at an earlier stage and also placing it outside of the reach of Airbertach mac Cosse.⁴³⁰ Carney is trying to make the point that certain similarities between the poem *Fichi rígia* and the *Saltair* that were pointed out by Mac Eoin are actually not there and that certain other occurrences, such as *meic* for genitive singular or nominative plural of *mac*, in fact speak for a later date of composition of *Fichi rígia* and against Airbertach's authorship of the *Saltair*.

He then proceeds to look at the orthography of Rawlinson B 502, the manuscript that contains the only complete copy of *Saltair na Rann*. Carney says that while other works contained in the manuscript 'virtually edit themselves'⁴³¹ *Saltair na Rann* is a different case. He points out some features that he considers to be Old Irish and that cannot be found in any other works contained in the manuscript. For example, he notes that /b/, /d/ and /g/ are often spelled <bb>, <dd> and <gg>.⁴³² This feature, however, is described as particularly Middle Irish by Liam Breatnach in his chapter 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge' in *Stair na Gaeilge*.⁴³³ Carney also points out that 'undiphthongised *ō* is found in many words and forms where *ua* would be expected'.⁴³⁴ However, he fails to give the metrical context, namely that in his examples these words rhyme with a long *ó* in the *Ardrinn*.⁴³⁵ Thus, his argument that these features are typically Old Irish and his admonition that these must not be explained by claiming that the poet deliberately tried to archaise the text, are not sustainable.

Carney also suggests 'dialect usage' in the *Saltair*.⁴³⁶ He claims that the *Saltair's* deviations from the standard have frequently been declared 'Middle Irishisms', but he points out that those features are not found in Middle Irish texts outside of *Saltair na Rann*.⁴³⁷ One

⁴²⁸ Carney (1983) pp. 207–11.

⁴²⁹ See Mac Eoin (1966).

⁴³⁰ Carney (1983) p. 209.

⁴³¹ Op. cit. p. 210; he refers to the work of Flann mac Mael Maedóc and the work of Airbertach mac Cosse that are contained in the manuscript and that, according to Carney, contain 'no trace of a specifically O. Ir. orthography' (p. 210). Thus, 'little more is needed than to transcribe them'. (p. 210)

⁴³² Carney (1983) pp. 210–11.

⁴³³ L. Breatnach (1994) p. 228, § 2.3.

⁴³⁴ Carney (1983) p. 211.

⁴³⁵ Loc. cit.: His examples are *cód:lór* (*Saltair na Rann*, ll. 4357–4358) and *cron:Arnón* (*Saltair na Rann*, ll. 4757–4758).

⁴³⁶ Carney (1983) p. 211.

⁴³⁷ Loc. cit.

example is the frequent use of *arsé/arsí/ar* instead of *ol* for ‘he/she said’.⁴³⁸ Carney’s only comment on this is that ‘this must be dialectal usage’.⁴³⁹ Another example is the use of *o shunn* ‘when’ followed by a verb in the perfect tense: Carney says that this is found ‘nowhere else in Irish literature’⁴⁴⁰ apart from one instance in the Milan glosses.⁴⁴¹ Even if that is the case, this cannot be proof for dialectal usage. He concedes that ‘the Irish of SR is at times so peculiar that one might seem justified in saying that it was *sui generis*, and belonged to no period’.⁴⁴² However, the *Saltair’s* ‘peculiar’ language, i.e. metrical and linguistic features that have not been understood fully, should not tempt the reader to explain this peculiarity away with a convenient but unverifiable statement.

He comes to the conclusion that the *Saltair* was ‘written in what was technically the O. Ir. period, but the author showed his originality by drawing not only on preceding literature but upon the language of the people’.⁴⁴³

Aside from the fact that Carney does not consider the metrical features of the text or the interaction between metre, orthography and language in greater detail, it should be clear that a complex metrical work of this length was composed by someone who had studied poetry intensely and who compiled his verse carefully and skillfully. To explain peculiar linguistic features purely as dialectal can therefore not be satisfying. Most of the features discussed by Carney can be placed in the Early Middle Irish period, i.e. in the tenth century, and are not suitable to prove his theory. Thus, Carney’s attempt to place the *Saltair* at the end of the ninth century is not convincing.

3.2 John Strachan – The Verbal System of the *Saltair na Rann*

An important work for the study of *Saltair na Rann* is Strachan’s ‘Verbal System of the *Saltair na Rann*’.⁴⁴⁴ His focus is on the language of the poem rather than its history of compilation. He says that the *Saltair* is obviously very important for the study of language of ‘that period’,⁴⁴⁵ i.e. the end of the tenth century. He does not discuss the dating or authorship of the text, but sets out to compile a list of all verbal forms occurring in the *Saltair*, accepting that the text is dated to the end of the tenth century. He focuses especially on the history of the Irish deponent. In

⁴³⁸ Carney (1983) p. 211.

⁴³⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴¹ Ml. 111^b4.

⁴⁴² Carney (1983) p. 211.

⁴⁴³ Op. cit. p. 212.

⁴⁴⁴ Strachan (1898).

⁴⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 1.

accordance with the standard view he distinguishes between the language of poetry and the language of prose,

‘for poetical tradition and metrical convenience may have kept words and forms that had vanished from the language of literary prose [...]. On the other hand, the very metrical form increases the value of the work, for the language of the poem composed in so intricate a metre is of necessity much less liable to alteration in the course of transmission than that of a prose text would be. Not that the metrical form is an absolute security against all change.’⁴⁴⁶

He exemplifies these changes by comparing Canto X of the *Saltair* in Rawlinson B 502 with the one in *Leabhar Breac* and points out a few differences in vocabulary and form between the two versions.⁴⁴⁷ However, Strachan stresses that there is only little difference between the verbal forms⁴⁴⁸ and that, looking at the whole poem as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502, there are relatively few ‘blunders’⁴⁴⁹ compared to the length of the entire text.

He further proposes that the difference between the language of prose and the language of poetry is obvious mostly ‘in vocabulary rather than in inflexion’.⁴⁵⁰ Strachan does concede, however, that ‘metre certainly has influenced the form’⁴⁵¹ in many cases, but that ‘such instances need mislead no one; the disturbing influence is clear, and allowance can be made for it’.⁴⁵² To illustrate his point he follows this statement with a few rhyming pairs that display such ‘disturbing metrical influence’, i.e. where the requirements of the rhyme changed the regular form of a verb.⁴⁵³ In connection to this he also remarks that

‘in some cases double forms may have been in use through literary tradition, or a fight may have been going on in the spoken language between an old form and a new analogical formation which sought to take its place. Under such circumstance the writer might choose whichever of the forms suited him best. But Irish metrical theory allowed the poet greater liberties than that, and some of these forms, which can never have had any place in the prose language, must be ascribed simply to poetical license [sic].’⁴⁵⁴

What Strachan describes here is the same basic idea that Miller presents in his article ‘Language Change and Poetic Options’ that was discussed above.⁴⁵⁵ Miller said that “‘poetic licence” consists of the relaxation, re-ordering, generalization, inversion, etc. of rules of the

⁴⁴⁶ Strachan (1898) pp. 1–2.

⁴⁴⁷ Op. cit. p. 3.

⁴⁴⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁵⁰ Op. cit. pp. 3–4.

⁴⁵¹ Op. cit. p. 4.

⁴⁵² Loc. cit.

⁴⁵³ Loc. cit.; as was stated above, Strachan focuses on the verbal forms. His examples include e.g. *roráidi:crí* (ll. 3928–3929) vs. *roráide:glé* (ll. 3868–3869).

⁴⁵⁴ Strachan (1898) p. 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Miller (1977) and see above pp. 32–4.

natural language to yield metrically relevant representations that may differ considerably from outputs in the spoken language'.⁴⁵⁶ What Strachan describes as the poet's choice between 'an old form and a new analogical form',⁴⁵⁷ corresponds from a diachronic perspective to Miller's synchronic idea that the poet has access to different points of derivation of a word. Thus Strachan ventures – as one of the first scholars – into the field of Irish metrical theory, especially concerning poetic licence.

He then returns to the verbal system of *Saltair na Rann* that, according to him, reflects the system found in the Old Irish glosses rather well.⁴⁵⁸ As he puts it: 'Some old things have been lost, and some new things now appear, but the great bulk of the changes that the Irish verb has undergone are subsequent to this period.'⁴⁵⁹ He proceeds by briefly introducing the reader to a few dissimilarities between the verbal forms in the *Saltair* and older verbal forms.

The remainder and biggest part of his article consists of a list of every single verbal form occurring in the *Saltair*, sorted according to active and passive voice, and, within these two divisions, according to tense.

Strachan's survey thus not only provides a comprehensive list of verbal forms that can be used as a source for the study of the development of the Irish verb, but also a first glance at a theoretical approach to metrical issues in Irish poetry.

3.2.2 Kuno Meyer – Zur keltischen Wortkunde

In his 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde VI/VII'⁴⁶⁰ Kuno Meyer approaches *Saltair na Rann* by discussing certain words in phrases that appear in the *Index Verborum* of Stokes' diplomatic edition of the *Saltair*, and he suggests a list of emendations, corrections and additions for various words that Stokes included in his index. In 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde VII' Meyer also discusses a few suspensions that can be found in the *Saltair* as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502.⁴⁶¹

He further briefly explores metrical issues in 'Wortkunde VII' where he says that it cannot be assumed that all metrical rules can be learned by merely studying the metrical tracts that have been preserved: 'Nur aus den Gedichten selbst können wir diese Kenntnis entnehmen, und da ist, wie ich zu zeigen gedenke, noch vieles zu erforschen und manches Gesetz und

⁴⁵⁶ Miller (1977) p. 21.

⁴⁵⁷ Strachan (1898) p. 5.

⁴⁵⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴⁵⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁶⁰ Meyer (1914) and Meyer (1917).

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Meyer (1917) pp. 633–4.

manche Lizenz überhaupt erst noch aufzufinden.’⁴⁶² Following Strachan’s view, Meyer mentions that the poet chose to use new and old forms next to each other within the poem, depending on what rhyme and metre demand.⁴⁶³ However, he distinguishes between the poet’s and the scribe’s intentions and he finds that the great variety of forms is indeed due to the ‘Willkür des Abschreibers’.⁴⁶⁴

In this context he also criticises Strachan – in his ‘Verbal System’ – for following what Meyer calls the ‘mixed theory’ (‘Mischtheorie’),⁴⁶⁵ i.e. for believing that the *Saltair* represents a mix of old and new forms that were chosen by the poet. Meyer argues that the poet only chose archaic or very new Middle Irish forms when it served the rhyme⁴⁶⁶ and that, as was mentioned above, the ‘Wirrwar’ is to be blamed on the copyist of the poem.⁴⁶⁷

Meyer further objects that Strachan does not substitute the original reading of some words, i.e. Strachan follows Rawlinson B 502 where Meyer would have him adopt an older form of the same word that is found in another place in the *Saltair*.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, Meyer insists that the scribe’s influence makes the *Saltair* a work of Middle Irish, whereas the poet would have favoured older forms.⁴⁶⁹ He concludes that the *Saltair* thus seems to have a more Old Irish appearance and he suggests a new edition, or rather, a restored version, with a more regular orthography and morphology.⁴⁷⁰

Although Meyer agrees with Strachan in that the poet sometimes chose the one, sometimes the other form of a word to satisfy the metrical rules, he considers the text as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502 as contaminated by the practice of a later scribe. Meyer does not

⁴⁶² Meyer (1917) pp. 634–5; [We can only gain an insight from the poems themselves, and, as I aim to show, there is much research to be done and many a rule and many a licence to be found yet.]

⁴⁶³ Meyer (1917) p. 635: ‘Der Dichter kann unmöglich Formen, die Jahrhunderte auseinanderliegen, fortwährend in derselben Funktion wahllos ohne ersichtlichen Grund dicht nebeneinander gebraucht haben. Archaismen, Neologismen, sprachliche Notbehelfe dem Metrum oder Reim zuliebe haben sich die Dichter aller Zeiten gestattet, und unser Dichter macht reichlich Gebrauch davon.’

⁴⁶⁴ Meyer (1917) p. 635: ‘Aber ein solcher Wirrwar von Formen, wie er in dem rezipierten Text von SR vorliegt, [...] hat die Willkür des Abschreibers geschaffen.’ [However, such a mishmash of forms as it is found in the text of SR is due to the copyist’s capriciousness.]

⁴⁶⁵ Meyer (1917) p. 635.

⁴⁶⁶ Op. cit. p. 636.

⁴⁶⁷ Op. cit. p. 635.

⁴⁶⁸ Op. cit. p. 635; e.g. Strachan follows Rawlinson B 502 in writing *rothinól* (l. 5971), but Meyer suggests that he should have written *dorinól* that is to be found in line 6897.

⁴⁶⁹ Meyer (1917) pp. 636–7; ‘So vergleiche man z.B. das einmalige *trī ingena* 6520 und das zweimalige *trī bliadna* 6700, 7736 mit *teora ingena* 2492, *teora bliadna* 6716, 6733, 7113, *teora n-ūar* 4139, *teora n-aidche* 6180, *teora mīli* 6300, um sich zu überzeugen, daß für den Dichter die altirischen Formen die gebräuchlichen, die mittellirischen ein Neologismus waren.’ [Just compare e.g. [...] to see that the poet would usually use the Old Irish forms whereas the Middle Irish forms were neologisms for him.]

⁴⁷⁰ Meyer (1917) p. 637: ‘Es würde nun auf eine Neuausgabe hinauslaufen, wollte man in der angezeigten Weise den Text von Zeile zu Zeile wiederherstellen, besonders da auch die Orthographie natürlich einheitlich zu gestalten wäre.’ [It would result in a new edition if one were to restore the text line by line in the way that was discussed here, especially since the orthography would have to be standardised.]

try to date the text, but he clearly distinguishes between an older, underlying form that came from the poet and the contaminated form as we have it, preserved by a later scribe. Meyer follows a trend of his time to try to establish the ‘Urform’ of a text. This thesis will deal with the material as it has been preserved in Rawlinson B 502.

3.2.3 Kuno Meyer – Zur Metrik von *Saltair na Rann*

The only article ever written specifically on the metre of *Saltair na Rann* was published by Kuno Meyer.⁴⁷¹ He focuses on the first 151 cantos that were written in the metre of *deibide scailte*. It is noteworthy that he states as a fact that the *Saltair* was written in 988 at the very beginning of his article, but he does not return to the issue of the dating of the poem.⁴⁷²

Before going into specifics like end-rhyme, *aicill*-rhyme and alliteration he gives a general introduction to the *deibide*-metre.⁴⁷³ He follows Thurneysen’s argument that the *deibide*-metre can be traced back to the catalectic trochaic tetrameter⁴⁷⁴ and he refers to Thurneysen’s explanation that what Meyer calls a peculiar rhyme between a stressed syllable in the *Rinn*-word and an unstressed one in the *Ardrinn*-word is due to the fact that unstressed rhymes were not unusual in older Irish poetry.⁴⁷⁵ However, Meyer claims that there are only very few poems that contain exclusively stressed-unstressed rhymes.⁴⁷⁶ He points out that *Saltair na Rann* itself contains stressed-stressed rhymes, mostly to be found in the first two lines of a stanza.⁴⁷⁷

Meyer then briefly discusses the emergence of the *deibide*-metre in longer poems and argues that it probably developed out of poems that contained a mix of stressed and unstressed rhymes.⁴⁷⁸ In this context he also refers to older poems that mix both *rannaigeacht*- and *deibide*-metre.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷¹ Meyer (1918).

⁴⁷² Op. cit. p. 874.

⁴⁷³ Op. cit. pp. 874–8.

⁴⁷⁴ The catalectic trochaic tetrameter consists of four trochaic feet that lack a syllable at the end or in the last foot. One form of this metre can lack a syllable in the first foot. See also above, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁷⁵ Meyer (1918) p. 874: ‘Wie THURNEYSEN, Rev. celt. VI 339, gezeigt hat, geht dieses Metrum [...] aus dem Ausgleich der beiden Verhältnisse des katalektischen trochäischen Tetrameters hervor, wodurch ein unrythmischer Reim [...] zustande kam, eine Eigentümlichkeit, die sich nach THURNEYSEN leichter dadurch erklärt, daß unbetonte Reime in der älteren irischen Dichtkunst nichts Unerhörtes waren.’

⁴⁷⁶ Meyer (1918) p. 875.

⁴⁷⁷ Loc. cit.: He counts 80 of those rhymes; see below, p. 395, Chapter 6.6 – *Syllabic irregularities*, where I count 68 pairs that have two monosyllabic *Rinn*-words in the first two lines of a stanza (within the first 151 cantos).

⁴⁷⁸ Meyer (1918) p. 876: ‘Die Durchführung von *deibide*-Reim in längeren Dichtungen scheint sich erst allmählich aus Gedichten entwickelt zu haben, in denen rhythmische und unrythmische Reime in derselben Strophe in bunter Abwechslung vorkamen.’

⁴⁷⁹ Meyer (1918) p. 876; in the *rannaigeacht*-type usually only lines *b* and *d* rhyme with one another.

This is followed by a short history of the *deibide*-metre in which Meyer argues that it originally was only part of the repertoire of a bard of lower rank, such as a *bó-bard* who would only receive a heifer as payment for a full poem.⁴⁸⁰ Meyer suggests that this metre that he describes as ‘weniger kunstreiche Form’⁴⁸¹ was originally used mainly for narratives. He then adds some examples of the *deibide*-metre, starting with the earliest instance of it found in the Milan Codex,⁴⁸² then looking at Airbertach mac Cosse’s use of the metre in some of his historical and geographical poems and finally referring to what he calls ‘Gelegenheitsdichtung’ like *Messe agus Pangur Bán*.⁴⁸³ He then explains that this metre was taken over by the higher ranking *fili* who fitted it into a much stricter set of rules.⁴⁸⁴ Meyer states that the stricter handling of the metre certainly also influenced the *Saltair* that was written in the looser *deibide scáilte*⁴⁸⁵ and he finds that in fact the strictest form of *deibide* is one of the most complicated metres in Irish.⁴⁸⁶

The aim of his article is to study how the poet of the *Saltair* handles the *deibide*-metre and how much of the stricter form can be found in *Saltair na Rann*. His final introductory remarks concern the poet himself. Meyer is certain that he could not have been a *bard* let alone a *fili*, but that he must have been a cleric ‘der das ihm aus hunderten von Beispielen wohlbekannte Metrum auf seine Weise handhabt, wie er denn überhaupt mit der älteren irischen Metrik vertraut war’.⁴⁸⁷ This statement seems too harsh: to begin with, the profession of a *fili*, or at least professional knowledge of poetry and the profession of a cleric were not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, a poem of this length certainly shows a proficiency that cannot be attributed to an untrained author who merely followed examples that he had found in literature. The composition undoubtedly shows a thorough understanding of the mechanics of the metre, something that must have been acquired through professional studies.

Meyer then focuses on the various features of the metre. He begins by giving a brief overview of final rhyme. Giving a few examples he finds that the Old Irish forms are mostly used and the Middle Irish forms are only employed as a poetic licence, i.e. if the poet had to

⁴⁸⁰ Meyer (1918) p. 876.

⁴⁸¹ Loc. cit. [less skilful form].

⁴⁸² Loc. cit.; Meyer quotes the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (1975) vol 2, pp. 291–2.

⁴⁸³ Meyer (1918) p. 877.

⁴⁸⁴ Loc. cit.; Meyer uses a poem from the *Metrical Dindshenchas* as example for the stricter form. He says that the poet of *Achall* (Gwynn (1903–1935) vol. 1, p. 52) received a horse, a payment that would usually be expected for higher ranked metres.

⁴⁸⁵ Meyer (1918) p. 877; here, he refers to the abundance of alliteration and internal rhyme that can be found in the *Saltair*, albeit without set rules.

⁴⁸⁶ Loc. cit.: ‘Die genaue Innehaltung aller Regeln dieses Metrums in seiner strengsten Form hat es nun zu einem der schwierigsten der irischen Metrik gemacht.’

⁴⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 878. [who handles the metre, known to him from hundreds of examples, in his own way, if he was familiar with Old Irish metrics at all.]

alter the spelling of the words to satisfy the rhyme.⁴⁸⁸ Meyer, however, does not give a comprehensive overview of all rhyming pairs and he does not discuss the possibility of eye-rhymes.

Nevertheless, he looks at how the rhyme provides information about the pronunciation of final /s/ in certain Latin words such as *dominationēs* and he concludes that the /s/ must have been palatal because all these examples rhyme with an Irish word ending in a palatal /s/.⁴⁸⁹

Finally, he focuses on what he calls ‘herzlich schlechte Reime’,⁴⁹⁰ such as *trebad:trénfērab* (ll. 4633–4634). These and other rhymes will be looked at in the present thesis and another argument for the eye-rhyme will be made.⁴⁹¹

Meyer proceeds to look at internal rhyme in *Saltair na Rann*,⁴⁹² a feature that is not part of the present study. He notes that internal rhyme is found in abundance in the *Saltair* and gives various examples of simple internal rhyme, inverted internal rhyme and other noteworthy types of internal rhyme.

This paragraph is then followed by a brief outline of alliteration in *Saltair na Rann*.⁴⁹³ Meyer finds, much like with internal rhyme, that the poet used this verse ornament often but without set rules regarding its distribution, position or number.⁴⁹⁴ He points out some interesting types of alliteration, such as <z> and <s> or that, especially in cases of loanwords or non-native personal names, the second or third syllable can alliterate with the beginning of an Irish word.⁴⁹⁵ He also discusses what he calls ‘Anklang’ between *p* and *b*, *c* and *g* and *d* and *t*: he argues that examples like *Petur bán* (l. 7717) were used as an additional ornament, even more so than proper alliteration.⁴⁹⁶ He also gives a few examples from *The Metrical Dindshenchas*.⁴⁹⁷

He finishes his metrical overview of the *Saltair* with a very short paragraph on the numbers of syllables. He briefly mentions that there are a few lines in *Saltair na Rann* that contain eight instead of the required seven syllables and that it is rather difficult to change them to the appropriate number.⁴⁹⁸ He only briefly mentions the final eleven cantos and gives the

⁴⁸⁸ Meyer (1918) p. 878: ‘Man kann sagen, daß die altirischen Formen die Norm, die mittelirischen aus Reimnot als Lizenz die Ausnahme bilden.’

⁴⁸⁹ Op. cit. p. 879; see also below, pp. 408–10 for a brief discussion of the use of Latin words in *Saltair na Rann*.

⁴⁹⁰ Meyer (1918) p. 880. [really bad rhymes]

⁴⁹¹ See below, Conclusion, p. 401.

⁴⁹² Meyer (1918) pp. 880–2.

⁴⁹³ Op. cit. pp. 883–6.

⁴⁹⁴ Op. cit. p. 883.

⁴⁹⁵ Loc. cit.

⁴⁹⁶ Loc. cit.; the concept of ‘Anklang’ may be explained as ‘alliteration of phonetic groups’.

⁴⁹⁷ Op. cit. p. 886.

⁴⁹⁸ Op. cit. p. 887.

name of the metres and remarks that internal rhyme, alliteration and ‘Anklang’ are also used generously.⁴⁹⁹

As mentioned above, Meyer’s article is the first and only one to deal specifically with the metre of *Saltair na Rann*. Although not all of his introductory remarks on the *deibide*-metre and on the poet of the *Saltair* may be true, his idea of a metrical survey of a work of this length certainly is an important impulse for the field of Irish metrics. Although he only gives comparatively few examples and does not deal with each metrical feature in great detail, he raises some interesting points, some of which will be dealt with in greater detail in this thesis.

3.3 Summary

This chapter briefly discussed some of the relevant research that has been done on the poem of *Saltair na Rann*. The first half of the chapter dealt with some basic information regarding the *Saltair*, providing information about the manuscripts in which the poem has been preserved as well as presenting the discussion of the date and authorship of the *Saltair*. This thesis will not debate the latter issue further. The generally accepted assumption will be followed that *Saltair na Rann* was composed towards the end of the tenth century, most likely by a single author.⁵⁰⁰ As a final remark on the discussion of authorship of the *Saltair* it should be noted that the identification of the lyrical I named Oengus with the actual author of the poem cannot be upheld just on the grounds that the poem identifies the author in the line ‘I am Oengus, céile Dé’ (l. 8009). The apparent identification of the lyrical I with the author was a widely used rhetorical figure and as such this line cannot be used in the question of authorship of *Saltair na Rann*.

The second half of this chapter looked at some early approaches to the metrics of the *Saltair*. Strachan’s idea of the poet’s ability to use old and new forms of the same word is one of the first theoretical discussions of Irish metre, even if on a very basic level.

Meyer’s study of the metrics of *Saltair na Rann* – even if rather superficial – highlighted some interesting issues, some of which will be discussed in the main part of the present thesis.

A discussion of any research regarding the contents and literary and biblical motifs of the *Saltair* has been left aside. As has been stated in the introduction, the present thesis only

⁴⁹⁹ Meyer (1918) p. 887.

⁵⁰⁰ Liam Breatnach also briefly summarises this issue in his paragraph on Rawlinson B 502 in ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 223–4, § 1.6 and agrees with the general assumption that *Saltair na Rann* was composed towards the end of the 10th century: ‘Is é deireadh an 10ú haois a chuirtear mar dháta leis seo de ghnáth. Tá fiú sliocht dátaíochta sa téacs féin (línte 2253–2380), ach tá roinnt fadhbanna ag baint leis.’ (p. 223)

focuses on rhyme in *Saltair na Rann* and how this can help our understanding of linguistic developments and to comprehend rhyming patterns on a deeper level. A study of the rhyming words in a literary context most certainly will be of great interest, especially regarding the possibility of conceptual combinations in end-rhymes. Roman Jakobson already said that although rhyme ‘by definition is based on a regular recurrence of equivalent phonemes or phonemic groups’,⁵⁰¹ it certainly also involves semantics and Jakobson clearly states that both sound and meaning of the rhyming words are ‘necessarily involved’⁵⁰² and that ‘equivalence in sound [...] inevitably involves semantic equivalence’.⁵⁰³ Thus, regarding, for example, the *Ardrinn*-word *Israhél* a pattern can be observed immediately: the word occurs 83 times in *Ardrinn*-position and is almost exclusively rhymed with the words *scél* ‘story’ and *trén* ‘strong’. It is clear that the poet was not restricted by phonological or lexical circumstances, but that he deliberately returned to the same rhyming *Rinn*-words. A thorough investigation of these patterns will uncover a further interesting layer of this composition.

⁵⁰¹ Jakobson (1960) p. 367.

⁵⁰² Op. cit. p. 368.

⁵⁰³ Loc. cit.

4.0 The Database

The preceding chapter presented some of the work that has been done with *Saltair na Rann* and also showed a few approaches to specifically the metrics of the *Saltair*. The present thesis will use the corpus of the *Saltair* in a way that has not been done before. Earlier approaches were rather superficial and never went into any greater detail of the actual verse lines. Because the poem is of such great length this thesis focuses only on one aspect of the verse line: the end-rhyme between the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words.

This chapter will serve as an overview of the database that contains every *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word of the *deibide*-section of *Saltair na Rann*, i.e. of the first 151 cantos. Thus 7824 words were entered into the database. The following chapters will introduce the collection, organisation and utilisation of the gathered data. The analytic chapters are built on this database. All rhyming words are organised into different lists that will be introduced and explained in this chapter. The following chapters will contain some of these lists to facilitate the orientation within the data.

4.1 Collection

Each word in the database was extracted from David Greene's annotated typescript that was made available online by the *Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*.⁵⁰⁴ Rawlinson B 502, the only preserved manuscript to contain the entire *Saltair na Rann*, and Whitley Stokes' diplomatic edition from 1883⁵⁰⁵ have not been consulted during the stage of the data-collection.⁵⁰⁶ Thus, any emendations that Greene made have been copied, also preserving square brackets inserted by Greene to mark an emendation. However, silent emendations also occur and they are revealed as such only in the analysis-chapters. Greene's use of the macron and the *síneadh fada* has also been retained in the data-collection. Initial mutations of any words have not been reproduced in the database to ensure the possibility of a correct alphabetical re-ordering of *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words. If the *Rinn*- or *Ardrinn*-word is part of an adverbial phrase, e.g. *dia réir* (l. 239), only the second part of the phrase has been entered into the database, because only this part is metrically relevant for the rhyme.

⁵⁰⁴ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*; made available online at:
http://www.dias.ie/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4742%3Asaltair-na-rann&catid=27&Itemid=225&lang=en

⁵⁰⁵ Stokes (ed.) (1883).

⁵⁰⁶ It should be noted, however, that Rawlinson B 502 was consulted in various cases in the analytical chapters, especially in the case of a mismatched or faulty rhyme, each instance of which has been marked in a footnote.

4.2 Organisation

Each word was entered into one base-list that was created in *Microsoft Excel 2010*. Each rhyming pair was entered into one row and is listed according to their position in *Saltair na Rann* in the base-list, i.e. the first row contains the *Rinn*-word from line 1 and the *Ardrinn*-word from line 2, the second row contains the *Rinn*-word from line 3 and the *Ardrinn*-word from line 4 and so on. Using the base-list as starting point, various other lists were created that sort the words and pairs according to different features. In the following, all lists will be presented with an extracted sample-row and explained individually.

4.3 Lists

1. Base-list
2. *Rinn* A-Z
3. *Rinn* Rhyme A-Z
 - 3.1–3.59 *Rinn* Rhyme C b-V ú
4. *Rinn* Number of Syllables
5. *Rinn* Part of Speech A-Z
6. *Ardrinn* A-Z
7. *Ardrinn* Rhyme A-Z
 - 7.1–7.53 *Ardrinn* Rhyme C b-V ú
8. *Ardrinn* Number of Syllables
9. *Ardrinn* Part of Speech A-Z
10. Exceptional Rhyming Combinations
11. Faulty Rhyming Combinations

4.3.1 Base-list

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
lān	full	adjective	1	C n	imlān	very full, whole	adjective	2	C n	19- 20, 5	cd	1

Column A/F: *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

Column B/G: translation

Column C/H: part of speech

Column D/I: number of syllables (that are relevant for the rhyme)

Column E/J: final letter of *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word (C=consonant, V=vowel)

Column K: number of lines, number of stanza
Column L: couplet position
Column M: number of canto

The above example has been copied from the base-list. The first row represents the header as it is to be found in the list, the second row is a random example from the entire list containing 3912 rows. For convenience, the *Rinn*-word in Column A and the *Ardrinn*-word in Column F have been printed in bold.

Column B and Column G contain a translation of the words in A and F respectively. The translations have been double-checked in *The Dictionary of the Irish Language* after comparing Greene's own translation and the context of the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words.

Columns C and H contain the part of speech that the words in A and F belong to. These include proper nouns, common nouns, verbal nouns, adjectives, finite verbs, verbal adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, pronominals and conjugated prepositions.

Columns D and I contain the number of syllables of the words contained in A and F respectively. It should be noted, that in cases such as *im-mach* 'out' (e.g. l. 431) or *do-slí* 'is entitled to' (l. 417) the prefix is not counted as an extra syllable: the stress in these examples lies on the second syllable and thus it is only the second syllable that is relevant for the rhyme and hence these words are classified as monosyllables.

Columns E and J indicate the final letter of the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word respectively. The actual letter is preceded by 'C' for consonant or 'V' for vowel. Both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word in the example above happen to end in *n* and thus are both preceded by 'C'.

The following columns contain information about the position of the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word and thus are applicable to both Column A and Column F. Column K contains the line numbers and number of stanza. The exemplary extract thus shows the rhyming words from lines 19 and 20 that are contained in stanza 5. These numbers are to be understood in relation to the entire database, i.e. cantos 1 to 151 and not in relation to the individual canto that the rhyming pair is part of.

Column L marks the position of the rhyming pair within the stanza, i.e. whether it is contained in the first couplet (ab) or the second couplet (cd).

Column M gives the number of the canto that the rhyming pair is contained in in Arabic numerals. Thus, the above example features a rhyming pair that is contained in Canto I.⁵⁰⁷

What is not reflected in this example is the colour coding of this base-list. Words that represent compound words are marked in green, personal nouns are marked in blue, and Latin

⁵⁰⁷ Canto numbers are given in Roman numerals within text.

loanwords are marked in turquoise. *Microsoft Excel 2010* allows for a reordering of columns and rows according to colour scheme and thus, features that are not described in any of the columns are represented by the colour scheme and can be sorted accordingly.

4.3.2 Rinn A-Z

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Israhél	Israel	name	3	C 1
scél	story, narration, tale	noun	1	C 1	Abnér	Abner	name	2	C r

Column A/F: *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

Column B/G: translation

Column C/H: part of speech

Column D/I: number of syllables (that are relevant for the rhyme)

Column E/J: final letter of *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

[Column K: number of lines, number of stanza

Column L: couplet position

Column M: number of canto]

This list was generated from the base-list by reordering the contents of the latter in alphabetical order of the *Rinn*-words, i.e. the words contained in Column A. *Microsoft Excel 2010* allows for all cells in one column and their attached rows to be organised in alphabetical order. This list provides a precise overview of which words were used how many times as a *Rinn*-word and it also allows for an easily accessible count of how often a particular *Rinn*-word was combined with a particular *Ardrinn*-word. The excerpt here does not contain columns K, L and M to allow for an easier arrangement of the table on the page.

This table is only a small excerpt, but this example already shows a significant number of instances in which *scél* is rhymed with *Israhél*.

The first row of this list contains the *Rinn*-word *abb* (:do-ruasat, ll. 831–832) and the last row features the *Rinn*-word *unga* (:comthrumma, ll. 5759–5760).

4.3.3 *Rinn* Rhyme A-Z

A	B	C	D	E	F
calmaib	dīthoglaib	aib-aib	4691-4692, 1173	cd	62

A	B	C	D	E	F
cuirp	glēnuicht	uirp-uicht	1357-1358, 340	ab	9

A	B	C	D	E	F
meirbi	comdeilbi	eirbi-eilbi	1807-1808, 452	cd	11

Column A: *Rinn*-word

Column B: *Ardrinn*-word

Column C: rhyme

Column D: line-number, number of stanza

Column E: position of couplet

Column F: number of canto

As can be seen the rows are organised slightly differently in these examples. This heading includes 59 different lists that have been created by splitting up a single list. This single list was organised by alphabetically sorting the final letters of the *Rinn*-words, i.e. the information in Column E of the base-list. This means that the list begins with *Rinn*-words ending in ‘b’ and ends with *Rinn*-words ending in ‘u’. However, this list was not kept as one file but was cut into individual lists, so that the first sub-list only contains *Rinn*-words ending in ‘b’, the second one only contains *Rinn*-words that end in ‘c’ and so on. All lists are of greatly varying lengths.

The first example is from an excerpt from ‘*Rinn* Rhyme C b’, the second from ‘*Rinn* Rhyme C rp’ and the third from ‘*Rinn* Rhyme V i’. As can be seen these lists have the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word immediately next to each other and a translation, part of speech, number of syllables and final letter have been left out. Column C now contains the final consonant of the *Rinn*-word and *Ardrinn*-word, including the vowel or vowels that precede it in case of rhyming words ending in a consonant. For *Rinn*-words ending in a vowel Column C contains the final vowel and the preceding vowel(s)+consonant(s). This column serves to further sort the sub-lists. Thus, in the first example, *Rinn*-words that end in –ab are followed by those that end in –aib which are followed by *Rinn*-words ending in –eb and so on.

Due to the variety of final vowel- and consonant-combinations of *Rinn*-words ending in a vowel, these lists have been sorted alphabetically regarding the first letter of each *Rinn*-word. However, Column C still gives the relevant rhyming section of a word, even though the list is not sorted by this column.

Columns D, E and F contain the number of lines and stanza, the position of the couplet and the number of the canto.

4.3.4 *Rinn* Number of Syllables

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
lir	ocean, sea	noun	1	C r	glēgil	bright white	adjective	2	C l

Column A/F: *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

Column B/G: translation

Column C/H: part of speech

Column D/I: number of syllables (that are relevant for the rhyme)

Column E/J: final letter of *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

[Column K: number of lines, number of stanza

Column L: couplet position

Column M: number of canto]

This list contains the exact same information as the base-list, but it is sorted by number of syllables, so that *Rinn*-words with one syllable relevant for the rhyme are followed by those with two. No *Rinn*-word contains more than two syllables.

In the above extract columns K, L and M have been left out again for convenience's sake. They contain the line-numbers and numbers of stanzas, the position of the couplet and the number of the canto that the rhyming pair is contained in.

4.3.5 *Rinn* Part of Speech

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
glē	clear, bright	adjective	1	V ē	mīle	thousand	noun	2	V e
tair	east, easterly	adverb	1	C r	arddaib	height	noun	2	C b
ceil	hides	verb	1	C l	Ochtimbeir	October	name	3	C r

Column A/F: *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

Column B/G: translation

Column C/H: part of speech

Column D/I: number of syllables (that are relevant for the rhyme)

Column E/J: final letter of *Rinn*-word/*Ardrinn*-word

[Column K: number of lines, number of stanza

Column L: couplet position

Column M: number of canto]

This is also a list that contains the identical information found in the base-list and again columns K, L and M have been left out in the above extract to facilitate the reading of the example here.

The list is sorted alphabetically by parts of speech of the *Rinn*-words, so that adjectives precede adverbs and so on. This grants an easy access to what parts of speech are used how often in the *Rinn*-position and how often they are combined with what part of speech in the *Ardrinn*-position. Although this thesis will not focus on the contents of the rhyming pairs, this list will be of interest for future research, especially looking at the conceptual patterns that occur within the rhyming pairs.

4.3.6-9 *Ardrinn*-lists

The lists 6–9 are of the exact same format and contain the same information that lists 2–5 did, except that the ordering criteria are directed at the *Ardrinn*-words of each rhyming pair, i.e. list 6 is a re-arrangement of the base-list, sorted alphabetically by *Ardrinn*-words in Column F. List 7 is sorted alphabetically by final letter of the *Ardrinn*-words, list 8 has the entire list re-arranged according to numbers of syllables of each *Ardrinn*-word⁵⁰⁸ and list 9 is organised alphabetically by part of speech concerning the *Ardrinn*-words. This thesis uses mainly the lists that are ordered according to the qualities and features of the *Rinn*-words.

4.3.10 Exceptional rhyming combinations

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
beirt	ambreit	eirt-eit	5371-5372, 1343	cd	82	LT:D

Column A: *Rinn*-word

Column B: *Ardrinn*-word

Column C: rhyme

Column D: number of lines and stanza

Column E: position of couplet

Column F: number of canto

Column G: description of rhyme

This list was created from those that are described in chapter 4.3.2 and this list contains any rhyming combination that does not adhere to the regular rules as they are described by Gerard Murphy in *Early Irish Metrics*.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ The *Ardrinn*-words can contain up to five syllables. However, there are only very few pentasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, and they are either compounds or non-native proper nouns.

⁵⁰⁹ Murphy (1961).

Additionally to the information that has already been seen in the lists above, this list also contains a column that describes each sound relevant for the rhyme in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word with symbols for only the consonants. Those symbols distinguish between: voiced *lenis* continuant (L), voiced *fortis* continuant (F), voiceless continuant (Θ), voiced stop (D), voiceless stop (T), sibilant (S). Thus the list can be used to sort the exceptional rhyming pairs according to the symbolic description of the rhyme and give an overview of the different types of exceptions.⁵¹⁰

4.3.11 Faulty rhymes

A	B	C	D	E	F
espaib	imresnaib	espaib-esnaib	5125-5126, 1282	ab	75

Column A: *Rinn*-word

Column B: *Ardrinn*-word

Column C: rhyme

Column D: number of lines and stanza

Column E: position of couplet

Column F: number of canto

This list was also created from those that are described in chapter 4.3.2. It contains the same columns as the list in 4.3.10, but it lacks the one describing the rhyme. The variety of combinations within the relatively small number of faulty rhyming pairs does not merit a further descriptive column. These rhyming pairs represent combinations that are actually faulty and do not create a metrically valid rhyme.

4.4 Utilisation

The last section showed how the database that has been collected from the corpus of *Saltair na Rann* has been organised so that the amount of information is easily accessible and manageable. This database and the various lists that have been generated from it are the basis for the next, central chapter of analysis.

The most relevant lists that are used for the chapter of analysis are those that have been numbered 3 above, i.e. the lists that are sorted alphabetically by the *Rinn*-words' final letter, and it is only those lists that are actually included in the present thesis.⁵¹¹ A sub-chapter has been dedicated to each list contained under the heading of number three and each list will be

⁵¹⁰ Note that Chapter 7 – *Conclusion and Outlook* contains two tables with all rhyming combinations as they occur in the *deibide*-section of the *Saltair*; see below, pp. 398–399.

⁵¹¹ This and the remaining lists will be edited for an online-publication in the near future.

found in its full length in the respective chapter. The first part of the analysis is a detailed description of each rhyming pair in the order as it occurs in the lists that were generated from list 3. The second half of the analysis uses the lists of exceptional and faulty rhymes to look at greater detail at those rhymes that contain exceptional or faulty consonantal or vocalic combinations. This part also includes charts to indicate and compare the amount of the various combinations in relation to each other at one glance.

The vast amount of data that the *Saltair* provides has by no means been used in detail in its entirety. Although each list that has been created is itself an interesting overview of one specific feature, not every list could be included in a detailed analysis in this thesis. However, this searchable database will certainly be of invaluable service to future projects that are looking at features of rhyme in Irish metrics, whether with a linguistic or a literary interest.

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is the first part of the main body of the present thesis that will describe and analyse every single rhyming pair of the database. Chapter 6 will look exclusively at the irregular and faulty rhyming pairs in greater detail, while the present chapter will present all rhyming pairs with only a brief analysis.

The order of the sub-chapters in the present chapter follows the lists that have been ordered alphabetically according to the final letters of the *Rinn*-words. Each section is subdivided further, so that *Rinn*-words ending in *-ab*, will be followed by those ending in *-aib* and so on. Each list will be included at the beginning of its relevant sub-chapter to provide a reference to the reader. It should also be noted that the alphabetical order is purely orthographical. This means, that, for example, *Rinn*-words ending in a single <m> are grouped together in one chapter and the final consonant can represent either a *fortis* or a *lenis* voiced continuant. This precedes the sub-chapter of *Rinn*-words ending in <mm> which always represents a *fortis* voiced continuant. However, *Rinn*-words ending in <t> have been divided into two groups, with the values of the voiceless (/t/) and voiced (/d/) stop respectively.

The use of the *síneadh fada* is as follows: each word in the lists has been extracted from Greene's working notes and thus each macron as well as each *síneadh fada* has been copied from Greene. However, within the text of the opening paragraph of each sub-group no *síneadh fada* is added to any vowels that are enclosed by <>, because Rawlinson B 502 does not always contain a length mark where it would be due. Since it is explained in the text which vowels are long and which are short, there is no need for the length mark here. On the other hand, for the sake of convenience, where *Rinn*- and *Ardinn*-words appear outside ' <> ', within the descriptive text outside of the lists, the *síneadh fada* is used exclusively, i.e. also in place of a macron.

A note on the description of the rhyming vowels is necessary at this point. It should be understood that in the case of polysyllabic *Rinn*- and *Ardinn*-words unstressed short rhyming vowels always have the phonetic value of a schwa in *Saltair na Rann* since the poem was composed at the beginning of the Middle Irish period. Thus they can rhyme with any other short vowel. However, vocalic mismatches are pointed out throughout the corpus, since the orthography of the *Saltair* is a major aspect of the present study.

This type of detailed analysis of a corpus of this length has not been done before and will provide a helpful tool for the understanding of rhymes in Irish as well as give an insight into the development of early Middle Irish language as well as the importance of orthography in rhyming pairs.

5.1 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme Consonant *

Of 3912 *Rinn*-words, 146 (3.73%) end in orthographic or <bb>. The single orthographic represents a voiced continuant in all cases, <bb> represents a voiced stop. Of those 146 *Rinn*-words, 85 (58.23%) are monosyllabic or carry their stress on the final syllable. Since rhyme in Irish begins with the first stressed vowel of a word, I shall refer to both actual monosyllabic as well as deuterotonic words as monosyllabic.

Three (3.53%) of those eighty-five monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, fifty-seven (67.06%) with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, twenty-four (28.24%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and one (1.18%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*.⁵¹²

Sixty-one (41.78%) *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Seven (11.48%) of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and the remaining fifty-four (88.52%) are paired regularly with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Of all 146 rhyming pairs ending in or <bb>, seven (6.85%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.1.1 -abb

abb	do-ruasat	abb-at	831-832, 208	cd	3
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The first set contains one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <abb>. It is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a voiced stop and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.1.2 -ab

cota-gab	do-fúargabad	ab-ad	6695-6696, 1674	cd	116
gab	Ádam	ab-am	1639-1640, 410	cd	11
gab	úasalathar	ab-ar	7811-7812, 1953	cd	151

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ab>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. The *lenis* voiced continuants are always answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-words. The rhyming vowels correspond orthographically. One *Ardrinn* contains two, one three

⁵¹² *úasalathar* (Canto 151, l. 7812) should be read as having three syllables to fit the line: *arfairinn nan-húas'lathar*.

and the remaining *Ardrinn* contains four syllables, but the latter must have been read as containing only three to fit the metre: *úasalathar* = *úas'lathar*.⁵¹³

5.1.3 -aib

calmaib	dīthoglaib	aib-aib	4691-4692, 1173	cd	62
clannaib	brīgrannaib	aib-aib	2649-2650, 663	ab	21
clíaraib	mórmíadaib	aib-aib	6671-6672, 1668	cd	116
congaib	feochraib	aib-aib	47-48, 12	cd	1
congaib	mórdrongaib	aib-aib	547-548, 137	cd	2
con-gaib	do-ruargaib	aib-aib	7139-7140, 1785	cd	131
cōraib	dermōraib	aib-aib	4323-4324, 1081	cd	51
cota-gaib	glēssaib	aib-aib	87-88, 22	cd	1
cota-gaib	úanaib	aib-aib	2963-2964, 741	cd	26
cotgaib	cētaib	aib-aib	2275-2276, 569	cd	12
cotgaib	blīadnaib	aib-aib	2279-2280, 570	cd	12
cotgaib	bliadnaib	aib-aib	2315-2316, 579	cd	12
do-forgaib	erardaib	aib-aib	531-532, 133	cd	2
do-fórgaib	forórdaib	aib-aib	2131-2132, 533	cd	12
dīb-līnaib	ardrīgaib	aib-aib	7123-7124, 1781	cd	131
do-s-rogaib	rīgsrothaib	aib-aib	503-504, 126	cd	2
espaib	imresnaib	aib-aib	5125-5126, 1282	ab	75
gaib	brethaib	aib-aib	6847-6848, 1712	cd	121
géraib	nemnélaib	aib-aib	7461-7462, 1866	ab	140
glassaib	ernmassaib	aib-aib	4687-4688, 1172	cd	62
grādaib	saerdānaib	aib-aib	4925-4926, 1232	ab	69
íallaib	clíaraib	aib-aib	1025-1026, 257	ab	6
idnaib	glantimnaib	aib-aib	4611-4612, 1153	cd	58
līnaib	ilmīlaib	aib-aib	1641-1642, 411	ab	11
lubaib	mōrbrugaib	aib-aib	969-970, 243	ab	6
mórdaib	dergórdaib	aib-aib	4359-4360, 1090	cd	51
ócaib	prīmrótaib	aib-aib	5395-5396, 1349	cd	83
rannaib	anmannaib	aib-aib	271-272, 68	cd	1
rebaib	oengelaib	aib-aib	4411-4412, 1103	cd	51
rétaib	clascélaib	aib-aib	2165-2166, 542	ab	12
saeraib	fírnóebaib	aib-aib	4573-4574, 1144	ab	57
selgaib	drumdergaib	aib-aib	5655-5656, 1414	cd	89
seolaib	glancheolaib	aib-aib	729-730, 183	ab	3
seólaib	ilcheólaib	aib-aib	991-992, 248	cd	6
sēssaib	ilglēssaib	aib-aib	89-90, 23	ab	1
sétaib	baethbétaib	aib-aib	3449-3450, 863	ab	31

⁵¹³ See above p. 75, FN 512.

sētaib	classchētaib	aib-aib	2127-2128, 532	cd	12
slánaib	ildānaib	aib-aib	4709-4710, 1178	ab	63
sluagdaib	ilbuadaib	aib-aib	715-716, 179	cd	3
sotlaib	fintopraib	aib-aib	499-500, 125	cd	2
tennaib	coemchennaib	aib-aib	5555-5556, 1389	cd	86
trāthaib	derbfāthaib	aib-aib	1045-1046, 262	ab	6
tríamnaib	blíadnaib	aib-aib	3949-3950, 988	ab	44
trommaib	glédrommaib	aib-aib	5559-5560, 1390	cd	86
túargaib	mōrslúagaib	aib-aib	5581-5582, 1396	ab	87
úadaib	mōrslúagaib	aib-aib	3945-3946, 987	ab	44
drongaib	bithc[h]ommaid	aib-aid	6707-6708, 1677	cd	117
cota-ngaib	primchathraig	aib-aig	429-430, 108	ab	2
gnímaib	tromdígaib	aib-aib	5069-5070, 1268	ab	73
gnīmaib	tromdīgaib	aib-aib	2411-2412, 603	cd	13
bāgaib	Bālaib	aib-aim	4793-4794, 1199	ab	66
con-gaib	Ādaib	aib-aim	641-642, 161	ab	2
dālaib	Ādaib	aib-aim	685-686, 172	ab	3
dālaib	Ādaib	aib-aim	1553-1554, 389	ab	11
grādaib	Ādaib	aib-aim	1653-1654, 414	ab	11
gnáthaib	oenbrāthair	aib-air	3623-3624, 906	cd	33
cota-gaib	oentreib	aib-eib	5199-5200, 1300	cd	76
cotan-gaib	oentreib	aib-eib	3223-3224, 806	cd	28
cotn-gaib	eitteib	aib-eib	621-622, 156	ab	2
gaib	commorgeib	aib-eib	6009-6010, 1503	ab	100
cota-gaib	fochraiccib	aib-ib	515-516, 129	cd	2
cota-gaib	fochraicib	aib-ib	521-522, 131	ab	2

This group contains 62 rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <aib>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁵¹⁴ and this is followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Of seventeen monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, all of which represent a form of the verb *gaibid*, twelve are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a voiced continuant and thus the rhymes are regular.

The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in three cases where <a> is balanced by <e> (*cota-gaib:oentreib*, Canto 76, ll. 5199–5200; *cotan-gaib:oentreib*, Canto 28, ll. 3223–3224; *cotn-gaib:eitteib*, Canto 2, ll. 621–622). Since the palatal quality is present in both the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words and the second syllable of the *Ardrinn* is unstressed, the rhymes are regular. The pairing of orthographically different vowels does not affect the validity of the

⁵¹⁴ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

rhyme if the *Ardrinn*-vowel is short and unstressed. The phonetic value is schwa and can therefore be matched with any stressed vowel in the *Rinn*-word. The following cases of orthographic mismatches regarding the rhyming vowels will not be dealt with in any detail in the present chapter, but will be simply stated as descriptive part of any rhyming pair that contains such an orthographic mismatch.

Five *Rinn*-monosyllables are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in three cases where the poet balances <a> with <e> (*gaib:commorgeib*, Canto 100, ll. 6009–6010) or with a single <i> (*cota-gaib:fochraiccib*, Canto 2, ll. 515–516 and *cota-gaib:fochraicib*, Canto 2, ll. 521–522). It should also be noted that Rawlinson B 502 actually has <ai> (*fochraicaib*, l. 516 and l. 522)⁵¹⁵ where Greene has typed single <i> (*focraicib*, l. 516 and l. 522). One of his emendations is silent (l. 522).

Forty-five *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Six of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and thus the pairs deviate from the usual stress pattern. None of the six pairs show any irregularity concerning their medial or final rhyming vowels: they are orthographically identical. Furthermore, each final voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-words is balanced by a voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.⁵¹⁶

The intervocalic consonants are regular. Only in one case a mismatch can be found: the *fortis* voiced continuant <ll> is matched up with the *lenis* sonorant <r> (*íallaib:clíaraib*, Canto 6, ll.1025–1026), the combination of which, according to Ó Cuív's findings, is allowed in final position after long vowels and diphthongs and between vowels.⁵¹⁷ The remaining intervocalic rhyming consonants are all single or grouped *lenis* voiced continuants that are regularly balanced by *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*.

The remaining 39 disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, thus conforming to the regular stress pattern of the *deibide*-metre. The final rhyming vowel <ai> is always answered by <ai> and the voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-rhyme is always answered by a voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. Hence, the final rhymes are regular.

Concerning the intervocalic consonants, we find the following: 27 of 39 rhymes are formed around a single consonant. Fifteen of those answer a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

⁵¹⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r b.

⁵¹⁶ Of all 3912 rhyming pairs 101 have the identical number of syllables in their *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word. Seventy rhyme a monosyllable with a monosyllable and thirty-eight rhyme a disyllable with a disyllable. In thirty-two cases the rhymes are identical (twenty-nine of those concern monosyllables, the remaining three disyllables).

⁵¹⁷ Ó Cuív (1966) p.96.

Five *Rinn*-words feature a *fortis* voiced continuant that is always answered by a *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

Two rhyming pairs contain the voiceless continuant <th> that is balanced by the identical continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

Two rhyming pairs form another identical rhyme by using the voiceless sibilant.

There are two rhyming pairs balancing a single voiced plosive with an equivalent in the *Ardrinn*.

There is one mismatched rhyme consisting of a voiced continuant being balanced by a voiceless continuant (*do-s-rogaib:rígsrothaib*, Canto 2, ll. 503–504). The rhyming combination of voiced and voiceless continuants was already noted by Gerard Murphy, who called it a ‘frequently’⁵¹⁸ occurring exception, ‘even more frequently in unstressed syllables’.⁵¹⁹ However, these exceptions, as Murphy says, ‘were clearly in the Old and Middle Irish period regarded as permissible’.⁵²⁰ According to Murphy’s established rules a combination between a voiced and a voiceless continuant would indeed be considered exceptional. However, as will be presented in many cases below the combination of voiced and voiceless continuants occurs, as Murphy says himself, rather frequently and to such an extent that it is questionable whether this combination can be called an exception in the first place. Any further occurrence of this combination will not be discussed in greater detail in this chapter unless additional irregularities mark the respective rhyming pair as exceptional.

There are eight instances of consonantal clusters rhyming together. Two examples feature two *lenis* voiced continuants being balanced by one *lenis* plus *fortis* voiced continuant or vice versa (*calmaib:díthoglaib*, Canto 62, ll. 4691–4692; *idnaib:glantimnaib*, Canto 58, ll. 4611–4612). The combination of *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants was allowed to give a valid rhyme, in word-final position after a long vowel or diphthong or in intervocalic position.⁵²¹ In the first pair the medial rhyming vowels do not match orthographically.

There are two examples of a voiced continuant plus voiced plosive that are balanced by an equivalent cluster in the *Ardrinn* (*selgaib:drumdergaib*, Canto 89, ll. 5655–5656; *do-forgaib:erardaib*, Canto 2, ll. 531–532), two examples of two *lenis* voiced continuants rhyming with two *lenis* voiced continuants (*do-fórgaib:forórdaib*, Canto 12, ll. 2131–2132; *mórdaib:dergórdaib*, Canto 51, ll. 4359–4360) and in one case a voiceless plosive plus voiced continuant is rhymed with a voiced plosive plus voiced continuant (*sotlaib:fintopraib*, Canto 2,

⁵¹⁸ Murphy(1961) p. 33.

⁵¹⁹ Loc. cit.

⁵²⁰ Loc. cit.

⁵²¹ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

ll. 499–500). The combination of a voiced and voiceless stop was recognised by the poets to give imperfect rhyme.⁵²² The medial and rhyming vowels match except in the pair *do-forgaib:erardaib*, but the rhyme is still metrically valid.

The remaining rhyming pair (*espaib:imresnaib*, Canto 75, ll. 5125–5126) shows an irregularity: the consonant cluster <sp> is balanced by <sn>, pairing the voiceless sibilant plus voiceless plosive with the voiceless sibilant plus voiced continuant. Thus, the rhyme is faulty, although the vowels match orthographically.

There are four rhyming pairs left that balance a consonantal cluster with a single consonant or vice versa. The first example rhymes a single voiced plosive with a cluster consisting of a voiced plosive plus voiced continuant. The rhyming words are *rétaib*, dative plural of *rét* ‘star’, and *claschélaib*, dative plural of the compounded verbal noun *clas-chétal* ‘choir-singing’ (Canto 12, ll. 2165–2166). It is possible that the poet or the scribe had the Middle Irish word for ‘star’, *rétla*, in mind, but wrote down the older form.

The next example also pairs up a single voiced plosive with a voiced plosive plus voiced continuant (*sétaib:classchélaib*, Canto 12, ll. 2127–2128). Again, the voiced continuant is not present in the *Rinn*-word. However, there is no alternative form for either *Rinn*- or *Ardrinn*-word in this case, as has just been seen in the example in the preceding paragraph.

The last two examples contain a cluster of two voiced continuants in the *Rinn*-word that is balanced by a single voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*sluagdaib:ilbudaib*, Canto 3, ll. 715–716; *túargaib:mórslúagaib*, Canto 87, ll. 5581–5582). Although phonetic class and quality correspond, the clusters in the *Rinn* are each paired up with a single consonant in the *Ardrinn*, thus creating imbalanced pairs.

Note also that the last four irregular rhyming pairs all end in <aib> in the *Rinn* and are answered with <aib> in the *Ardrinn*, possibly indicating that the poet tried to minimise irregularities around the intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters by using orthographically identical vowels and identical final consonants.⁵²³

The rhyming vowels in all 62 examples, whether in final or medial position, are orthographically identical except in the cases discussed above and in the following example where the stressed digraph <ae> in the *Rinn* is balanced with an unstressed <oe> in the *Ardrinn* (*saeraib:fírnóebaib*, Canto 57, ll. 4573–4574). However, the fluctuation between <a> and <o> does not influence the rhyme and therefore should only be noted in regard to the remarkable orthographic consistency of the scribe in the other rhyming pairs.

⁵²² Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵²³ See below, *Conclusion*, p. 406.

5.1.4 -áib

mnáib	tráig	áib-áig	3701-3702, 926	ab	35
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This set contains only one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aib>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis*voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <aig>. The vowel is also long and the *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by an equivalent. Nevertheless, this pair does not comply with the *deibide*-rules of rhyming stressed with unstressed syllables.

5.1.5 -eb

feb	oenben	eb-en	1887-1888, 472	cd	11
treb	Cancer	eb-er	217-218, 55	ab	1
treb	imned	eb-ed	7083-7084, 1771	cd	129

This group consists of three monosyllabic *Rinn*-words ending in <eb> that are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words echoing the rhyming vowel orthographically and answering the *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases.

5.1.6 -eib

feib	grādaib	eib-aib	559-560, 140	cd	2
feib	écaib	eib-aib	7119-7120, 1780	cd	131
feib	blíadnaib	eib-aib	2023-2024, 506	cd	12
treib	máthreachaib	eib-aib	3007-3008, 752	cd	26
treib	forórdaib	eib-aib	4259-4260, 1065	cd	51
treib	bronngaethaib	eib-aib	4565-4566, 1142	ab	56
treib	ingenaib	eib-aib	5001-5002, 1251	ab	71
treib	écaib	eib-aib	7091-7092, 1773	cd	129
treib	lestraib	eib-aib	7167-7168, 1792	cd	133
treib	erbaid	eib-aid	7477-7478, 1870	ab	141
treib	ildelbaig	eib-aig	4211-4212, 1053	cd	51
treib	Ādaim	eib-aim	2433-2434, 609	ab	14
treib	athair	eib-air	1899-1900, 475	cd	11
treib	anaichned	eib-ed	4749-4750, 1188	ab	65
cotas-geib	airbreib	eib-eib	1649-1650, 413	ab	11
arnot geib	imrāteib	eib-eib	1693-1694, 424	ab	11
feib	sōnmigeib	eib-eib	439-440, 110	cd	2
feib	caíreib	eib-eib	2937-2938, 735	ab	26
feib	muireib	eib-eib	375-376, 94	cd	2

feib	aingleib	eib-eib	1413-1414, 354	ab	9
treib	doeneib	eib-eib	447-448, 112	cd	2
treib	angleib	eib-eib	2067-2068, 517	cd	12
treib	aingleib	eib-eib	2437-2438, 610	ab	14
treib	brāthreib	eib-eib	3087-3088, 772	cd	27
treib	brāthreib	eib-eib	3165-3166, 792	ab	28
treib	ecnadeib	eib-eib	3235-3236, 809	cd	29
treib	comairleib	eib-eib	3239-3240, 810	cd	29
treib	brathreib	eib-eib	3651-3652, 913	cd	33
treib	sabbōteib	eib-eib	4595-4596, 1149	cd	57
treib	deirmitneib	eib-eib	5309-5310, 1328	ab	79
treib	brāthreib	eib-eib	5803-5804, 1451	cd	95
treib	Canceir	eib-eir	243-244, 61	cd	1
treib	oensreith	eib-eith	5321-5322, 1331	ab	80
treib	rīgdoirsib	eib-ib	401-402, 101	ab	2
treib	búachaillib	eib-ib	3097-3098, 775	ab	27
treib	cumrigib	eib-ib	5349-5350, 1338	ab	81
treib	doöib	eib-oib	7295-7296, 1824	cd	137

This group contains 37 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eib>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal voiced continuant in all cases. Twenty-two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. With one exception all of the *Ardrinn*-words also end in a voiced continuant. There is one example of the voiced continuant being balanced by the voiceless dental fricative <th> (*treib:oensreith*, Canto 80, ll. 5321–5322). As mentioned above,⁵²⁴ this was recognised to give imperfect rhyme.

Eight times <e> is answered by <a> (*feib:grádaib*, Canto 2, ll. 559–560; *feib:écaib*, Canto 131, ll. 7119–7120; *feib:blíadnaib*, Canto 12, ll. 2023–2024; *treib:écaib*, Canto 129, ll. 7091–7092; *treib:lestraib*, Canto 133, ll. 7167–7168; *treib:erbaid*, Canto 141, ll. 7477–7478; *treib:Ádaim*, Canto 14, ll. 2433–2434; *treib:athair*, Canto 11, ll. 1899–1900) which gives a regular rhyme in each case. Thirteen times the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical and one time <e> is balanced by <o> (*treib:dooib*,⁵²⁵ Canto 137, ll. 7295–7296).

The remaining fifteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All examples answer the voiced continuant in the *Rinn* with a voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

Five examples balance <e> with <a> (*treib:máthreachaib*, Canto 26, ll. 3007–3008; *treib:forórdaib*, Canto 51, ll. 4259–4260; *treib:bronngaethaib*, Canto 56, ll. 4565–4566;

⁵²⁴ Cf. above p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵²⁵ The disyllabic *dooib* is an archaised form. It would have been already a monosyllabic word in Middle Irish. Cf. also the Würzburg glosses, where it appears 95 times as a monosyllable and only once as *doiib* (27 d 13), hinting at a disyllabic pronunciation.

treib:ingenaib, Canto 71, ll. 5001–5002; *treib:ildelbaig*, Canto 51, ll. 4211–4212), seven times <e> is paired with <e>, ⁵²⁶ three times the *Rinn*-vowel is rhymed with a single <i> (*treib:rígdoirsib*, Canto 2, ll. 401–402; *treib:búachaillib*, Canto 27, ll. 3097–3098; *treib:cumrigib*, Canto 81, ll. 5349–5350).

5.1.7 -éib

slēib	dagcēil	éib-éil	4109-4110, 1028	ab	48
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This set contains one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <eib>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal voiced continuant. It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <eil>, matching the vowel in quantity and quality and the consonant in phonetic class and quality.

5.1.8 -ib

lib	Ādaim	ib-aim	673-674, 169	ab	3
airbrib	naebainglib	ib-ib	535-536, 134	cd	2
cairib	mōrmaigib	ib-ib	1737-1738, 435	ab	11
daingnib	archainglib	ib-ib	333-334, 84	ab	1
daingnib	éradblib	ib-ib	3395-3396, 849	cd	30
doenib	degmoínib	ib-ib	1977-1978, 495	ab	11
glinnib	ceólgrinnib	ib-ib	6669-6670, 1668	ab	116
lib	aidmib	ib-ib	4317-4318, 1080	ab	51
maigib	fidbaidib	ib-ib	935-936, 234	cd	5
mīlib	iltírib	ib-ib	6619-6620, 1655	cd	114
rúinib	prīmdūilib	ib-ib	2017-2018, 505	ab	11
sīdib	ilmīlib	ib-ib	387-388, 97	cd	2
sléibib	magréidib	ib-ib	307-308, 77	cd	1
soillsib	prīmdoirsib	ib-ib	533-534, 134	ab	2
soillsib	mórchoimsib	ib-ib	1745-1746, 437	ab	11
tírib	ilmīlib	ib-ib	4023-4024, 1006	cd	44
flathib	glēnathir	ib-ir	3855-3856, 964	cd	40

⁵²⁶ Once the palatal quality of the final rhyming consonant is not reflected orthographically in the *Ardrinn*-rhyme: the noun *treib* rhymes with the adjective *anaichned* (Canto 65, ll. 4749–4750), a variant of *anaithnid* ‘unknown’. The final consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word is palatal and thus the rhyme is valid. A scribal error can be assumed in this case. This pair will not be part of the section on mismatches and will not be discussed further.

There are seventeen rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <ib>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁵²⁷ which is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Two of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and both are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, both ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant, one of them balancing the rhyming vowel with <ai> (*lib:Ádaim*, Canto 3, ll. 673–674). This instance is the only orthographic dissimilarity regarding the final rhyming vowel.

The remaining fifteen *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and that echo the final rhyming vowel <i>.

In regard to the intervocalic rhyming consonants, there are ten examples of a single consonant rhyming with a single consonant. Eight of those represent pairs of *lenis* voiced continuants. One rhyming pair creates an identical rhyme with a *fortis* voiced continuant in intervocalic position and one *Rinn*-word containing a palatal voiceless continuant is answered by an *Ardrinn*-word also containing a palatal voiceless continuant.

The five remaining pairs all contain consonant clusters. One example is regular: a *fortis* voiced continuant plus *lenis* voiced continuant is answered by an equivalent cluster (*daingnib:archainglib*, Canto 1, ll. 333–334).

A mismatch can be found in the combination of a *fortis* voiced continuant plus *lenis* voiced continuant and three *lenis* voiced continuants (*daingnib:éradblib*, Canto 30, ll. 3395–3396). However, only two consonants of each group are counted for the rhyme⁵²⁸ and a *fortis* voiced continuant may be balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant, though usually only single consonants in final position after long vowels and diphthongs or in intervocalic position.⁵²⁹ It must be assumed that single elements of consonantal clusters adhere to the same rules as single consonants, but since they represent in their entirety a greater phonetic complexity they do not adhere to the rules as strictly. Clusters containing *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants are rhymed frequently in the *Saltair*.⁵³⁰

There are two rhyming pairs with a *fortis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant and this cluster is matched once with an equivalent cluster (*soillsib:mórchoimsib*, Canto 11, ll. 1745–1746) and once with a *lenis* voiced continuant plus sibilant (*soillsib:prímdoirsib*, Canto 2,

⁵²⁷ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

⁵²⁸ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁵²⁹ Cf. op. cit. p. 96: ‘Bardic usage provided for the equation of consonants from class (3) [*lenis* voiced continuants] and (4) [*fortis* voiced continuants] under certain conditions, namely (i) in final position after long vowels and diphthongs as *Niall:ciar*, and (ii) between vowels as *binne:file*.’

⁵³⁰ There are 48 pairs (1.17% of all rhyming pairs) that combine a *lenis* and a *fortis* voiced continuant. This number includes the combination of single consonants as well as of consonant clusters.

ll. 533–534). As discussed above, *fortis* voiced and *lenis* voiced continuants can give a valid rhyme under certain circumstances.⁵³¹

In one instance the palatal quality of the *Rinn*-cluster is not reflected orthographically in the *Ardrinn*: *daingnib* is paired with *éradblib* (Canto 30, ll. 3395–3396), but lack of the palatal marker does not affect the palatal quality of the intervocalic cluster in the *Ardrinn*.

There is one orthographic mismatch regarding the medial vowels. The monophthong <oe> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <oi> in the *Ardrinn* (*doenib:degmoínib*, Canto 11, ll. 1977–1978).

5.1.9 -íb

díb	Dauíd	íb-íd	6209-6210, 1553	ab	103
díb	dimbríg	íb-íg	5417-5418, 1355	ab	83
dīb	ardrīg	íb-íg	669-670, 168	ab	3
díb	immirím	íb-ím	4985-4986, 1247	ab	71

The group contains four rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ib>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. The *Ardrinn*-words also end in voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is echoed in each case. Three *Ardrinn*-words are disyllabic and one is trisyllabic.

5.1.10 -ób

Iób	soerslóg	ób-óg	6985-6986, 1747	ab	124
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There is one rhyming pair in this set in which the *Rinn*-word ends in <ob>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant, echoing the rhyming vowel. Eleanor Knott's collection of proper names in *Saltair na Rann* reveals that the name *Iób* is always rhymed with a word ending in <og>.⁵³² However, she mentions that this particular rhyme is noteworthy, possibly with reference to the fact that *Iób* should be disyllabic to fit the syllable count of the line. Greene inserts *in* into the line, taking *Iób* to be monosyllabic (*Do-rigned [in] sainar Iób*). However, there is no need for Greene's emendation, since the line translates well without it. This pair will be discussed in greater detail in the concluding chapter.⁵³³ It should be

⁵³¹ Cf. above, p. 79.

⁵³² Knott (1952) p. 113, 'IÓB: [69]85 (:slog; this end-rhyme is noteworthy)'.
⁵³³ See below, pp. 403–04.

noted that the name *Iób* only appears once in end-rhyme position, but it occurs several times within a line, where it is mostly used as a monosyllable but also as a disyllable.⁵³⁴

5.1.11 -óib

dōib	Nemrōid	óib-óid	2765-2766, 692	ab	24
dóib	medóin	óib-óin	4157-4158, 1040	ab	50
dóib	cētōir	óib-óir	3565-3566, 892	ab	33
dōib	fo-chétōir	óib-óir	4089-4090, 1023	ab	47
dóib	fo-chētóir	óib-óir	3265-3266, 817	ab	29
dōib	fo-chētóir	óib-óir	7701-7702, 1926	ab	149
dóib	senóir	óib-óir	4929-4930, 1233	ab	70

This group shows no noteworthy irregularities. The seven monosyllabic *Rinn*-words all end in <oib>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. They are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that echo the rhyming vowel and balance the final consonant of the *Rinn* correctly with a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.1.12 -ub

dub	Ādaum	ub-aum	1661-1662, 416	ab	11
dub	imforddul	ub-ul	7617-7618, 1905	ab	146
dub	Lucifur	ub-ur	7773-7774, 1944	ab	150

There are three rhyming pairs in this group. The three monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ub> where the orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. They are paired with one disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and two trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending also in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in the pair *dub:Adaum*. The vowels in the *Ardrinn* do not represent a diphthong and therefore this rhyme is metrically valid. *Ádam* is an *o*-stem and appears here in the dative singular case. The author could have used the form *Adum* which is attested once in the *Saltair*: In line 1100 *Ádum* appears as part of an *aicill*-rhyme with *gábud* and it becomes clear that the orthography is being manipulated for the sake of the eye-rhyme. The spelling as it occurs in the above *Rinn-Ardrinn*-pair would not have been accessible in the tenth century. It was the poet's choice to combine *dub* with the dative singular of the name *Ádam*, but it was the scribe's decision to spell the *Ardrinn* the way he did.

⁵³⁴ It appears nine times as a monosyllable within the line e.g. l. 6963: *d'acallaim Iób baí 'sin chath*, and five times as a disyllable also within the line, e.g. l. 977: *Ro ráid Iób ilar dáil*.

5.1.13 -uib

luib	degthoil	uib-oil	7277-7278, 1820	ab	137
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This set contains one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <uib>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <oil>. Thus, the vowels do not match orthographically, but the *lenis* voiced continuant of the *Rinn* is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and the palatal quality of the final consonant is reflected in both words.

5.1.14 -íab

slíab	glanmíad	íab-íad	3129-3130, 783	ab	27
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There is one monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ending in <iab> in this set. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* echoing the diphthong and also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.1.15 -oeb

Noeb	fírsaer	oeb-aer	7567-7568, 1892	cd	144
noeb	toeb	oeb-oeb	2467-2468, 617	cd	15
toeb	Noeb	oeb-oeb	4405-4406, 1102	ab	51
toeb	fírhoen	oeb-oen	5091-5092, 1273	cd	74

This final group contains four rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oeb>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Two *Rinn*-words are paired with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in <oeb>, but they deviate from the regular stress pattern.

The other two are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are identical with the exception of one example: *noeb* rhymes with *fírsaer* (Canto 144, ll. 7567–7568), but the rhyme is metrically valid.

5.2 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C c*

Of all *Rinn*-words in *Saltair na Rann*, thirteen (0.33%) end in orthographic single <c> and the final consonant can represent a voiced plosive or a voiceless plosive. All *Rinn*-words are

monosyllabic and eight (61.54%) of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The remaining five (38.46%) are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, all rhyming pairs adhere to the regular stress pattern.

5.2.1 -ac

mac	frituttacht	ac-acht	6893-6894, 1724	ab	123
mac	tochomracht	ac-acht	6921-6922, 1731	ab	123
mac	comnart	ac-art	1909-1910, 478	ab	11
mac	legart	ac-art	2833-2834, 709	ab	26
lac	tinólsat	ac-at	6791-6792, 1698	cd	118

This group contains five rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <ac>. The orthography represents a short /a/ in all cases and this is followed by a voiceless plosive in four and by a voiced plosive in one case. In four instances the single voiceless plosive is answered by a consonant cluster: twice by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a voiceless continuant followed by a voiceless plosive (*mac:frituttacht* and *mac:tochomracht*) and twice by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless plosive (*mac:comnart* and *mac:legart*). In all four cases the continuant in the *Ardrinn* is not present in the *Rinn*.

There is one instance where the final <c> in the *Rinn*-word represents a voiced stop and this is balanced by a single voiced stop in the trisyllabic *Ardrinn* (*lac:tinólsat*). The rhyming vowels are in all five cases orthographically identical.

5.2.2 -aic

glaic	comthailc	aic-ailc	5769-5770, 1443	ab	93
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This set contains one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aic>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal voiceless stop. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The stop is answered appropriately, but the *lenis* voiced continuant is not present in the *Rinn*.

5.2.3 -ec

ec	de[ë]c	ec-ec	4729-4730, 1183	ab	64
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There is one rhyming pair in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <ec>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a voiced stop. This is answered by a disyllabic

Ardrinn that also ends in a voiced stop and thus a perfect rhyme is created. It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 has *dec* in the *Ardrinn*-position,⁵³⁵ and both Stokes and Greene emended the word to *deec*. As the *Ardrinn*-word is preserved in the manuscript, the line is a syllable short and thus an additional syllable is required.⁵³⁶

5.2.4 -éc

bréc	mōrthrēt	éc-ét	7023-7024, 1756	cd	125
brēc	glangéc	éc-éc	7073-7074, 1769	ab	128

This group contains two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ec>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a voiced stop. The *Rinn*-words are appropriately answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words with orthographically identical rhyming vowels and voiced plosives in both cases.

5.2.5 -éic

bréic	Olauēit	éic-éit	5239-5240, 1310	cd	77
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One rhyming pair constitutes this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <eic>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal voiced stop. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a palatal voiced stop. The *Ardrinn* is a non-native name that appears only once in rhyming position.

5.2.6 -ic

glic	fichit	ic-it	5313-5314, 1329	ab	80
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The set is comprised of one rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-rhyme ends in <ic>. The orthography represents a short /i/ that is followed by a voiceless stop. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, echoing the rhyming vowel and ending in a voiced plosive. The

⁵³⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^r a.

⁵³⁶ The word *déc* never appears in the *Rinn*-position and is always disyllabic or should at least be counted as such when it appears in the *Ardrinn*-position. The word appears eleven times in the *Ardrinn*-position and only twice, including this example, is it spelled with a single <e> (l. 4730 and l. 2340). In both of these instances the *Ardrinn*-line is a syllable short if *dec* is read monosyllabic. In all other instances the *Ardrinn*-word is spelled either *deec* or *deac*, forming a disyllable in each case.

combination of voiceless and voiced stop was recognised by the poets as giving an imperfect rhyme.⁵³⁷

5.2.7 -oc

cloc	istudloc	oc-oc	4197-4198, 1050	ab	51
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One rhyming pair comprises this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <oc>, where the vowel is short and the final consonant represents a voiced plosive. This ending is echoed in the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*.

5.2.8 -óc

óc	Enóc	óc-óc	2435-2436, 609	cd	14
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The final set also consists of one rhyming pair and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <oc>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a voiced plosive. This is rhymed with the Hebrew name *Enóc* which appears three times in *Ardrinn*-position and is always rhymed with a *Rinn*-word ending in a voiced stop.⁵³⁸ It can be assumed that the final consonant also represents a voiced stop.

5.3 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C cc*

Of all *Rinn*-words eleven (0.28%) end in orthographical <cc> and the final consonants represent a voiceless stop in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and ten (90.91%) of these are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. The remaining *Rinn* (9.09%) is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

glicc	cot-ránic	icc-ic	3751-3752, 938	cd	36
bricc	sainglicc	icc-icc	829-830, 208	ab	3
glicc	Affricc	icc-icc	2651-2652, 663	cd	21
glicc	fichit	icc-it	2303-2304, 576	cd	12
glicc	fíchit	icc-it	2343-2344, 586	cd	12
glicc	fíchit	icc-it	4563-4564, 1141	cd	56
tricc	snigit	icc-it	523-524, 131	cd	2
tricc	certfichit	icc-it	745-746, 187	ab	3
tricc	fíchit	icc-it	5325-5326, 1332	ab	80
tricc	saigit	icc-it	6159-6160, 1540	cd	102

⁵³⁷ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵³⁸ *rót:Enóc* (Canto 12, ll. 2287–2288) and *rót:Enóc* (Canto 70, ll. 4943–4944).

tricc	fichit	icc-it	6813-6814, 1704	ab	120
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There is only one group within this sub-group containing all eleven rhyming pairs. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <icc> where the vowel is short. They are answered by ten disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and one trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Two of the *Ardrinn*-words also end in a voiceless stop and nine end in a voiced plosive. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases and as seen earlier the combination of voiced and voiceless stops was recognised by the poets to give imperfect rhyme.⁵³⁹

5.4 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C ch*

There are 106 (2.71%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ch>. The final consonants represent a voiceless continuant in all cases. Eighty (75.47%) *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic. Three (3.75%) of those are answered by monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, fifty (62.5%) by disyllabic *Ardrinn*, twenty-five (31.25%) by trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and two (2.50%) by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

Twenty-six (24.53%) *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Twenty-four (92.31%) of those are paired regularly with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, two (7.69%) are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. Overall, five (4.72%) pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.4.1 -ach

achtach	imthaltach	ach-ach	7093-7094, 1774	ab	130
athbach	p̄rīmchathrach	ach-ach	473-474, 119	ab	2
athbach	illnathrach	ach-ach	4683-4684, 1171	cd	62
athbach	p̄rīmc[h]athrach	ach-ach	7347-7348, 1837	cd	138
dālach	mórgrādach	ach-ach	5737-5738, 1435	ab	92
dúalach	bithbúadach	ach-ach	3-4, 1	cd	1
ellach	garbgrennach	ach-ach	5783-5784, 1446	cd	94
fechtach	crídserccach	ach-ach	6015-6016, 1504	cd	100
grach	engach	ach-ach	71-72, 18	cd	1
grach	īchtarach	ach-ach	2449-2450, 613	ab	15
grādach	lonndbágach	ach-ach	5725-5726, 1432	ab	91
i-mmach	cathrach	ach-ach	349-350, 88	ab	2
i-mmach	fíadach	ach-ach	2841-2842, 711	ab	26
i-mmach	inathrach	ach-ach	3907-3908, 977	cd	42
i-mmach	dīummassach	ach-ach	5333-5334, 1334	ab	81
i-mmach	teglach	ach-ach	6381-6382, 1596	ab	106

⁵³⁹ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

i-mmach	merúallach	ach-ach	6685-6686, 1672	ab	116
i-mmach	cathrach	ach-ach	6987-6988, 1747	cd	124
im-mach	immechtrach	ach-ach	405-406, 102	ab	2
im-mach	airfortach	ach-ach	413-414, 104	ab	2
im-mach	irfortach	ach-ach	431-432, 108	cd	2
im-mach	lomnochtach	ach-ach	3213-3214, 804	ab	28
im-mach	ildathach	ach-ach	4283-4284, 1071	cd	51
im-mach	cathrach	ach-ach	6149-6150, 1538	ab	102
im-mach	golach	ach-ach	6191-6192, 1548	cd	103
im-mach	dásachtach	ach-ach	6235-6236, 1559	cd	103
īrach	garbgnímach	ach-ach	5749-5750, 1438	ab	93
mach	cathrach	ach-ach	6979-6980, 1745	cd	124
medrach	mórmennach	ach-ach	6523-6524, 1631	cd	110
menmnach	comdelbach	ach-ach	5989-5990, 1498	ab	100
píantach	mōrhíachtach	ach-ach	915-916, 229	cd	5
suthach	écruthach	ach-ach	23-24, 6	cd	1
achtach	lámachtad	ach-ad	2881-2882, 721	ab	26
glórach	cōrad	ach-ad	5885-5886, 1472	ab	98
golach	mōrmolad	ach-ad	5921-5922, 1481	ab	99
i-mmach	bethad	ach-ad	1423-1424, 356	cd	9
cathrach	imathlam	ach-am	895-896, 224	cd	5
i-mmach	indligthech	ach-ech	1187-1188, 297	cd	8
i-mmach	cumrech	ach-ech	1279-1280, 320	cd	8
i-mmach	sirthech	ach-ech	6371-6372, 1593	cd	106
im-mach	glantoīsech	ach-ech	4969-4970, 1243	ab	70

This group contains 41 rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words all end in <ach>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁵⁴⁰ followed by a voiceless continuant. Of twenty-three monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, eleven are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, ten of which end in a voiceless continuant and one disyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in a voiced continuant (*i-mmach:bethad*, Canto 9, ll. 1423–1424). As discussed above,⁵⁴¹ this was seen as exceptional by Murphy, but occurs frequently in the *Saltair*.

The rhyming vowels are echoed in the *Ardrinn*, except in two cases, where <a> is balanced by <e> (*i-mmach:cumrech*, Canto 8, ll. 1279–1280; *i-mmach:sirthech*, Canto 106, ll. 6371–6372). The rhyme is metrically valid.

Twelve of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The voiceless continuant is always rhymed with <ch> in the *Ardrinn* and the rhyming vowels are

⁵⁴⁰ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

⁵⁴¹ See above p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

orthographically identical with the exception of two instances where <a> is again balanced by orthographic <e> (*i-mmach:indligthech*, Canto 8, ll. 1187–1188; *im-mach:glantóisech*, Canto 70, ll. 4969–4970).

Eighteen *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Seventeen of those are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The voiceless continuant <ch> is answered fourteen times by <ch> and three times by a voiced continuant. As noted above,⁵⁴² these are permissible exceptions according to Murphy, but occur frequently in *Saltair na Rann*. The final rhyming vowel <a> is echoed in all cases.

Looking at the intervocalic consonants, there are five pairs balancing a *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant. The medial vowels are orthographically identical within each pair.

One pair rhymes the voiceless dental continuant with itself and creates an identical rhyme (*suthach:écruthach*, Canto 1, ll. 23–24).

One pair balances a *fortis* voiced continuant with a *fortis* voiced continuant. The medial rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There are four examples of a voiceless continuant plus *lenis* voiced continuant being answered by an equivalent cluster in the *Ardrinn*. The medial and final vowels correspond orthographically.

There are three consonant clusters containing a voiceless continuant followed by a voiceless stop and these are answered twice by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop (*achtach:imthaltach*, Canto 130, ll. 7093–7094; *fechtach:cridserccach*, Canto 100, ll. 6015–6016) and once by the same cluster (*achtach:lámachtad*, Canto 26, ll. 2881–2882). The only mismatch here is the voiceless continuant being answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant, but, as already mentioned, this combination occurs frequently. The medial and final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical within each pair.

The same mismatch is reflected where a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive in the *Rinn* is balanced by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless plosive in the *Ardrinn* (*píantach:mórhíachtach*, Canto 5, ll. 915–916). The medial and final vowels correspond orthographically.

There are two cases of two *lenis* voiced continuants being balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants plus a *fortis* voiced continuant and vice versa (*medrach:mórmenmnach*, Canto 110, ll. 6523–6524; *menmnach:comdelbach*, Canto 100, ll. 5989–5990), but since only two

⁵⁴² See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

consonants are counted within rhyming clusters, this does not cause a problem. The rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

The one remaining pair contains a disyllabic *Rinn* that is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and therefore lies outside of the regular stress pattern. The final voiceless continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant (*glórach:córad*, Canto 98, ll. 5885–5886) and the final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The intervocalic consonant is a *lenis* voiced continuant that is balanced by the identical continuant and the medial vowels are also orthographically identical. This is probably another⁵⁴³ instance of the poet keeping certain elements as similar as possible – if not even identical – if he has to deviate from the usual practice in other elements. In this instance, the final rhyming consonants do not belong to the same phonetic class and both words contain the same amount of syllables. However, both medial and final rhyming vowels are identical as is the intervocalic voiced continuant.

5.4.2 -ách

cách	ollgrád	ách-ád	6333-6334, 1584	ab	105
cāch	coemrād	ách-ád	2749-2750, 688	ab	24
cách	dermár	ách-ár	6069-6070, 1518	ab	101
cách	bráth	ách-áth	3041-3042, 761	ab	26
cách	rognāth	ách-áth	7241-7242, 1811	ab	135
cāch	curtín-snāth	ách-áth	4889-4890, 1223	ab	69

This group contains six rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ach>. The vowel is long in all cases. One of the *Rinn*-words is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, also ending in a voiceless continuant. The stress pattern does not comply with the rules for *deibide*.

Four *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, three of them ending in *lenis* voiced continuants and one ending in the voiceless continuant <th>. As mentioned earlier, the pairing of voiced and voiceless continuants was described as exceptional by Murphy, but occurs frequently in the *Saltair*.⁵⁴⁴

The remaining *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a voiceless continuant.

5.4.3 -ech

immo-sech	bennach	ech-ach	7631-7632, 1908	cd	146
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⁵⁴³ Cf. above, p. 80.

⁵⁴⁴ Murphy (1961) p. 33 and see above, p. 79.

is-tech	teglach	ech-ach	6129-6130, 1533	ab	102
ma-sech	debthach	ech-ach	5687-5688, 1422	cd	90
tech	étach	ech-ach	1891-1892, 473	cd	11
drech	do-dechaid	ech-aid	5823-5824, 1456	cd	95
imma-sech	finnglan	ech-an	2961-2962, 741	ab	26
ainbt[h]ech	ēort[h]ech	ech-ech	4681-4682, 1171	ab	62
broigthech	bithtoirthech	ech-ech	983-984, 246	cd	6
crech	disceimnech	ech-ech	945-946, 237	ab	5
crech	toīssech	ech-ech	5259-5260, 1315	cd	78
crech	Siclech	ech-ech	6409-6410, 1603	ab	108
crech	Siclech	ech-ech	6419-6420, 1605	cd	108
dech	airmitnech	ech-ech	5391-5392, 1348	cd	82
dech	aithrech	ech-ech	7823-7824, 1956	cd	151
drech	cossaitech	ech-ech	939-940, 235	cd	5
drech	ruirech	ech-ech	3479-3480, 870	cd	31
drech	traigthech	ech-ech	6781-6782, 1696	ab	118
imma-sech	nemthech	ech-ech	2743-2744, 686	cd	24
imma-sech	amarsech	ech-ech	2899-2900, 725	cd	26
imma-sech	athergech	ech-ech	7479-7480, 1870	cd	141
imma-sech	ōchech	ech-ech	7687-7688, 1922	cd	148
is-tech	comrairgnech	ech-ech	3201-3202, 801	ab	28
is-tech	imrisnech	ech-ech	3205-3206, 802	ab	28
mainbthech	iltairthech	ech-ech	4701-4702, 1176	ab	63
mo-sech	aislingthech	ech-ech	3111-3112, 778	cd	27
mo-sech	formtech	ech-ech	4479-4480, 1120	cd	53
noīthech	imcloíthech	ech-ech	13-14, 4	ab	1
tech	cairech	ech-ech	5651-5652, 1413	cd	89
tech	cairech	ech-ech	6301-6302, 1576	ab	105
túaimnech	forúaibrech	ech-ech	7127-7128, 1782	cd	131
buidech	fuined	ech-ed	2633-2634, 659	ab	21
daigrech	comclaidbed	ech-ed	5887-5888, 1472	cd	98
tech	ēted	ech-ed	1475-1476, 369	cd	11
crech	oenleth	ech-eth	6729-6730, 1683	ab	117
tech	leth	ech-eth	1953-1954, 489	ab	11

There are 35 rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <ech>. The orthography represents a short /e/ in the monosyllabic cases.⁵⁴⁵ Twenty-eight of these are monosyllabic, seven are disyllabic. Nineteen of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are regularly paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and the great majority of those also end in a voiceless continuant. There are only three instances where <ch> in the *Rinn* is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant

⁵⁴⁵ The value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

(*drech:do-dechaid*, Canto 95, ll. 5823–5824; *tech:éted*, Canto 11, ll. 1475–1476; *imma-sech:finnglan*, Canto 26, ll. 2961–2962).⁵⁴⁶ However, the pair *drech:do-dechaid* also combines the non-palatal quality of the final consonant in the *Rinn* with the palatal quality of the final consonant in the *Ardrinn*. This generates an imperfect rhyme.

The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in the *Ardrinn*-words in all but six examples where <e> is balanced by <a> (*immo-sech:bennach*, Canto 146, ll. 7631–7632; *is-tech:teglach*, Canto 102, ll. 6129–6130; *ma-sech:debthach*, Canto 90, ll. 5687–5688; *tech:étach*, Canto 11, ll. 1891–1892; *imma-sech:finnglan*, Canto 26, ll. 2961–2962; *drech:do-dechaid*, Canto 95, ll. 5823–5824).⁵⁴⁷ This orthographic irregularity does not interfere with the metrical validity of the rhyme.

Eight monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which all end in the identical voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in all cases.

There is one instance of a monosyllabic *Rinn*-word being rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*. Although the stress pattern is not adhered to, the rhyme is regular as far as the rhyming vowel and the final consonant is concerned: the vowels match and the voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* is paired with a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*tech:leth*, Canto 11, ll. 1953–1954).

Six of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and one with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. In two cases the *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant (*daigrech:comclaidbed*, Canto 98, ll. 5887–5888; *buidech:fuined*, Canto 21, ll. 2633–2634), otherwise <ch> is always answered by <ch>. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

There are two examples of a single intervocalic consonant balanced by its equivalent: in one case a *lenis* voiced continuant is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant (*buidech:fuined*, Canto 21, ll. 2633–2634) and the other example contains a single voiceless continuant balanced by the same voiceless continuant (*noíthech:imcloíthech*, Canto 1, ll. 13–14). The medial and final vowels are orthographically identical in both cases.

There are three examples of clusters containing consonants of matching phonological classes rhyming with one another: in one example a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless

⁵⁴⁶ The orthographic variations in the rhyming vowels will be discussed below.

⁵⁴⁷ The pair *drech:do-dechaid* (Canto 95, ll. 5823–5824) lacks the orthographic marker in the *Rinn*-word. The *Rinn*-word is in the dative singular and should therefore end in a palatal consonant as a feminine *ā*-stem. The *Ardrinn* reflects a form of the verb *do-tét* in the third person singular in the preterite tense and is here spelled with the orthographical marker of the palatal quality of the final consonant. It must be assumed that the poet rhymed two palatal consonants with one another and that the lack of the orthographic marker in the *Rinn*-word is a scribal error. The pair will not appear in the section on mismatched rhymes and will not be discussed further.

continuant is echoed in the *Ardrinn* (*broigthech:bithoirthech*, Canto 6, ll. 983–984), in the other two cases two *lenis* voiced continuants are echoed in the *Ardrinn* (*túaimnech:forúibreach*, Canto 131, ll. 7127–7128, *daigrech:comclaidbed*, Canto 98, ll. 5887–5888). The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

Finally, there are two examples of two *lenis* voiced continuants plus a voiceless continuant being balanced by a *lenis* voiced plus voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*mainbthech:iltairthech*, Canto 63, ll. 4701–4702; *ainbthech:étorthech*, Canto 62, ll. 4681–4682). The vowels are orthographically identical in the former but not in the latter case, where <a> is balanced by <o> and the palatal marker is not present in the *Ardrinn*. The rhyme is nonetheless metrically valid.

5.4.4 -eich

neich	nathraig	eich-aig	1185-1186, 297	ab	8
dreich	lúire[i]ch	eich-e[i]ch	5879-5880, 1470	cd	97
creich	latheib	eich-eib	6851-6852, 1713	cd	121
dreich	oenleith	eich-eith	279-280, 70	cd	1
dreich	oenleith	eich-eith	6959-6960, 1740	cd	124
eich	oenleith	eich-eith	4789-4790, 1198	ab	66
dreich	faithchi-sin	eich-in	409-410, 103	ab	2

This group is comprised of seven rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eich>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal voiceless continuant. Six of the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and one with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Three *Ardrinn*-words end in a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant⁵⁴⁸ and two of those have a different rhyming vowel: <ei> is once rhymed with <ai> (*neich:nathraig*) and once it is paired with <i> (*dreich:faithchi-sin*).

The remaining four *Ardrinn*-words also end in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowels correspond orthographically in these cases.

5.4.5 -ich

boirchich	iltoirthib	ich-ib	1033-1034, 259	ab	6
fich	dligthib	ich-ib	7053-7054, 1764	ab	127

⁵⁴⁸ In the pair *dreich:lúirech* (Canto 97, ll. 5879–5880) the *Rinn*-word is in the dative singular case and thus has the grammatically correct spelling. The *Ardrinn* is in the accusative singular case and should also end in a palatal consonant as a feminine *ā*-stem. Greene has indeed inserted <i> in square brackets in his working notes. A scribal error must be presumed. The pair is not part of the section on mismatched rhymes and will not be discussed further.

There are two rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <ich>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁵⁴⁹ followed by a voiceless continuant. The monosyllabic *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. The stress pattern is thus regular.

The other *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and it is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Both *Ardrinn*-words end in the *lenis* voiced continuant and the final as well as the medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. The consonant cluster of the disyllabic *Rinn* is answered correctly in the *Ardrinn*: a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless continuant is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

5.4.6 -ích

crích	Dauíd	ích-íd	6247-6248, 1562	cd	103
crích	Dauíd	ích-íd	6593-6594, 1649	ab	113
crích	ardríg	ích-íg	1113-1114, 279	ab	8
crích	Ardríg	ích-íg	5727-5728, 1432	cd	91
crích	Iudīth	ích-íth	7469-7470, 1868	ab	141

This group contains five pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ich>. The vowel is long in all cases. The *Rinn*-words are all paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. Four of the *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and one in a voiceless continuant. As seen already, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuant is a frequent occurrence in the *Saltair*.

5.4.7 -oich

ro-soich	oensossaid	oich-aid	435-436, 109	cd	2
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One rhyming pair comprises this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <oich>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a palatal voiceless continuant. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <aid>. Thus, the voiceless continuant is answered by a voiced continuant, and although the palatal quality of the final consonant is reflected, the vowels are orthographically different. The mismatches do not breach the rhyming rules and should only be noted considering the author's overall consistency.

⁵⁴⁹ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

5.4.8 -aech

láech	fírgaeth	áech-aeth	6029-6030, 1508	ab	100
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This set is regular. It contains one pair with a monosyllabic *Rinn* ending in <aech>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a voiceless continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <aeth>. Both vowels and the consonant are thus appropriately balanced.

5.4.9 -íach

fíach	Lamíach	íach-íach	2485-2486, 622	ab	16
fíach	Amalíach	íach-íach	5665-5666, 1417	ab	89
fíach	Lamíach	íach-íach	2597-2598, 650	ab	19
fíach	Lamíach	íach-íach	2635-2636, 659	cd	21
líach	Abimelíach	íach-íach	5315-5316, 1329	cd	80
líach	Abimelíach	íach-íach	6195-6196, 1549	cd	103
ro-síach	Amalíach	íach-íach	5673-5674, 1419	ab	90
fíach	bíad	íach-íad	3389-3390, 848	ab	30

This group contains eight rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <iach>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a voiceless continuant. Three times the *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, twice by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, twice by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* and once by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*. In seven cases the *Ardrinn* ends in the exact same syllable. Only the monosyllabic *Ardrinn* *bíad*⁵⁵⁰ shows variation in the final consonant: it ends in a voiced continuant, but the vowels correspond.

5.5 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C cht*

There are 138 (3.53%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <cht> and the consonants represent a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. Of those, 136 (98.55%) are monosyllabic and two (1.45%) are disyllabic. Of all monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, one (0.74%) is paired with a

⁵⁵⁰ *bíad* was a disyllable in Old Irish, but it has to be counted as monosyllable here, both regarding the length of the *Ardrinn*-line and for the rhyme with *fíach*. The word for ‘food’ occurs five times in end-rhyme position: twice in the *Rinn*-position (*bíad*, Canto 30, l. 3401 and Canto 128, l. 7069) where it counts as a monosyllable and three times in the *Ardrinn*-position (*bíad*, Canto 30, l. 3390; *bíd*, Canto 30, l. 3406; *biüd*, Canto 27, l. 3108) where the first two instances count as monosyllables and only *biüd* (rhyming with *ruth*) is counted as disyllabic. It is noteworthy that the word, whether in *Rinn*- or *Ardrinn*-position, always matches its rhyming partner orthographically regarding the rhyming vowels.

monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, ninety-three (63.38%) are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and forty-two (30.88%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*.

One of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and the other with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*.

Overall, 1.45% of the pairs lie outside of the correct stress pattern.

5.5.1 -acht

smacht	rígmacc	acht-ac	3133-3134, 784	ab	27
tlacht	oenmacc	acht-acc	2495-2496, 624	cd	16
tlacht	tochomrach[t]	acht-ach[t]	1353-1354, 339	ab	9
cacht	tochomrac[ht]	acht-ac[ht]	4569-4570, 1143	ab	56
acht	doenacht	acht-acht	7659-7660, 1915	cd	147
cacht	brithemnacht	acht-acht	4591-4592, 1148	cd	57
cacht	noebthlacht	acht-acht	1307-1308, 327	cd	9
smacht	oegidacht	acht-acht	2803-2804, 701	cd	25
smacht	ārracht	acht-acht	2407-2408, 602	cd	13
smacht	ārracht	acht-acht	2425-2426, 607	ab	14
smacht	tochomracht	acht-acht	1089-1090, 273	ab	7
smacht	coemthlacht	acht-acht	1295-1296, 324	cd	9
smacht	aslacht	acht-acht	1403-1404, 351	cd	9
smacht	fortacht	acht-acht	3823-3824, 956	cd	39
smacht	dāsacht	acht-acht	3879-3880, 970	cd	41
smacht	fortacht	acht-acht	3887-3888, 972	cd	41
smacht	do-roächt	acht-acht	5511-5512, 1378	cd	84
smacht	do-roächt	acht-acht	6363-6364, 1591	cd	106
smacht	furseóracht	acht-acht	6683-6684, 1671	cd	116
smacht	deismeracht	acht-acht	7597-7598, 1900	ab	145
tlacht	follomnacht	acht-acht	695-696, 174	cd	3
trebt[h]lacht	fīrflathemnacht	acht-acht	6635-6636, 1659	cd	115
cacht	ro-siächt	acht-acht	4675-4676, 1169	cd	61
smacht	athchomharc	acht-arc	407-408, 102	cd	2
cacht	irscart	acht-art	7695-7696, 1924	cd	148
cacht	ēcomnart	acht-art	6551-6552, 1638	cd	112
cacht	sacart	acht-art	6169-6170, 1543	ab	103
cacht	edpart	acht-art	4527-4528, 1132	cd	55
cacht	for-fócart	acht-art	4155-4156, 1039	cd	49
cacht	sacart	acht-art	7745-7746, 1937	ab	150
smacht	anart	acht-art	4885-4886, 1222	ab	69
smacht	idpart	acht-art	4599-4600, 1150	cd	58
smacht	přimsacart	acht-art	4449-4450, 1113	ab	52
smacht	přimsacart	acht-art	5383-5384, 1346	cd	82

smacht	sacart	acht-art	6197-6198, 1550	ab	103
tlacht	tarmart	acht-art	4743-4744, 1186	cd	64
tlacht	comnart	acht-art	15-16, 4	cd	1
acht	sescat	acht-at	755-756, 189	cd	3
cacht	gabsat	acht-at	4695-4696, 1174	cd	62
cacht	dergnámat	acht-at	4035-4036, 1009	cd	45
cacht	nōchat	acht-at	2335-2336, 584	cd	12
cacht	cethrachat	acht-at	4823-4824, 1206	cd	67
smacht	format	acht-at	3127-3128, 782	cd	27
smacht	sechtmogat	acht-at	2775-2776, 694	cd	24
smacht	do-rōsat	acht-at	2393-2394, 599	ab	13
smacht	oenchubat	acht-at	2471-2472, 618	cd	15
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	1591-1592, 398	cd	11
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	751-752, 188	cd	3
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	513-514, 129	ab	2
smacht	tiprat	acht-at	3739-3740, 935	cd	36
smacht	argat	acht-at	3387-3388, 847	cd	30
smacht	argat	acht-at	3403-3404, 851	cd	30
smacht	tucsat	acht-at	5779-5780, 1445	cd	93
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	115-116, 29	cd	1
smacht	mallachsatsat	acht-at	7155-7156, 1789	cd	132
smacht	admat	acht-at	7265-7266, 1817	ab	136
smacht	sechtmogat	acht-at	7595-7596, 1899	cd	145
tlacht	tinōlsat	acht-at	5747-5748, 1437	cd	92
tlacht	trīchat	acht-at	6699-6700, 1675	cd	117
cacht	toíssigeacht	acht-echt	5019-5020, 1255	cd	72
cacht	comaiteacht	acht-echt	1727-1728, 432	cd	11
cacht	tarimtheacht	acht-echt	1525-1526, 382	ab	11
smacht	tarmtheacht	acht-echt	1529-1530, 383	ab	11
smacht	brēcaireacht	acht-echt	3483-3484, 871	cd	31
smacht	toísiacht	acht-echt	4459-4460, 1115	cd	53
tlacht	tarmtheacht	acht-echt	1469-1470, 368	ab	11
tlacht	tarimtheacht	acht-echt	1557-1558, 390	ab	11
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	3427-3428, 857	cd	30
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	3689-3690, 923	ab	34
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	7331-7332, 1833	cd	138
folacht	torocht	acht-ocht	7737-7738, 1935	ab	150

This group contains 71 rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <acht>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁵⁵¹ which is followed by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. Sixty-nine *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic. Forty of those are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Fourteen of these *Ardrinn*-words end in the same consonant cluster and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in two cases where the <a> is balanced by orthographical <e> (*smacht:tarmthecht*, Canto 11, ll. 1529–1530; *tlacht:tarmthecht*, Canto 11, ll. 1469–1470).

Ten monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive. As seen above, the rhyming of voiced and voiceless continuants was considered exceptional, but occurs frequently in the *Saltair*.⁵⁵² The rhyming vowel corresponds orthographically in all ten cases.

Two of the *Rinn*-clusters are answered by a single voiceless plosive in the *Ardrinn* (*smacht:rígmac*, Canto 27, ll. 3133–3134; *tlacht:oenmacc*, Canto 16, ll. 2495–2496). The voiceless plosive is thus suitably balanced, but the voiceless continuant remains unbalanced.⁵⁵³

Eleven of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a single voiced plosive. The combination of voiceless and voiced plosives was a recognised exception to give imperfect rhyme,⁵⁵⁴ but the voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-words remains unbalanced. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There are three pairs where the *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in orthographic <pt> (*smacht:Égept*, Canto 30, ll. 3427–3428 and Canto 34, ll. 3689–3690 and Canto 138, ll. 7331–7332). The rhyme suggests that <pt> represented a voiceless continuant plus voiceless plosive⁵⁵⁵ and thus the consonantal combination is regular. The rhyming vowel does not correspond orthographically in these cases, but the rhyme is valid.

⁵⁵¹ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

⁵⁵² See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁵³ Of 138 words ending in the cluster <cht>, 40 are paired with *Ardrinn*-words that end in a single consonant: eight are rhymed with an *Ardrinn* ending in the single voiceless stop <c>, twenty-seven with an *Ardrinn* ending in the single voiced stop <t> and five with an *Ardrinn*-word ending in the single voiced stop <c>.

⁵⁵⁴ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁵⁵ The Irish form of the name ‘Égypt’ is, with one exception (*lat:Égept*, Canto 33, ll. 3597–3598), always rhymed with a word that either ends in a voiceless continuant+voiceless stop or that ends in a voiced continuant+voiceless stop. See also DIL, *Égept*, Column 65, l. 36–Column 66, l. 2, where the forms *Égeft* (l. 37; l. 40; l. 42; l. 50; l. 51; l. 52; l. 62; l. 63) and *Égeph* (l. 42; l. 50; l. 61) are also quoted, marking the continuance of the penultimate consonant orthographically. However, Kenneth Jackson argues that the *pt* was kept in Old Irish; see Jackson (1953) pp. 394–6, § 50: ‘(N.B.–Latin loanwords in OI. regularly kept *pt*, as in *precept*, *scriptūr*, *Aegept*, and *aiccept*<*accepta*>. They were presumably therefore borrowed at a relatively high or learned level, where not only was there no substitution but even the VL. *tt* had not intruded. Very likely, indeed, the substitution of *χt* was not made at all in the better British-Latin but only in British and perhaps low British-Latin. So OI. *sechtmon*<*septimana* no doubt comes directly from Pr.W. **seχtμōn*.)’ He discusses the British language development of the cluster *pt*, rendering *χt* in e.g. Gaulish, giving *th* or, indeed *fft* in Welsh. (pp. 394–5). Thus, he discusses the name *Aegept* that gives *Aiff* in Welsh. Jackson says that ‘it seems likely that in this word we have a

There are 29 pairs where the *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Fourteen of those end in the same consonantal cluster and the rhyming vowel corresponds except in six cases where <a> is balanced by unstressed <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*cacht:toísigecht*, Canto 72, ll. 5019–5020; *cacht:comaitech*, Canto 11, ll. 1727–1728; *cacht:tarimthecht*, Canto 11, ll. 1525–1526; *smacht:brécairecht*, Canto 31, ll. 3483–3484; *smacht:toísigecht*, Canto 53, ll. 4459–4460; *tlacht:tarimthecht*, Canto 11, ll. 1557–1558).

Four *Ardrinn*-words end in a voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive, but as seen above this does not affect the validity of the rhyme.⁵⁵⁶ The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

There are eleven examples of trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a voiced plosive. The combination of voiced and voiceless stop was, as noted above,⁵⁵⁷ a recognised exception, but the voiceless continuant remains unbalanced. The rhyming vowel, however, matches orthographically.

Finally, there are two disyllabic *Rinn*-words, one answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*, one by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. The final consonant cluster is identical in both cases. The manuscript Rawlinson B 502 combines *folocht* with *torocht*⁵⁵⁸ in one case and the final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in the tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. However, Greene normalised the former pair to balance unstressed <a> with unstressed <o> (*folacht:torocht*, Canto 150, ll. 7737–7738). Either way the vocalic rhyme is metrically valid.

The intervocalic consonants are regular: the disyllabic *Ardrinn* answers the *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant and in the other rhyming pair a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants plus voiceless continuant is answered by two *lenis* voiced continuants (*trebthlacht:fírflathemnacht*, Canto 115, ll. 6635–6636). Given that only two consonants are counted for the rhyme, there is no irregularity here.⁵⁵⁹ It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 contains a space between *treb* and *tlacht* and thus a rhyme between a monosyllabic *Rinn* and a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* is created.⁵⁶⁰ The medial vowels are orthographically identical in both cases.

late loan, borrowed when Brit. no longer had any *χt* (i.e. after the sixth century), and *ft* was substituted as being now the nearest native sound'. (p. 395)

⁵⁵⁶ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁵⁷ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 39^r a.

⁵⁵⁹ For an overview of the pairing of uneven consonantal clusters see below pp. 352–5.

⁵⁶⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^r a and see below, p. 321 for a discussion of Greene's emendation.

5.5.2 -ácht

im-rächt	Isaac	ácht-ac	2913-2914, 729	ab	26
im-rächt	Issác	ácht-ác	2825-2826, 707	ab	26
im-rächt	Issác	ácht-ác	2847-2848, 712	cd	26
trächt	Barác	ácht-ác	5295-5296, 1324	cd	79
trächt	Issác	ácht-ác	2855-2856, 714	cd	26
im-rächt	brecbārc	ácht-árc	2641-2642, 661	ab	21
trächt	oenbārc	ácht-árc	2535-2536, 634	cd	17

This group contains seven rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <acht>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ in all cases. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words in all cases. Five times the *Ardrinn* ends in a voiceless stop. As seen earlier, the voiceless stop is balanced, but the voiceless continuant is skipped in the rhyme.

The last two examples rhyme <acht> with a *lenis* voiced continuant and a voiceless stop. As mentioned above, the pairing of voiced and voiceless continuants was regarded as exceptional by Murphy.⁵⁶¹ The rhyming vowel agrees in quality and quantity in both cases.

5.5.3 -echt

recht	deác	echt-ac	6821-6822, 1706	ab	120
slecht	déächt	echt-acht	7757-7758, 1940	ab	150
fecht	trīchat	echt-at	7735-7736, 1934	cd	150
recht	de[e]c	echt-[e]c	2339-2340, 585	cd	12
dlecht	deēc	echt-ec	211-212, 53	cd	1
lecht	deēc	echt-ec	4199-4200, 1050	cd	51
slecht	deēc	echt-ec	207-208, 52	cd	1
becht	ētsecht	echt-echt	4975-4976, 1244	cd	70
clecht	tarimthecht	echt-echt	93-94, 24	ab	1
dlecht	frithuidecht	echt-echt	1301-1302, 326	ab	9
fecht	airchissecht	echt-echt	1683-1684, 421	cd	11
fecht	cennaigecht	echt-echt	3505-3506, 877	ab	31
fecht	timthirecht	echt-echt	4195-4196, 1049	cd	51
fecht	cruthnecht	echt-echt	4703-4704, 1176	cd	63
fecht	coemt[h]echt	echt-echt	7605-7606, 1902	ab	146
fecht	tarimthecht	echt-echt	7789-7790, 1948	ab	151
necht	tarimthecht	echt-echt	573-574, 144	ab	2
recht	deōlaidecht	echt-echt	1443-1444, 361	cd	10
recht	tarmtecht	echt-echt	1575-1576, 394	cd	11

⁵⁶¹ Murphy (1961) p.33.

recht	tarimthecht	echt-echt	1615-1616, 404	cd	11
ro-thecht	prīmchinnecht	echt-echt	2919-2920, 730	cd	26
slecht	prīmgoibnecht	echt-echt	4189-4190, 1048	ab	51
techt	tarimthecht	echt-echt	7803-7804, 1951	cd	151
becht	Ēgept	echt-ept	2305-2306, 577	ab	12
becht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3157-3158, 790	ab	27
becht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3169-3170, 793	ab	28
becht	Ēgept	echt-ept	7541-7542, 1886	ab	144
clecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3923-3924, 981	cd	42
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3535-3536, 884	cd	33
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3647-3648, 912	cd	33
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3733-3734, 934	ab	36
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3801-3802, 951	ab	38
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3829-3830, 958	ab	39
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3871-3872, 968	cd	41
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3947-3948, 987	cd	44
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	6773-6774, 1694	ab	118
fecht	Ēgept	echt-ept	7321-7322, 1831	ab	138
recht	Ēgept	echt-ept	3683-3684, 921	cd	34
recht	Ēgept	echt-ept	4425-4426, 1107	ab	51
recht	Ēgept	echt-ept	4955-4956, 1239	cd	70
recht	fīrchert	echt-ert	557-558, 140	ab	2
recht	amnert	echt-ert	1749-1750, 438	ab	11
recht	fīrchert	echt-ert	7097-7098, 1775	ab	130
recht	fīchet	echt-et	789-790, 198	ab	3
slecht	lēicset	echt-et	4027-4028, 1007	cd	44
techt	scaīlset	echt-et	7767-7768, 1942	cd	150

There are 46 rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <echt>. The orthography represents a short /e/ in all cases. Thirty-four of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Nine of those *Rinn*-words are paired with an *Ardrinn* ending in a single voiced plosive. The combination of voiced and voiceless plosives was a recognised exception,⁵⁶² but the voiceless continuant is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*-words.

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical with the exception of two cases: twice <e> is balanced by <a> (*recht:deac*,⁵⁶³ Canto 120, ll. 6821–6822; *fecht:trīchat*, Canto 150, ll. 7735–7736), giving a metrically valid rhyme.

Five *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in the same consonant cluster and three are paired with *Ardrinn*-words that end in a voiced continuant plus

⁵⁶² See above, p. 80 and Murphy (1961) p.33.

⁵⁶³ See above p. 89, FN 536 on *dēec*.

voiceless plosive. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical with the exception of one case where *slecht* is paired with *déacht* (Canto 150, ll. 7757–7758). This does not interfere with the validity of the rhyme.

Seventeen *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in <pt>. As seen above, this consonantal cluster cannot be found in Irish and, indeed, in these examples all the words containing this cluster are a form of the name *Égept*, which, in the *Saltair*, is mostly rhymed with words ending in <rt> or <cht>.⁵⁶⁴ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Twelve *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in the same consonantal cluster. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in these cases.

5.5.4 -ocht

docht	árracht	ocht-acht	2679-2680, 670	cd	22
docht	fortacht	ocht-acht	3677-3678, 920	ab	34
locht	imnocht	ocht-ocht	1297-1298, 325	ab	9
locht	lomnocht	ocht-ocht	1303-1304, 326	cd	9
locht	bithnocht	ocht-ocht	4057-4058, 1015	ab	46
nocht	mōrolcc	ocht-olcc	1347-1348, 337	cd	9
docht	fírchorp	ocht-orp	1051-1052, 263	cd	6
locht	oenphort	ocht-ort	3905-3906, 977	ab	42
socht	longphort	ocht-ort	4083-4084, 1021	cd	46
locht	arggot	ocht-ot	4245-4246, 1062	ab	51

This group contains ten rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ocht>. The orthography represents a short /o/ in all cases. They are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words in all cases. Five times the final consonant cluster is echoed in the *Ardrinn* and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. Although the manuscript spells the *Rinn*-word in two instances with an <a>,⁵⁶⁵ Greene’s working notes have <o> in the *Rinn* balanced by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*docht:árracht*, Canto 22, ll. 2679–2680; *docht:fortacht*, Canto 34, ll. 3677–3678). The form in the *DIL* is cited with <o>⁵⁶⁶ but the variation *dacht* is given. The Modern Irish spelling has not changed and *docht* can still be found in the dictionaries.⁵⁶⁷ Thus, Greene normalised the *Rinn*-word, but that does not affect the validity of the rhyme. The manuscript indicates that the

⁵⁶⁴ For the cluster *pt* and its development in Old Irish see above p. 102–03, FN 555.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 25^v b and f. 28^f b.

⁵⁶⁶ *DIL*, *docht*, Column 227, l. 12.

⁵⁶⁷ *docht* is probably the older form; the word appears three times in rhyming position in the *Saltair na Rann* and it is very interesting to see that the vowel is always adapted to match the rhyming vowel orthographically in the *Ardrinn*-word.

scribe may have had access to both *dacht* and *docht* and chose whichever variant he liked best for a particular (visual) rhyme.

There are four examples that rhyme the *Rinn*-word with an *Ardrinn*-word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The vowels are orthographically identical and it is noteworthy in this instance that Rawlinson has *docht* spelled with <o> instead of <a>, as noted before.⁵⁶⁸ This clearly shows that the scribe was well aware of the different forms and consciously used the variant *dacht* above to make the rhyme visually perfect. The combination of voiceless and voiced continuants in the consonant cluster does not affect the validity of the rhyme. As noted before, this is a frequently occurring combination in the *Saltair*.

There is one example of the *Rinn* being paired with an *Ardrinn* ending in a single orthographic <ṽ> (*locht:arggot*, Canto 51, ll. 4245–4246).⁵⁶⁹ The final consonant represents a voiced stop and the voiceless continuant is again skipped in the rhyme. As seen earlier, the combination of a voiceless plus voiced plosive was a recognised exception to give imperfect rhyme.⁵⁷⁰

5.5.5 -ucht

cucht	prīmsacurt	ucht-urt	4517-4518, 1130	ab	55
tucht	lomnucht	ucht-ucht	1315-1316, 329	cd	9
tucht	iducht	ucht-ucht	2027-2028, 507	cd	12
sliucht	Iucht	iucht-iucht	2369-2370, 593	ab	12

This group contains four rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ucht>. The orthography represents a short /u/ in all cases. In one instance the *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive (*cucht:prīmsacurt*, Canto 55, ll. 4517–4518). The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Twice the *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in the same consonant cluster and thus the rhyme is regular. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

Once the *Rinn* is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*. The rhyme is perfect as far as vocalic and consonantal combinations are regarded, but the stress pattern is not adhered to.

⁵⁶⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 21^v a.

⁵⁶⁹ In Old Irish the dative singular form, as it appears here, of the *Ardrinn*-word would have been *argut*. From the viewpoint of the late tenth century the spelling as we have it here, is a purely visual dative to serve the eye-rhyme. Thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Graham Isaac for pointing this out to me.

⁵⁷⁰ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

5.6 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C d*

There are 186 (4.75%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <d>. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all but one case. Of all 186 *Rinn*-words, 149 (80.11%) are monosyllabic and 37 (19.89%) are disyllabic. Of all monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, ten (6.71%) are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, 115 (77.18%) with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, eighteen (12.08%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and six (4.03%) are paired with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. One (2.7%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and thirty-six (97.3%) are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Overall, eleven (5.91%) rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.6.1 -ad

blad	Aminadab	ad-ab	5465-5466, 1367	ab	83
calcad	airfortach	ad-ach	395-396, 99	cd	2
cummad	certmullach	ad-ach	5767-5768, 1442	cd	93
lasad	forbhassach	ad-ach	7785-7786, 1947	ab	150
alad	calad	ad-ad	61-62, 16	ab	1
blad	mandrad	ad-ad	1143-1144, 286	cd	8
blad	tascēlad	ad-ad	4651-4652, 1163	cd	61
blad	gorad	ad-ad	7665-7666, 1917	ab	147
dídnad	airdíbdad	ad-ad	4371-4372, 1093	cd	51
dīdnad	sīrdībdad	ad-ad	481-482, 121	ab	2
do-bērad	da-fīngēbad	ad-ad	5819-5820, 1455	cd	95
fīrad	athrīgad	ad-ad	6899-6900, 1725	cd	123
gnāssad	sīrsāssad	ad-ad	4407-4408, 1102	cd	51
soasad	fīrfossad	ad-ad	4383-4384, 1096	cd	51
trebad	trēnferaib	ad-aib	4633-4634, 1159	ab	59
fomnad	bithfognam	ad-am	5281-5282, 1321	ab	79
bethad	forlethan	ad-an	575-576, 144	cd	2
rad	Iosofath	ad-ath	2001-2002, 501	ab	11
cad	ordaiged	ad-ed	1111-1112, 278	cd	8

This group contains nineteen rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words end in <ad>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁵⁷¹ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Six of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and two of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

⁵⁷¹ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

Three of the monosyllables are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, two of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and one ends in a voiceless continuant (*rad:Iosofath*, Canto 11, ll. 2001–2002). The latter rhyming combination has been shown to occur regularly in *Saltair na Rann*. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in one case, where the ⟨a⟩ of the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨e⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*cad:ordaiged*, Canto 8, ll. 1111–1112). This does not invalidate the rhyme.

Finally, one monosyllabic *Rinn*-word is answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

Of the thirteen disyllabic *Rinn*-words, one is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The intervocalic consonants are both voiced continuants and the medial vowels are also orthographically identical, creating an identical rhyme. However, the pair deviates from the regular stress pattern.

The remaining twelve disyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, eight of which end in *lenis* voiced continuants and four in voiceless continuants. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. However, in one case a final non-palatal *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant: *trebad* is paired with *trénferab* (Canto 59, ll. 4633–4634)⁵⁷² in Rawlinson B 502, where Greene has edited the dative plural of *fer* ‘man’ with the palatal marker to *feraib*. The rhyme is faulty, because the palatal quality of the final consonants does not match, but it is very interesting to see that the scribe left out the palatal marker in the *Ardrinn*-word to create an eye-rhyme.

The intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters are regular. There are three instances of *lenis* voiced continuants rhyming together, three instances of a single voiceless sibilant balanced by a voiceless sibilant, one rhyming pair with a single voiceless continuant and one rhyming pair with a *fortis* voiced continuant. The medial vowels are all orthographically identical and thus create a perfect rhyme.

There are three *Rinn*-words that contain a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants and these are rhymed with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. The medial vowels are orthographically identical.

Finally, there is one *Rinn*-word containing a cluster of a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop that is answered by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn* (*calcad:airfortach*, Canto 2, ll.

⁵⁷² Cf. Rawlinson B 502, folio 30^v b.

395–396). However, the medial vowel ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is answered by ⟨o⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. This does not invalidate the rhyme.

5.6.2 -aid

blaid	srathaib	aid-aib	7259-7260, 1815	cd	136
cobsaid	coemchossaib	aid-aib	1593-1594, 399	ab	11
doeraid	dubroenaib	aid-aib	5557-5558, 1390	ab	86
rúanaid	mōrslúagaib	aid-aib	5117-5118, 1280	ab	74
túaraid	mōrslúagaib	aid-aib	5071-5072, 1268	cd	73
blaid	cinaid	aid-aid	3575-3576, 894	cd	33
blaid	cinaid	aid-aid	3607-3608, 902	cd	33
toebtaid	fíroentaí	aid-aid	6575-6576, 1644	cd	113
blaid	īdail	aid-ail	7059-7060, 1765	cd	127
dībaid	tromdīgail	aid-ail	5279-5280, 1320	cd	79
fobaid	imchobair	aid-air	4555-4556, 1139	cd	56
blaid	prīmsacairt	aid-airt	4957-4958, 1240	ab	70

This group contains twelve rhyming pairs. The *Rinn*-words end in ⟨aid⟩ and the orthography represents a short /a/.⁵⁷³ Five of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic, the remaining seven disyllabic. Four of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. These also end in voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

One *Rinn*-monosyllable is only part of this group due to Greene’s edition: it is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and this ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop while the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical (*blaid:prīmsacairt*, Canto 70, ll. 4957–4958). However, Rawlinson B 502 has *blait* with a voiced dental stop⁵⁷⁴ and it is also interesting that, although Greene translates *blaid* with ‘strength’, listed as *blat* in the DIL,⁵⁷⁵ he still edits it with final ⟨d⟩. It is also noteworthy that all the other monosyllabic *Rinn*-words in this group are a form of the word *blad* ‘fame’ which ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Indeed, Greene’s working notes must contain a typing error and the final consonant in this instance represents a voiced stop.

The disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in palatal *lenis* voiced continuants and the final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in each case.

⁵⁷³ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 31^v b.

⁵⁷⁵ DIL, *blat*, Column 115, ll. 81 ff.

In five cases an intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. The medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

There is one instance of a consonant cluster in the *Rinn* comprised of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and this cluster is echoed in the *Ardrinn* (*toebtaid:fíroentaíd*, Canto 113, ll. 6575–6576). The medial rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

There is one instance of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant balanced by a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn* (*cobsaid:coemchossaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1593–1594). The continuant accompanying the sibilant is not reflected in the *Ardrinn*, but the rhyming vowel is echoed.⁵⁷⁶

5.6.3 -ád

grād	Aminadāb	ád-áb	6667-6668, 1667	cd	116
rád	Elezeliáb	ád-áb	6757-6758, 1690	ab	117
crād	soergrād	ád-ád	3357-3358, 840	ab	29
rád	Galād	ád-ád	5553-5554, 1389	ab	86
rād	ilgrād	ád-ád	821-822, 206	ab	3
grād	doermām	ád-ám	1775-1776, 444	cd	11
grād	Abrám	ád-ám	3301-3302, 826	ab	29
rád	Abrám	ád-ám	5233-5234, 1309	ab	77
crād	Ionathán	ád-án	6045-6046, 1512	ab	100
Gád	comlán	ád-án	6845-6846, 1712	ab	121
grád	comlán	ád-án	6281-6282, 1571	ab	105
grād	Ionathān	ád-án	5945-5946, 1487	ab	100
crād	dermār	ád-ár	2629-2630, 658	ab	20
grád	coemchlār	ád-ár	4529-4530, 1133	ab	55
grād	coemnār	ád-ár	657-658, 165	ab	3
grād	noebnār	ád-ár	781-782, 196	ab	3
grād	tiugnār	ád-ár	809-810, 203	ab	3
grād	dermár	ád-ár	4225-4226, 1057	ab	51
grād	coemnár	ád-ár	5021-5022, 1256	ab	72
rād	mindnár	ád-ár	1209-1210, 303	ab	8
rād	oenchlār	ád-ár	4243-4244, 1061	cd	51
rād	dergár	ád-ár	5099-5100, 1275	cd	74

There are 22 rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ad>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Eighteen *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn* words, seventeen of which end in a

⁵⁷⁶ See *díumsaig:do-rodíúsaig*, Canto 123, ll. 6935–6936; *cota-coímsed:prímthóisech*, Canto 82, ll. 5387–5388; *glassa:fábullsa*, Canto 100, ll. 6039–6040 for a similar rhyme.

voiced continuant. One ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant, but the combination of *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants gives a valid rhyme in word-final position after a long vowel.⁵⁷⁷

Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words both ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and two are answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.6.4 -áid

Cāid	lācāib	áid-áib	4933-4934, 1234	ab	70
cāid	oengrāid	áid-áid	639-640, 160	cd	2
cáid	comdáil	áid-áil	5937-5938, 1485	ab	100
grāid	comthocbāil	áid-áil	857-858, 215	ab	4
grāid	Issachāir	áid-áir	5135-5136, 1284	cd	75
gráid	prīm fáith	áid-áith	7131-7132, 1783	cd	131

This group contains six rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aid>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Three *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and two of these end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The third ends in a voiceless continuant (*gráid:prīm fáith*, Canto 131, ll. 7131–7132).⁵⁷⁸

Three of the *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. They all end in voiced continuants.

5.6.5 -ed

cota-coīmsed	prīmthoisech	ed-ech	5387-5388, 1347	cd	82
dliged	prīmined	ed-ed	6411-6412, 1603	cd	108
nemed	dergthened	ed-ed	7135-7136, 1784	cd	131
soimled	mōrChoimded	ed-ed	4693-4694, 1174	ab	62

There are four rhyming pairs in this group. All *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and end in <ed>, the orthography representing a schwa followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. They are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, three of which end in the same *lenis* voiced continuant and one ends in a voiceless continuant. As has been seen above,⁵⁷⁹ the combination of voiceless and voiced

⁵⁷⁷ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁵⁷⁸ For the combination of voiced and voiceless continuants see above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁷⁹ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

continuants was regarded to be an exceptional combination by Murphy. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

In two instances an intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. The medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

In one instance the *Rinn* contains a consonant cluster comprised of a *fortis* voiced continuant plus *lenis* voiced continuant and this is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*. The medial rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

Finally, the cluster <ms> rhymes with a single voiceless sibilant (*cota-coímsed:prímthóisech*, Canto 82, ll. 5387–5388). The DIL takes *cota-coímsed* to be a form of *con-midethar*⁵⁸⁰ which makes the <m> a *fortis* voiced continuant. Greene⁵⁸¹ rightly suggests in his edition that the verb form rather goes back to *con-icc* on account of the digraph, in which case the <m> represents a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.6.6 -éid

snēid	glanrēid	éid-éid	3231-3232, 808	cd	29
snēid	Obēid	éid-éid	6425-6426, 1607	ab	108
snéid	glanchéill	éid-éill	6121-6122, 1531	ab	102
snéid	Beniaméin	éid-éin	3589-3590, 898	ab	33
snēid	scēith	éid-éith	3049-3050, 763	ab	26
snéid	Duïd	éid-íd	6865-6866, 1717	ab	122
snéid	Dauïd	éid-íd	6897-6898, 1725	ab	123

This group contains seven rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eid>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. In one case the *Rinn* is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* and therefore the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern. The monosyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in <th>, a voiceless dental fricative. This combination occurs frequently and should be seen as the rule rather than Murphy's exception.⁵⁸²

Five times the *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, four of which end in the same *lenis* voiced continuant, one in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The latter is still regular, since a *fortis* voiced continuant could balance a *lenis* voiced continuant if it is in final position after a long

⁵⁸⁰ DIL, *con-midethar*, Column 450, l. 26. For the combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus sibilant with a single sibilant see also above p. 111 and below, p. 380–1.

⁵⁸¹ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 5387.

⁵⁸² See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

vowel or a diphthong.⁵⁸³ The final vowel is identical except in two cases where <e> is answered by <i> (*snéid:Duïd*, Canto 122, ll. 6865–6866 and *snéid:Dauïd*, Canto 123, ll. 6897–6898). The vocalic rhyme is not regular, since the rhyming vowels in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words are long and as such must correspond.

There is one instance where the *Rinn* is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a palatal <n>.

5.6.7 -id

builid	glasluibib	íd-ib	1893-1894, 474	ab	11
clid	rīchid	íd-id	1731-1732, 433	cd	11
dligid	prīmfilid	íd-id	3417-3418, 855	ab	30
do-rímid	trénmílid	íd-id	6803-6804, 1701	cd	119

There are four rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <id>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁵⁸⁴ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Three *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and one is monosyllabic. The monosyllable is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in the orthographically identical vowel-consonant-combination.

The disyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and these all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. The intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. All preceding rhyming vowels are also orthographically identical.

5.6.8 -íd

gníd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6471-6472, 1618	cd	108
íd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6603-6604, 1651	cd	113
síd	Duïd	íd-íd	5679-5680, 1420	cd	90
síd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6399-6400, 1600	cd	107
síd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6615-6616, 1654	cd	114
síd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6651-6652, 1663	cd	115
síd	Dauïd	íd-íd	6741-6742, 1686	ab	117
síd	Duïd	íd-íd	6969-6970, 1743	ab	124
sīd	Dauīd	íd-íd	5957-5958, 1490	ab	100
sīd	Dauīd	íd-íd	6067-6068, 1517	cd	101
sīd	Dauīd	íd-íd	6095-6096, 1524	cd	101

⁵⁸³ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁵⁸⁴ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

sīd	Dauīd	íd-íd	6311-6312, 1578	cd	105
sīd	Dauīd	íd-íd	6611-6612, 1653	cd	113
sīd	Duīd	íd-íd	6713-6714, 1679	ab	117
sīd	Duīd	íd-íd	6951-6952, 1738	cd	124
síd	ardríg	íd-íg	3275-3276, 819	cd	29
síd	ardríg	íd-íg	6113-6114, 1529	ab	102

This group consists of seventeen rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <id>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. The *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is identical in all cases.

5.6.9 -od

crod	loscod	od-od	6435-6436, 1609	cd	108
mod	airfitiud	od-ud	1119-1120, 280	cd	8
mod	cumscugud	od-ud	2057-2058, 515	ab	12

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <od>. The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. One *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and two with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in the case of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*, but the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words balance <o> with an orthographic <u> (*mod:airfitiud*, Canto 8, ll. 1119–1120; *mod:cumscugud*, Canto 12, ll. 2057–2058).

5.6.10 -ud

mud	coibliud	ud-iud	6065-6066, 1517	ab	101
mud	uachtaruch	ud-uch	2451-2452, 613	cd	15
bádud	imgábud	ud-ud	3629-3630, 908	ab	33
bolud	iltorud	ud-ud	319-320, 80	cd	1
bolud	lāntorud	ud-ud	4485-4486, 1122	ab	54
bolud	lāntorud	ud-ud	4491-4492, 1123	cd	54
cétlud	aīnētḡud	ud-ud	5979-5980, 1495	cd	100
fossud	rīgsossud	ud-ud	567-568, 142	cd	2
gábud	imrádud	ud-ud	5831-5832, 1458	cd	96
gābud	imthrāḡud	ud-ud	2547-2549, 637	cd	18
mud	cumscugud	ud-ud	1667-1668, 417	cd	11
mud	athsāḡud	ud-ud	1545-1546, 387	ab	11

treórud	inbeógud	ud-ud	1043-1044, 261	cd	6
clissiud	forbrissiud	ud-ud	5347-5348, 1337	cd	81

This group contains fourteen rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <ud>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁵⁸⁵ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Four *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and one of these is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and three are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with one exception, which balances the *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with a voiceless continuant (*mud:uachtaruch*, Canto 15, ll. 2451–2452). As noted earlier, this is a frequently occurring combination. The vowels are orthographically identical in all four cases.

The remaining ten rhyming pairs are regular. The disyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in <ud> and there are no mismatches concerning the intervocalic consonants or vowels: Eight times the *Rinn* contains an intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant that is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

There is one instance where a voiceless sibilant is balanced by a voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn* (*fossud:rígossud*, Canto 2, ll. 567–568).

Finally, one *Rinn*-word contains a consonantal cluster containing a voiced stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant and this is balanced in the *Ardrinn* by an equivalent cluster (*cétlud:aínétgud*, Canto 100, ll. 5979–5980). The rhyming vowels are in all cases orthographically identical.

5.6.11 uid

luid	mebaid	uid-aid	5927-5928, 1482	cd	99
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There is one rhyming pair contained in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <uid>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-word is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in <aid>, thus providing the identical rhyming consonant. The orthographic dissimilarity in the rhyming vowels does not influence the validity of the rhyme.

5.6.12 -eoid

deōid	Mícheōil	eóid-eóil	1817-1818, 455	ab	11
deōid	eōin	eóid-eóin	2589-2590, 648	ab	19

⁵⁸⁵ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

deōid	feóir	eóid-eóir	1913-1914, 479	ab	11
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This group consists of three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eoid>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are paired with one disyllabic and two monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, deviating from the regular stress pattern. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.6.13 -íad

bíad	Iosíab ⁵⁸⁶	íad-íab	3401-3402, 851	ab	30
díad	slíab	íad-íab	3017-3018, 755	ab	26
críad	Abimelíach	íad-íach	6173-6174, 1544	ab	103
críad	Lamiach	íad-íach	2247-2248, 562	cd	12
míad	Lamíach	íad-íach	2489-2490, 623	ab	16
níad	Amalíach	íad-íach	4085-4086, 1022	ab	46
ríad	Amalíach	íad-íach	4077-4078, 1020	ab	46
diad	glanríad	íad-íad	595-596, 149	cd	2
bíad	anríad	íad-íad	7069-7070, 1768	ab	128
míad	goríad	íad-íad	2733-2734, 684	ab	23
ríad	díad	íad-íad	5717-5718, 1430	ab	91
míad	Abíal	íad-íal	1985-1986, 497	ab	11
míad	Ābíal	íad-íal	7423-7424, 1856	cd	138
míad	Rachíal	íad-íal	7467-7468, 1867	cd	141
míad	Iosíaph	íad-íaph	3691-3692, 923	cd	34
míad	Iafíath	íad-íath	2263-2264, 566	cd	12
míad	Elizafíath	íad-íath	7491-7492, 1873	cd	142
míad	Elizafíath	íad-íath	7493-7494, 1874	ab	142

This group consists of eighteen rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <iad>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Twice the *Rinn*-word is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* with the identical diphthong and consonant, thus generating a perfect rhyme but deviating from the regular stress pattern.

⁵⁸⁶ The form *Iosíab* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant appears twice: *biad:Iosíab* (Canto 30, ll. 3401–3402) and *triath:Iosíab* (Canto 144, ll. 7551–7552). It should be pointed out that the *Ardrinn* in the latter pair, *triath:Iosíab*, represents Joseph, husband of Mary, while all other *Ardrinn*-words represent Joseph the patriarch (see Knott (1952) p. 114). The form *Iosíaph/Ioséiph* appears eight times in rhyming position: *feig:Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3083–3084); *céin:Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3161–3162); *réir:Ioséiph* (Canto 34, ll. 3665–3666); *triáll:Iosíaph* (Canto 27, ll. 3147–3148); *cían:Iosíaph* (Canto 29, ll. 3263–3264); *triáll:Iosíaph* (Canto 33, ll. 3551–3552); *míad:Iosíaph* (Canto 34, ll. 3691–3692); *íath:Iosíaph* (Canto 140, ll. 7445–7446).

There are eleven instances of the *Rinn*-word being answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. Seven of those also end in *lenis* voiced continuants, the remaining four end in voiceless continuants. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical.

Twice the *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and both times they end in a voiceless continuant.⁵⁸⁷ The diphthong corresponds orthographically.

Finally, there are three tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in voiceless continuants. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.6.14 -úad

drúad	slegrúad	úad-úad	6777-6778, 1695	ab	118
rúad	úad	úad-úad	2177-2178, 545	ab	12
rúad	daigermúad	úad-úad	5545-5546, 1387	ab	85
úad	imlúad	úad-úad	3053-3054, 764	ab	26
úad	ollmúad	úad-úad	6573-6574, 1644	ab	113
túad	rorúad	úad-úad	4917-4918, 1230	ab	69
múad	mōrslúag	úad-úag	5027-5028, 1257	cd	72
rúad	mōrslúag	úad-úag	1377-1378, 345	ab	9
rúad	mōrslúag	úad-úag	4021-4022, 1006	ab	44
úad	fīrthúag	úad-úag	1961-1962, 491	ab	11
úad	mōrslúag	úad-úag	3877-3878, 970	ab	41
úad	tromslúag	úad-úag	5317-5318, 1330	ab	80
rúad	Samúal	úad-úal	6541-6542, 1636	ab	111
lúad	lethúar	úad-úar	225-226, 57	ab	1
rúad	prīmhúar	úad-úar	2191-2192, 548	cd	12
úad	lúath	úad-úath	3461-3462, 866	ab	31
ūad	fonnlūath	úad-úath	2549-2550, 638	ab	18

This group consists of seventeen rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uad>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all instances. Two of the *Rinn*-words are answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, one ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant, the other in the voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

Fourteen *Ardrinn*-words are disyllabic, thirteen of which end in *lenis* voiced continuants and one ends in a voiceless continuant.⁵⁸⁸ The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in each case.

⁵⁸⁷ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁵⁸⁸ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

Finally, there is one trisyllabic *Ardrinn* creating a regular rhyme with the *Rinn* (*rúad:daigermúad*, Canto 85, ll. 5545–5546).

5.6.15 -úaid

crúaid	mōrslúag	úaid-úag	4685-4686, 1172	ab	62
buaid	forúaid	uaid-úaid	2477-2478, 620	ab	15
túaid	glanbuaid	úaid-uaid	2687-2688, 672	cd	22
a-túaid	mórbúaid	úaid-úaid	157-158, 40	ab	1
búaid	sairthúaid	úaid-úaid	1011-1012, 253	cd	6
búaid	nemrúaid	úaid-úaid	2693-2694, 674	ab	23
búaid	fo-thúaid	úaid-úaid	2709-2710, 678	ab	23
búaid	mōrthúaid	úaid-úaid	2789-2790, 698	ab	25
búaid	sair-túaid	úaid-úaid	3957-3958, 990	ab	44
búaid	fíirthúaid	úaid-úaid	4439-4440, 1110	cd	52
búaid	sair-thúaid	úaid-úaid	5175-5176, 1294	cd	76
crúaid	bithbúaid	úaid-úaid	1093-1094, 274	ab	7
crúaid	glanbúaid	úaid-úaid	5261-5262, 1316	ab	78
túaid	rorúaid	úaid-úaid	3233-3234, 809	ab	29
an-túaid	noebúraig	úaid-úraig	4261-4262, 1066	ab	51
búaid	bēlrúraig	úaid-úraig	3889-3890, 973	ab	41
búaid	slúraig	úaid-úraig	3997-3998, 1000	ab	44
búaid	noebúraig	úaid-úraig	4213-4214, 1054	ab	51
búaid	mōrslúraig	úaid-úraig	4581-4582, 1146	ab	57
búaid	noebúraig	úaid-úraig	5877-5878, 1470	ab	97
crúaid	mórslúraig	úaid-úraig	5343-5344, 1336	cd	81
crúaid	marcslúraig	úaid-úraig	6783-6784, 1696	cd	118
a-túaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	3013-3014, 754	ab	26
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	2821-2822, 706	ab	26
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	2873-2874, 719	ab	26
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	2889-2890, 723	ab	26
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	2929-2930, 733	ab	26
búaid	Bethúail	úaid-úail	2941-2942, 736	ab	26
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	3033-3034, 759	ab	26
búaid	Samúail	úaid-úail	5375-5376, 1344	cd	82
búaid	Samúail	úaid-úail	5385-5386, 1347	ab	82
búaid	Samúail	úaid-úail	5513-5514, 1379	ab	85
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	7315-7316, 1829	cd	138
búaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	7465-7466, 1867	ab	141
túaid	Bathúail	úaid-úail	3009-3010, 753	ab	26
búaid	mōrglúair	úaid-úair	4073-4074, 1019	ab	46
búaid	oenúair	úaid-úair	7385-7386, 1847	ab	138

búaid	úair	úaid-úair	7601-7602, 1901	ab	146
búaid	sairthúaith	úaid-úaithe	4005-4006, 1002	ab	44

The final group consists of 39 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uaid>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Three times the *Rinn* is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* and thus these pairs deviate from the regular stress pattern. However, all monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical.

Thirty-six *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. These end in *lenis* voiced continuants with the exception of one *Ardrinn*-word, which ends in a voiceless continuant (*búaid:sairthúaith*, Canto 44, ll. 4005–4006). The rhyming diphthongs are orthographically identical, but in one *Ardrinn*-word the palatal quality of the *Rinn*-word is not balanced: *crúaid* rhymes with *mórslúag* (Canto 62, ll. 4685–4686) and this produces a faulty rhyme. Both the *Rinn*-word, an *i*-stem adjective, as well as the *Ardrinn*, an *o*-stem noun, are in the genitive plural and are spelled correctly according to their grammatical paradigm. The poet would have had to use the genitive singular for the *Ardrinn* in order to balance the *Rinn* correctly.

5.7 Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C db

faidb	glégairb	aidb-airb	6461-6462, 1616	ab	108
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There is one (0.02%) *Rinn*-word that ends in orthographic <db>. The final consonants represent a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aidb>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant cluster. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in two *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn*, creating a regular rhyme.

5.8 Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C g

There are 322 (8.23%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <g>. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. 305 (94.72%) of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and seventeen (5.28%) are disyllabic. Of all monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, fifteen (4.92%) are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, 219 (71.8%) with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, sixty-seven (21.97%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and four (1.31%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. One (5.88%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and sixteen (94.12%) are answered by

a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Overall, sixteen (4.97%) rhyming pairs lie outside of the correct stress pattern.

5.8.1 -ag

mag	gal	ag-al	5033-5034, 1259	ab	72
mag	as-rachtatar	ag-ar	7761-7762, 1941	ab	150

This group consists of two rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <ag>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. One *Ardrinn* is monosyllabic, disrupting the regular stress pattern. However, it also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and thus creates a correct phonetic and orthographic rhyme.

The second *Ardrinn* is trisyllabic and also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.8.2 -aig

aig	slúagaib	aig-aib	5909-5910, 1478	ab	99
córaig	dermóraib	aig-aib	5127-5128, 1282	cd	75
dúalaig	iltúathaib	aig-aib	2695-2696, 674	cd	23
i-mmaig	lubaib	aig-aib	2845-2846, 712	ab	26
maig	feochraib	aig-aib	65-66, 17	ab	1
maig	bolordaib	aig-aib	971-972, 243	cd	6
maig	cintaib	aig-aib	1527-1528, 382	cd	11
maig	Rōmānchaib	aig-aib	2367-2368, 592	cd	12
maig	fortúathaib	aig-aib	3229-3230, 808	ab	29
maig	ingenaib	aig-aib	3737-3738, 935	ab	36
maig	caīrchaib	aig-aib	3743-3744, 936	cd	36
maig	túathaib	aig-aib	3931-3932, 983	cd	43
maig	comramaib	aig-aib	4835-4836, 1209	cd	67
maig	clamaib	aig-aib	7649-7650, 1913	ab	147
ros cōraig	dermōraib	aig-aib	221-222, 56	ab	1
ro-saig	cétaib	aig-aib	471-472, 118	cd	2
taig	glanchocraib	aig-aib	3241-3242, 811	ab	29
taig	echtrannaib	aig-aib	7087-7088, 1772	cd	129
traig	cētaib	aig-aib	6587-6588, 1647	cd	113
derscaig	imthesbaid	aig-aid	4423-4424, 1106	cd	51
im-maig	angbaid	aig-aid	6137-6138, 1535	ab	102
maig	esbaid	aig-aid	627-628, 157	cd	2
maig	erbaid	aig-aid	3429-3430, 858	ab	30
maig	tārraid	aig-aid	4183-4184, 1046	cd	50

maig	angbaid	aig-aid	5483-5484, 1371	cd	84
maig	macraid	aig-aid	7543-7544, 1886	cd	144
ros-fossaig	rīgsossaid	aig-aid	549-550, 138	ab	2
taig	menmanraid	aig-aid	6305-6306, 1577	ab	105
togaig	iltoraid	aig-aid	967-968, 242	cd	6
aig	rīgthaig	aig-aig	6141-6142, 1536	ab	102
a-mmaig	cathraig	aig-aig	7227-7228, 1807	cd	135
am-maig	pṛīmchathraig	aig-aig	453-454, 114	ab	2
athbaig	pṛīmchathraig	aig-aig	5055-5056, 1264	cd	73
athfaig	pṛīmchathraig	aig-aig	421-422, 106	ab	2
baethraig	sīrsaethraig	aig-aig	1445-1446, 362	ab	10
broenaig	pṛīmoenaig	aig-aig	3221-3222, 806	ab	28
búadaig	srethslúagaig	aig-aig	5917-5918, 1480	ab	99
dḡumsaig	do-rodíusaig	aig-aig	6935-6936, 1734	cd	123
engaig	sechtdelbaig	aig-aig	7111-7112, 1778	cd	131
fraig	rīgthaig	aig-aig	6053-5054, 1514	ab	101
fraig	ēcnaig	aig-aig	4733-4734, 1184	ab	64
i mmaig	nathraig	aig-aig	1135-1136, 284	cd	8
i mmaig	nathraig	aig-aig	1137-1138, 285	ab	8
i-mmaig	intliuchtaig	aig-aig	1237-1238, 310	ab	8
im-maig	cathraig	aig-aig	425-426, 107	ab	2
im-maig	morchathraig	aig-aig	443-444, 111	cd	2
is-taig	teglraig	aig-aig	6077-6078, 1520	ab	101
lúamnaig	forhúamnaig	aig-aig	4395-4396, 1099	cd	51
maig	ēcruthaig	aig-aig	147-148, 37	cd	1
maig	cechlaig	aig-aig	2233-2234, 559	ab	12
maig	illdathaig	aig-aig	2627-2628, 657	cd	20
maig	comchotaig	aig-aig	3039-3040, 760	cd	26
maig	clesamnaig	aig-aig	3419-3420, 855	cd	30
maig	cathraig	aig-aig	3553-3554, 889	ab	33
maig	cathraig	aig-aig	3559-3560, 890	cd	33
maig	nathraig	aig-aig	4165-4166, 1042	ab	50
ro-saig	brethaig	aig-aig	2531-2532, 633	cd	17
saig	dērfadaig	aig-aig	2079-2080, 520	cd	12
taig	Cannanaig	aig-aig	3199-3200, 800	cd	28
taig	cathraig	aig-aig	3477-3478, 870	ab	31
taig	somenmaig	aig-aig	3517-3518, 880	ab	31
taig	āрмаig	aig-aig	3769-3770, 943	ab	37
taig	ētaig	aig-aig	4063-4064, 1016	cd	46
taig	imeclaig	aig-aig	4829-4830, 1208	ab	67
taig	cumachtaig	aig-aig	5409-5410, 1353	ab	83
taig	oentadaig	aig-aig	6539-6540, 1635	cd	111

taig	cotaig	aig-aig	6749-6750, 1688	ab	117
taig	miscadaig	aig-aig	2391-2392, 598	cd	13
togaig	oenfolaig	aig-aig	4295-4296, 1074	cd	51
traig	adaig	aig-aig	4375-4376, 1094	cd	51
traig	baethbriat[h]raig	aig-aig	4785-4786, 1197	ab	66
traig	prīmchathraig	aig-aig	6679-6680, 1670	cd	116
maig	sainemail	aig-ail	3527-3528, 882	cd	32
maig	Galail	aig-ail	5205-5206, 1302	ab	77
i mmaig	Ādaim	aig-aim	1181-1182, 296	ab	8
i-mmaig	acallaim	aig-aim	6967-6968, 1742	cd	124
snāmaig	Ādaim	aig-aim	2513-2514, 629	ab	17
at-raig	bennachtain	aig-ain	2911-2912, 728	cd	26
fraig	talmain	aig-ain	2579-2580, 645	cd	19
maig	imsergain	aig-ain	3717-3718, 930	ab	36
maig	leóämain	aig-ain	6101-6102, 1526	ab	101
maig	brāthair	aig-air	3141-3142, 786	ab	27
taig	tarrasair	aig-air	2631-2632, 658	cd	20
taig	athair	aig-air	6239-6240, 1560	cd	103
im-maig	lainnerda[ig]	aig-aig	2933-2934, 734	ab	26
graig	cennaigeib	aig-eib	3139-3140, 785	cd	27
i-mmaig	sáergein	aig-ein	5981-5982, 1496	ab	100
maig	airmitein	aig-ein	7003-7004, 1751	cd	125
maig	Archainglib	aig-ib	537-538, 135	ab	2
maig	ordaigid	aig-id	4927-4928, 1232	cd	69
traig	aidid	aig-id	6443-6444, 1611	cd	108
maig	tōisig	aig-ig	2251-2252, 563	cd	12
maig	dérc[h]oíntig	aig-ig	3451-3452, 863	cd	31
maig	ailig	aig-ig	4067-4068, 1017	cd	46
maig	ailig	aig-ig	6153-6154, 1539	ab	102
at-raig	archaingil	aig-il	739-740, 185	cd	3

There are 96 rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <aig>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁵⁸⁹ that is followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Eighty of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and forty-three of those are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All of these *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and with the exception of five cases the final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. Once, <a> in the *Rinn* is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*i-mmaig:sáergein*, Canto 100, ll. 5981–5982). The palatal quality of the final

⁵⁸⁹ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

consonant is preserved in the *Ardrinn* and since the ⟨e⟩ is unstressed it may rhyme with any other short vowel.

In four instances, ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is answered by a single ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*traig:aidid*, Canto 108, ll. 6443–6444; *maig:tóisig*, Canto 12, ll. 2251–2252; *maig:ailig*, Canto 46, ll. 4067–4068 and Canto 102, ll. 6153–6154). This does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

Thirty-seven of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. They all end in *lenis* voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in six cases. There are two examples where the ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is answered by ⟨e⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*graig:ceannaigeib*, Canto 27, ll. 3139–3140; *maig:airmitein*, Canto 125, ll. 7003–7004).

Four times ⟨a⟩ is rhymed with a single ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*maig:archainglib*, Canto 2, ll. 537–538; *maig:ordaigid*, Canto 69, ll. 4927–4928; *maig:dércoíntig*, Canto 31, ll. 3451–3452; *at-raig:archaingil*, Canto 3, ll. 739–740).

There are sixteen disyllabic *Rinn*-words and fifteen of these are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in each case. One disyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and thus the pair upsets the regular stress pattern. However, the rhyme is perfect since the intervocalic consonant in the *Rinn*, a *lenis* voiced continuant, is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn* and the preceding vowel corresponds orthographically (*snámaig:Ádaim*, Canto 17, ll. 2513–2514).

Concerning the fifteen pairs that adhere to the regular stress pattern, there are six instances of a single intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-words that is answered by a single *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. The medial vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

There is one instance of a *lenis* voiced continuant answered by a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*dúalaig:iltúathaib*, Canto 23, ll. 2695–2696), but as noted above this was regarded as a permissible exception by Murphy and occurs frequently in the *Saltair*.⁵⁹⁰ The medial diphthong corresponds orthographically.

Another *Rinn* contains two voiceless sibilants that are balanced by two voiceless sibilants in the *Ardrinn* (*ros-fossaig:rígossaid*, Canto 2, ll. 549–550). The preceding vowel is orthographically identical in both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn*.

⁵⁹⁰ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

There is one instance of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant being balanced by a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn* (*díumsaig:do-rodíusaig*, Canto 123, ll. 6935–6936). This leaves the *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* imbalanced. This rhyming pair is of interest, however, because of the rhyming vowels which are phonetically not identical. The *Rinn*-word is a form of the adjective *díummusach*,⁵⁹¹ *díomasach* in Modern Irish. The *Ardrinn*-word represents a form of the verb *do-fíuschi*, *dúisigh* in Modern Irish.⁵⁹² The lengthmark is only found on the ⟨u⟩ of the *Ardrinn*-word in Rawlinson B 502⁵⁹³ and the word appears one more time in the *Saltair*: it appears as *rondúsaig* in line 6690 in a non-rhyming position. Although the citation form in *DIL* has *do-fíuschi*, it also gives the variation *do-fusci*, *dúsc*.⁵⁹⁴ Thus, the Modern Irish form developed as *dúisigh* and it becomes clear that the rhyming vowels are indeed not identical. This is another example of an eye-rhyme, in which the phonetic irregularity disappears in the regular orthography.

There are three examples of a voiceless plus *lenis* voiced continuant being balanced by an identical cluster in the *Ardrinn*. The medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

Two *Rinn*-words contain two *lenis* voiced continuants that are answered by two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. The preceding vowels are orthographically identical and thus the rhyme is regular.

Finally, there is one *Rinn* containing a cluster of three: a *lenis* voiced continuant plus a voiceless spirant plus a voiceless plosive. This cluster is balanced by the voiceless sibilant followed by a voiced stop (*derscaig:imthesbaid*, Canto 51, ll. 4423–4424). Since only two consonants count for the rhyme, the rhyme is valid.⁵⁹⁵

5.8.3 -ág

āg	Galād	ág-ád	5589-5590, 1398	ab	87
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This set contains one rhyming pair and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in ⟨ag⟩. The orthography represents a long /a:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. *DIL*, *díummusach*, Column 154, l. 77; for the rhyming combination of this cluster with a single sibilant see above, p. 111 and below, p. 380–1.

⁵⁹² Cf. *DIL*, *do-fíuschi*, Column 266, l. 21.

⁵⁹³ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^v b.

⁵⁹⁴ *DIL*, *do-fíuschi*, Column 226, l. 21.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

5.8.4 -áig

trāig	combáig	áig-áig	3465-3466, 867	ab	31
bāig	dīgbāil	áig-áil	3123-3124, 781	cd	27
tráig	oendáil	áig-áil	5619-5620, 1405	cd	88
trāig	comthocbāil	áig-áil	853-854, 214	ab	4
bāig	oenchlāir	áig-áir	4247-4248, 1062	cd	51
tráig	noebnáir	áig-áir	3925-3926, 982	ab	42

There are six rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨aig⟩. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Five *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in *lenis* voiced continuants.

The remaining *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.8.5 -eg

sleg	tonngel	eg-el	6269-6270, 1568	ab	105
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There is one rhyming pair in this set. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨eg⟩. The orthography represents a short /e/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is rhymed regularly with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in ⟨el⟩, thus echoing the vowel and answering the voiced continuant appropriately.

5.8.6 -eig

sleig	rígthig	eig-ig	6073-6074, 1519	ab	101
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This set is also comprised of a single rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨eig⟩. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a voiced continuant, but the vowels do not match orthographically. However, the palatal quality of the final consonant is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

5.8.7 -éig

féig	no-thēig	éig-éig	3093-3094, 774	ab	27
fēig	Iosēiph	éig-éiph	3083-3084, 771	cd	27

séig	sléib	éig-éib	2869-2870, 718	ab	26
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There are three rhyming pairs in the following group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eig>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in *lenis* voiced continuants.

The remaining *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a voiceless continuant. As seen above, the rhyming of voiced with unvoiced continuants is a frequent occurrence in the *Saltair*.

5.8.8 -ig

tig	ro-attlaig	ig-aig	3531-3532, 883	cd	32
dig	fiaccail	ig-ail	5359-5360, 1340	cd	81
tig	adhúathmair	ig-air	1459-1460, 365	cd	10
rig	nimib	ig-ib	191-192, 48	cd	1
slig	mīlib	ig-ib	2319-2320, 580	cd	12
toimdig	bithdorichib	ig-ib	1747-1748, 437	cd	11
rig	caīndligid	ig-id	7219-7220, 1805	cd	135
tig	forúabrig	ig-ig	3873-3874, 969	ab	41
ētig	forēcin	ig-in	3211-3212, 803	cd	28
tig	Alaxandir	ig-ir	6775-6776, 1694	cd	118

This group contains ten rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words end in <ig>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁵⁹⁶ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Eight of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic. Four times they are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The palatal quality of the final consonant is echoed in all *Ardrinn*-words. However, two balance the single <i> in the *Rinn* with <ai> in the *Ardrinn* (*tig:ro-attlaig*, Canto 32, ll. 3531–3532; *dig:fiaccail*, Canto 81, ll. 5359–5360). This does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

Three times the monosyllabic *Rinn* is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case, where <i> is balanced by <ai> in the *Ardrinn* (*tig:adhúathmair*, Canto 10, ll. 1459–1460).

⁵⁹⁶ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

One time, the monosyllabic *Rinn* is paired with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a voiced continuant (*tig:Alaxandir*, Canto 118, ll. 6775–6776). The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There are two disyllabic *Rinn*-words and they are both answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and have orthographically identical final rhyming vowels. In one case the medial vowels are orthographically identical and the intervocalic voiced stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*.

The other pair is *toimdig:bithdorchib* (Canto 11, ll. 1747–1748). It is noteworthy that in this case the consonant cluster in the *Ardrinn*-word is palatal, although the majority of cases of the word *dorchae* is non-palatal.⁵⁹⁷

The form *toimdig* is only quoted twice in the *DIL*,⁵⁹⁸ in one case being a form of *toimdin* the meaning of which is unclear and in another case being a form of the adjective *tomthach*. Greene and Kelly also suggest *tomthach* as the basic form, but do not translate the *Rinn*.⁵⁹⁹ Furthermore, two *lenis* voiced continuants are answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless continuant in this rhyming pair. As seen above, what Murphy regarded as an exceptional combination, occurs frequently in the *Saltair*.⁶⁰⁰

5.8.9 -íg

bríg	Dauíd	íg-íd	6633-6634, 1659	ab	115
bríg	Dauïd	íg-íd	6733-6734, 1684	ab	117
ríg	bíd	íg-íd	3405-3406, 852	ab	30
ríg	Dauīd	íg-íd	6079-6080, 1520	cd	101
ríg	Dauīd	íg-íd	6103-6104, 1526	cd	101
ríg	Dauïd	íg-íd	6221-6222, 1556	ab	103
rīg	Dauïd	íg-íd	7013-7014, 1754	ab	125
bríg	airrīg	íg-íg	3563-3564, 891	cd	33
bríg	airríg	íg-íg	3609-3610, 903	ab	33
bríg	oenríg	íg-íg	5527-5528, 1382	cd	85
bríg	ardríg	íg-íg	5925-5926, 1482	ab	99
bríg	ardríg	íg-íg	6085-6086, 1522	ab	101
bríg	ardríg	íg-íg	7039-7040, 1760	cd	126
brīg	ardrīg	íg-íg	701-702, 176	ab	3
ríg	bríg	íg-íg	2593-2594, 649	ab	19
ríg	dimbríg	íg-íg	6785-6786, 1697	ab	118

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. *DIL*, *dorchae*, Column 354, l. 84, where the by-form *doirche* is acknowledged.

⁵⁹⁸ *DIL*, *toimdin*, Column 222, l. 18 and *tomthach*, Column 244, l. 86.

⁵⁹⁹ Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 75, FN 3.

⁶⁰⁰ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

rīg	dimbrīg	íg-íg	1537-1538, 385	ab	11
rīg	dimbrīg	íg-íg	1825-1826, 457	ab	11
rīg	dimbrīg	íg-íg	3261-3262, 816	ab	29
ríg	dīrīm	íg-ím	5101-5102, 1276	ab	74
bríg	labín	íg-ín	5293-5294, 1324	ab	79
ríg	anfír	íg-ír	3849-3850, 963	ab	40
rīg	oenmír	íg-ír	3859-3860, 965	cd	40

This group contains 23 rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ig>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all instances. Twenty-one of these are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and thus the pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern. However, the monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also end in *lenis* voiced continuants.

5.8.10 -og

og	ilchor	og-or	165-166, 42	ab	1
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This set is comprised of a single rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <og> where the orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. It is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and echoing the rhyming vowel.

5.8.11 -óg

lōg	lācōb	óg-ób	2953-2954, 739	ab	26
óg	lācōb	óg-ób	2883-2884, 721	cd	26
ōg	lācób	óg-ób	2843-2844, 711	cd	26
ōg	lācōb	óg-ób	2853-2854, 714	ab	26
ōg	lācób	óg-ób	2859-2860, 715	cd	26
ōg	lācōb	óg-ób	2893-2894, 724	ab	26
ōg	Moöb	óg-ób	6241-6242, 1561	ab	103
slóg	lācób	óg-ób	2875-2876, 719	cd	26
slóg	lācób	óg-ób	2915-2916, 729	cd	26
slóg	Moób	óg-ób	5689-5690, 1423	ab	91
slōg	lācōb	óg-ób	3045-3046, 762	ab	26
slōg	lācōb	óg-ób	3595-3596, 899	cd	33
slōg	Moöb	óg-ób	5007-5008, 1252	cd	72
slōg	Maöb	óg-ób	6237-6238, 1560	ab	103

slōg	Moöb	óg-ób	6245-6246, 1562	ab	103
tróg	Íacōb	óg-ób	3515-3516, 879	cd	31
trōg	Íacōb	óg-ób	3621-3622, 906	ab	33
ōg	Íacōb	óg-ób	7661-7662, 1916	ab	147
óg	mōrslōg	óg-óg	5379-5380, 1345	cd	82
óg	mórslóg	óg-óg	6721-6722, 1681	ab	117
óg	erthróg	óg-óg	6965-6966, 1742	ab	124
slóg	daglóg	óg-óg	5835-5836, 1459	cd	96
ōg	Saöl	óg-ól	6507-6508, 1627	cd	109
slóg	Saól	óg-ól	6071-6072, 1518	cd	101
slóg	Saöl	óg-ól	6183-6184, 1546	cd	103
slóg	Saól	óg-ól	6337-6338, 1585	ab	106
slōg	Saöl	óg-ól	6431-6432, 1608	cd	108
slōg	Saöl	óg-ól	6515-6516, 1629	cd	109
óg	Abigilón	óg-ón	5323-5324, 1331	cd	80
óg	Ammón	óg-ón	5591-5592, 1398	cd	87
óg	Abisolōn	óg-ón	6605-6606, 1652	ab	113
ōg	Ammón	óg-ón	5567-5568, 1392	cd	86
slóg	Ārón	óg-ón	4457-4458, 1115	ab	53
slóg	Ammón	óg-ón	4763-4764, 1191	cd	65
slóg	Gabón	óg-ón	5105-5106, 1277	ab	74
slóg	Ammón	óg-ón	5207-5208, 1302	cd	77
slóg	Bethrón	óg-ón	5235-5236, 1309	cd	77
slóg	Ammón	óg-ón	5579-5580, 1395	cd	86
slóg	Achilōn	óg-ón	5631-5632, 1408	cd	88
slóg	Ammón	óg-ón	6717-6718, 1680	ab	117
slóg	Ammōn	óg-ón	6731-6732, 1683	cd	117
slōg	Gabón	óg-ón	5237-5238, 1310	ab	77
slōg	Ammōn	óg-ón	5601-5602, 1401	ab	87
tróg	Abisolón	óg-ón	6923-6924, 1731	cd	123
ōg	dergór	óg-ór	465-466, 117	ab	2
ōg	dergōr	óg-ór	3249-3250, 813	ab	29
slóg	romór	óg-ór	485-486, 122	ab	2
slóg	dergór	óg-ór	2179-2180, 545	cd	12
slóg	dimór	óg-ór	2443-2444, 611	cd	15
slóg	dergór	óg-ór	4905-4906, 1227	ab	69
slóg	dermór	óg-ór	5751-5752, 1438	cd	93
slóg	dergór	óg-ór	7005-7006, 1752	ab	125
slōg	dimór	óg-ór	2333-2334, 584	ab	12
slōg	ermōr	óg-ór	2365-2366, 592	ab	12
slōg	dergór	óg-ór	4299-4300, 1075	cd	51
slōg	clanmór	óg-ór	6801-6802, 1701	ab	119

slōg	finnmōr	óg-ór	7565-7566, 1892	ab	144
slōg	Sabaōth	óg-óth	581-582, 146	ab	2
slōg	Sabaōth	óg-óth	587-588, 147	cd	2
slōg	Sabaóth	óg-óth	711-712, 178	cd	3

There are 60 rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <og>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Forty-two times the *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Fifteen *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, the majority of which also end in *lenis* voiced continuants. Three, however, end in a voiceless continuant, but as has been discussed, this was a frequently applied consonantal rhyming combination in the *Saltair*.⁶⁰¹ All *Ardrinn*-words contain the identical rhyming vowel.

Finally, there are three tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.8.12 -óig

slóig	lācōib	óig-óib	5637-5638, 1410	ab	88
tróig	lācōib	óig-óib	3217-3218, 805	ab	28
trōig	lācóib	óig-óib	3641-3642, 911	ab	33
óig	mōrslóig	óig-óig	4951-4952, 1238	cd	70
tróig	mōrslóig	óig-óig	7225-7226, 1807	ab	135
slóig	Saöil	óig-óil	6743-6744, 1686	cd	117
slóig	Saöil	óig-óil	6745-6746, 1687	ab	117
slóig	canōin	óig-óin	4523-4524, 1131	cd	55
óig	Nachóir	óig-óir	4935-4936, 1234	cd	70
slóig	dergōir	óig-óir	459-460, 115	cd	2
slóig	onóir	óig-óir	3353-3354, 839	ab	29
slóig	dergōir	óig-óir	3837-3838, 960	ab	39
slóig	dergóir	óig-óir	4275-4276, 1069	cd	51
slóig	Pessóir	óig-óir	6445-6446, 1612	ab	108
slōig	ardmóir	óig-óir	3379-3380, 845	cd	30
óig	cétóir	óir-óir	6675-6676, 1669	cd	116

The group contains sixteen rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oig>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all examples. Three times the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in

⁶⁰¹ See also Murphy (1961) p. 33.

orthographic ⟨b⟩. It should be noted that the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word *Iacóib* is, in other instances, counted as a disyllable.⁶⁰² This is another example where one of the rhyming words can have two different syllabic values: a similar instance is to be found in the pair *Iób:soerslóg* (Canto 124, ll. 6985–6986).⁶⁰³

The other thirteen *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in *lenis* voiced continuants.

5.8.13 -uig

bruig	nemdaib	uig-aib	7535-7536, 1884	cd	144
im-muig	slōgaib	uig-aib	4297-4298, 1075	ab	51
im-muig	primchathraig	uig-aig	399-400, 100	cd	2
i-mmuig	caírib	uig-ib	3789-3790, 948	ab	38
bruig	Romuir	uig-uir	2309-2310, 578	ab	12

There are five rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨uig⟩. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Four *Rinn*-words are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, ⟨u⟩ is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in two cases (*bruig:nemdaib*, Canto 144, ll. 7535–7536; *im-muig:slōgaib*, Canto 51, ll. 4297–4298) and once by a single ⟨i⟩ (*i-mmuig:caírib*, Canto 38, ll. 3789–3790). The palatal quality of the final consonant is preserved and the rhymes are valid.

One *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels in the *Rinn* are answered by ⟨a⟩ (*im-muig:primchathraig*, Canto 2, ll. 399–400), creating a regular rhyme.

5.8.14 -úag

sluag	imluad	uag-uad	305-306, 77	ab	1
sluag	adruad	uag-uad	2297-2298, 575	ab	12
uag	imluad	uag-uad	267-268, 67	cd	1
uag	findluad	uag-uad	629-630, 158	ab	2
uag	findmuad	uag-uad	635-636, 159	cd	2
truag	iltuath	uag-uath	2345-2346, 587	ab	12
úag	imluad	úag-uad	2473-2474, 619	ab	15
úag	imluad	úag-uad	2509-2510, 628	ab	16
slúag	rorúad	úag-úad	883-884, 221	cd	5
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	2129-2130, 533	ab	12

⁶⁰² Cf. Knott (1952) p. 113 for the line references.

⁶⁰³ See above, pp. 85–6.

slúag	lúad	úag-úad	2289-2290, 573	ab	12
slúag	findrúad	úag-úad	3413-3414, 854	ab	30
slúag	rúad	úag-úad	3981-3982, 996	ab	44
slúag	dubrúad	úag-úad	4045-4046, 1012	ab	45
slúag	rorúad	úag-úad	4159-4160, 1040	cd	50
slúag	dermúad	úag-úad	4475-4476, 1119	cd	53
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	4481-4482, 1121	ab	54
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	4559-4560, 1140	cd	56
slúag	adrúad	úag-úad	4649-4650, 1163	ab	61
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	4877-4878, 1220	ab	69
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	4973-4974, 1244	ab	70
slúag	imlúad	úag-úad	5061-5062, 1266	ab	73
slúag	slamrúad	úag-úad	5355-5356, 1339	cd	81
slúag	claidebrúad	úag-úad	5733-5734, 1434	ab	92
slúag	claidebrúad	úag-úad	5881-5882, 1471	ab	98
slúag	adrúad	úag-úad	6225-6226, 1557	ab	103
slúag	claidebrúad	úag-úad	6905-6906, 1727	ab	123
slúag	adrúad	úag-úad	6997-6998, 1750	ab	125
slúag	adrúad	úag-úad	7193-7194, 1799	ab	134
trúag	tromrúad	úag-úad	909-910, 228	ab	5
trúag	imlúad	úag-úad	3885-3886, 972	ab	41
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	125-126, 32	ab	1
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	4209-4210, 1053	ab	51
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	4541-4542, 1136	ab	56
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	4673-4674, 1169	ab	61
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	5497-5498, 1375	ab	84
úag	comlúad	úag-úad	7101-7102, 1776	ab	130
úag	imlúad	úag-úad	7229-7230, 1808	ab	135
slúag	trúag	úag-úag	7689-7690, 1923	ab	148
trúag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	4151-4152, 1038	cd	49
trúag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	7089-7090, 1773	ab	129
úag	imthruag	úag-úag	1285-1286, 322	ab	8
úag	erthruag	úag-úag	1401-1402, 351	ab	9
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	2265-2266, 567	ab	12
úag	slúag	úag-úag	3545-3546, 887	ab	33
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	4117-4118, 1030	ab	48
úag	slúag	úag-úag	4429-4430, 1108	ab	52
úag	slúag	úag-úag	4921-4922, 1231	ab	69
úag	slúag	úag-úag	4961-4962, 1241	ab	70
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	5009-5010, 1253	ab	72
úag	slúag	úag-úag	5029-5030, 1258	ab	72
úag	tromslúag	úag-úag	5229-5230, 1308	ab	77

úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	5445-5446, 1362	ab	83
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	5905-5906, 1477	ab	99
úag	mórslúag	úag-úag	6837-6838, 1710	ab	121
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	7173-7174, 1794	ab	133
úag	mōrslúag	úag-úag	7721-7722, 1931	ab	149
ūag	trēnslūag	úag-úag	2625-2626, 657	ab	20
slúag	tromnúal	úag-úal	913-914, 229	ab	5
slúag	Samúal	úag-úal	5537-5538, 1385	ab	85
slúag	Samúal	úag-úal	5661-5662, 1416	ab	89
trúag	Samúal	úag-úal	5565-5566, 1392	ab	86
úag	Samúal	úag-úal	5525-5526, 1382	ab	85
úag	Hirabúam	úag-úam	7061-7062, 1766	ab	128
úag	bithbúan	úag-úan	5045-5046, 1262	ab	72
slúag	Sochuath	úag-uath	3959-3960, 990	cd	44
úag	túath	úag-úath	5473-5474, 1369	ab	84

The group consists of 67 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uag>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Nine of the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* and thus these pairs deviate from the regular stress pattern. They end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of one *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a voiceless continuant (*úag:túath*, Canto 84, ll. 5473–5474). As has been seen earlier this was recurrent rhyming combination.⁶⁰⁴ The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

Fifty-four *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of two *Ardrinn*-words that end in <th> (*slúag:Sochuath*, Canto 44, ll. 3959–3960; *truag:iltuath*, Canto 12, ll. 2345–2346). The rhyming diphthong is echoed in all cases.

The remaining four *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, three of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant spelled <d> and one in orthographic <m>. The latter can be interpreted as a *lenis* or a *fortis* voiced continuant and both would be compatible with the rhyme.⁶⁰⁵ The word in question is the non-native name *Hirabúam* (Canto 128, ll. 7061–7062), Latin *Jeroboam*, and it appears only once in rhyming position. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

⁶⁰⁴ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁶⁰⁵ See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96, where he states that *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants can rhyme in word-final position after long vowels or a diphthong.

5.8.15 -úaig

uaig	balcbuain	uaig-uain	2429-2430, 608	ab	14
slúraig	adrúaid	úaig-úaid	953-954, 239	ab	5
slúraig	glanbúaid	úaig-úaid	2277-2278, 570	ab	12
slúraig	Nemrúaid	úaig-úaid	2757-2758, 690	ab	24
slúraig	Nemrúaid	úaig-úaid	2769-2770, 693	ab	24
slúraig	ilbúaid	úaig-úaid	2863-2864, 716	cd	26
slúraig	bithbúaid	úaig-úaid	3785-3786, 947	ab	37
slúraig	adrúaid	úaig-úaid	4081-4082, 1021	ab	46
slúraig	glanbúaid	úaig-úaid	4797-4798, 1200	ab	66
slúraig	rorúaid	úaig-úaid	4833-4834, 1209	ab	67
slúraig	bithbúaid	úaig-úaid	4977-4978, 1245	ab	70
slúraig	glanbúaid	úaig-úaid	5093-5094, 1274	ab	74
slúraig	fíchrúaid	úaig-úaid	5585-5586, 1397	ab	87
slúraig	adrúaid	úaig-úaid	5781-5782, 1446	ab	94
slúraig	glanbúaid	úaig-úaid	7161-7162, 1791	ab	132
slúraig	bithbúaid	úaig-úaid	7485-7486, 1872	ab	142
úaig	adrúaid	úaig-úaid	5195-5196, 1299	cd	76
úaig	lánbúaid	úaig-úaid	7673-7674, 1919	ab	148
slúraig	comthruaig	úaig-úaig	3457-3458, 865	ab	31
úaig	slúraig	úaig-úaig	4873-4874, 1219	ab	69
slúraig[i]g	Manúail	úaig-úail	5365-5366, 1342	ab	81
slúraig	Samúail	úaig-úail	5845-5846, 1462	ab	96
slúraig	Samúail	úaig-úail	6473-6474, 1619	ab	109
slúraig	oenhúair	úaig-úair	3679-3680, 920	cd	34
slúraig	adhúair	úaig-úair	3965-3966, 992	ab	44
slúraig	oenhúair	úaig-úair	4123-4124, 1031	cd	48
slúraig	oenúair	úaig-úair	7635-7636, 1909	cd	147
slúraig	síarthúaith	úaig-úaith	4009-4010, 1003	ab	44

There are 28 rhyming pairs in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uaig>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant.⁶⁰⁶ In one case the *Rinn* is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, upsetting the regular stress pattern. However,

⁶⁰⁶ The pair *slúraig:Manúail* (Canto 81, ll. 5365–5366) lacks the palatal marker in the *Rinn*-word. It is in the genitive singular case and as a masculine *o*-stem must end in a palatal consonant. Both Stokes and Greene indeed insert an <i> before the final consonant in the *Rinn*-word. One could argue that the *Rinn*-word is in the genitive plural case, but according to the Bible Samson slew many men but only one host of the Philistines (Liber Judicum 15.15: ‘Inventamque maxillam, id est, mandibulam asini, quæ jacebat, arripiens, interfecit in ea mille viros.’ [Finding a jawbone, that is the jaw of a donkey, that lay on the ground, snatching it, he killed a thousand men with it.] ‘A thousand men’ would refer to a single army rather than several hosts.). If the poet followed the Bible, *slúraig* can be expected to be in the singular. The *Ardrinn*-word is the genitive singular of the name of Samson’s father, *Manoah* or *Manue* and although this is not an Irish name it can be presumed that it had been absorbed into the Irish declensional system. The pair will not be discussed further.

the *Ardrinn* also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the diphthong is orthographically identical.

The remaining 27 *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all ending in a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of one *Ardrinn* ending in <th> (*slúaig:síarthúaith*, Canto 44, ll. 4009–4010). The rhyming diphthong is in all cases orthographically identical.

5.8.16 -úg

súg	Saül	úg-úl	5641-5642, 1411	ab	89
súg	Saül	úg-úl	6263-6264, 1566	cd	104

The final group consists of two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ug>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in , creating a regular rhyme.

5.9 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C 1*

There are 312 (7.98%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <l> and the final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Of those, 301 (96.47%) are monosyllabic and eleven are disyllabic (3.53%). Of all monosyllabic *Rinn*-words, two (0.66%) are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, 181 (60.13%) with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, 116 (38.54%) with a trisyllabic and two (0.66%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*.

Of the eleven disyllabic *Rinn*-words, one (9.09%) is rhymed with a disyllabic and ten (90.91%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Thus three (0.96%) of all 312 rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.9.1 -al

gal	Arfaxad	al-ad	4939-4940, 1235	cd	70
gal	marbad	al-ad	6843-6844, 1711	cd	121
úasal	dindúasad	al-ad	1843-1844, 461	cd	11
gal	sechtdīgal	al-al	1995-1996, 499	cd	11
gal	īdal	al-al	2787-2788, 697	cd	25
gal	gúforgal	al-al	4845-4846, 1212	ab	68
gal	īdal	al-al	7079-7080, 1770	cd	129
gal	īdal	al-al	7099-7100, 1775	cd	130
bal	Ādam	al-am	1425-1426, 357	ab	9
gal	felsam	al-am	2701-2702, 676	ab	23

gal	talam	al-am	4467-4468, 1117	cd	53
gal	Solam	al-am	7027-7028, 1757	cd	125
bal	armglan	al-an	6485-6486, 1622	ab	109
gal	leöman	al-an	899-900, 225	cd	5
gal	Bretan	al-an	2373-2374, 594	ab	12
gal	salmglan	al-an	5821-5822, 1456	ab	95
gal	leóaman	al-an	6097-6098, 1525	ab	101
bal	adbar	al-ar	553-554, 139	ab	2
gal	credemgalar	al-ar	1507-1508, 377	cd	11
gal	for-coemnacar	al-ar	1543-1544, 386	cd	11
gal	sethar	al-ar	2949-2950, 738	ab	26
gal	bātar	al-ar	4087-4088, 1022	cd	46
gal	do-deochatar	al-ar	5639-5640, 1410	cd	88
gal	at-rachtatar	al-ar	5899-5900, 1475	cd	98
gal	do-rigéntar	al-ar	6051-6052, 1513	cd	100
gal	allmar	al-ar	6441-6442, 1611	ab	108
gal	bátar	al-ar	6527-6528, 1632	cd	110
gestal	tūslestar	al-ar	4363-4364, 1091	cd	51
tal	fīrthrōcar	al-ar	7799-7800, 1950	cd	151

The first group contains 29 rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <al>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁶⁰⁷ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Twenty-seven are monosyllabic and two are disyllabic. Sixteen of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is in all cases orthographically identical.

Ten of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which also end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There is one tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* answering a monosyllabic *Rinn*. It ends in <ar> and therefore creates a regular rhyme (*credemgalar*, l. 1508).

The two disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and echo the final rhyming vowel. The medial vowels are also orthographically identical and the intervocalic consonants are balanced appropriately: In one example a single voiceless sibilant is answered by a single voiceless sibilant, in the other rhyming pair a voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop is answered by the identical consonant cluster in the *Ardrinn*.

⁶⁰⁷ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

5.9.2 -ail

ail	lānamnaib	ail-aib	2505-2506, 627	ab	16
ail	comramaib	ail-aib	4773-4774, 1194	ab	65
ail	do-s-fúargaib	ail-aib	7463-7464, 1866	cd	140
cail	bliadnaib	ail-aib	2257-2258, 565	ab	12
dīgail	dib-līnaib	ail-aib	1781-1782, 446	ab	11
dīgail	errīgaib	ail-aib	7749-7750, 1938	ab	150
fail	aimseraib	ail-aib	9-10, 3	ab	1
gail	Saxanaib	ail-aib	2371-2372, 593	cd	12
gail	slamdergaib	ail-aib	4769-4770, 1193	ab	65
gail	gascedaib	ail-aib	5615-5616, 1404	cd	88
gail	tromdéraib	ail-aib	6869-6870, 1718	ab	122
gail	tromdīglaib	ail-aib	7201-7202, 1801	ab	134
gail	samlaid	ail-aid	2727-2728, 682	cd	23
gail	córaid	ail-aid	4659-4660, 1165	cd	61
gail	rīgthaig	ail-aig	6167-6168, 1542	cd	103
ail	popail	ail-ail	4451-4452, 1113	cd	52
gail	dīgail	ail-ail	6595-6596, 1649	cd	113
ail	Ādaim	ail-aim	4947-4948, 1237	cd	70
ail	bennachtain	ail-ain	2835-2836, 709	cd	26
gail	imsergain	ail-ain	893-894, 224	ab	5
gail	Eogain	ail-ain	2359-2360, 590	cd	12
gail	talmain	ail-ain	4131-4132, 1033	cd	48
gail	díanarggain	ail-ain	5587-5589, 1397	cd	87
gail	argain	ail-ain	7071-7072, 1768	cd	128
gail	timmarcain	ail-ain	7095-7096, 1774	cd	130
ríagail	oenblíadain	ail-ain	7281-7282, 1821	ab	137
ail	māthair	ail-air	2827-2828, 707	cd	26
fail	auctair	ail-air	173-174, 44	ab	1
gail	athair	ail-air	3255-3256, 814	cd	29
gail	claideib	ail-eib	5067-5068, 1267	cd	73
gail	caíreib	ail-eib	5715-5716, 1429	cd	91
gail	imcaisin	ail-in	5923-5924, 1481	cd	99
ail	taberncuil	ail-uil	4513-4514, 1129	ab	55
gail	Dīabuil	ail-uil	1707-1708, 427	cd	11

Thirty-four rhyming pairs are contained in the group where the *Rinn* ends in <ail>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁶⁰⁸ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Thirty-one *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and three are disyllabic. Seventeen of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-

⁶⁰⁸ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in three cases where ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by ⟨e⟩ (*gail:claideib*, Canto 73, ll. 5067–5068; *gail:caíreib*, Canto 91, ll. 5715–5716)⁶⁰⁹ and by ⟨u⟩ (*gail:Díabuil*, Canto 11, ll. 1707–1708) in the *Ardrinn*.

Fourteen times the *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, all of which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one example: ⟨a⟩ is balanced by ⟨u⟩ (*ail:taberncuil*, Canto 55, ll. 4513–4514). In one case Rawlinson B 502 has *gail:imcasain* (Canto 99, ll. 5923–5924)⁶¹⁰ where Greene has edited a single ⟨i⟩ (*imcaisin*) in the *Ardrinn*-word. It is noteworthy that the only two examples of a non-palatal medial sibilant in the word *imcaisin* is taken from *Saltair na Rann* in the *DIL*.⁶¹¹ This is another example of an eye-rhyme.

The disyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed twice with a trisyllabic and once with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. The latter pair thus deviates from the regular stress pattern. However, they all end in *lenis* voiced continuants and the final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. The intervocalic consonants, *lenis* voiced continuants in all cases, are balanced by their equivalent in the *Ardrinn*. The medial vowels are also matched orthographically.

5.9.3 -ál

mál	rográd	ál-ád	6629-6630, 1658	ab	114
dál	bacclám	ál-ám	7647-7648, 1912	cd	147
dāl	Abrām	ál-ám	4711-4712, 1178	cd	63
dál	Ionathán	ál-án	6055-6056, 1514	cd	101
dál	fīndnār	ál-ár	4949-4950, 1238	ab	70
dāl	dermār	ál-ár	2675-2676, 669	cd	22
dāl	coemc[h]lār	ál-ár	4893-4894, 1224	ab	69

This group contains seven rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨al⟩. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Six of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in *lenis* voiced continuants.

One *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant, thus creating regular rhyme.

⁶⁰⁹ It is noteworthy that the spelling of both *claideib* and *caíreib* with an ⟨e⟩ in the final rhyming syllable is ahistoric. In Middle Irish this does not make a difference regarding the pronunciation of the words nor does it invalidate the rhyme.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 34^r b.

⁶¹¹ *DIL*, *imcaisiu*, Column 71, l. 55 and l. 64.

5.9.4 -áil

dāil	nēlaib	áil-aib	2759-2760, 690	cd	24
dáil	comráid	áil-áid	4585-4586, 1147	ab	57
dáil	ḏīgbāil	áil-áil	5787-5788, 1447	cd	94
dáil	Nabáil	áil-áil	6287-6288, 1572	cd	105
dáil	Nabáil	áil-áil	6315-6316, 1579	cd	105
dáil	Nabáil	áil-áil	6321-6322, 1581	ab	105
dáil	Nabāil	áil-áil	6329-6330, 1583	ab	105
dáil	banscáil	áil-áil	6977-6978, 1745	ab	124
dáil	bannscáil	áil-áil	7637-7638, 1910	ab	147
dāil	irgabāil	áil-áil	3555-3556, 889	cd	33
dāil	aurgabáil	áil-áil	7743-7744, 1936	cd	150
māil	comdāil	áil-áil	2585-2586, 647	ab	19
māil	s[o]erdāil	áil-áil	4497-4498, 1125	ab	54
sáil	o[e]ndáil	áil-áil	5475-5476, 1369	cd	84
dáil	Abrāim	áil-áim	3633-3634, 909	ab	33
dáil	Abráim	áil-áim	3749-3750, 938	ab	36
dáil	Abaráim	áil-áim	5851-5852, 1463	cd	96
dāil	Abrāim	áil-áim	3109-3110, 778	ab	27
dāil	Abarāim	áil-áim	3511-3512, 878	cd	31
máil	Abráim	áil-áim	5331-5332, 1333	cd	81
āil	Labāin	áil-áin	2967-2968, 742	cd	26
dāil	forláin	áil-áin	993-994, 249	ab	6
dāil	Cannáin	áil-áin	5103-5104, 1276	cd	74
máil	comláin	áil-áin	4253-4254, 1064	ab	51
máil	imláin	áil-áin	7037-7038, 1760	ab	126
māil	comlāin	áil-áin	1101-1102, 276	ab	7
áil	coemnāir	áil-áir	2497-2498, 625	ab	16
āil	coemnāir	áil-áir	1077-1078, 270	ab	6
dáil	findnáir	áil-áir	2029-2030, 508	ab	12
dáil	sanctáir	áil-áir	4521-4522, 1131	ab	55
dáil	noebnáir	áil-áir	7125-7126, 1782	ab	131
dáil	Zachāir	áil-áir	7499-7500, 1875	cd	142
dāil	Issachāir	áil-áir	3507-3508, 877	cd	31
dāil	sanctáir	áil-áir	4601-4602, 1151	ab	58
māil	drechmāir	áil-áir	865-866, 217	ab	4
māil	dermāir	áil-áir	6681-6682, 1671	ab	116

There are 36 rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ail>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases.

Thirty-one of the *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining five *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.9.5 -el

sel	forcetal	el-al	4379-4380, 1095	cd	51
angel	archangel	el-el	791-792, 198	cd	3
cel	archangel	el-el	2095-2096, 524	cd	12
cel	forcitel	el-el	4857-4858, 1215	ab	68
gel	archangel	el-el	835-836, 209	cd	4
gel	archangel	el-el	2119-2120, 530	cd	12
sel	tairchel	el-el	5797-5798, 1450	ab	94
sel	Ephel	el-el	6111-6112, 1528	cd	102
sel	angel	el-el	6891-6892, 1723	cd	122
sel	forcetel	el-el	7725-7726, 1932	ab	149
trel	findgel	el-el	643-644, 161	cd	2
trel	forcitel	el-el	4593-4594, 1149	ab	57
cel	noebnem	el-em	7185-7186, 1797	ab	133
sel	noebnem	el-em	6999-7000, 1750	cd	125
sel	noebnem	el-em	7801-7802, 1951	ab	151
aingel	coemdaingen	el-en	197-198, 50	ab	1
angel	daīrdangen	el-en	1763-1764, 441	cd	11
trel	cūicfer	el-er	741-742, 186	ab	3

This group is comprised of eighteen rhyming pairs. There are fifteen monosyllabic and three disyllabic *Rinn*-words and they all end in <el>. The orthography represents a short /e/⁶¹² followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Eight of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is in all cases orthographically identical.

The remaining seven monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one example where <e> in the *Rinn* is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*sel;forcetal*, Canto 51, ll. 4379–4380).

The three disyllabic *Rinn*-words are all answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel corresponds orthographically.

⁶¹² Only in the monosyllabic cases; the value of the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words is schwa.

The medial vowels are orthographically identical as are the medial consonants, thus creating valid rhymes in all cases.

5.9.6 -eil

ceil	derriteib	eil-eib	6339-6340, 1585	cd	106
ceil	Ochtimbeir	eil-eir	251-252, 63	cd	1
ceil	remib	eil-ib	7443-7444, 1861	cd	139
deil	ergail	eil-ail	5785-5786, 1447	ab	94
deil	rēisin	eil-in	5755-5756, 1439	cd	93

There are five rhyming pairs contained in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eil>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Three of the *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant, but the rhyming vowels are not orthographically identical in all cases. Rawlinson B 502 actually has *deil:resein* (Canto 93, ll. 5755–5756)⁶¹³ where Greene writes *rēisin*. The manuscript’s version is another instance of an eye-rhyme. Furthermore, Greene remarks that ‘there are no other examples of the n-declension of *rēise*’.⁶¹⁴

Once, <e> is balanced by simple <i> in the *Ardrinn* (*ceil:remib*, Canto 139, ll. 7443–7444) and once <e> is matched up with <a> (*deil:ergail*, Canto 94, ll. 5785–5786). In all cases the palatal quality of the consonant is reflected in the *Ardrinn*-word and thus the rhymes are valid.

The remaining two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, both ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.9.7 -él

scél	Coréb	él-éb	3815-3816, 954	cd	39
scél	Caléb	él-éb	4697-4698, 1175	ab	63
scēl	Calēb	él-éb	4731-4732, 1183	cd	64
él	Israhél	él-él	5477-5478, 1370	ab	84
nél	Mīchél	él-él	2141-2142, 536	ab	12
nél	Israhél	él-él	4043-4044, 1011	cd	45
nél	Israhél	él-él	4047-4048, 1012	cd	45
nél	Israhél	él-él	5503-5504, 1376	cd	84
nél	Israhél	él-él	5805-5806, 1452	ab	95
nél	Israhél	él-él	5897-5898, 1475	ab	98
nél	oenscél	él-él	6439-6440, 1610	cd	108

⁶¹³ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 33^v b.

⁶¹⁴ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, Canto 93, l. 5756, FN 3; see also DIL, *rēise*, Column 38, ll. 43–9.

nēl	Israhél	él-él	4963-4964, 1241	cd	70
scél	Israhēl	él-él	3051-3052, 763	cd	26
scél	Israhél	él-él	3075-3076, 769	cd	26
scél	Israhēl	él-él	3669-3670, 918	ab	34
scél	Israhēl	él-él	3875-3876, 969	cd	41
scél	Israhél	él-él	3989-3990, 998	ab	44
scél	Israhél	él-él	3999-4000, 1000	cd	44
scél	Israhél	él-él	4113-4114, 1029	ab	48
scél	Israhél	él-él	4623-4624, 1156	cd	59
scél	Israhél	él-él	5121-5122, 1281	ab	75
scél	Israhél	él-él	5153-5154, 1289	ab	75
scél	Abél	él-él	5435-5436, 1359	cd	83
scél	Israhél	él-él	5449-5450, 1363	ab	83
scél	Israhél	él-él	5481-5482, 1371	ab	84
scél	Israhél	él-él	5515-5516, 1379	cd	85
scél	Ohél	él-él	5551-5552, 1388	cd	85
scél	Israhél	él-él	5657-5658, 1415	ab	89
scél	Israhél	él-él	5731-5732, 1433	cd	92
scél	Israhél	él-él	5839-5840, 1460	cd	96
scél	Israhél	él-él	6031-6032, 1508	cd	100
scél	Israhél	él-él	6193-6194, 1549	ab	103
scél	Israhél	él-él	6215-6216, 1554	cd	103
scél	Israhél	él-él	6501-6502, 1626	ab	109
scél	Israhél	él-él	6809-6810, 1703	ab	120
scél	Israhél	él-él	6867-6868, 1717	cd	122
scél	Israhél	él-él	6973-6974, 1744	ab	124
scél	Israhél	él-él	7011-7012, 1753	cd	125
scél	Israhél	él-él	7113-7114, 1779	ab	131
scél	Israhél	él-él	7231-7232, 1808	cd	135
scēl	Mīchēl	él-él	2099-2100, 525	cd	12
scēl	Mīchēl	él-él	2195-2196, 549	cd	12
scēl	cenél	él-él	3295-3296, 824	cd	29
scēl	Israhél	él-él	5389-5390, 1348	ab	82
scēl	Israhél	él-él	5951-5952, 1488	cd	100
scēl	Israhél	él-él	7329-7330, 1833	ab	138
scēl	Israhél	él-él	7337-7338, 1835	ab	138
scēl	Israhēl	él-él	7553-7554, 1889	ab	144
nēl	fīrthrénn	él-én	2725-2726, 682	ab	23
scél	Eōrdanénn	él-én	5039-5040, 1260	cd	72
scél	fortrénn	él-én	6823-6824, 1706	cd	120
nēl	Calēph	él-éph	4991-4992, 1248	cd	71
cél	tibēr	él-ér	841-842, 211	ab	4

scél	Assér	él-ér	5173-5174, 1294	ab	76
scél	Abnér	él-ér	6591-6592, 1648	cd	113
scēl	lāfēth	él-éth	2665-2666, 667	ab	21

This group contains 56 rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <el>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all examples. Sixteen of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of one example that ends in a voiceless continuant (*nél:Caléph*, Canto 71, ll. 4991–4992). This, however, is a recurrent combination.⁶¹⁵

Forty *Rinn*-monosyllables are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of one *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a voiceless continuant (*scél:Iaféth*, Canto 21, ll. 2665–2666).

5.9.8 -éil

céil	Abéil	éil-éil	1959-1960, 490	cd	11
rēil	glanchēill	éil-éill	4105-4106, 1027	ab	47
réil	Caéin	éil-éin	1997-1998, 500	ab	11
réil	Caëin	éil-éin	2395-2396, 599	cd	13
rēil	Saraphēin	éil-éin	551-552, 138	cd	2
rēil	Saraphēin	éil-éin	671-672, 168	cd	3
rēil	Hīruphēin	éil-éin	1387-1388, 347	cd	9
réil	amréir	éil-éir	5533-5534, 1384	ab	85
rēil	úagrēir	éil-éir	161-162, 41	ab	1
rēil	úagrēir	éil-éir	185-186, 47	ab	1
rēil	comréir	éil-éir	337-338, 85	ab	2

There are eleven rhyming pairs in the group. The *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and end in <eil>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Eight *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 has *glancheil* (l. 4106) which Greene emended silently to *glanchéill*.⁶¹⁶ However, the scribe, whether consciously or not, seems to have been led by the rhyme when he spelled the final consonant with a single <l>, making the final consonant a *lenis* voiced continuant and thus making the eye-rhyme perfect.

⁶¹⁵ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁶¹⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^v a; see also Kelly (1979) p. 244 on the spelling of final -ll and -nn in the *Book of Armagh*, where he finds that while ‘it is quite common in the Old Irish Glosses for unlenited *l* and *n* in final position to be written -*l* and -*n* rather than the regular -*ll* and -*nn*, e.g. *hual* Ml. 57c13 for (*h*)*úall* [...],’ there are also examples of this practice in texts written by Muirchú and Tírechán. My thanks go to Professor Kelly for pointing this out to me and providing me with the reference.

The remaining three *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.9.9 -il

dil	ilmīlaib	il-aib	1631-1632, 408	cd	11
dil	cintaib	il-aib	1699-1700, 425	cd	11
dil	écsamlaib	il-aib	1919-1920, 480	cd	11
dil	bēlaib	il-aib	2587-2588, 647	cd	19
dil	cennaib	il-aib	3671-3672, 918	cd	34
dil	foraib	il-aib	5543-5544, 1386	cd	85
dil	béldergaib	il-aib	7409-7410, 1853	ab	138
dil	banamail	il-ail	1225-1226, 307	ab	8
dil	ídail	il-ail	5491-5492, 1373	cd	84
dil	Ādaim	il-aim	2171-2172, 543	cd	12
dil	Ādaim	il-aim	7511-7512, 1878	cd	143
dil	anmain	il-ain	1057-1058, 265	ab	6
dil	menmain	il-ain	1509-1510, 378	ab	11
dil	imressain	il-ain	3569-3570, 893	ab	33
dil	noebtreib	il-eib	649-650, 163	ab	2
bil	lígaidib	il-ib	379-380, 95	cd	2
bil	mīlib	il-ib	2295-2296, 574	cd	12
bil	caricib	il-ib	6309-6310, 1578	ab	105
dil	milidib	il-ib	479-480, 120	cd	2
dil	nimib	il-ib	1371-1372, 343	cd	9
dil	archanglib	il-ib	1429-1430, 358	ab	9
dil	tuistidib	il-ib	1939-1940, 485	cd	11
dil	mīlib	il-ib	3415-3416, 854	cd	30
dil	druídib	il-ib	3827-3828, 957	cd	39
dil	mírbailib	il-ib	4207-4208, 1052	cd	51
dil	mīlib	il-ib	4983-4984, 1246	cd	71
dil	mīlib	il-ib	6819-6820, 1705	cd	120
dil	cumrigib	il-ib	7399-7400, 1850	cd	138
dil	dúilib	il-ib	7437-7438, 1860	ab	139
dil	doínib	il-ib	7581-7582, 1896	ab	145
gil	nimib	il-ib	2159-2160, 540	cd	12
dil	rīchid	il-id	369-370, 93	ab	2
dil	rīchid	il-id	1017-1018, 255	ab	6
dil	cluimid	il-id	4871-4872, 1218	cd	68
dil	Comdid	il-id	6881-6882, 1721	ab	122
dil	lāngil	il-il	997-998, 250	ab	6
dil	glanaingil	il-il	4603-4604, 1151	cd	58

dil	ambil	il-il	4717-4718, 1180	ab	64
dil	toebgil	il-il	6365-6366, 1592	ab	106
dil	noebgil	il-il	7821-7822, 1956	ab	151
gil	archaingil	il-il	775-776, 194	cd	3
bil	naebnim	il-im	1783-1784, 446	cd	11
dil	ārim	il-im	2243-2244, 561	cd	12
dil	fīrchreitīm	il-im	2685-2686, 672	ab	22
dil	nīm	il-im	3853-3854, 964	ab	40
dil	noebnim	il-im	4193-4194, 1049	ab	51
dil	noebnim	il-im	5109-5110, 1278	ab	74
dil	noebnim	il-im	6841-6842, 1711	ab	121
dil	noebnim	il-im	7115-7116, 1779	cd	131
dil	uili-sin	il-in	1517-1518, 380	ab	11
dil	airmitin	il-in	1795-1796, 449	cd	11
dil	prīmingin	il-in	3779-3780, 945	cd	37
dil	imcaissin	il-in	5441-5442, 1361	ab	83
dil	imdītīn	il-in	6401-6402, 1601	ab	108
dil	sin	il-in	6429-6430, 1608	ab	108
dil	ingin	il-in	7305-7306, 1827	ab	138
gil	imdītīn	il-in	1355-1356, 339	cd	9
gil	degingin	il-in	6019-6020, 1505	cd	100
dil	Tigir	il-ir	1589-1590, 398	ab	11
dil	Tigir	il-ir	1623-1624, 406	cd	11
dil	Tigir	il-ir	1713-1714, 429	ab	11
dil	sinsir	il-ir	1835-1836, 459	cd	11
dil	cētmuintir	il-ir	6259-6260, 1565	cd	104
gil	Tigir	il-ir	1671-1672, 418	cd	11
gil	Tigir	il-ir	1675-1676, 419	cd	11
dil	mōrp[h]obuil	il-uil	4103-4104, 1026	cd	47
dil	tempuil	il-uil	7763-7764, 1941	cd	150

The following group consists of 67 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <il>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁶¹⁷ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Two of these are paired with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Although the two pairs do not agree with the regular stress pattern of the *deibide*-metre, the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Forty-one *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, eleven of those do not use the orthographically identical

⁶¹⁷ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

rhyiming vowel. The single <i> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <a> nine times, once by <e> and once by <u> in the *Ardrinn*. The palatal quality of the consonant is present in the *Ardrinn*-words.

Twenty-four *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in six cases. Five times the single <i> is balanced by <a> (*dil:ilmílaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1631–1632; *dil:écsamlaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1919–1920; *dil:béldergaib*, Canto 138, ll. 7409–7410; *dil:banamail*, Canto 8, ll. 1225–1226; *dil:imressain*, Canto 33, ll. 3569–3570) and once by <u> (*dil:mórpobuil*, Canto 47, ll. 4103–4104). The palatal quality of the final consonant is reflected in the *Ardrinn*-words.

5.9.10 -íl

díl	Filistín	íl-ín	5891-5892, 1473	cd	98
míl	dírím	íl-ím	301-302, 76	ab	1

There are two rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <il>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in both cases. One *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic and one with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. In both cases the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical and the *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.9.11 -ol

col	ordnigod	ol-od	1141-1142, 286	ab	8
col	mudugod	ol-od	6711-6712, 1678	cd	117
col	cocetol	ol-ol	1379-1380, 345	cd	9
col	baegol	ol-ol	3191-3192, 798	cd	28
col	tabernacol	ol-ol	4205-4206, 1052	ab	51
col	imforddol	ol-ol	7105-7106, 1777	ab	130
col	deiscipol	ol-ol	7813-7814, 1954	ab	151
col	saerdron	ol-on	801-802, 201	ab	3
col	ēton	ol-on	1999-2000, 500	cd	11
col	domon	ol-on	2591-2592, 648	cd	19
col	tromthor	ol-or	5613-5614, 1404	ab	88
col	oenor	ol-or	6327-6328, 1582	cd	105
col	domun	ol-un	5243-5244, 1311	cd	77

This group contains thirteen rhyming pairs with the monosyllabic *Rinn* ending in . The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Seven times the *Rinn*-word is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a *lenis* voiced

continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case where <o> is balanced by <u> (*col:domun*, Canto 77, ll. 5243–5244).

Five *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Finally, one *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word which echoes the *Rinn* (*col:tabernacol*, Canto 51, ll. 4205–4206).

5.9.12 -ól

Pól	Íacōb	ól-ób	7585-7586, 1897	ab	145
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There is one rhyming pair in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in . The orthography represents a long /o:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the vowel is orthographically identical.

5.9.13 -ul

dul	dīthrub	ul-ub	4061-4062, 1016	ab	46
dul	mudugud	ul-ud	6983-6984, 1746	cd	124
dul	adnacul	ul-ul	4735-4736, 1184	cd	64
dul	saegul	ul-ul	7239-7240, 1810	cd	135
dul	oenur	ul-ur	1361-1362, 341	ab	9

Five rhyming pairs are contained in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in . The orthography represents a short /u/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Three times they are answered by disyllabic, two times by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.9.14 -uil

Díabuil	ilphánaib	uil-aib	927-928, 232	cd	5
Díabuil	bithphánaib	uil-aib	1739-1740, 435	cd	11
Díabuil	oenblíadain	uil-ain	1457-1458, 365	ab	10
fuil	Díabuil	uil-uil	1963-1964, 491	cd	11
cuil	domuin	uil-uin	2399-2400, 600	cd	13

This group also contains five rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <uil>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁶¹⁸ followed by a palatal voiced continuant. Two *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, both of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Three *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and they are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, in all cases <u> in the *Rinn* is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*Díabuil:ilphánaib*, Canto 5, ll. 927–928; *Díabuil:bithphánaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1739–1740; *Díabuil:oenblíadain*, Canto 10, ll. 1457–1458). The medial diphthong is orthographically identical in all three cases and the *lenis* voiced continuant in intervocalic position is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*.

5.9.15 -úl

cūl	Saūl	úl-úl	5815-5816, 1454	cd	95
cūl	brīgrūn	úl-ún	7243-7244, 1811	cd	135
cúl	trēnmúr	úl-úr	2545-2546, 637	ab	18
cūl	mōrmūr	úl-úr	5505-5506, 1377	ab	84

There are four rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in . The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are all answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.9.16 -úil

dūil	coemrūin	úil-úin	25-26, 7	ab	1
dúil	scriptúir	úil-úir	2529-2530, 633	ab	17

This group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <uil>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.9.17 -ael

mael	sochaín	ael-aín	2975-2976, 744	cd	26
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⁶¹⁸ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

This set contains one rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <ael> and the orthography represents a monophthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <ain>. It should be noted that the *Rinn*-word represents the accusative case of the noun *mael* that can also be spelled *maíl* and as a feminine \bar{a} -stem it must end in a palatal consonant, even if the orthographic marker is not present in this example. Thus, the rhyme is regular, because the palatal quality of the final consonant is present in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word.

5.9.18 -éol

éol	anshéol	éol-éol	4881-4882, 1221	ab	69
séol	Sem[e]ōn	éol-[e]ón	5131-5132, 1283	cd	75

Two rhyming pairs are contained in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eol>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The digraph is orthographically identical only in one case. The second rhyming pair has *séol* rhyming with *Semón*. Both Greene and Stokes edited their text with an additional <e>.⁶¹⁹ The Irish form of the biblical name *Simeon the Patriarch* is spelled *Semeon* in a non-rhyming position in another line (Canto 26, l. 2993).

5.9.19 -íal

díal	dagbíad	íal-íad	1559-1560, 390	cd	11
cíal	Abíal	íal-íal	1965-1966, 492	ab	11
cíal	Rachíal	íal-íal	3117-3118, 780	ab	27
gíal	Abíal	íal-íal	1935-1936, 484	cd	11
gíal	Rachíal	íal-íal	2989-2990, 748	ab	26
gíal	Rachíal	íal-íal	3029-3030, 758	ab	26
tríal	Gabríal	íal-íal	1365-1366, 342	ab	9
tríal	Abíal	íal-íal	1955-1956, 489	cd	11

⁶¹⁹ The pair *séol*:*Semón* will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter; see below, pp. 334–5; see also below, p. 191 for another example of this rhyme. See McCone (1994) § 11.4, p. 92: ‘Tugtar faoi deara go gcuireann *u* nó *o* an dara heilimint de na défhoghair /āu/, /ēu/ in iúl agus go raibh lár an tsiolla ag tosú ar aistriú go dtí an dara cuid seo sa chaoi gur tháinig /ō/ idir dhá chonsan chaola chun cinn: m.sh., ain. iol., beoil /b’ōl’/ ‘liopaí, béal’ (Wb. 7^{d9}), gin. u. a cheneóil /xen’ōl’/ a chine (Wb. 6^{d6}).’ See also L. Breatnach (1994) § 3.8, p. 233: ‘Fianaise d’athrú an défhoghair *áe/aí/óe/óí* go guta fada is ea (a) an litriú in: *ébind* ‘aoibhinn’, LL 38031 (*Bór*) [...] b’fheidir (b) an comhardadh in: *a-taí* ‘tá tú’:*do-gní* ‘a dhéanann tú’, LL 33754 (*TF*), *druí* ‘draoi’:*rí* ‘rí’, LL 28351 (*MD*) [...] agus (c) an t-athrú sa 3 u. caite den bhriathar substainteach *ó boí* go *bí* (12.65). Mar an gcéanna b’fheidir go gciallaíonn an comhardadh in *fórcoméot* ‘faire’ (tabh.):*rót* ‘bóthar’, LL 28138 (*MD*), *heóin* ‘éin’:*ardmóir* ‘uasal agus mór’, LL 28349 (*MD*), *cāelmuneol* ‘muineál caol’ (tabh.):*mór* ‘mór’, LL 29214, go raibh *éo* athruithe ar a laghad go défhoghar éiritheach.’

tríal	Abíal	íal-íal	1983-1984, 496	cd	11
fíal	Helessíam	íal-íam	7189-7190, 1798	ab	133
gíal	Idumíam	íal-íam	5221-5222, 1306	ab	77

There are eleven rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨ial⟩. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Nine *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in each case.

Two *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical and both *Ardrinn*-words end in ⟨m⟩. The *Ardrinn*-words reflect a form of a non-native personal name. *Helessíam* (Canto 133, l. 7190) and *Idumíam* (Canto 77, l. 5222) are always matched with a *Rinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.⁶²⁰

It should be noted here that the only *Rinn*-word that ends etymologically in a *lenis* voiced continuant is the adjective *fíal* ‘seemly’. All other *Rinn*-words have an etymological final *fortis* voiced continuant and would usually be spelled ⟨ll⟩. Except for once, the name *Abíal* is always rhymed with a word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant (*céill:Abéil*, Canto 11, ll. 1947–1948), *Rachíal* is only rhymed with *Rinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and *Gabríal* only appears in this instance. The *Ardrinn*-words in this group reflect almost exclusively biblical names and it seems that the poet, or indeed the scribe, was eager to create eye-rhymes without changing the orthography of the biblical names. Whether the poet would have pronounced the Irish *Rinn*-words with a final *lenis* voiced continuant or the non-native names with a *fortis* voiced continuant cannot be said with certainty. All rhymes would be valid either way, since the consonants are in word-final position, coming after a diphthong.⁶²¹

5.9.20 -úal

núal	mórslúag	úal-úag	7209-7210, 1803	ab	134
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There is one rhyming pair in the set where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨ual⟩. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. It is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* which also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical.

⁶²⁰ *Heles(s)íam*, the accusative or genitive form of *Helesius*, appears five times in rhyming position, rhyming with *rián* (ll. 7143–7144), *píán* (ll. 7171–7172), the present example *fíal*, *cíán* (ll. 7147–7148) and *díán* (ll. 7157–7158). The name as it appears, for example, in IV Regum 2.2 is *Eliseum*. *Idumiam* only occurs in this instance. *Edom* or *Idumea* is the name of a region close to Judea.

⁶²¹ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

5.9.21 -úail

suail	oenúair	uail-úair	2501-2502, 626	ab	16
sūail	bithbuain	úail-uain	1465-1466, 367	ab	10

The final group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨uail⟩. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is echoed in both cases.

5.10 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C lb*

There are three (0.08%) monosyllabic *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨lb⟩, a consonant cluster that represents two *lenis* voiced continuants in all cases. They are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.10.1 -alb

balb	ergarb	alb-arb	2013-2014, 504	ab	11
dalb	dagarm	alb-arm	6185-6186, 1547	ab	103

The first group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨alb⟩. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by two *lenis* voiced continuants. One of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ends in a cluster of *lenis* voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The other *Ardrinn* ends in ⟨arm⟩, the final ⟨m⟩ representing a *fortis* voiced continuant. As was remarked earlier, *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants could be rhymed in final position, but only after long vowels or diphthongs and the rhyming vowel here is not long.⁶²² In this instance, however, it should be noted that the consonantal rhyme appears as part of a cluster, which results in a greater complexity of the rhyme and possibly in a licence to relax rules that would be strictly applied to single consonants.

5.10.2 -elb

delb	inderb	elb-erb	4361-4362, 1091	ab	51
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There is one rhyming pair in this set. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨elb⟩ where the orthography represents a short /e/ followed by two *lenis* voiced continuants. The *Rinn* is paired

⁶²² See above, p. 79 and Brian Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <erb>, the final consonants both representing *lenis* voiced continuants. Thus the rhyme is regular.

5.11 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C lc/lcc*

There are nine (0.23%) monosyllabic *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <lc> or <lcc>, the final consonant cluster representing a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in all cases. In seven (77.78%) cases they are paired with disyllabic, in two (22.22%) cases with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All rhyming pairs therefore lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.11.1 -alcc/-alc

balcc	follomnacht	alcc-acht	6639-6640, 1660	cd	115
balcc	inforbart	alcc-art	7293-7294, 1824	ab	137
talc	comnart	alc-art	5077-5088, 1270	ab	74

The first group contains three rhyming pairs. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <alcc>/<alc> and the orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in all cases. They are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words in two cases. One of these ends in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop (*balcc:follomnacht*, Canto 115, ll. 6639–6640).⁶²³ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

The other trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in <rt>, thus balancing the *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop, and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.11.2 -ailcc

bailcc	comthailc	ailcc-ailc	5469-5470, 1368	ab	83
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There is one rhyming pair in the set where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <ailcc>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonantal cluster. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in the identical palatal consonant cluster, represented as <lc>. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

⁶²³ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

5.11.3 -olcc

olcc	intliucht	olcc-ucht	1251-1252, 313	cd	8
olcc	intlíocht	olcc-ocht	1327-1328, 332	cd	9
olcc	lomnocht	olcc-ocht	1335-1336, 334	cd	9

This group contains three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <olcc>. The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. They are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop, but, as seen above,⁶²⁴ this does not cause an irregularity in the rhyme. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case, where <o> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <u> in the *Ardrinn* (*olcc:intliucht*, Canto 8, ll. 1251–1252).⁶²⁵ It may be interesting to point out that the word in the *Ardrinn* is *intliucht* ‘understanding’, which is spelled *intlíocht* in line 1328 where it is rhymed with *olcc* as well.⁶²⁶

5.11.4 -ulcc

ulcc	intliucht	ulcc-ucht	1243-1244, 311	cd	8
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The set is comprised of one rhyming pair where the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <ulcc>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The *Rinn*-word is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <ucht>, thus creating an acceptable rhyme.

5.11.5 -uilc

uilc	tormailt	uilc-ailt	1247-1248, 312	cd	8
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The final set also contains one rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <uilc>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal consonantal cluster. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. However, <u> is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* and the vowel is followed by a palatal consonant in both words. The orthographic difference in the vowels does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

⁶²⁴ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁶²⁵ The spelling of *intliucht* is regular here and in this case it is in the dative singular. The instance in Chapter 5.11.4 also has the regular u-spelling of *intliucht* and it is rhymed with the same *Rinn*-word as here. However, the case in this instance spells the *Rinn* also with <u>.

⁶²⁶ The entry in *DIL* does not give the orthographic variation with <o>.

5.12 Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C lg

seilg	coemcheilg	eilg-eilg	2865-2866, 717	ab	26
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There is one (0.03%) *Rinn*-word that ends in orthographic <lg>, the consonants representing a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. It is monosyllabic and paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.13 Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C ll

There are 31 (0.79%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ll>. The final consonant represents a *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. Of those, twenty-nine (93.55%) are monosyllabic and two (6.45%) are disyllabic. Twenty-one (72.41%) monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, seven (24.14%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and one (3.45%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

Both disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, all 31 rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.13.1 -all

dall	lānmall	all-all	2901-2902, 726	ab	26
trēnall	epēlam	all-am	2747-2748, 687	cd	24
ball	rétlann	all-ann	1901-1902, 476	ab	11
mall	oenchrann	all-ann	1283-1284, 321	cd	8
tall	imgann	all-ann	6157-6158, 1540	ab	102

The first group contains five rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <all>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁶²⁷ followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant in all instances. Of those, four are monosyllabic and they are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, all of which end in *fortis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There is one disyllabic *Rinn* that is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The intervocalic

⁶²⁷ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

lenis voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*trénall:epélam*).⁶²⁸ The medial rhyming vowel is also an orthographic match.

5.13.2 -aill

daill	fairind	aill-ind	6355-6356, 1589	cd	106
maill	Foraind	aill-aind	4003-4004, 1001	cd	44

There are two rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aill>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, although Greene has *fairind* in one example⁶²⁹ whereas Rawlinson B 502 gives the form as *fairaind*.⁶³⁰ Either way the rhyme scheme is not upset.

5.13.3 -ell

ell	imthimchell	ell-ell	3915-3916, 979	cd	42
ell	Hierusalem	ell-em	6677-6678, 1670	ab	116
gell	Hierusalem	ell-em	6673-6674, 1669	ab	116
sell	Hierusalem	ell-em	6659-6660, 1665	cd	116
sell	Hierusalem	ell-em	6759-6760, 1690	cd	117
trell	Hierusalem	ell-em	6697-6698, 1675	ab	117
do-rell	dīlenn	ell-enn	2619-2620, 655	cd	20
ell	imchenn	ell-enn	1129-1130, 283	ab	8
ell	Rigrenn	ell-enn	2357-2358, 590	ab	12
sell	dīlenn	ell-enn	2595-2596, 649	cd	19
trell	dīlenn	ell-enn	2291-2292, 573	cd	12

This group consists of eleven rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ell>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Five of these are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

⁶²⁸ The *Ardrinn*-word represents the first person plural in the future-tense of the verb *at-baill* ‘dies, perishes’. In Old Irish the final <m> would have been pronounced as a *lenis* voiced continuant (cf. McCone (1994) pp. 142–3: ‘Ar an lámh eile, is léir ón easpa samplaí de –mm dúbailte sna gluaiseanna (*beram*, *-taam*, *-biam* srl.) gur /-v̄/ le séimhiú rialta a bhí ag an bhfoirm chónasctha fós sa tSean-Ghaeilge.’) However, in the Middle Irish period this changed to a *fortis* voiced continuant (cf. L. Breatnach (1994) p. 291: ‘San fhoirceann cónasctha 1 iol. -am/-em (láith., ord., fosh., fáist. agus caite) bhí an –m séimhithe sa SG (féach II 24.2). Faoi ré na MG ar a dhéanaí bhíothas tar éis é a dhíshéimhiú faoi anáil an fhoircinn neamhnasctha [...].’)

⁶²⁹ Cf. Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 6356.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 35^r b.

Six *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The single <m> in the name *Hierusalem* can also be interpreted as a *lenis* voiced continuant, but the *Ardrinn*-word in question is always rhymed with a *Rinn* ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.13.4 -éill

céill	Abéil	éill-éil	1947-1948, 487	cd	11
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There is one rhyming pair in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <éill>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <éil>. The *Ardrinn* is a form of the name *Abéil* and this is rhymed with *lenis* voiced continuants in all other cases (orthographically). However, a *fortis* voiced continuant could rhyme with a *lenis* voiced continuant in final position after long vowels or diphthongs, thus creating a regular rhyme.⁶³¹

5.13.5 -ill

Carmill	oenbargin	ill-in	6307-6308, 1577	cd	105
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This set also contains a single rhyming pair. Although Rawlinson B 502 gives a *lenis* voiced continuant for the final consonant in the *Rinn*-word (*Carmil*)⁶³² Greene silently emended the disyllabic *Rinn* to end in <ill>. This is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Indeed, *Carmill* is usually spelled with final <ll>⁶³³ and this makes it rather clear that the scribe deliberately refrained from doing so in this instance so it could rhyme regularly with the *lenis* voiced continuant <n> in the *Ardrinn*. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, phonetically representing a *schwa*-sound in both words. The medial rhyming vowel is also an orthographic match and the cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*.

5.13.6 -oll

oll	firmentom	oll-om	139-140, 35	cd	1
oll	firdrong	oll-ong	7025-7026, 1757	ab	125

⁶³¹ See above, p. 79 and cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶³² Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 35^r b.

⁶³³ In rhyming position: *greim:Carmeill* (Canto 105, ll. 6267–6268), *greimm:Carmeill* (Canto 105, ll. 6293–6294); in medial position: *im sliab Carmeill docachleith* (Canto 105, l. 6285), *nabál i Carmill rochlos* (Canto 105, l. 6289), *im Charmill do cach oenleirg* (Canto 105, l. 6298).

oll	drechdonn	oll-onn	6609-6610, 1653	ab	113
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There are three rhyming pairs in the group. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oll>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Two of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed orthographically in the *Ardrinn*.

One *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.13.7 -íall

cíall	anríad	íall-íad	6231-6232, 1558	cd	103
gíall	Rachíal	íall-íal	2971-2972, 743	cd	26
gíall	Rachíal	íall-íal	3003-3004, 751	cd	26
tríall	Ezechíam	íall-íam	7237-7238, 1810	ab	135
tríall	Iosíaph	íall-íaph	3147-3148, 787	cd	27
tríall	Iosíaph	íall-íaph	3551-3552, 888	cd	33

This group contains six rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <íall>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. Five of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Three of these end in *lenis* voiced continuants. However, Rawlinson B 502⁶³⁴ gives a *lenis* voiced continuant for the *Rinn*-words where the *Ardrinn*-word ends in <ɪ> (*gíal*, l. 2971 and l. 3003). Either way the rhyme is regular, because *fortis* voiced continuants can be rhymed with *lenis* voiced continuants in final position after a long vowel or a diphthong in accordance with regular practice.⁶³⁵

Two disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in voiceless continuants (*tríall:Iosíaph*, Canto 27, ll. 3147–3148 and Canto 33, ll. 3551–3552). As seen earlier, the combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant with a voiceless continuant was accepted to give a valid rhyme,⁶³⁶ but the combination of a *fortis* voiced continuant and a voiceless continuant has not been covered by the literature. These two pairs are the only examples of this combination in *Saltair na Rann* and it must be assumed that this was an exceptional if not faulty rhyming pattern. The rhyming diphthongs are orthographically identical in all cases.

One *Rinn* is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and the latter ends in a single <m>. Whether this <m> represents a *fortis* voiced continuant or a *lenis* voiced continuant is not entirely clear.

⁶³⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v a.

⁶³⁵ See above, p. 79 and cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶³⁶ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

The name *Ezechíam* only appears once in rhyming position (Canto 135, l. 7238)⁶³⁷ and the rhyme is regular in either case.

5.13.8 -úall

núall	lórmuad	uall-uad	609-610, 153	ab	2
núall	mōrslúag	úall-úag	4415-4416, 1104	cd	51

There are two rhyming pairs in the final group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uall>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. As has been seen earlier, the combination of *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants in post-vocalic or post-diphthongal position gives regular rhyme.⁶³⁸ The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.14 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C It*

There are six (0.15%) *Rinn*-words ending in orthographic <lt>. The final consonant cluster represents a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in all cases. Of those, five (83.33%) *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic and one (16.67%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.14.1 -alt

alt	fichet	alt-et	707-708, 177	cd	3
alt	sescat	alt-at	2331-2332, 583	cd	12
alt	sescat	alt-at	4231-4232, 1058	cd	51
romm-alt	cumtabart	alt-art	2887-2888, 722	cd	26

The first group contains four rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <alt>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. Three of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a single voiced stop. The *lenis* voiced continuant is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*. As seen earlier, the combination of voiced and voiceless stop was accepted to give an imperfect rhyme.⁶³⁹ The

⁶³⁷ *Ezechiam* appears also in Canto 138, in the middle of line 7373, but it does not form a rhyme with another word.

⁶³⁸ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶³⁹ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33; these combinations will be looked at in greater detail in the conclusion where an overview of the exact numbers of this occurrence will be given; see below, pp. 397–400.

rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in one case, where <a> in the *Rinn* is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*alt:fichet*, Canto 3, ll. 707–708).

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, thus creating a regular rhyme.

5.14.2 -elt

gelt	Ēgept	elt-ept	3441-3442, 861	ab	31
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There is one rhyming pair contained in this set. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <elt>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <ept>. It should also be noted that the *Rinn*-word of this rhyme, *gelt*, has been written above another word, *gart*,⁶⁴⁰ and Stokes and Greene both accepted *gelt* as the correct form in their texts (Canto 31, ll. 3441–3442).⁶⁴¹ It has been shown that the name *Égept* is mostly rhymed with *Rinn* words ending in voiced or voiceless continuants plus voiceless stop, so this is not a surprising match.⁶⁴² Both *gart* and *gelt* create a correct rhyme with the *Ardrinn*.

5.14.3 -olt

molt	glénocht	olt-ocht	7311-7312, 1828	cd	138
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The final set is comprised of a single rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <olt> and the orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless plosive. The rhyming of a voiced and voiceless continuant is frequently occurring combination.⁶⁴³ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.15 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C m*

There are 96 (2.45%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <m>. The final consonant can represent either a *lenis* or a *fortis* voiced continuant. Of all *Rinn*-words, eighty-one (84.38%) are monosyllabic and fifteen (15.62%) are disyllabic. Three (3.70%) monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are

⁶⁴⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 27^v b.

⁶⁴¹ Greene does not comment on the manuscript's form while Stokes gives the original form in a footnote.

⁶⁴² See above, pp. 102–03.

⁶⁴³ Cf. Murphy (1961) p. 33.

answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, sixty-six (81.48%) are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, ten (12.35%) with a trisyllabic and two (2.47%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. Seven (46.67%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and the remaining eight (53.33%) are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Of all rhyming pairs ten (10.42%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.15.1 -am

dam	ingnad	am-ad	3325-3326, 832	ab	29
dam	Ādam	am-am	1263-1264, 316	cd	8
dam	Ādam	am-am	1941-1942, 486	ab	11
clam	gléglan	am-an	3819-3820, 955	cd	39
dam	inglan	am-an	2065-2066, 517	ab	12
dam	lānglan	am-an	2087-2088, 522	cd	12
dam	talman	am-an	3121-3122, 781	ab	27

The first group contains seven rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <am>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.15.2 -aim

Ādaim	ildālaib	aim-aib	1697-1698, 425	ab	11
Ādaim	dermáraib	aim-aib	1973-1974, 494	ab	11
Ādaim	duālchaib	aim-aib	2093-2094, 524	ab	12
Ādaim	duālchaib	aim-aib	2213-1214, 554	ab	12
Ādaim	duālchaib	aim-aib	2219-2220, 555	cd	12
Ādaim	ildánaib	aim-aib	2225-2226, 557	ab	12
Ādaim	grādaib	aim-aib	2773-2774, 694	ab	24
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1757-1758, 440	ab	11
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1761-1762, 441	ab	11
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1765-1766, 442	ab	11
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1769-1770, 443	ab	11
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1773-1774, 444	ab	11
Ādaim	dāgain	aim-ain	1777-1778, 445	ab	11

There are thirteen rhyming pairs in this group and the disyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aim>. The orthography represents a schwa followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Six times the *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and seven times it

is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

The intervocalic rhyming consonant <d> in the *Rinn* is appropriately rhymed with voiced continuants in all but three cases: *Ádaim* is answered by the trisyllabic *Ardrinn duálchaib* (Canto 12, ll. 2093–2094; ll. 2213–2214; ll. 2219–2220), thus rhyming a single consonant with a cluster comprised of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless continuant. The first rhyming vowel is matched orthographically in the *Ardrinn*, but the rhyme is imperfect. The meaning of the *Ardrinn*- vice, fault – could possibly be tied in with the mismatched rhyme: the poet may have chosen this particular rhyming pair to underline Adam’s vice.

5.15.3 -ám

mám	ilgrād	ám-ád	4545-4546, 1137	ab	56
tám	comdāl	ám-ál	3493-3494, 874	ab	31
lām	etrān	ám-án	2053-2054, 514	ab	12
lám	findnār	ám-ár	3699-3700, 925	cd	35

The group contains four rhyming pairs. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <am> and the vowel represents a long /a:/ in all cases. The final consonant represents twice a *lenis* and twice a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Although two of the *Rinn*-words end in a *fortis* voiced continuant, the rhyme is still regular since the consonants are in final position following a long vowel.⁶⁴⁴

5.15.4 -áim

lāim	coemdáil	áim-áil	2885-2886, 722	ab	26
lāim	comdáil	áim-áil	3637-3638, 910	ab	33
Chāim	imslāin	áim-áin	2657-2658, 665	ab	21
Cāim	mōrgrāin	áim-áin	2697-2698, 675	ab	23
Cāim	Cannāin	áim-áin	2793-2794, 699	ab	25
láim	noebnāir	áim-áir	7559-7560, 1890	cd	144
lāim	coemnāir	áim-áir	2573-2574, 644	ab	19
lāim	noebnāir	áim-áir	5085-5086, 1272	ab	74

There are eight rhyming pairs in this group. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aim>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal consonant. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words in all cases. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in *lenis* voiced

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

continuants. The final <m> in the *Rinn*-word represents a *lenis* voiced continuant, but there are three cases where the final consonant is ambiguous: *Cáim*, the Irish form of the Hebrew name *Ham*, appears three times in final rhyming position and there is one example of a possible internal rhyme where *Cham* rhymes with *clann* (Canto 12, ll. 2263–2264).⁶⁴⁵ Since the rhyming consonant appears word-final and comes after a long vowel, the combination of *lenis* and *fortis* is allowed.⁶⁴⁶ This instance may be an example that the use of the non-native name seemed to be rather flexible: firstly, the final consonant was used to rhyme with both a *lenis* and a *fortis* voiced continuant, and considering the length of the vowel the above examples all have a long /a:/, but the line-internal *Cham* contains a short vowel.⁶⁴⁷

5.15.5 -eim

greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5151-5152, 1288	cd	75
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5271-5272, 1318	cd	78
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5373-5374, 1344	ab	82
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	6947-6948, 1737	cd	124
greim	Carmeill	eim-eill	6267-6268, 1567	cd	105
greim	Seheim	eim-eim	3085-3086, 772	ab	27
greim	seheim ⁶⁴⁸	eim-eim	4223-4224, 1056	cd	51
neim	lagein	eim-ein	7755-7756, 1939	cd	150
dos-feim	Nouembeir	eim-eir	253-254, 64	ab	1
greim	oebind	eim-ind	793-794, 199	ab	3

The group is comprised of ten rhyming pairs. The monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eim> and the orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant. In eight instances the final <m> in the *Rinn* represents a *fortis* voiced continuant and those are all rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant.

The remaining two *Rinn*-words end in *lenis* voiced continuants that are answered by a disyllabic and a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* both of which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

⁶⁴⁵ *Cham* appears always in the genitive case in final rhyming position. As can be seen above, it is spelled only once with a lenited initial consonant. This is also the case where it appears in internal rhyming position (*Cham*). The initial lenition may reflect the form of the name as it appears in the Bible, see e.g. Genesis 5.31.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶⁴⁷ See, for example, Canto 83, ll. 5465–5466, where *blad* rhymes with *Aminadab* and Canto 116, ll. 6667–6668, where *grád* rhymes with *Aminadab*. In both cases the *Ardrinn*-word is in the genitive case, but in the first example the rhyming vowel in the final syllable is paired with a short vowel in the *Rinn*-word, in the second example with a long vowel in the *Rinn*-word. For a brief discussion of the rhyming behaviour of non-native names, see below, *Conclusion*, p. 408.

⁶⁴⁸ *seheim* is a form of the loan-word *sechim* ‘shittim-wood’ (DIL, *sechim*, Column 128, ll. 76–82).

In five cases the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. Four times <e> in the *Rinn* is balanced by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*greim:Effraim*, Canto 75, ll. 5151–5152; Canto 78, ll. 5271–5272; Canto 82, ll. 5373–5374; Canto 124, ll. 6947–6948).⁶⁴⁹

In one case *greim* is balanced by *oebind* (Canto 3, ll. 793–794).

5.15.6 -éim

ēim	rorēil	éim-éil	5263-5264, 1316	cd	78
rēim	slānéim	éim-éim	1005-1006, 252	ab	6
ēim	fo-dēin	éim-éin	1541-1542, 386	ab	11
ēim	grēin	éim-éin	4417-4418, 1105	ab	51
nēim	glangrēin	éim-éin	419-420, 105	cd	2
sēim	Beniāmēin	éim-éin	5165-5166, 1292	ab	76
nēim	aëir	éim-éir	7257-7258, 1815	ab	136

Seven rhyming pairs are contained in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eim>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal consonant. The final <m> represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all but one case: *réim* (Canto 6, l. 1005) ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-words and the *fortis* voiced continuant is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. Since the consonant appears after a long vowel, this combination was accepted to give a valid rhyme.⁶⁵⁰ Four *Ardrinn*-words are disyllabic, two are monosyllabic and one contains four syllables.

5.15.7 -im

nim	anmannaib	im-aib	1121-1122, 281	ab	8
nim	adamraib	im-aib	5113-5114, 1279	ab	74
nim	timnaib	im-aib	7187-7188, 1797	cd	133
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1131-1132, 283	cd	8
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1399-1400, 350	cd	9
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1625-1626, 407	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1787-1788, 447	cd	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1797-1798, 450	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1849-1850, 463	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	2153-2154, 539	ab	12

⁶⁴⁹ It should be noted that the same *Rinn*-word will also appear in the group of *Rinn*-words ending in <mm>, where the *fortis*-quality of the final consonant is marked orthographically. See also the introductory remark on the practice of the alphabetical order of this chapter above, on p. 74.

⁶⁵⁰ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

nim	Ádaim	im-aim	2245-2246, 562	ab	12
nim	imresain	im-ain	1741-1742, 436	ab	11
nim	talmain	im-ain	2521-2522, 631	ab	17
nim	menmain	im-ain	3807-3808, 952	cd	38
nim	imresain	im-ain	6037-6038, 1510	ab	100
nim	innilib	im-ib	6331-6332, 1583	cd	105
nim	findgil	im-il	733-734, 184	ab	3
nim	rindgil	im-il	777-778, 195	ab	3
nim	derbdil	im-il	1501-1502, 376	ab	11
nim	derbdil	im-il	1695-1696, 424	cd	11
nim	coemdil	im-il	2055-2056, 514	cd	12
nim	coemdil	im-il	3077-3078, 770	ab	26
nim	rindgil	im-il	4093-4094, 1024	ab	47
nim	imdil	im-il	4605-4606, 1152	ab	58
nim	derbdil	im-il	4625-4626, 1157	ab	59
nim	coemdil	im-il	6393-6394, 1599	ab	107
nim	ārim	im-im	787-788, 197	cd	3
nim	cinadsin	im-in	1993-1994, 499	ab	11
nim	uisi-sin	im-in	4631-4632, 1158	cd	59
nim	imdītin	im-in	5563-5564, 1391	cd	86
nim	ingin	im-in	7525-7526, 1882	ab	143
nim	ingin	im-in	7819-7820, 1955	cd	151
rim	andind	im-ind	3333-3334, 834	ab	29

There are 33 rhyming pairs in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <im>. The orthography represents a short /i/ followed by a voiced continuant. With the exception of one example the final <m> represents a *lenis* voiced continuant. Twenty-four *Rinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and eight are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. In fifteen cases the rhyming vowel is not orthographically identical: <i> in the *Rinn* is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn*, but the palatal quality of the final consonant is present. The remaining seventeen pairs contain orthographically matching rhyming vowels. It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 does not contain the final *Ádaim* in Canto 8, l. 1132⁶⁵¹ and is therefore two syllables short. Both Stokes and Greene have emended the line with the name *Ádaim* which suits the context perfectly.

⁶⁵¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 21^v b.

The single *Rinn*-word that ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant (*rim:andind*). The rhyming vowel corresponds orthographically.

5.15.8 -ím

dīnnīm	ilmīlib	ím-ib	5035-5036, 1259	cd	72
sním	Duīd	ím-íd	6133-6134, 1534	ab	102
sním	Dauīd	ím-íd	6233-6234, 1559	ab	103
sním	Dauīd	ím-íd	6249-6250, 1563	ab	104
gnīm	ardrīg	ím-íg	681-682, 171	ab	3
gnīm	lánlín	ím-ín	5003-5004, 1251	cd	71
gnīm	Filistīn	ím-ín	5335-5336, 1334	cd	81
rím	Beniēmín	ím-ín	6585-6586, 1647	ab	113

The group contains eight rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words end in <im>, the final <m> representing a *lenis* voiced continuant, the vowel representing a long /i:/ in all cases. Seven *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and one is disyllabic. Five of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words rhyme with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, one with a trisyllabic and one with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. Each *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

There is one disyllabic *Rinn*-word that is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final and medial vowels correspond orthographically and the intervocalic *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. However, between vowels, a *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuant are a valid match.⁶⁵²

5.15.9 -om

Ādom	imgābud	om-ud	1065-1066, 267	ab	6
om	Míchol	om-ol	6691-6692, 1673	cd	116

There are two rhyming pairs in this group and the *Rinn*-words end in <om>. The orthography represents a short /o/⁶⁵³ and the final <m> represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in both cases. The monosyllabic *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

The disyllabic *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel in the *Rinn* is balanced by <u> in the *Ardrinn*. The

⁶⁵² Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶⁵³ Only in the monosyllabic case; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents a schwa.

intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word is answered by an equivalent *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and the medial rhyming vowel is orthographical identical.

5.15.10 -aem

caem	taeb	aem-aeb	3025-3026, 757	ab	26
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The set contains a single rhyming pair and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aem>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. This is correctly answered with the *Ardrinn*-word *taeb*. However, the *Ardrinn* is also monosyllabic and therefore this rhyming pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.15.11 -íam

níam	Siliem	íam-iem	7413-7414, 1854	ab	138
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There is one rhyming pair in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <iam> in Greene's text.⁶⁵⁴ It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 has *níab* instead of *níam*,⁶⁵⁵ but that does not change the validity of the rhyme. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* rhymes with the disyllabic *Ardrinn* *Siliem*. The final consonant was most likely pronounced as a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Ardrinn* (the accusative of the name *Silas*) appears only once in the *Saltair* and thus provides the reader with no comparative material. Although the rhyming diphthong is not orthographically identical, the rhyme is regular.

5.15.12 -oem

cóem	oenróen	óem-óen	5649-5650, 1413	ab	89
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The set contains one rhyming pair. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <oem> and the orthography represents a monophthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in <oem>, thus creating a regular rhyme.

5.15.13 -úaim

úaim	bānbúaid	úaim-úaid	6117-6118, 1530	ab	102
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⁶⁵⁴ However, Greene does not note the original manuscript version in his notes and the emendation is not necessary for rhyme or context. Furthermore, the *b*-spelling is rather common for *níam*; see *DIL* (*níam*, Column 44, ll. 62 ff.).

⁶⁵⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^f a.

There is a single rhyming pair in the final set. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨uaim⟩ and the orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in ⟨uaid⟩. The rhyming diphthong is thus identical and the *lenis* voiced continuant still creates a regular rhyme with the *fortis* voiced continuant because of its final, post-diphthongal position.⁶⁵⁶

5.16 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C mm*

There are seven (0.18%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨mm⟩. The final consonants represent a *fortis* voiced continuant in each case. All of these *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and each is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, all rhyming pairs show the regular stress pattern.

5.16.1 -amm

slamm	rētlann	amm-ann	269-270, 68	ab	1
slamm	torann	amm-ann	5253-5254, 1314	ab	77

The first group contains two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨amm⟩. The orthography represents a short /a/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in ⟨ann⟩. Thus, both the rhyming vowel and the final *fortis* voiced continuant are answered appropriately.

5.16.2 -aimm

slaimm	cerchail	aimm-aill	5975-5976, 1494	cd	100
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There is a single rhyming pair in this set. The monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in ⟨aimm⟩. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.16.3 -eimm

greimm	Effraim	eimm-aim	3687-3688, 922	cd	34
greimm	Carneill	eimm-eill	6293-6294, 1574	ab	105

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

greimm	oeb̄eimm	eimm-éimm	6919-6920, 1730	cd	123
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The group contains three rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eimm>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. They are all paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in *fortis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case where <e> in the *Rinn*-word is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn*: *greimm*, ‘grasp, authority’, is rhymed with the name *Effraim* (Canto 34, ll. 3687–3688).⁶⁵⁷

Note also that, in the manuscript, the *fortis* voiced continuant of the *Rinn*-word is represented by a single <m> in the pair *greim:Effraim*.⁶⁵⁸ It is interesting that the author decided to spell *greimm* here with a single <m>, although it orthographically ends in <mm> in other places. The name *Effraim* is rhymed in most cases with *Rinn*-words ending in a single <m>.⁶⁵⁹ These single consonants, however, represent *fortis* voiced continuants in all cases.

In the pair *greimm:oeb̄eimm* (Canto 123, ll. 6919–6920) Rawlinson B 502 actually only has a single <m> as final consonant for the *Ardrinn*-word⁶⁶⁰ and Greene emends this silently to <mm> in his working notes. This does not affect the rhyme, because the final consonant of the *Ardrinn* undoubtedly represents a *fortis* voiced continuant.

5.16.4 -oimm

soimm	glérainn	oimm-ainn	5163-5164, 1291	cd	75
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There is one rhyming pair in the last set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <oimm>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, which ends in a single <n> in the manuscript.⁶⁶¹ Greene has emended this to *glérainn* in his working notes, which is the regular spelling for the *Ardrinn*-word and the orthographic difference does not affect the quality of the consonant. In a footnote he gives *gléram* for the *Ardrinn*-word in Rawlinson B 502.⁶⁶² His reading must be a mistake resulting from the confusion of the minims in the manuscript.

⁶⁵⁷ For *greim* spelled with a single <m> see pp. 163–4.

⁶⁵⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^r b.

⁶⁵⁹ *greim:Effraim* (Canto 75, ll. 5151–5152; Canto 78, ll. 5271–5272; Canto 124, ll. 6947–6948), but *grinn:Effraim* (Canto 75, ll. 5143–5144).

⁶⁶⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^v b; however, the word has been written far into the right margin of the folio, so that it is difficult to read.

⁶⁶¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^r b.

⁶⁶² Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, FN 5164.

5.17 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C n*

There are 605 (15.47%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨n⟩. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Of those, 592 (97.85%) are monosyllabic and thirteen (2.15%) are disyllabic. Ten (1.69%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, 383 (64.70%) are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, 195 (32.94%) are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and four (0.68%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. Twelve (92.31%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and one (7.69%) is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Of all rhyming pairs eleven (1.82%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.17.1 -an

glan	degdamnad	an-ad	1931-1932, 483	cd	11
tan	menmanrad	an-ad	6853-6854, 1714	ab	121
glan	forcetal	an-al	1395-1396, 349	cd	9
glan	ídal	an-al	7121-7122, 1781	ab	131
tan	noebúasal	an-al	1655-1656, 414	cd	11
glan	Ādam	an-am	847-848, 212	cd	4
glan	Ādam	an-am	1081-1082, 271	ab	7
glan	Ādam	an-am	1127-1128, 282	cd	8
glan	Ādam	an-am	1159-1160, 290	cd	8
glan	Ādam	an-am	1229-1230, 308	ab	8
glan	Ādam	an-am	1287-1288, 322	cd	8
glan	Ādam	an-am	1299-1300, 325	cd	9
glan	Ādam	an-am	1331-1332, 333	cd	9
glan	Ādam	an-am	1393-1394, 349	ab	9
glan	Ādam	an-am	1441-1442, 361	ab	10
glan	Ādam	an-am	1647-1648, 412	cd	11
glan	talam	an-am	1789-1790, 448	ab	11
glan	Ādam	an-am	1823-1824, 456	cd	11
glan	Ādam	an-am	1915-1916, 479	cd	11
glan	Ādam	an-am	1957-1958, 490	ab	11
glan	Ādam	an-am	2025-2026, 507	ab	12
glan	Ādam	an-am	2033-2034, 509	ab	12
glan	comnessam	an-am	4851-4852, 1213	cd	68
glan	comram	an-am	5345-5346, 1337	ab	81
glan	talam	an-am	7765-7766, 1942	ab	150
tan	Ādam	an-am	1479-1480, 370	cd	11
an	Ādam	an-an	1635-1636, 409	cd	11
ban	armglan	an-an	7435-7436, 1859	cd	139

glan	talman	an-an	299-300, 75	cd	1
glan	talman	an-an	661-662, 166	ab	3
glan	noebanman	an-an	999-1000, 250	cd	6
glan	talman	an-an	1415-1416, 354	cd	9
glan	talman	an-an	1567-1568, 392	cd	11
glan	Dūleman	an-an	1799-1800, 450	cd	11
glan	Dūleman	an-an	1819-1820, 455	cd	11
glan	talman	an-an	1859-1860, 465	cd	11
glan	talman	an-an	1895-1896, 474	cd	11
glan	talman	an-an	1917-1918, 480	ab	11
glan	Dūileman	an-an	2163-2164, 541	cd	12
glan	Dūleman	an-an	2211-2212, 553	cd	12
glan	drumlurgan	an-an	2463-2464, 616	cd	15
glan	talman	an-an	2607-2608, 652	cd	20
glan	bennachtan	an-an	2839-2840, 710	cd	26
glan	ban	an-an	3177-3178, 795	ab	28
glan	talman	an-an	6509-6510, 1628	ab	109
glan	Solman	an-an	6887-6888, 1722	cd	122
glan	Solman	an-an	7001-7002, 1751	ab	125
glan	talman	an-an	7007-7008, 1752	cd	125
glan	Solman	an-an	7031-7032, 1758	cd	126
glan	Solman	an-an	7287-7288, 1822	cd	137
glan	leöman	an-an	7367-7368, 1842	cd	138
glan	leöman	an-an	7377-7378, 1845	ab	138
glan	talman	an-an	7427-7428, 1857	cd	139
glan	Solman	an-an	7669-7670, 1918	ab	148
tan	findglan	an-an	693-694, 174	ab	3
tan	glēglan	an-an	803-804, 201	cd	3
tan	erglan	an-an	1467-1468, 367	cd	10
tan	Dūleman	an-an	2187-2188, 547	cd	12
tan	talman	an-an	3195-3196, 799	cd	28
tan	gléglan	an-an	7401-7402, 1851	ab	138
tan	derbglan	an-an	7569-7570, 1893	ab	144
trethan	comlethan	an-an	353-354, 89	ab	2
glan	allmar	an-ar	57-58, 15	ab	1
glan	atamar	an-ar	1405-1406, 352	ab	9
glan	allmar	an-ar	2565-2566, 642	ab	19
glan	bātar	an-ar	3081-3082, 771	ab	27
talman	iladbar	an-ar	7733-7734, 1934	ab	150
tan	adbar	an-ar	2167-2168, 542	cd	12
tan	óssar	an-ar	3495-3496, 874	cd	31
tan	ōssar	an-ar	3501-3502, 876	ab	31

glan	ingen	an-en	3757-3758, 940	ab	37
glan	airmiten	an-en	5913-5914, 1479	ab	99
glan	Esrom	an-om	6607-6608, 1652	cd	113

The first group contains 73 rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words end in <an>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁶⁶³ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Seventy-one of those are monosyllabic and one monosyllabic *Rinn* is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in <an>. Although the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern, the rhyming vowel and consonant correspond orthographically.

Fifty-three of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in two cases, where <a> in the *Rinn*-word is answered once by <e> (*glan:ingen*, Canto 37, ll. 3757–3758) and once by <o> (*glan:Esrom*, Canto 113, ll. 6607–6608) in the *Ardrinn*. The orthographic dissimilarity does not interfere with the validity of the rhyme.

Seventeen monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one example: <a> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*glan:airmiten*, Canto 99, ll. 5913–5914).

Both disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in each case. The intervocalic consonants are both answered by appropriate consonants in the *Ardrinn*: <th> is balanced by <th>, and <lm>, representing two *lenis* voiced continuants, is balanced by <db>. The medial vowels are also orthographically identical in both examples.

5.17.2 -ain

glain	Āda[i]m	ain-a[i]m	2117-2118, 530	ab	12
cain	cressaib	ain-aib	151-152, 38	cd	1
cain	esbadaib	ain-aib	817-818, 205	ab	3
cain	demnaib	ain-aib	869-870, 218	ab	5
cain	comnartaib	ain-aib	1975-1976, 494	cd	11
cain	cētaib	ain-aib	2307-2308, 577	cd	12
cain	Ultaib	ain-aib	2355-2356, 589	cd	12
cain	fortúathaib	ain-aib	5161-5162, 1291	ab	75
cain	do-s-fúarcaib	ain-aib	5255-5256, 1314	cd	77
cain	meraib	ain-aib	6643-6644, 1661	cd	115

⁶⁶³ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

glain	forcetlaib	ain-aib	1461-1462, 366	ab	10
glain	airmitnaib	ain-aib	1487-1488, 372	cd	11
glain	nemdaib	ain-aib	2115-2116, 529	cd	12
glain	baethbríathraib	ain-aib	3185-3186, 797	ab	28
glain	ingenaib	ain-aib	3775-3776, 944	cd	37
glain	sodelbaib	ain-aib	4221-4222, 1056	ab	51
glain	slúagaib	ain-aib	4821-4822, 1206	ab	67
glain	apstalaib	ain-aib	7583-7584, 1896	cd	145
glain	apstalaib	ain-aib	7697-7698, 1925	ab	149
iar sain	rétglannaib	ain-aib	1053-1054, 264	ab	6
in-sain	blíadnaib	ain-aib	3393-3394, 849	ab	30
in-sain	slúagaib	ain-aib	4465-4466, 1117	ab	53
sain	anmannaib	ain-aib	1493-1494, 374	ab	11
sain	nemdaib	ain-aib	1603-1604, 401	cd	11
sain	cinedaib	ain-aib	1657-1658, 415	ab	11
sain	lānamnaib	ain-aib	2475-2476, 619	cd	15
sain	ilbērlaib	ain-aib	2761-2762, 691	ab	24
sain	aurannaib	ain-aib	3917-3918, 980	ab	42
sain	blíadnaib	ain-aib	4819-4820, 1205	cd	67
sain	imhesbaid	ain-aib	4965-4966, 1242	ab	70
sain	slúagaib	ain-aib	6433-6434, 1609	ab	108
sain	amsaib	ain-aib	7775-7776, 1944	cd	150
sain	coemc[h]lannaib	ain-aib	2621-2622, 656	ab	20
tain	fidbadaib	ain-aib	317-318, 80	ab	1
tain	anmannaib	ain-aib	1035-1036, 259	cd	6
tain	cenélaib	ain-aib	2795-2796, 699	cd	25
tain	maccaib	ain-aib	3159-3160, 790	cd	27
tain	maccaib	ain-aib	3645-3646, 912	ab	33
tain	dūt[h]rachaib	ain-aib	4865-4866, 1217	ab	68
tain	maccaib	ain-aib	5381-5382, 1346	ab	82
cain	bithoentaid	ain-aid	807-808, 202	cd	3
cain	cōraid	ain-aid	5855-5856, 1464	cd	96
sain	samlaid	ain-aid	4997-4998, 1250	ab	71
tain	trēnchōraid	ain-aid	2403-2404, 601	cd	13
cain	teglai	ain-aig	6175-6176, 1544	cd	103
glain	miscadaig	ain-aig	2421-2422, 606	ab	14
glain	comramaig	ain-aig	5841-5842, 1461	ab	96
sain	rígthaig	ain-aig	6127-6128, 1532	cd	102
tain	oentaig	ain-aig	5363-5364, 1341	cd	81
cain	saegail	ain-ail	5931-5932, 1483	cd	100
cain	immargail	ain-ail	6313-6314, 1579	ab	105
cain	Galail	ain-ail	7727-7728, 1932	cd	149

glain	sainemail	ain-ail	2907-2908, 727	cd	26
glain	immargail	ain-ail	6273-6274, 1569	ab	105
glain	dígail	ain-ail	7075-7076, 1769	cd	128
glain	Galail	ain-ail	7603-7604, 1901	cd	146
in-sain	popail	ain-ail	4493-4494, 1124	ab	54
sain	armgail	ain-ail	6341-6342, 1586	ab	106
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1115-1116, 279	cd	8
cain	acallaim	ain-aim	1183-1184, 296	cd	8
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1207-1208, 302	cd	8
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1343-1344, 336	cd	9
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1845-1846, 462	ab	11
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2037-2038, 510	ab	12
cain	acallaim	ain-aim	2109-2110, 528	ab	12
cain	Ādaim	ain-aim	7769-7770, 1943	ab	150
glain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1151-1152, 288	cd	8
glain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2729-2730, 683	ab	23
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1417-1418, 355	ab	9
sain	boladmair	ain-aim	1085-1086, 272	ab	7
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1169-1170, 293	ab	8
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1531-1532, 383	cd	11
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1577-1578, 395	ab	11
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1717-1718, 430	ab	11
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1945-1946, 487	ab	11
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2051-2052, 513	cd	12
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2143-2144, 536	cd	12
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2221-2222, 556	ab	12
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2705-2706, 677	ab	23
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2011-2012, 503	cd	11
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2121-2122, 531	ab	12
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2193-2194, 549	ab	12
sain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2737-2738, 685	ab	24
tain	Ādaim	ain-aim	1875-1876, 469	cd	11
tain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2105-2106, 527	ab	12
tain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2125-2126, 532	ab	12
tain	Ādaim	ain-aim	2239-2240, 560	cd	12
ann-sain	tesargain	ain-ain	4169-4170, 1043	ab	50
cain	talmain	ain-ain	101-102, 26	ab	1
cain	corcairglain	ain-ain	351-352, 88	cd	2
cain	impartain	ain-ain	1481-1482, 371	ab	11
cain	airmitain	ain-ain	1827-1828, 457	cd	11
cain	talmain	ain-ain	2019-2020, 505	cd	11
cain	Albain	ain-ain	2349-2350, 588	ab	12

cain	Eogain	ain-ain	2375-2376, 594	cd	12
cain	talmain	ain-ain	2583-2584, 646	cd	19
cain	timmarcain	ain-ain	3753-3754, 939	ab	37
cain	aimsir-sain	ain-ain	3993-3994, 999	ab	44
cain	talmain	ain-ain	4811-4812, 1203	cd	66
cain	duinorgain	ain-ain	4849-4850, 1213	ab	68
cain	leömain	ain-ain	5719-5720, 1430	cd	91
cain	anmain	ain-ain	6323-6324, 1581	cd	105
cain	Solamain	ain-ain	7017-7018, 1755	ab	125
cain	talmain	ain-ain	7719-7720, 1930	cd	149
glain	talmain	ain-ain	291-292, 73	cd	1
glain	Düilemain	ain-ain	1369-1370, 343	ab	9
glain	comrarcain	ain-ain	1755-1756, 439	cd	11
glain	imressain	ain-ain	1881-1882, 471	ab	11
glain	talmain	ain-ain	1925-1926, 482	ab	11
glain	menmain	ain-ain	2041-2042, 511	ab	12
glain	imcasain	ain-ain	2139-2140, 535	cd	12
glain	sruth-sain	ain-ain	2185-2186, 547	ab	12
glain	talmain	ain-ain	2707-2708, 677	cd	23
glain	blíadain	ain-ain	3519-3520, 880	cd	31
glain	menmain	ain-ain	3703-3704, 926	cd	35
glain	testemain	ain-ain	4187-4188, 1047	cd	51
glain	flesc-sain	ain-ain	4327-4328, 1082	cd	51
glain	timmarcain	ain-ain	4547-4548, 1137	cd	56
glain	talmain	ain-ain	5303-5304, 1326	cd	79
glain	talmain	ain-ain	5765-5766, 1442	ab	93
inn-sain	frithorgain	ain-ain	1333-1334, 334	ab	9
in-sain	talmain	ain-ain	131-132, 33	cd	1
sain	talmain	ain-ain	331-332, 83	cd	1
sain	anmain	ain-ain	1687-1688, 422	cd	11
sain	menmain	ain-ain	1865-1866, 467	ab	11
sain	talmain	ain-ain	2611-2612, 653	cd	20
sain	argain	ain-ain	5735-5736, 1434	cd	92
sain	sobarthain	ain-ain	2909-2910, 728	ab	26
sain	imresain	ain-ain	5837-5838, 1460	ab	96
tain	talmain	ain-ain	37-38, 10	ab	1
tain	imresain	ain-ain	1407-1408, 352	cd	9
tain	talmain	ain-ain	1929-1930, 483	ab	11
tain	arggain	ain-ain	7545-7546, 1887	ab	144
tain	bitomain	ain-ain	2445-2446, 612	ab	15
tain	fíadgainemain	ain-ain	2807-2808, 702	cd	25
cain	irchomair	ain-air	175-176, 44	cd	1

cain	corcair	ain-air	347-348, 87	cd	2
cain	for-coemnacair	ain-air	3287-3288, 822	cd	29
cain	carcair	ain-air	3289-3290, 823	ab	29
glain	lōgmair	ain-air	457-458, 115	ab	2
glain	íarair	ain-air	3101-3102, 776	ab	27
sain	ro-gēnair	ain-air	5367-5368, 1342	cd	81
cain	comaittreib	ain-eib	1167-1168, 292	cd	8
sain	nāimteib	ain-eib	7233-7234, 1809	ab	135
cain	airmitein	ain-ein	1499-1500, 375	cd	11
glain	airitein	ain-ein	839-840, 210	cd	4
sain	derbdemein	ain-ein	1949-1950, 488	ab	11
sain	airmeitein	ain-ein	6319-6320, 1580	cd	105
glain	Archaingeil	ain-eil	687-688, 172	cd	3
glain	airbrib	ain-ib	2201-2202, 551	ab	12
sain	mīlib	ain-ib	137-138, 35	ab	1
glain	saindil	ain-il	1967-1968, 492	cd	11
cain	noebnim	ain-im	5299-5300, 1325	cd	79
sain	noebnim	ain-im	1013-1014, 254	ab	6
cain	airmitin	ain-in	679-680, 170	cd	3
cain	airmitin	ain-in	1743-1744, 436	cd	11
glain	airmitin	ain-in	659-660, 165	cd	3
gaes [glain]	airmitin	ain-in	6625-6626, 1657	ab	114
sain	écin	ain-in	3835-3836, 959	cd	39
sain	imcaisin	ain-in	2577-2578, 645	ab	19
cain	doöib	ain-oib	7271-7272, 1818	cd	136
cain	domuin	ain-uin	3487-3488, 872	cd	31
sain	domuin	ain-uin	2663-2664, 666	cd	21

There are 163 rhyming pairs in this group in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ain>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Ninety-eight of the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in palatal *lenis* voiced continuants.⁶⁶⁴

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but ten cases. In one case <a> in the *Rinn*-word is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*sain:nāimteib*, Canto 135, ll. 7233–7234).⁶⁶⁵ There are six *Ardrinn*-words balancing the *Rinn*-vowel with a single <i> (*glain:airbrib*, Canto

⁶⁶⁴ In the pair *glain:Ádam* (Canto 12, ll. 2117–2118) the *Ardrinn*-word does not contain the orthographic marker for the palatal quality of the final consonant. The *Rinn*-word is in the accusative singular feminine case of the adjective *glan* and thus must end in a palatal consonant. The *Ardrinn* is the genitive singular of the name *Ádam* and thus also must end in a palatal consonant. It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 contains a suspension as part of the *Ardrinn*: it is spelled *Adā* (Rawl. B 502, f. 24^r b). This suspension usually was not expanded to contain a vowel and thus it must be assumed that this is a scribal error. The pair will not be discussed further.

⁶⁶⁵ The *Ardrinn*-word shows a typical Middle Irish development in that it ends in <eib> instead of <ib>.

12, ll. 2201–2202; *sain:milib*, Canto 1, ll. 137–138; *glain:saindil*, Canto 11, ll. 1967–1968; *cain:noebnim*, Canto 79, ll. 5299–5300; *sain:noebnim*, Canto 6, ll. 1013–1014; *sain:écin*, Canto 39, ll. 3835–3836), one has ⟨o⟩ (*cain:dooib*, Canto 136, ll. 7271–7272) and two have ⟨u⟩ (*cain:domuin*, Canto 31, ll. 3487–3488; *sain:domuin*, Canto 21, ll. 2663–2664) as their rhyming vowels.

There are 64 *Rinn*-words that are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but eleven cases. Six times ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is answered by ⟨e⟩ (*cain:comaittreib*, Canto 8, ll. 1167–1168; *cain:airmitein*, Canto 11, ll. 1499–1500; *glain:airitein*, Canto 4, ll. 839–840; *sain:derbdemein*, Canto 11, ll. 1949–1950; *sain:airmeitein*, Canto 105, ll. 6319–6320; *glain:archaingeil*, Canto 3, ll. 687–688) and five times by ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*cain:airmitin*, Canto 3, ll. 679–680 and Canto 11, ll. 1743–1744; *glain:airmitin*, Canto 3, ll. 659–660 and Canto 114, ll. 6625–6626; *sain:imcaisin*, Canto 19, ll. 2577–2578).

There is one example of a *Rinn*-word being matched with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* which also ends in ⟨ain⟩, thus creating a perfect rhyme.

5.17.3 -án

án	comrād	án-ád	1213-1214, 304	ab	8
án	noegrād	án-ád	1643-1644, 411	cd	11
án	noegrád	án-ád	2161-2162, 541	ab	12
án	saegrád	án-ád	3661-3662, 916	ab	34
án	ollgrád	án-ád	4445-4446, 1112	ab	52
án	mōrgrād	án-ád	6469-6470, 1618	ab	108
ān	ilgrād	án-ád	713-714, 179	ab	3
rán	grād	án-ád	1821-1822, 456	ab	11
slán	saegrād	án-ád	797-798, 200	ab	3
slán	saegrád	án-ád	6661-6662, 1666	ab	116
rán	Labāin	án-áin	3021-3022, 756	ab	26
án	Ismál	án-ál	5213-5214, 1304	ab	77
grán	dál	án-ál	3329-3330, 833	ab	29
slán	sīrdāl	án-ál	1009-1010, 253	ab	6
slán	comdál	án-ál	5159-5160, 1290	cd	75
slān	banscāl	án-ál	1059-1060, 265	cd	6
slān	comdāl	án-ál	1373-1374, 344	ab	9
slān	dédendāl	án-ál	7373-7374, 1844	ab	138
án	Abrām	án-ám	3497-3498, 875	ab	31
ān	Abrám	án-ám	3079-3080, 770	cd	26
bán	Abrám	án-ám	3307-3308, 827	cd	29

dān	crithlām	án-ám	1455-1456, 364	cd	10
lān	Abrām	án-ám	2783-2784, 696	cd	25
rān	Abrām	án-ám	2877-2878, 720	ab	26
rān	commám	án-ám	4713-4714, 1179	ab	63
slān	Abrām	án-ám	2805-2806, 702	ab	25
slān	Abrám	án-ám	4095-4096, 1024	cd	47
slān	Abrām	án-ám	4827-4828, 1207	cd	67
slán	athchosan	án-an	645-646, 162	ab	2
án	comlán	án-án	189-190, 48	ab	1
án	imšlān	án-án	293-294, 74	ab	1
án	comlān	án-án	617-618, 155	ab	2
án	comlān	án-án	2301-2302, 576	ab	12
án	oenurān	án-án	2785-2786, 697	ab	25
án	Labán	án-án	2943-2944, 736	cd	26
án	comlán	án-án	3411-3412, 853	cd	30
án	comlán	án-án	3521-3522, 881	ab	32
án	comlán	án-án	4477-4478, 1120	ab	53
án	Bassán	án-án	5223-5224, 1306	cd	77
án	tonnbán	án-án	5231-5232, 1308	cd	77
án	Íanothán	án-án	5583-5584, 1396	cd	87
án	Íanothán	án-án	5629-5630, 1408	ab	88
án	Íanothán	án-án	6105-6106, 1527	ab	102
án	comlán	án-án	6561-6562, 1641	ab	113
án	Ionadán	án-án	6705-6706, 1677	ab	117
án	imlán	án-án	7453-7454, 1864	ab	140
án	oenbratán	án-án	7623-7624, 1906	cd	146
ān	comlān	án-án	625-626, 157	ab	2
ān	imlān	án-án	2417-2418, 605	ab	14
ān	Dathān	án-án	4463-4464, 1116	cd	53
ān	Gussān	án-án	5285-5286, 1322	ab	79
bān	Samratān	án-án	5209-5210, 1303	ab	77
Dán	comlān	án-án	5141-5142, 1286	ab	75
lán	Cannān	án-án	4725-4726, 1182	ab	64
lān	imlān	án-án	19-20, 5	cd	1
lān	oenurán	án-án	1241-1242, 311	ab	8
rān	Labān	án-án	2947-2948, 737	cd	26
rān	comlán	án-án	6621-6622, 1656	ab	114
slán	comlān	án-án	3089-3090, 773	ab	27
slán	oenurán	án-án	3203-3204, 801	cd	28
slán	Cannán	án-án	4655-4656, 1164	cd	61
slán	Cannán	án-án	5037-5038, 1260	ab	72
slán	Cannán	án-án	5203-5204, 1301	cd	77

slán	comlán	án-án	5573-5574, 1394	ab	86
slán	Ionathán	án-án	5599-5600, 1400	cd	87
slán	Ionadán	án-án	6521-6522, 1631	ab	110
slán	forlán	án-án	6991-6992, 1748	cd	124
slán	imlán	án-án	7441-7442, 1861	ab	139
slān	Ionathán	án-án	5929-5930, 1483	ab	100
án	bithmár	án-ár	149-150, 38	ab	1
án	dermár	án-ár	309-310, 78	ab	1
án	coemnār	án-ár	1037-1038, 260	ab	6
án	imnār	án-ár	5369-5370, 1343	ab	82
án	Tamár	án-ár	6709-6710, 1678	ab	117
án	imnār	án-ár	6829-6830, 1708	ab	120
ān	coemnār	án-ár	1061-1062, 266	ab	6
ān	imnār	án-ár	3313-3314, 829	ab	29
bán	ollmár	án-ár	6761-6762, 1691	ab	117
bán	lár	án-ár	7717-7718, 1930	ab	149
slán	comnār	án-ár	489-490, 123	ab	2
slán	dermár	án-ár	5669-5670, 1418	ab	90
slán	dermár	án-ár	6941-6942, 1736	ab	124
slān	ollmār	án-ár	757-758, 190	ab	3
slān	coemnār	án-ár	2667-2668, 667	cd	21

The group contains 84 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <an>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Sixty-eight of those are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which end in a *lenis* or *fortis* voiced continuant. However, there is one case where a non-palatal consonant in the *Rinn* is answered by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn* (*rán:Labáin*, Canto 26, ll. 3021–3022). The *Ardrinn* is the genitive form of the name *Lebán* and thus grammatically correct. This causes the rhyme to be imperfect, because the quality of the final consonant does not agree.⁶⁶⁶

The final <m> in the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words represents once a *lenis* voiced continuant (*crithlám*, Canto 10, l. 1456) and once a *fortis* voiced continuant (*commám*, Canto 63, l. 4714). Both the *fortis* as well as the *lenis* voiced continuant create a valid rhyme, since *fortis* voiced and *lenis* voiced continuants can be rhymed in final position after a long vowel or a diphthong.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁶ It is possible that the poet considered the non-native name in the *Ardrinn*-position as not declinable and originally had the pair as *rán:Labán*. The scribe may have quite naturally ‘corrected’ the genitive form of the *Ardrinn* to end in a palatal consonant.

⁶⁶⁷ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

Thirteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Three *Rinn*-words are balanced by monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and although the pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern, the *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all *Ardrinn*-words.

5.17.4 -áin

āin	soergráid	áin-áid	4637-4638, 1160	ab	60
āin	oendāil	áin-áil	2713-2714, 679	ab	23
ráin	comdáil	áin-áil	2073-2074, 519	ab	12
ráin	rí[g]dáil	áin-áil	6817-6818, 1705	ab	120
ráin	comdāil	áin-áil	7537-7538, 1885	ab	144
rāin	oendāil	áin-áil	5549-5550, 1388	ab	85
slāin	coemdāil	áin-áil	1001-1002, 251	ab	6
slāin	mōrdāil	áin-áil	7357-7358, 1840	ab	138
grāin	Abrāim	áin-áim	3351-3352, 838	cd	29
áin	Abráim	áin-áim	3605-3606, 902	ab	33
áin	Abarāim	áin-áim	3681-3682, 921	ab	34
grāin	Abaráim	áin-áim	3005-3006, 752	ab	26
grāin	Abrāim	áin-áim	3491-3492, 873	cd	31
sáin	Abráim	áin-áim	2921-2922, 731	ab	26
sláin	Abráim	áin-áim	2861-2862, 716	ab	26
sláin	Abrāim	áin-áim	2905-2906, 727	ab	26
sláin	Abráim	áin-áim	7433-7434, 1859	ab	139
slāin	Abrāim	áin-áim	5017-5018, 1255	ab	72
aín	rochaín	aín-aín	4377-4378, 1095	ab	51
lāin	Dathain	áin-ain	7177-7178, 1795	ab	133
áin	comlāin	áin-áin	3257-3258, 815	ab	29
áin	gráin	áin-áin	7065-7066, 1767	ab	128
áin	Cannáin	áin-áin	7335-7336, 1834	cd	138
āin	imslāin	áin-áin	5245-5246, 1312	ab	77
Dáin	Lebáin	áin-áin	5185-5186, 1297	ab	76
gráin	Cannáin	áin-áin	3299-3300, 825	cd	29
grāin	Labāin	áin-áin	2927-2928, 732	cd	26
grāin	Labāin	áin-áin	2939-2940, 735	cd	26
grāin	Cannáin	áin-áin	3485-3486, 872	ab	31
grāin	Lebáin	áin-áin	5191-5192, 1298	cd	76
grāin	Dagāin	áin-áin	5407-5408, 1352	cd	83
slāin	comlāin	áin-áin	3537-3538, 885	ab	33
slāin	mórgráin	áin-áin	5965-5966, 1492	ab	100
áin	dermáir	áin-áir	7045-7046, 1762	ab	127

gráin	dermāir	áin-áir	5865-5866, 1467	ab	97
ráin	noebnáir	áin-áir	5531-5532, 1383	cd	85
ráin	golgáir	áin-áir	7077-7078, 1770	ab	129
sláin	dermāir	áin-áir	5073-5074, 1269	ab	73
sláin	Sennāir	áin-áir	2755-2756, 689	cd	24

This group contains 39 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ain>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Thirty-six of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. As before, the name *Abrám* is used and the final <m> most likely represents a *lenis* voiced continuant, because, with the exception of one example,⁶⁶⁸ *Abrám* is always rhymed with a word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Two *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a *fortis* voiced continuant.⁶⁶⁹

There is one *Rinn* that is rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in <ain>. Thus, the pair deviates from the regular stress pattern. The rhyming vowels match orthographically in all pairs.

5.17.5 -en

den	Dūleman	en-an	1391-1392, 348	cd	9
den	ētan	en-an	1451-1452, 363	cd	10
caingen	archaíngel	en-el	7781-7782, 1946	ab	150
daingen	archaíngel	en-el	339-340, 85	cd	2
daingen	archaíngel	en-el	4175-4176, 1044	cd	50
dangen	archangel	en-el	811-812, 203	cd	3
daingen	noebaíngel	en-el	2745-2746, 687	ab	24
den	archangel	en-el	2075-2076, 519	cd	12
sen	forcitel	en-el	4615-4616, 1154	cd	58
ben	do-rúacell	en-ell	3173-3174, 794	ab	28
caingen	archaíngel	en-el	7533-7534, 1884	ab	144
ben	naebnem	en-em	2063-2064, 516	cd	12
sen	noebnem	en-em	127-128, 32	cd	1
den	agmen	en-en	773-774, 194	ab	3
sen	dílgen	en-en	2723-2724, 681	cd	23
ben	lāndilgen[n]	en-en[n]	1547-1548, 387	cd	11

⁶⁶⁸ Internal rhyme: *Abrám: glanmám* (Canto 12, ll. 2301–2302).

⁶⁶⁹ The pairing of *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants to give rhyme was possible in word-final position if the respective consonants were preceded by a long vowel, as in this case, or by a diphthong (see Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96).

There are sixteen rhyming pairs in the group. The *Rinn*-words end in <en>. The orthography represents a short /e/⁶⁷⁰ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Ten *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and six of those are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, one word has been silently emended by Greene to *do-rúacell*, making the final *lenis* contained in Rawlinson B 502⁶⁷¹ into a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *fortis* voiced continuant is etymologically correct, but leaves the pair with an unsatisfactory rhyme. This pair will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.⁶⁷²

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case: *den* is rhymed with *ētan* (Canto 10, ll. 1451–1452).⁶⁷³

Four monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one example: *den* is rhymed with *dúleman* (Canto 9, ll. 1391–1392). Note also that one of the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, *lándilgen* ‘full extinction’ (Canto 11, l. 1548), is written with a single <n>⁶⁷⁴ in Rawlinson B 502. Etymologically, the final consonant is a *fortis* voiced continuant and the *DIL* quotes instances of this noun spelled with a single <n> only from *Saltair na Rann*.⁶⁷⁵

Six *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and they are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases as are the medial vowels. The medial *fortis* voiced continuant is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

5.17.6 -ein

dein	ingenaib	ein-aib	1971-1972, 493	cd	11
dein	ríagaltaib	ein-aib	3367-3368, 842	cd	29
dein	clemnaib	ein-aib	5339-5340, 1335	cd	81
dein	mōrchintaib	ein-aib	6873-6874, 1719	ab	122
dein	talmannaib	ein-aib	7159-7160, 1790	cd	132
sein	ócaib	ein-aib	5653-5654, 1414	ab	89

⁶⁷⁰ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

⁶⁷¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 27ⁱ a.

⁶⁷² See below, p. 371.

⁶⁷³ Rawlinson B 502 has *écen* which would offer a visually perfect rhyme (Rawl. B 502, f. 22^v a). *étan* is found in the *Leabhar Breac* which contains the whole of canto X (see above, pp. 46–7). Greene and Kelly accepted LB’s version for their edition of *The Irish Adam and Eve Story*. *étan* is perfectly acceptable in this context (*conos tī allus for ētan* – until sweat comes to their brow) whereas *écen* ‘necessity, grief’ would be less suitable. It should also be noted that the confusion between <t> and <c> was a fairly frequently occurring scribal mistake.

⁶⁷⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 23ⁱ b.

⁶⁷⁵ Cf. *DIL*, *dílgend*, Column 105, ll. 25 ff; the only other time it appears in the *Saltair* in the rhyming position is in Canto 23 (*sen:dilgen*, ll. 2723–2724). It appears in Canto 88 (l. 5612), also spelled with a single <n>, to give internal rhyme with *sirden* (l. 5611). It also appears in non-rhyming position in Canto 92 (l. 5737) at the beginning of the line and here it is spelled with <nn>. This is also the case in Canto 17 (l. 2514) where it stands in non-rhyming position ending in <nn>. These examples strongly suggest that the poet deliberately altered the orthography to enhance the visual rhyme.

gein	Ādaim	ein-aim	1049-1050, 263	ab	6
sein	Ādaim	ein-aim	1309-1310, 328	ab	9
dein	Solamain	ein-ain	7033-7034, 1759	ab	126
sein	imressain	ein-ain	2965-2966, 742	ab	26
sein	imresain	ein-ain	6981-6982, 1746	ab	124
dein	angleib	ein-eib	2157-2158, 540	ab	12
dein	nāimteib	ein-eib	5597-5598, 1400	ab	87
in-sein	oentreib	ein-eib	3921-3922, 981	ab	42
sein	oentreib	ein-eib	3777-3778, 945	ab	37
sein	nāimteib	ein-eib	6857-6858, 1715	ab	121
sein	brāthreibh	ein-eibh	3105-3106, 777	ab	27
dein	airmitein	ein-ein	1803-1804, 451	cd	11
dein	claimi-sein	ein-ein	4643-4644, 1161	cd	60
dein	sein	ein-ein	4765-4766, 1192	ab	65
dein	saergein	ein-ein	5329-5330, 1333	ab	81
gein	bairgein	ein-ein	7625-7626, 1907	ab	146
in-sein	temein	ein-ein	3901-3902, 976	ab	42
sein	airmitein	ein-ein	3319-3320, 830	cd	29
sein	oengein	ein-ein	3705-3706, 927	ab	35
sein	demein	ein-ein	4149-4150, 1038	ab	49
sein	derbdein	ein-ein	4737-4738, 1185	ab	64
dein	senisteir	ein-eir	187-188, 47	cd	1
dein	Ēbeir	ein-eir	4937-4938, 1235	ab	70
sein	senisteir	ein-eir	4235-4236, 1059	cd	51
sein	rīmirib	ein-ib	123-124, 31	cd	1
sein	nimib	ein-ib	195-196, 49	cd	1
dein	tuirid	ein-id	4519-4520, 1130	cd	55
gein	coemdil	ein-il	7489-7490, 1873	ab	142
gein	Beithil	ein-il	7521-7522, 1881	ab	143
sein	noebgil	ein-il	6885-6886, 1722	ab	122
sein	Neptalim	ein-im	5139-5140, 1285	cd	75
dein	amsirsin	ein-in	2347-2348, 587	cd	12
dein	imcaisin	ein-in	2469-2470, 618	ab	15
dein	fīr-sin	ein-in	5861-5862, 1466	ab	97
dein	aimsir	ein-ir	955-956, 239	cd	5
dein	aimsir	ein-ir	1471-1472, 368	cd	11
sein	imguin	ein-uin	5097-5098, 1275	ab	74

The group is comprised of 43 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ein>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Twenty-six *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

In thirteen cases the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. There are four examples where ⟨e⟩ is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*dein:clemaib*, Canto 81, ll. 5339–5340; *sein:ócaib*, Canto 89, ll. 5653–5654; *gein:Ádaim*, Canto 6, ll. 1049–1050; *sein:Ádaim*, Canto 9, ll. 1309–1310).

In two cases Rawlinson B 502 has ⟨ei⟩⁶⁷⁶ where Greene has edited ⟨i⟩. Including Greene’s emendations, there are eight examples (six if the manuscript is taken into account) where the *Rinn* is answered with a single ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*sein:nimib*, Canto 1, ll. 195–196; *dein:tuirid*, Canto 55, ll. 4519–4520; *gein:coemdil*, Canto 142, ll. 7489–7490; *gein:Beithil*, Canto 143, ll. 7521–7522; *sein:noebgil*, Canto 122, ll. 6885–6886; *dein:fir-sin*, Canto 97, ll. 5861–5862; *dein:aimsir*, Canto 5, ll. 955–956 and Canto 11, ll. 1471–1472).

There is one example where ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by ⟨u⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*sein:imguin*, Canto 74, ll. 5097–5098). This creates a valid rhyme.

There are sixteen trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. In five cases the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. Seven times the *Rinn* is answered by an *Ardrinn*-word containing ⟨a⟩ (*dein:ingenaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1971–1972; *dein:riagaltaib*, Canto 29, ll. 3367–3368; *dein:mórchintaib*, Canto 122, ll. 6873–6874; *dein:talmannaib*, Canto 132, ll. 7159–7160; *dein:Solamain*, Canto 126, ll. 7033–7034; *sein:imressain*, Canto 26, ll. 2965–2966; *sein:imresain*, Canto 124, ll. 6981–6982) and four times the *Ardrinn* answers the *Rinn*-vowel with a single ⟨i⟩ (*sein:rímírib*, Canto 1, ll. 123–124; *sein:Neptalim*, Canto 75, ll. 5139–5140; *dein:aimsirsin*, Canto 12, ll. 2347–2348; *dein:imcaisin*, Canto 15, ll. 2469–2470).

There is one example where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and both words end in ⟨ein⟩. The rhyme is perfect, but the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.17.7 -én

lén	Corēb	én-éb	3781-3782, 946	ab	37
trēn	Coréb	én-éb	3741-3742, 936	ab	36
fén	Abél	én-él	5457-5458, 1365	ab	83
lén	Israhēl	én-él	3831-3832, 958	cd	39
lén	Israhél	én-él	3971-3972, 993	cd	44
lén	Israhél	én-él	4185-4186, 1047	ab	51
lén	Israhél	én-él	4607-4608, 1152	cd	58
lén	Israhél	én-él	5535-5536, 1384	cd	85
lén	Israhél	én-él	5773-5774, 1444	ab	93

⁶⁷⁶ *tuiridein* instead of *tuirid* (Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v a) and *Betheil* instead of *Beithil* (Rawl. B 502, f. 38^v a).

lén	Israhél	én-él	5825-5826, 1457	ab	96
lén	Israhél	én-él	6283-6284, 1571	cd	105
lén	Israhél	én-él	6477-6478, 1620	ab	109
lén	Israhél	én-él	6569-6570, 1643	ab	113
lén	Israhél	én-él	6613-6614, 1654	ab	114
lén	Israhél	én-él	6657-6658, 1665	ab	116
lén	Israhél	én-él	6827-6828, 1707	cd	120
lén	Israhél	én-él	6939-6940, 1735	cd	124
lén	Israhél	én-él	6971-6972, 1743	cd	124
lēn	Israhēl	én-él	5241-5242, 1311	ab	77
srén	Israhél	én-él	5611-5612, 1403	cd	88
srén	Israhél	én-él	6529-6530, 1633	ab	111
trén	dubnél	én-él	7417-7418, 1855	ab	138
trén	Israhél	én-él	3721-3722, 931	ab	36
trén	Israhél	én-él	3897-3898, 975	ab	42
trén	Israhél	én-él	3975-3976, 994	cd	44
trén	Israhél	én-él	4575-4576, 1144	cd	57
trén	Israhél	én-él	4759-4760, 1190	cd	65
trén	Israhél	én-él	5397-5398, 1350	ab	83
trén	Israhél	én-él	5519-5520, 1380	cd	85
trén	Israhél	én-él	5961-5962, 1491	ab	100
trén	Israhél	én-él	6011-6012, 1503	cd	100
trén	Israhél	én-él	6261-6262, 1566	ab	104
trén	Israhél	én-él	6427-6428, 1607	cd	108
trén	Israhél	én-él	6499-6500, 1625	cd	109
trén	Israhél	én-él	6601-6602, 1651	ab	113
trén	Israhél	én-él	6703-6704, 1676	cd	117
trén	Israhél	én-él	6907-6908, 1727	cd	123
trén	Israhél	én-él	7041-7042, 1761	ab	126
trēn	Israhél	én-él	3929-3930, 983	ab	43
trēn	Israhél	én-él	3951-3952, 988	cd	44
trēn	Israhél	én-él	5617-5618, 1405	ab	88
trēn	Israhél	én-él	5833-5834, 1459	ab	96
trēn	Israhél	én-él	6943-6944, 1736	cd	124
trén	Israhēl	én-él	3709-3710, 928	ab	35
trén	Israhēl	én-él	6767-6768, 1692	cd	118
én	imlén	én-én	2137-2138, 535	ab	12
én	comthrén	én-én	7261-7262, 1816	ab	136
lén	Iordanén	én-én	1621-1622, 406	ab	11
lén	Iordanēn	én-én	5211-5212, 1303	cd	77
lén	Iordanén	én-én	7145-7146, 1787	ab	132
lén	Iordanén	én-én	7339-7340, 1835	cd	138

lēn	Eufratēn	én-én	1003-1004, 251	cd	6
lén	Torrén	én-én	5249-5250, 1313	ab	77
lēn	trén	én-én	2441-2442, 611	ab	15
lēn	Magdalēn	én-én	7405-7406, 1852	ab	138
sēn	imlén	én-én	5569-5570, 1393	ab	86
trén	Eōrdanēn	én-én	5197-5198, 1300	ab	76
trén	etarlén	én-én	3761-3762, 941	ab	37
trén	Iordanén	én-én	1587-1588, 397	cd	11
trén	Iordanén	én-én	1701-1702, 426	ab	11
trén	Iordanén	én-én	7561-7562, 1891	ab	144
trēn	Iordanēn	én-én	1629-1630, 408	ab	11
trēn	Torrén	én-én	5167-5168, 1292	cd	76
lén	Calēph	én-éph	4721-4722, 1181	ab	64
trēn	ahér	én-ér	2149-2150, 538	ab	12

There are 65 rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <en>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Eleven *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with one exception: *lén* is rhymed with *Calēph* (Canto 64, ll. 4721–4722) and thus the *Ardrinn* ends in a voiceless continuant. As mentioned above, the pairing of voiced and voiceless continuants was a frequently occurring rhyming combination in the *Saltair*.⁶⁷⁷

Fifty-three *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Finally, there is one monosyllabic *Ardrinn* that answers the *Rinn*-word. It ends in the identical *lenis* voiced continuant, thus creating a regular rhyme with the exception of the stress pattern. The rhyming vowel is identical in all pairs.

5.17.8 -éin

céin	Caldéib	éin-éib	3489-3490, 873	ab	31
céin	Calldéib	éin-éib	3657-3658, 915	ab	33
cēin	Calldéib	éin-éib	3303-3304, 826	cd	29
céin	slēib	éin-éib	7217-7218, 1805	ab	135
cēin	ardslēib	éin-éib	7309-7310, 1828	ab	138
fo-déin	slēib	éin-éib	2553-2554, 639	ab	18
céin	Obéid	éin-éid	5703-5704, 1426	cd	91
cēin	Abēil	éin-éil	2009-2010, 503	ab	11
cēin	glanchéil	éin-éil	3305-3306, 827	ab	29

⁶⁷⁷ See above, p. 79 and also see Murphy (1961) p. 33.

cēin	roréil	éin-éil	3377-3378, 845	ab	30
céin	Aibéil	éin-éil	7505-7506, 1877	ab	143
céin	Beniëméin	éin-éin	5129-5130, 1283	ab	75
cēin	glangrēin	éin-éin	569-570, 143	ab	2
cēin	Caëin	éin-éin	1979-1980, 495	cd	11
cēin	Caëin	éin-éin	1987-1988, 497	cd	11
cēin	Caëin	éin-éin	2401-2302, 601	ab	13
cēin	Beniamēin	éin-éin	3001-3002, 751	ab	26
cēin	Filestēin	éin-éin	6421-6422, 1606	ab	108
cēin	Ochtavēin	éin-éin	7523-7524, 1881	cd	143
dēin	Caëin	éin-éin	1943-1944, 486	cd	11
fo-déin	Beniaméin	éin-éin	3587-3588, 897	cd	33
fo-dēin	Beniemēin	éin-éin	3603-3604, 901	cd	33
gréin	aicgéin	éin-éin	5-6, 2	ab	1
gréin	Beniamēin	éin-éin	3577-3578, 895	ab	33
cēin	Iosēiph	éin-éiph	3161-3162, 791	ab	27
céin	úagréir	éin-éir	6361-6362, 1591	ab	106
fa-dēin	glanlēir	éin-éir	3293-3294, 824	ab	29
féin	úagréir	éin-éir	4127-4128, 1032	cd	48
fēin	ōgrēir	éin-éir	3503-3504, 876	cd	31
fo-déin	glanlēir	éin-éir	3361-3362, 841	ab	29
fo-déin	ógréir	éin-éir	6859-6860, 1715	cd	121
grēin	glanlēir	éin-éir	113-114, 29	ab	1
nēin	ōgrēir	éin-éir	1075-1076, 269	cd	6
sréin	Israhēl	éin-él	5187-5188, 1297	cd	76

This group contains 34 examples and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ein>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Twenty-four *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of one example: *céin* is rhymed with *Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3161–3162), but as seen above this combination was a frequently occurring rhyming combination in the *Saltair*.⁶⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that the name *Ioséiph* is seven times rhymed with words ending in a *lenis* or *fortis* voiced continuant and only once with a word also ending in a voiceless continuant.⁶⁷⁹

There are seven trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that are matched with monosyllabic *Rinn*-words and all of those also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The combination of *sréin* and

⁶⁷⁸ See above, p. 79 and cf. Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁶⁷⁹ *triall*:*Iosíaph* (Canto 27, ll. 3147–3148 and Canto 33, ll. 3551–3552); *miad*:*Iosíaph* (Canto 34, ll. 3691–3692); *réir*:*Ioséiph* (Canto 34, ll. 3665–3666); *féig*:*Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3083–3084); *céin*:*Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3161–3162); *iath*:*Iosíaph* (Canto 140, ll. 7445–7446); see above, p. 117 for the rhyming with *Iosíab*.

Israhél (Canto 76, ll. 5187–5188) seemingly rhymes a palatal and a non-palatal consonant with one another. However, the meaning of the *Rinn*-word is obscure⁶⁸⁰ and Greene takes it as a possible nominative plural of the noun *srían* ‘bridle, check, control’. As a nominative plural of an *o*-stem it is indeed spelled with a palatal final consonant. Greene expands the *Ardrinn*-word to *Israhél*, but Stokes has expanded the suspension *Isrl* to *Israhéil* which is the grammatically correct spelling for the genitive case that is to be found in this instance.⁶⁸¹ Thus, the pair is metrically regular and will not be discussed further.

There is one example of a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in <ein>, thus providing another regular rhyme.

Finally, two *Rinn*-words are answered by monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, the pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.17.9 -in

sin	clannaib	in-aib	1105-1106, 277	ab	8
sin	slúagaib	in-aib	6589-6590, 1648	ab	113
sin	Ādaim	in-aim	1989-1990, 498	ab	11
sin	derbdein	in-ein	785-786, 197	ab	3
bin	degdaínib	in-ib	3279-3280, 820	cd	29
bin	degdaínib	in-ib	5791-5792, 1448	cd	94
sin	airbrib	in-ib	3985-3986, 997	ab	44
sin	ainglib	in-ib	4125-4126, 1032	ab	48
caingin	ilaingil	in-il	851-852, 213	cd	4
cin	soerdil	in-il	3685-3686, 922	ab	34
demin	fossceimil	in-il	543-544, 136	cd	2
gin	imdil	in-il	4801-4802, 1201	ab	66
brudin	derbthurim	in-im	931-932, 233	cd	5
sin	noebnim	in-im	311-312, 78	cd	1
sin	árim	in-im	4017-4018, 1005	ab	44
sin	noebnim	in-im	2133-2134, 534	ab	12
sin	sírt[h]uistin	in-in	2817-2818, 705	ab	26
sin	aidchi-sin	in-in	6493-6494, 1624	ab	109
sin	fessin	in-in	5873-5874, 1469	ab	97
bargin	daidbir	in-ir	7653-7654, 1914	ab	147

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. DIL, *srén*, Column 368, ll. 29–38.

⁶⁸¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^r b; Stokes expanded to *Israéil* (Stokes (ed.) (1883) p. 76); it should be noted that the name *Israhel* appears 83 times in the *Ardrinn*-rhyming position, 32 times it is expanded to its full length, 51 times it is spelled *isrl* followed by a suspension and in all but two cases does it appear in the genitive case. This rhyming pair with the name *Israhel* is the only one with a *Rinn*-word ending in a palatal consonant and never in its fully expanded form is *Israhel* spelled with a final palatal consonant. It is therefore very likely that the poet did not decline the non-native name.

sin	ainmnigtir	in-ir	215-216, 54	cd	1
sin	muintir	in-ir	6373-6374, 1594	ab	106
sin	senathir	in-ir	4989-4990, 1248	ab	71

There are 23 rhyming pairs in the group where the *Rinn*-words end in <in>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁶⁸² that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Nineteen of those are monosyllabic. Thirteen of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in four cases. Three times, the *Rinn* is answered by an *Ardrinn* containing <a> (*sin:clannaib*, Canto 8, ll. 1105–1106; *sin:slúagaib*, Canto 113, ll. 6589–6590; *sin:Ádaim*, Canto 11, ll. 1989–1990) and once by an *Ardrinn* featuring <e> (*sin:derbdein*, Canto 3, ll. 785–786). Since the palatal quality of the final consonant is reflected in all those cases, the rhyme is still valid. However, Greene has emended *derbden* as contained in Rawlinson B 502⁶⁸³ to *derbdein*. It is a compound of the adjective *derb* ‘sure’ and of the adjective *dein* ‘strong’. The adjective *dein* is also attested with a non-palatal final consonant, *den*, and both forms appear in the *Saltair*, the quality of the final consonant depending on the rhyming word.⁶⁸⁴

Six times the *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and these all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

There are four disyllabic *Rinn*-words and three of them are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. The intervocalic consonants are answered by consonants from the same phonetic class and the medial vowels are orthographically identical. However, where Rawlinson B 502 offers *demein* rhyming with *fossceimil*⁶⁸⁵ Greene has edited *demin:fossceimil* (Canto 2, ll. 543–544). According to the examples in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* the spelling of the *Rinn*-word as it is contained in the manuscript only appears in the *Saltair*,⁶⁸⁶ which would suggest that the scribe was paying close attention to the visual rhyme.

One disyllabic *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in <ir> and the intervocalic consonant group is answered by an equivalent cluster (*bargin:daidbir*, Canto

⁶⁸² Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

⁶⁸³ Rawl. B 502, f. 21^r a.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. DIL, *de(in)*, Column 22, ll. 43–4: ‘adj., apparently indecl., and found only in verse.’ The adjective appears with a non-palatal final in line 1391 (*den:Duleman*), line 773 (*den:agmen*), line 1451 (*den:écen*). However, in the majority of cases the adjective ends in a palatal consonant: l. 1803 (*dein:airmitein*), l. 1971 (*dein:ingenaib*), l. 4434 (*anair:toebdein*), l. 7614 (medial position), l. 955 (*dein:aimsir*), l. 3367 (*dein:riagaltaib*), l. 1471 (*dein:aimsir*), l. 4643 (*dein:sein*), l. 7033 (*dein:Solamain*), l. 5861 (*dein:sin*), l. 5329 (*dein:saergein*), l. 4765 (*dein:sein*).

⁶⁸⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^f b.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. DIL, *demein*, Column 21, ll. 57–8: ‘Prob. *metri gratia* for *deimin*.’

147, ll. 7653–7654). The medial rhyming vowel is echoed. However, the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.17.10 -ín

dín	Duïd	ín-íd	6953-6954, 1739	ab	124
crín	rofín	ín-ín	6325-6326, 1582	ab	105
dín	Filistín	ín-ín	5593-5594, 1399	ab	87
dīn	Filistín	ín-ín	5507-5508, 1377	cd	84
dīn	Filistín	ín-ín	5509-5510, 1378	ab	84

This group contains five rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <in>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining three *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels are an orthographic match in all pairs.

5.17.11 -on

dron	erchol	on-ol	1873-1874, 469	ab	11
dron	adnacol	on-ol	2231-2232, 558	cd	12
dron	immardol	on-ol	2409-2410, 603	ab	13
dron	cubuchol	on-ol	2857-2858, 715	ab	26
dron	airchron	on-on	825-826, 207	ab	3
dron	éton	on-on	2003-2004, 501	cd	11
dron	Romor	on-or	4049-4050, 1013	ab	46
dron	immarchor	on-or	4309-4310, 1078	ab	51
dron	immfordul	on-ul	4233-4234, 1059	ab	51

There are nine rhyming pairs in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <on>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Four times the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

There are five trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. However, where Rawlinson B 502 has *immfordol*,⁶⁸⁷ Greene has *immfordul* in the *Ardrinn*-position.⁶⁸⁸ Both options are metrically correct, but the manuscript version provides the visually more pleasing rhyme.

⁶⁸⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^v b.

5.17.12 -ón

brón	Celleón	ón-ón	5693-5694, 1424	ab	91
brón	Abisolón	ón-ón	6927-6928, 1732	cd	123
brōn	Ebrōn	ón-ón	2227-2228, 557	cd	12
crón	Abisolón	ón-ón	6911-6912, 1728	cd	123
crōn	Arnón	ón-ón	4767-4768, 1192	cd	65
brón	lermór	ón-ór	2721-2722, 681	ab	23
crōn	Tabōr	ón-ór	5225-5226, 1307	ab	77

There are seven rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <on>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Five *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. In one case, *brón* is rhymed with the name *Celleón* (ll. 5693–5694, Canto 91). By the end of the tenth century the diphthong /eo/ had disappeared and thus the rhyme here is between two long *o*'s.⁶⁸⁹

Two *Ardrinn*-words are tetrasyllabic and they also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.17.13 -óin

brōin	Iacōib	óin-óib	2917-2918, 730	ab	26
bróin	Saóil	óin-óil	6565-6566, 1642	ab	113
bróin	Bethróin	óin-óin	5083-5084, 1271	cd	74
brōin	Babilōin	óin-óin	2321-2322, 581	ab	12

This group contains four rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oin>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Two of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining two *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels match in all pairs.

⁶⁸⁸ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 4234; there is no justification to depart from the spelling in Rawlinson B 502 and it may be assumed that this is a typographical error.

⁶⁸⁹ See McCone (1994) § 11.4, p. 92: 'Tugtar faoi deara go gcuireann *u* nó *o* an dara heilimint de na défhoghair /āu/, /ēu/ in iúl agus go raibh lár an tsiolla ag tosú ar aistriú go dtí an dara cuid seo sa chaoi gur tháinig /ō/ idir dhá chonsan chaola chun cinn: m.sh., ain. iol., beóil /b'ōl'/ 'liopaí, béal' (Wb. 7^d9), gin. u. a cheneóil /xen'ōl'/ a chine (Wb. 6^d6).' See also L. Breatnach (1994) § 3.8, p. 233: 'Fianaise d'athrú an défhoghair *áe/aí/óe/oí* go guta fada is ea (a) an litriú in: *ébind* 'aoibhinn', LL 38031 (*Bór*) [...] b'fheidir (b) an comhardadh in: *a-taí* 'tá tú':*do-gní* 'a dhéanann tú', LL 33754 (*TF*), *druí* 'draoi':*rí* 'rí', LL 28351 (*MD*) [...] agus (c) an t-athrú sa 3 u. caite den bhriathar substainteach ó *boí* go *bí* (12.65). Mar an gcéanna b'fheidir go gciallaíonn an comhardadh in *forcoméot* 'faire' (tabh.):*rót* 'bóthar', LL 28138 (*MD*), *heóin* 'éin':*ardmóir* 'uasal agus mór', LL 28349 (*MD*), *cāelmuneol* 'muinéal caol' (tabh.):*mór* 'mór', LL 29214, go raibh *éo* athruithe ar a laghad go défhoghar éiritheach.' See above p. 150, for another example of this rhyme.

5.17.14 -uin

Demuin	lenamuin	uin-uin	1721-1722, 431	ab	11
druin	suanemuin	uin-uin	4277-4278, 1070	ab	51

There are two rhyming pairs in the group where the *Rinn*-words end in <uin>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁶⁹⁰ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. One of the *Rinn*-words is monosyllabic and this is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in <uin>.

The other *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. The intervocalic rhyming consonant is also identical, but the medial <e> in the *Rinn* is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn*.

5.17.15 -ún

rún	Saúl	ún-úl	5955-5956, 1489	cd	100
dún	glanrún	ún-ún	6961-6962, 1741	ab	124
Nún	ilrún	ún-ún	5005-5006, 1252	ab	72
Nún	prīmdūn	ún-ún	7341-7342, 1836	ab	138
rún	Ithidún	ún-ún	6647-6648, 1662	cd	115
rūn	slógdūn	ún-ún	4549-4550, 1138	ab	56
Nūn	tromthúr	ún-úr	5265-5266, 1317	ab	78

This group is comprised of seven rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <un>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Six *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

One *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels match in all pairs.

5.17.16 -úin

rúin	Saüil	úin-úil	6547-6548, 1637	cd	112
rúin	Saüil	úin-úil	6597-6598, 1650	ab	113
rúin	noebdúil	úin-úil	7421-7422, 1856	ab	138
rúin	remūir	úin-úir	4355-4356, 1089	cd	51
rūin	scriptūir	úin-úir	4201-4202, 1051	ab	51

⁶⁹⁰ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

There are five rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uin>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. All *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels match.

5.17.17 -éoin

deōin	Rubeōin	eóin-eóin	5147-5148, 1287	cd	75
déoin	ūrféoil	éoin-éoil	4627-4628, 1157	cd	59

There are two rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eoin>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in both cases. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in both cases.

5.17.18 -ían

cían	mórmíad	ían-íad	6481-6482, 1621	ab	109
dían	anríad	ían-íad	4461-4462, 1116	ab	53
dían	mōrmíad	ían-íad	6413-6414, 1604	ab	108
dían	anríad	ían-íad	7081-7082, 1771	ab	129
pían	anríad	ían-íad	877-878, 220	ab	5
pían	Abíal	ían-íal	2815-2816, 704	cd	25
cían	comtriall	ían-íall	5745-5746, 1437	ab	92
cían	Helessíam	ían-íam	7147-7148, 1787	cd	132
dían	Helesíam	ían-íam	7157-7157, 1790	ab	132
pían	Helesíam	ían-íam	7171-7172, 1793	cd	133
rían	Helessíam	ían-íam	7143-7144, 1786	cd	132
cían	pían	ían-ían	1549-1550, 388	ab	11
dían	Madían	ían-ían	5297-5298, 1325	ab	79
dían	anrían	ían-ían	5393-5394, 1349	ab	83
grīan	fīrīan	ían-ían	2677-2678, 670	ab	22
pían	comchīan	ían-ían	957-958, 240	ab	5
cían	Iosíaph	ían-íaph	3263-3264, 816	cd	29

This group contains seventeen rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ían>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Twelve *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant with the exception of two examples: one *Ardrinn* ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant (*cían:comtriall*,

Canto 92, ll. 5745–5746).⁶⁹¹ The other *Ardrinn* ends in a voiceless continuant (*cían:Iosíaph*, Canto 29, ll. 3263–3264),⁶⁹² but as seen above this is a frequently occurring rhyming combination in this corpus.⁶⁹³ The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

Four *Ardrinn*-words are trisyllabic and they also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. All trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words represent a form of the biblical name *Eliseus*. The same form can represent the nominative, accusative and genitive form⁶⁹⁴ and they are exclusively rhymed with *Rinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. It must be assumed that the final <m> indeed represented a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is echoed in each example.

There is one *Ardrinn* that is monosyllabic and it also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical, but the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.17.19 -iúin

ciúin	Mīchiūil	iúin-iúil	2123-2124, 531	cd	12
ciúin	aniúil	iúin-iúil	3525-3526, 882	ab	32
triúin	irdiúid	iúin-iúid	3983-3984, 996	cd	44

This group is comprised of three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <iuin>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ preceded and followed by a palatal consonant. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

5.17.20 -úan

Uan	imluad	uan-uad	593-594, 149	ab	2
búan	mōrslúag	úan-úag	3973-3974, 994	ab	44
búan	Samúal	úan-úal	5667-5668, 1417	cd	89
búan	imlúad	úan-úad	6849-6850, 1713	ab	121

The final group contains four rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn* ends in <uan>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. All *Rinn*-words are

⁶⁹¹ As noted above, a *fortis* and a *lenis* voiced continuant were allowed to rhyme in final position after a long vowel or a diphthong; see above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁶⁹² The *Saltair* distinguishes between *Ioséph*, the patriarch (a form of which is presented in this rhyming pair) and *Iosiab*, husband of Mary; see also Knott (1952) p. 114.

⁶⁹³ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁶⁹⁴ For a brief discussion of the treatment of this and other biblical names, see *Conclusion*, p. 408.

paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is echoed in each *Ardrinn*.

5.18 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C nd*

There are 35 (0.89%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <nd>.⁶⁹⁵ The final consonant cluster represents a *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and thirty-one (88.57%) are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and the remaining four (11.43%) are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All rhyming pairs thus lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.18.1 -aind

laind	fírhúachail	aind-aill	1669-1670, 418	ab	11
raind	romadmaim	aind-aim	6787-6788, 1697	cd	118
claind	salaind	aind-aind	2809-2810, 703	ab	25
claind	Foraind	aind-aind	3409-3410, 853	ab	30
claind	Foraind	aind-aind	3711-3712, 928	cd	35
claind	badbraind	aind-aind	5399-5400, 1350	cd	83
raind	toraind	aind-aind	611-612, 153	cd	2
claind	Forainn	aind-ainn	3803-3804, 951	cd	38
maind	tádrainn	aind-ainn	4337-4338, 1085	ab	51
raind	Forainn	aind-ainn	7327-7328, 1832	cd	138
claind	at-bailim	aind-im	2031-2032, 508	cd	12
craind	mórdruing	aind-uing	1433-1434, 359	ab	9

The first group contains twelve rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aind>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. Ten *Rinn*-words are matched with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in two cases: once, <a> in the *Rinn* is answered by <i> (*claind:at-bailim*, Canto 12, ll. 2031–2032) in the *Ardrinn* and once by <u> (*craind:mórdruing*, Canto 9, ll. 1433–1434).

Two *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

⁶⁹⁵ See Thurneysen (1946) p. 93, § 151 (c): ‘The assimilation of *nd* to *nn* in proclitic words begins in the archaic period; [...]. The spelling *-n(n)* first becomes common in MI., not only in **tinnacul**, earlier **tindnacul** ‘bestowing’, but also in **chláinn** 91^b17, **chlain** 23^d12, for **chlaind** (acc. dat. sg. of *cland* ‘children’) [...]. In the Féilire original *nd* rhymes with double liquids [...], and in Mid. Ir. MSS *nd* and *nn* have the same value.’ Although the phonetic value of *-nn* and *-nd* are identical in *Saltair na Rann*, as is evident by the rhymes, the *Rinn*-words ending in *-nd* and *-nn* have been divided into two groups, according to their orthography rather than their phonetic value. See chapter 5.20, pp. 200–05.

5.18.2 -end

mend	imthimchell	end-ell	5753-5754, 1439	ab	93
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There is a single rhyming pair contained in this set and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <end>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is echoed.

5.18.3 -ind

bind	Iochim	ind-im	7507-7508, 1877	cd	143
tind	anim	ind-im	1791-1792, 448	cd	11
cind	firthind	ind-ind	3215-3216, 804	cd	28
cind	inchind	ind-ind	5871-5872, 1468	cd	97
dind	oenrind	ind-ind	227-228, 57	cd	1
dind	oenrind	ind-ind	231-232, 58	cd	1
dind	forfind	ind-ind	981-982, 246	ab	6
dind	mórmind	ind-ind	6805-6806, 1702	ab	119
fīnd	soermind	ind-ind	589-590, 148	ab	2
fīnd	sírIffrind	ind-ind	1771-1772, 443	cd	11
frind	c[h]aemfind	ind-ind	1521-1522, 381	ab	11
mind	derbdind	ind-ind	989-990, 248	ab	6
rind	fīrfind	ind-ind	845-846, 212	ab	4
rind	erfind	ind-ind	1905-1906, 477	ab	11
tind	téidbind	ind-ind	6059-6060, 1515	cd	101
bind	dīlinn	ind-inn	2273-2274, 569	ab	12
bind	soergrinn	ind-inn	7729-7730, 1933	ab	149
cind	coemgrinn	ind-inn	6389-6390, 1598	ab	107
rind	forfinn	ind-inn	257-258, 65	ab	1
tind	Iffirn	ind-irn	859-860, 215	cd	4
tind	Iffirn	ind-irn	949-950, 238	ab	5
tind	Iffirn	ind-irn	1351-1352, 338	cd	9

The final group is comprised of 22 rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ind>. The orthography represents a short /i/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Twenty-one of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *fortis* voiced continuant or in a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants. Where the *Ardrinn*-words contain two *lenis* voiced continuants, it is always the adjective *tind* ‘sick’ that is rhymed with the noun *iffirn* ‘hell’. *Iffirn* is mostly rhymed with *tind* and this shows that the rhyming of a *fortis* /N/ and two

lenis voiced continuants was allowed to give regular rhyme.⁶⁹⁶ The rhyming vowel is in all cases orthographically identical.

There is one example of a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. It also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant⁶⁹⁷ and the rhyming vowel is echoed, thus generating a regular rhyme.

5.19 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C ng*

There are 27 (0.69%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ng>. The final consonant cluster represents a *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and eighteen (66.67%) are rhymed with disyllabic, four (14.81%) with trisyllabic and five (18.52%) with tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Hence, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.19.1 -ing

sing	Iffirn	ing-irn	1855-1856, 464	cd	11
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The first set contains a single rhyming pair where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <ing>. This is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a cluster of *lenis* voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is echoed. As seen above, the combination of *lenis* voiced continuants and a *fortis* voiced continuant was accepted to give a regular rhyme.⁶⁹⁸

5.19.2 -ong

drong	imroll	ong-oll	637-638, 160	ab	2
drong	foroll	ong-oll	7481-7482, 1871	ab	141
drong	forētrom	ong-om	4645-4646, 1162	ab	60
drong	fortrom	ong-om	7197-7198, 1800	ab	134
drong	imchumong	ong-ong	341-342, 86	ab	2
drong	ferdrong	ong-ong	7137-7138, 1785	ab	131
drong	comlonn	ong-onn	2413-2414, 604	ab	13
drong	faebarglonn	ong-onn	6789-6790, 1698	ab	118
drong	Capharnaüm	ong-um	7609-7610, 1903	ab	146

⁶⁹⁶ See also Jaskuła (2007) p. 54, where he finds that a *fortis* voiced continuant can be combined with two *lenis* voiced continuants to give rhyme. This is based on his classification of four different types of syllables (see chapter 2.7, pp. 37–41).

⁶⁹⁷ The pair *find:siriffirind* (Canto 11, ll. 1771–1772) actually reads *fid* and *siriff̄* (Rawl. B 502, f. 23^v a), with a suspension stroke for <n> in the *Rinn*-word and a suspension stroke for the last syllable of the *Ardrinn*-word. Including this instance, the word for ‘hell’ appears nine times in rhyming position. It is abbreviated to *Iff̄* three times, but if spelled out in its entirety always with final <rn>. It is always rhymed with words ending in a single *fortis* voiced continuant, so there is no need for Greene’s and Kelly’s (unmarked) expansion.

⁶⁹⁸ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív, (1966) p. 96.

There are nine rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ong>. The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Five of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Three *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all examples.

Finally, there is one example of a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in the *fortis* voiced continuant <m>. The rhyming vowel is <u> (*Capharnäum*, Canto 146, l. 7610).⁶⁹⁹

5.19.3 -oing

droing	derbrainn	oing-ainn	433-434, 109	ab	2
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This set contains a single rhyming pair where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <oing>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. This is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel of the *Rinn* is answered with <a> in the *Ardrinn*. However, Rawlinson B 502 has *baind* ‘deed, amount’ in the *Rinn* position,⁷⁰⁰ making the rhyme both aurally and visually perfect. Greene chose *droing* from manuscript 24 P 27⁷⁰¹ in the *Royal Irish Academy* in his text. Considering that *baind* is contained in the older manuscript and that the meaning of *baind* and *droing* are very similar if not identical, the former is probably the better choice for this particular rhyming pair, although both words comprise a perfectly valid rhyme.

5.19.4 -ung

drung	iallacrannd	ung-annd	3911-3912, 978	cd	42
drung	ubull	ung-ull	1265-1266, 317	ab	8
drung	Librum	ung-um	249-250, 63	ab	1
drung	firmamentum	ung-um	633-634, 159	ab	2
drung	úasum	ung-um	855-856, 214	cd	4
drung	ornamentum	ung-um	2147-2148, 537	cd	12

⁶⁹⁹ The syntax seems to require a genitive in the *Ardrinn*-position: *Rí ru-tháinic, tólaib drong / in cathraig Capharnaüm* [The king reached, with hosts of people, the city Capharnaum]. This would suggest that the non-native name was indeclinable, something that has been seen before (for *Israhel* see above, FN 681). It should also be noted that Latin words or names ending in <m> are used to rhyme with *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants and thus the phonetic value seems to have been chosen freely by the poet.

⁷⁰⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r a.

⁷⁰¹ This manuscript was written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and it contains only the first 1196 lines of the *Saltair*, ‘in a text independent of that of R[awlinson B 502]’ (see Greene/ Kelly (1976) p. 8). If P was a copy of the material in Rawlinson B 502 then the variant must go back to a different source.

drung	Tirum	ung-um	5217-5218, 1305	ab	77
drung	Calde-orum	ung-um	7303-7304, 1826	cd	138
drung	Machabeorum	ung-um	7459-7460, 1865	cd	140
drung	iürn	ung-urn	5761-5762, 1441	ab	93

This group contains ten rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ung>. The orthography represents a short /u/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant in all cases. Five of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant or a cluster of *lenis* voiced continuants (*drung:iürn*, Canto 93, ll. 5761–5762).⁷⁰² The latter rhyming combination has been noted above as permissible and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.⁷⁰³

There is one example of a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* being combined with the *Rinn*-word. It also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant and Rawlinson B 502 has *iallaçund* in the *Ardrinn*-position with a suspended <a> over the *c* to which an <r> is commonly added in transcription.⁷⁰⁴ Greene edited the *Ardrinn* to *iallacrann*d (Canto 42, l. 3912). The manuscript form reflects the archaic spelling of the dative case.

Three times the *Rinn*-word is answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. These *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all instances. It should be noted that two *Ardrinn*-words are Latin and the third is the Latin form of a biblical name (*firmamentum*, Canto 2, l. 634; *ornamentum*, Canto 12, l. 2148; *Caldeorum*,⁷⁰⁵ Canto 138, l. 7304).

There is one example of an *Ardrinn* containing five syllables. This also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant (*Machabeorum*, Canto 140, l. 7460) and echoes the rhyming vowel. The *Ardrinn* is the Latin form of a Hebrew name.

5.19.5 -uing

druing	forgaill	uing-aill	4301-4302, 1076	ab	51
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⁷⁰² It should be noted that the *Ardrinn* is only disyllabic – as the word is used here – up until the end of the Old Irish period and the vowel has also been specifically adopted from the Old Irish spelling for the dative case. For a discussion of mono- and disyllabic *íarn* see O’Rahilly (1942) who briefly discusses the etymology, connecting *íarn* with Celtic *isarno-* (p. 119). He also mentions that although we also have the monosyllabic form of the word towards the end of the Irish period, *iarann* became very common (p. 120). ‘The poets of the schools, taking advantage of these variations, allowed themselves considerable latitude in the form and declension of the word. In IGT we find three forms recognized: disyllabic *iarann* and *i’arn* (both declined like *colam*; *o* stem, unsynocopated in acc. and dat. pl.), p. 54, and monosyllabic *iar*n (gen. *iar*na; declined as an *u* stem), p. 127.’ (p. 120)

⁷⁰³ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁷⁰⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^v a.

⁷⁰⁵ In the case of the *Ardrinn*-word *Caldeorum* the poet was aware of the hiatus between the medial *e* and *o*. This name appears only once in *Saltair na Rann*.

druing	oenchraind	uing-aind	1227-1228, 307	cd	8
druing	eruill	uing-uill	7057-7058, 1765	ab	127
druing	fírchruind	uing-uind	35-36, 9	cd	1
druing	cennchruind	uing-uind	889-890, 223	ab	5
druing	dessduind	uing-uind	2673-2674, 669	ab	22

There are six rhyming pairs in the final group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uing>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in two instances where <u> is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*druing:forgaill*, Canto 51, ll. 4301–4302 and *druing:oenchraind*, Canto 8, ll. 1227–1228).

5.20 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C nn*

There are 98 (2.51%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <nn>.⁷⁰⁶ The final consonant cluster represents a *fortis* voiced continuant in all examples. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and three (3.06%) are paired with a monosyllabic, seventy-two (73.47%) with a disyllabic, twelve (12.24%) with a trisyllabic and eleven (11.22%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, three (3.06%) rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.20.1 -ann

clann	dall	ann-all	7681-7682, 1921	ab	148
clann	gúforgall	ann-all	7751-7752, 1938	cd	150
gann	gūforgall	ann-all	3219-3220, 805	cd	28
gann	gúforgall	ann-all	5517-5518, 1380	ab	85
bann	colam	ann-am	2559-2560, 640	cd	18
ann	imgann	ann-ann	933-934, 234	ab	5
ann	imgann	ann-ann	2005-2006, 502	ab	11
ann	imgann	ann-ann	3037-3038, 760	ab	26
ann	rann	ann-ann	4173-4174, 1044	ab	50
bann	rētlann	ann-ann	717-718, 180	ab	3
bann	rētglann	ann-ann	5273-5274, 1319	ab	78
fann	torann	ann-ann	3935-3936, 984	cd	43
fann	rētglann	ann-ann	7291-7292, 1823	cd	137
rann	oenchrann	ann-ann	1087-1088, 272	cd	7
bann	cathbarr	ann-arr	5863-5864, 1466	cd	97
clann	dīlenn	ann-enn	2293-2294, 574	ab	12

⁷⁰⁶ For the variation of *nd/nn* see Thurneysen (1946) p. 93, § 151 (c) and FN 695, p. 195.

rann	scríbenn	ann-enn	4967-4968, 1242	cd	70
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The first group contains seventeen rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ann>. The orthography represents a short /a/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Two of these are rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that both end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, but the pairs do not adhere to the regular stress pattern.

Twelve *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in all but two cases: twice, the <a> in the *Rinn* is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*clann:díleinn*, Canto 12, ll. 2293–2294 and *rann:scríbenn*, Canto 70, ll. 4967–4968).

Three times the *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and these all end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.20.2 -ainn

clainn	bledmaill	ainn-aill	7383-7384, 1846	cd	138
lainn	Domnaill	ainn-aill	2351-2352, 588	cd	12
bainn	Foraind	ainn-aind	3291-3292, 823	cd	29
bainn	Foraind	ainn-aind	3799-3800, 950	cd	38
bainn	degmaind	ainn-aind	4907-4908, 1227	cd	69
clainn	Foraind	ainn-aind	3995-3996, 999	cd	44
rainn	pennaind	ainn-aind	1579-1580, 395	cd	11
rainn	cétchlaind	ainn-aind	2281-2282, 571	ab	12
bainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	4959-4960, 1240	cd	70
clainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	3841-3842, 961	ab	40
clainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	7323-7324, 1831	cd	138
gainn	colainn	ainn-ainn	7577-7578, 1895	ab	145
lainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	3969-3970, 993	ab	44
rainn	colainn	ainn-ainn	2329-2330, 583	ab	12
rainn	Alprainn	ainn-ainn	2363-2364, 591	cd	12
rainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	3251-3252, 813	cd	29
rainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	3891-3892, 973	cd	41
rainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	3991-3992, 998	cd	44
rainn	Forainn	ainn-ainn	4015-4016, 1004	cd	44
rainn	callainn	ainn-ainn	7531-7532, 1883	cd	144

There are twenty rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ainn>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-

words are all rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which end in a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.20.3 -enn

lenn	colam	enn-am	2581-2582, 646	ab	19
tenn	Hierusalam	enn-am	6771-6772, 1693	cd	118
tenn	imthimchell	enn-ell	1031-1032, 258	cd	6
cenn	Hierusalem	enn-em	2235-2236, 559	cd	12
cenn	Hierusalem	enn-em	2237-2238, 560	ab	12
cenn	Hierusalem	enn-em	7431-7432, 1858	cd	139
renn	Math[u]-Sālem	enn-em	2259-2260, 565	cd	12
tenn	Hierusalem	enn-em	6693-6694, 1674	ab	116
tenn	Hierusalem	enn-em	6701-6702, 1676	ab	117
tenn	Hirusalem	enn-em	6815-6816, 1704	cd	120
benn	ilchend	enn-end	881-882, 221	ab	5
denn	forcenn	enn-enn	11-12, 3	cd	1
benn	dīlenn	enn-enn	2613-2614, 654	ab	20
cenn	comthenn	enn-enn	5883-5884, 1471	cd	98
lenn	dīlenn	enn-enn	2543-2544, 636	cd	18
tenn	dīlenn	enn-enn	2229-2230, 558	ab	12
tenn	dīlenn	enn-enn	2427-2428, 607	cd	14
tenn	lethglenn	enn-enn	4719-4720, 1180	cd	64
tenn	coitchenn	enn-enn	6465-6466, 1617	ab	108
drenn	Ifferen	enn-ern	871-872, 218	cd	5
drenn	Ifferen	enn-ern	7771-7772, 1943	cd	150

The group is comprised of 21 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <enn>. The orthography represents a short /e/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant in each case. Twelve of the *Rinn*-words are matched with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *fortis* voiced continuant or in a consonant cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is echoed in all but one example: *lenn* is rhymed with *colam* (Canto 19, ll. 2581–2582). However, as Greene notes, Rawlinson B 502⁷⁰⁷ has *lainn* and *colaim* in the *Rinn* and *Ardrinn* position respectively. Greene’s version still generates a valid rhyme. Grammatically, *colam* has to be in the accusative case and, as a feminine *ā*-stem,⁷⁰⁸ should read *colaim*. However, the form *lainn* ‘with us’ is not quoted in the *DIL* entry for the preposition *la*. The adjective *lainn* ‘keen, joyful’ cannot be the basis of the *Rinn*-word unless it is an interjection. Greene, who emended an originally typed *lann* to *lenn* in his working notes, refers back to line 2543 in Canto

⁷⁰⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 25^v a.

⁷⁰⁸ However, *colam* can also be a masculine *o*-stem (see *DIL*, *colum*, Column 330, l. 29), in which case the non-palatal form for the accusative case is the correct one.

18, where it says: *cethrachar ar chét lathi lenn*. Greene does not translate *lenn* in this instance and remarks in a footnote ‘that *lainn* will not fit here’. The orthographic and phonetic rhymes as they are preserved in Rawlinson B 502 are perfect, but the meaning of the *Rinn*-word is problematic.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word which also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed.

Eight *Ardrinn*-words are tetrasyllabic and also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases except for one: Greene has *tenn* rhyming with *Hierusalem* (Canto 118, ll. 6771–6772). However, the final syllable of the latter is part of a suspension in the manuscript and thus can also be read as *-lem*.⁷⁰⁹ The rhyme is in either case regular.

5.20.4 -inn

grinn	Effraim	inn-aim	5143-5144, 1286	cd	75
grinn	crosfigill	inn-ill	2061-2062, 516	ab	12
grinn	crosfigill	inn-ill	5089-5090, 1273	ab	74
binn	Caríatharim	inn-im	5467-5468, 1367	cd	83
grinn	anim	inn-im	1435-1436, 359	cd	9
grinn	túrim	inn-im	2567-2568, 642	cd	19
grinn	Filistim	inn-im	5603-5604, 1401	cd	87
tinn	Achinoÿm	inn-im	5999-6000, 1500	cd	100
tinn	Achnoim	inn-im	6089-6090, 1523	ab	101
cinn	gérthind	inn-ind	6075-6076, 1519	cd	101
cinn	bind	inn-ind	7497-7498, 1875	ab	142
dinn	gabulrind	inn-ind	6663-6664, 1666	cd	116
frinn	ilrind	inn-ind	273-274, 69	ab	1
grinn	gärthind	inn-ind	3437-3438, 860	ab	31
grinn	gérthind	inn-ind	3627-3628, 907	cd	33
rinn	forfind	inn-ind	1801-1802, 451	ab	11
tinn	oenchind	inn-ind	885-886, 222	ab	5
tinn	nóebfind	inn-ind	5487-5488, 1372	cd	84
dinn	oenrinn	inn-inn	209-210, 53	ab	1
finn	naebdinn	inn-inn	6025-6026, 1507	ab	100
grinn	dīlinn	inn-inn	2253-2254, 564	ab	12
grinn	dīlinn	inn-inn	2283-2284, 571	cd	12
grinn	dīlinn	inn-inn	2731-2732, 683	cd	23

⁷⁰⁹ *Hierusalem/Hirusalem* appears twelve times in the *Ardrinn*-position (cf. also Knott (1952) p. 112, HIERUSALEM). The name is fully expanded seven times and every time it ends in *-em*. This spelling includes the accusative, dative and genitive cases, which indicates that the non-native *Ardrinn* was not declined. Therefore it is very likely that the suspension is to be expanded to read *-em*, as has been done by Greene in every other case where the final syllable is suspended.

grinn	gérthinn	inn-inn	7067-7068, 1767	cd	128
tinn	Iffirn	inn-irn	143-144, 36	cd	1
tinn	Iffirn	inn-irn	815-816, 204	cd	3

There are 26 rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <inn>. The orthography represents a short /i/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Eighteen of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant or in a consonant cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is echoed in all but one instance: *grinn* is rhymed with *Effraim* (Canto 75, ll. 5143–5144).

Five *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

There are two tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words both of which end in the *fortis* voiced continuant <m>. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in both instances.

Finally, one *Rinn*-word is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in <ind>. The rhyme is regular, but the pair deviates from the regular stress pattern.

5.20.5 -onn

glonn	uboll	onn-oll	1345-1346, 337	ab	9
inn-onn	uboll	onn-oll	1273-1274, 319	ab	8
glonn	cúllom	onn-om	2377-2378, 595	ab	12
glonn	degaltrom	onn-om	3707-3708, 927	cd	35
glonn	dodrong	onn-ong	6377-6378, 1595	ab	106
glonn	ferdrong	onn-ong	6513-6514, 1629	ab	109
glonn	garblonn	onn-onn	3893-3894, 974	ab	41

The group is comprised of seven rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <onn>. The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Six of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in all cases.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.20.6 -unn

inn-unn	ubull	unn-ull	1271-1272, 318	cd	8
sunn	ubull	unn-ull	1325-1326, 332	ab	9
sunn	ornamentum	unn-um	2217-2218, 555	ab	12

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <unn>. The orthography represents a short /u/ that is followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant. Two of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

There is one tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*, a Latin word (*ornamentum*, Canto 12, l. 2218). The final consonant probably had the phonetic value of a *fortis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.20.7 -uinn

duinn	saerdruing	uinn-uing	2637-2638, 660	ab	21
tuinn	ētruim	uinn-uim	2519-2520, 630	cd	17

The group contains two rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uinn>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in both pairs.

5.20.8 -aunn

craunn	oenubull	aunn-ull	1253-1254, 314	ab	8
craunn	óenubull	aunn-ull	1261-1262, 316	ab	8

The final group also contains two rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <aunn>.⁷¹⁰ Both are rhymed with the same disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in <ull>. This does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

5.21 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C nt*

cint	firmimint	int-int	133-134, 34	ab	1
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There is one (0.03%) *Rinn*-word that ends in orthographic <int> and it is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in <int>. In both cases the final consonant cluster represents a

⁷¹⁰ It should be noted that the <a> in *craunn* is superscripted in the manuscript: cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 22^f a; see also above, p. 198–9, for the example of *iallacraund*.

lenis voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and the vowel represents a short /i/. Thus the rhyme is regular.⁷¹¹

5.22 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C ph*

graph	aslach	aph-ach	1341-1342, 336	ab	9
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There is one (0.03%) *Rinn*-word ending in orthographic <aph>. This is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographical identical.

5.23 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C r*

There are 291 (7.44%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <r>. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. 273 (93.81%) of these are monosyllabic and eighteen (6.19%) are disyllabic. Five of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and therefore lie outside of the regular stress pattern (1.83%, i.e. 1.72% of all rhyming pairs). 194 (71.06%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, sixty-six (24.18%) are answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and eight (2.93%) by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

All eighteen disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

5.23.1 -ar

bladmar	bithsamrad	ar-ad	975-976, 244	cd	6
sechtar	innertad	ar-ad	5031-5032, 1258	cd	72
síabar	bithphíanad	ar-ad	907-908, 227	cd	5
car	apstal	ar-al	7473-7474, 1869	ab	141
scar	cumal	ar-al	2991-2992, 748	cd	26
rathmar	imathlam	ar-am	5353-5354, 1339	ab	81
scar	Totham	ar-am	3103-3104, 776	cd	27
car	oirdnistar	ar-ar	5047-5048, 1262	cd	72
car	rem-itrubarmar	ar-ar	7419-7420, 1855	cd	138
celar	coemt[h]rebar	ar-ar	6295-6296, 1574	cd	105
galar	amlabar	ar-ar	7633-7634, 1909	ab	147
láthar	derbráthar	ar-ar	7319-7320, 1830	cd	138
lāthar	derbrāthar	ar-ar	2799-2800, 700	cd	25
mennar	archangel	ar-el	783-784, 196	cd	3

⁷¹¹ See below, pp. 227–8 where *firimint* is rhymed with words ending in a voiced stop: *leirg:firimeint* (Canto 1, ll. 205–206); *meirg:firimeint* (Canto 1, ll. 277–278); *meirg:firimeint* (Canto 2, ll. 423–424). The question must be raised whether the *Ardrinn* itself was possibly pronounced with a final voiced stop.

The first group is comprised of fourteen rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <ar>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁷¹² followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Five of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and three times they are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* which all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

One monosyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic and one with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*, both of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

The nine disyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case where <a> is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*mennar:archangel*, Canto 3, ll. 783–784).

The remaining intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters in the *Rinn*-words are all appropriately balanced in the *Ardrinn* with two exceptions: *sechtar* rhymes with *innertad* (Canto 72, ll. 5031–5032) and thus a voiceless continuant and voiceless stop are answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. However, this is a frequently occurring combination in the *Saltair*.⁷¹³

The second consonantal irregularity can be found in the pair *mennar:archangel* (Canto 3, ll. 783–784). The palatal quality of the intervocalic consonant in the *Ardrinn* is not present in the *Rinn*-word and thus the rhyme is faulty.

5.23.2 -air

fair	ingnad	air-ad	3341-3342, 836	ab	29
bladmair	iladbaib	air-aib	7263-7264, 1816	cd	136
gair	úaraib	air-aib	1097-1098, 275	ab	7
gair	úasaib	air-aib	4909-4910, 1228	ab	69
gair	apstalaib	air-aib	7679-7680, 1920	cd	148
tair	arddaib	air-aib	7629-7630, 1908	ab	146
an-echtair	comnertaid	air-aid	4285-4286, 1072	ab	51
gair	degaid	air-aid	4875-4876, 1219	cd	69
úabair	rorúanaid	air-aid	5455-5456, 1364	cd	83
rathmair	prīmchathraig	air-aig	525-526, 132	ab	2
an-air	Herccail	air-ail	2643-2644, 661	cd	21
tair	immargail	air-ail	7-8, 2	cd	1
gair	Ādaim	air-aim	7805-7806, 1952	ab	151
deochair	suibdeochain	air-ain	4533-4534, 1134	ab	55

⁷¹² Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

⁷¹³ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

gair	Solmain	air-ain	7009-7010, 1753	ab	125
sair	timargain	air-ain	1337-1338, 335	ab	9
tair	corcarglain	air-ain	4269-4270, 1068	ab	51
gair	dessabair	air-air	1231-1232, 308	cd	8
gair	fessabair	air-air	2021-2022, 506	ab	12
gair	gēnair	air-air	2735-2736, 684	cd	23
gair	athair	air-air	2871-2872, 718	cd	26
gair	bráthair	air-air	3073-3074, 769	ab	26
gair	íarair	air-air	3095-3096, 774	cd	27
gair	tāncabair	air-air	3471-3472, 868	cd	31
gair	recsabair	air-air	3635-3636, 909	cd	33
gair	athair	air-air	4141-4142, 1036	ab	49
gair	echtair	air-air	4387-4388, 1097	cd	51
gair	ro-gēnair	air-air	7571-7572, 1893	cd	144
sair	tarrasair	air-air	4787-4788, 1197	cd	66
tair	corcair	air-air	79-80, 20	cd	1
fair	ardflaith	air-aith	3253-3254, 814	ab	29
an-air	toebdein	air-ein	4433-4434, 1109	ab	52
gair	taberncuil	air-uil	4863-4864, 1216	cd	68

There are 33 rhyming pairs in this group and the *Rinn*-words end in <air>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁷¹⁴ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Twenty-eight *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and eighteen of these are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant or a voiceless continuant. As noted above, the latter is a valid rhyming combination.⁷¹⁵ There is one mismatch to be found regarding the quality of the final consonant: *fair* is rhymed with *ingnad* (Canto 29, ll. 3341–3342). The pair combines a palatal with a seemingly non-palatal consonant. The *Rinn*-word is the preposition *for* with the neuter suffixed singular pronoun and thus ends in a palatal consonant. The *Ardrinn*-word is the accusative form of the adjective *ingnad* and must end in a palatal consonant if the preceding word, *aislingthe*, is understood to be feminine.⁷¹⁶ It may be presumed that the pair contains a scribal error.

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical with the exception of one example: *an-air* rhymes with *toebdein* (Canto 52, ll. 4433–4434).

⁷¹⁴ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words represents schwa.

⁷¹⁵ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷¹⁶ *forsin n-aislingthe n-ingnad*; the entry in the *DIL* indeed states that *aislinge* is ‘later f.’ (cf. *DIL*, *aislinge*, Column 247, l. 70). In this case *ingnad* would be a feminine *ā*-stem and thus would have to end in a palatal consonant in the accusative and dative case. In fact, the *Lexique Etymologique l’Irlandais Ancien* (1981) only refers to *aislinge* as feminine: ‘**aisling**, f. et **aislinge**, f.’, p. A-51. The pair will not be discussed further.

Ten of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are echoed in all but one *Ardrinn*-word, where <a> is answered by <u> (*gair:taberncuil*, Canto 68, ll. 4863–4864).

Five *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and all of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases. The intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters of the *Rinn*-words are balanced by appropriate consonants in the *Ardrinn*-words. There is only one instance of a mismatch where a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop (*an-echtair:connertaid*, Canto 51, ll. 4285–4286).⁷¹⁷ The medial vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

5.23.3 -ár

lār	Moáb	ár-áb	4751-4752, 1188	cd	65
clār	soergrād	ár-ád	4229-4230, 1058	ab	51
lār	comrād	ár-ád	2089-2090, 523	ab	12
lār	comrād	ár-ád	2097-2098, 525	ab	12
lār	coemgrād	ár-ád	2189-2190, 548	ab	12
lār	soergrād	ár-ád	4273-4274, 1069	ab	51
már	Galád	ár-ád	5193-5194, 1299	ab	76
lár	targabāl	ár-ál	3619-3620, 905	cd	33
lār	comthocbāl	ár-ál	2741-2742, 686	ab	24
lār	fanrām	ár-ám	1389-1390, 348	ab	9
nār	Abrām	ár-ám	2681-2682, 671	ab	22
lár	lomnán	ár-án	3861-3862, 966	ab	40
lār	athchossān	ár-án	919-920, 230	cd	5
lār	comlān	ár-án	7029-7030, 1758	ab	126
már	timpán	ár-án	4041-4042, 1011	ab	45
nār	imslān	ár-án	2481-2482, 621	ab	16
nār	Ionathān	ár-án	5621-5622, 1406	ab	88
clár	dermār	ár-ár	2447-2448, 612	cd	15
lár	dergár	ár-ár	5647-5648, 1412	cd	89
lār	dermār	ár-ár	2077-2078, 520	ab	12
lār	noebnár	ár-ár	2169-2170, 543	ab	12
lār	coemnār	ár-ár	2525-2526, 632	ab	17
lār	mórár	ár-ár	4771-4772, 1193	cd	65
nár	Ibár	ár-ár	6753-6754, 1689	ab	117

⁷¹⁷ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

This group is comprised of 24 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ar>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. Twenty of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

The remaining four *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.23.4 -áir

nāir	dīgrāid	áir-áid	1759-1760, 440	cd	11
nāir	sogrāid	áir-áid	4181-4182, 1046	ab	50
náir	immarbáig	áir-áig	1-2, 1	ab	1
nāir	saerdāil	áir-áil	2777-2778, 695	ab	24
nāir	soerāil	áir-áil	6579-6580, 1645	cd	113
tāir	mōrdāil	áir-áil	4677-4678, 1170	ab	62
tāir	aurgabāil	áir-áil	7397-7398, 1850	ab	138
gáir	comlāin	áir-áin	3433-3434, 859	ab	30
náir	tonnbáin	áir-áin	6161-6162, 1541	ab	102
táir	imslāin	áir-áin	193-194, 49	ab	1
māir	imšlāin	áir-áin	285-286, 72	ab	1
áir	noebnāir	áir-áir	5421-5422, 1356	ab	83
gāir	Sennāir	áir-áir	2751-2752, 688	cd	24
láir	imnáir	áir-áir	4791-4792, 1198	cd	66
táir	Enáir	áir-áir	233-234, 59	ab	1
táir	Issacháir	áir-áir	5169-5170, 1293	ab	76
táir	dermāir	áir-áir	7297-7298, 1825	ab	138
tāir	oenchlāir	áir-áir	4239-4240, 1060	cd	51
tāir	sanctāir	áir-áir	4319-4320, 1080	cd	51
tāir	sanctāir	áir-áir	4617-4618, 1155	ab	58

There are twenty rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <air>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Seventeen of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining three *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in each case.

5.23.5 -er

fer	íarnaideib	er-eib	929-930, 233	ab	5
fer	toebgel	er-el	7593-7594, 1899	ab	145
fer	crochfaider	er-er	3273-3274, 819	ab	29

sluinter	cétmuintir	er-er	6567-6568, 1642	cd	113
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This group is comprised of four rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <er>. The orthography represents a short /e/⁷¹⁸ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in each case. Three of these are monosyllabic and one of them is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in the *Ardrinn*.

Two monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, but there is one instance where the quality of the final consonant does not match: *fer* is rhymed with *íarnaideib* (Canto 5, ll. 929–930). This combination generates a faulty rhyme.

The single disyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word which also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by the identical cluster and the medial vowels correspond. Thus, the pair forms an identical rhyme.

5.23.6 -eir

moa-mbeir	toimsideir	eir-eir	171-172, 43	cd	1
mo-beir	fossceuil	eir-eil	527-528, 132	cd	2

There are two rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eir>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn* are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.23.7 -ér

dēr	Mīchēl	ér-él	2091-2092, 523	cd	12
dēr	Israhél	ér-él	6007-6008, 1502	cd	100
gér	Israhél	ér-él	6737-6738, 1685	ab	117
gēr	Israhēl	ér-él	5793-5794, 1449	ab	94
dēr	fortrén	ér-én	5627-5628, 1407	cd	88
gér	imthré	ér-én	6229-6230, 1558	ab	103
gér	Assér	ér-ér	5137-5138, 1285	ab	75
gér	aër	ér-ér	5869-5870, 1468	ab	97

⁷¹⁸ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

This group contains eight rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <er>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in each case. Five *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Three *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.23.8 -éir

céir	roréil	éir-éil	7683-7684, 1921	cd	148
léir	glanchéil	éir-éil	1581-1582, 396	ab	11
léir	Abéil	éir-éil	2223-2224, 556	cd	12
lēir	drochcēil	éir-éil	849-850, 213	ab	4
léir	dochéil	éir-éil	4841-4842, 1211	ab	68
réir	Apréil	éir-éil	239-240, 60	cd	1
rēir	Caëin	éir-ein	1991-1992, 498	cd	11
rēir	Caëin	éir-ein	2419-2420, 605	cd	14
glēir	Saraphēin	éir-éin	703-704, 176	cd	3
léir	etercéin	éir-éin	1565-1566, 392	ab	11
léir	Caëin	éir-éin	2719-2720, 680	cd	23
lēir	grēin	éir-éin	121-122, 31	ab	1
réir	Beniēmēin	éir-éin	6535-6536, 1634	cd	111
rēir	Beniamēin	éir-éin	3599-3600, 900	cd	33
réir	Iosēiph	éir-éiph	3665-3666, 917	ab	34
lēir	rēir	éir-éir	3189-3190, 798	ab	28

There are sixteen rhyming pairs in the group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words all end in <eir>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Two *Rinn*-words are paired with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Thus, these pairs lie outside of the regular stress-pattern.

Ten *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant or a voiceless continuant. The latter case has *Ioséiph* (Canto 34, l. 3666) in the *Ardrinn*-position and this name is almost exclusively balanced by words ending in a *lenis* or a *fortis* voiced continuant.⁷¹⁹ The rhyming of a *lenis* voiced and a voiceless continuant was a frequently occurring combination.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁹ *Iosiaph/Ioséiph* appears eight times in rhyming position: *feig:Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3083–3084); *céin:Ioséiph* (Canto 27, ll. 3161–3162); *rēir:Ioséiph* (Canto 34, ll. 3665–3666); *triáll:Iosiaph* (Canto 27, ll. 3147–3148); *cían:Iosiaph* (Canto 29, ll. 3263–3264); *triáll:Iosiaph* (Canto 33, ll. 3551–3552); *miad:Iosiaph* (Canto 34, ll. 3691–3692); *íath:Iosiaph* (Canto 140, ll. 7445–7446). The form *Iosiab* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant appears twice: *bíad:Iosiab* (Canto 30, ll. 3401–3402) and *triáth:Iosiab* (Canto 144, ll. 7551–7552). It should be pointed out

Three *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in <n>.

Finally, there is one *Rinn*-word that is rhymed with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in <n>. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all pairs.

5.23.9 -ir

bráthir	bithblāithib	ír-ib	5813-5814, 1454	ab	95
fír	coemdil	ír-il	2049-2050, 513	ab	12
lir	glēgil	ír-il	75-76, 19	cd	1
mir	escra-sin	ír-in	3579-3580, 895	cd	33

The group is comprised of four rhyming pairs and the *Rinn*-words end in <ir>. The orthography represents a short /i/⁷²¹ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Three of these are monosyllabic and two of those are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in both cases.

One monosyllabic *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

The remaining *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and it is matched with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final and medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical and the intervocalic consonant is answered appropriately.⁷²²

5.23.10 -ír

fír	Dauīd	ír-íd	5933-5934, 1484	ab	100
fír	Dauīd	ír-íd	5949-5950, 1488	ab	100
fír	Dauīd	ír-íd	6457-6458, 1615	ab	108
fír	Dauīd	ír-íd	6503-6504, 1626	cd	109
ír	Duīd	ír-íd	6665-6666, 1667	ab	116
sír	Dauīd	ír-íd	5939-5940, 1485	cd	100
sír	Dauīd	ír-íd	7691-7692, 1923	cd	148
fír	ardríg	ír-íg	3459-3460, 865	cd	31
fír	Ardríg	ír-íg	6177-6178, 1545	ab	103
fír	dimbrīg	ír-íg	281-282, 71	ab	1
fír	ardrīg	ír-íg	1381-1382, 346	ab	9
fír	Rīg	ír-íg	1813-1814, 454	ab	11
fír	degríg	ír-íg	2069-2070, 518	ab	12

that the *Ardrinn* in the very last pair, *tríath:losiab*, represents Joseph, husband of Mary, while all other *Ardrinn*-words represent Joseph the patriarch (see Knott (1952) p. 114).

⁷²⁰ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷²¹ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

⁷²² Rawlinson B 502 does not contain the palatal marker for the intervocalic consonant cluster in the *Rinn*-word (f. 34^f a). Greene emends it silently.

ír	airrīg	ír-íg	3541-3542, 886	ab	33
sír	rorīg	ír-íg	823-824, 206	cd	3
sír	ardrīg	ír-íg	827-828, 207	cd	3
tír	dīmbrīg	ír-íg	3513-3514, 879	ab	31
tír	ardrīg	ír-íg	3539-3540, 885	cd	33
tír	airrīg	ír-íg	3549-3550, 888	ab	33
tír	ardrīg	ír-íg	4033-4034, 1009	ab	45
tīr	oenmīl	ír-íl	2503-2504, 626	cd	16
fír	Filistín	ír-ín	5493-5494, 1374	ab	84
fīr	Felistín	ír-ín	5623-5624, 1406	cd	88
ír	Filistín	ír-ín	7353-7354, 1839	ab	138
sír	Filistín	ír-ín	5729-5730, 1433	ab	92
sír	lānlín	ír-ín	5075-5076, 1269	cd	73
tír	anmín	ír-ín	4669-4670, 1168	ab	61
tír	Filistín	ír-ín	5609-5610, 1403	ab	88
tír	Philistín	ír-ín	6483-6484, 1621	cd	109
fír	anfír	ír-ír	6505-6506, 1627	ab	109
fīr	martīr	ír-ír	7809-7810, 1953	ab	151

There are 31 rhyming pairs in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ir>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. One *Rinn* is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. However, the pair does not agree with the regular stress pattern.

Twenty-four *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Six *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in <n>. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all rhyming pairs.

5.23.11 -or

tor	Lucifor	or-or	1703-1704, 426	cd	11
tor	imfordol	or-ol	2457-2458, 615	ab	15

This group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <or>. The orthography represents a short /o/ that is followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are matched with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.23.12 -ór

glór	Iäcób	ór-ób	6027-6028, 1507	cd	100
lōr	Iäcōb	ór-ób	2823-2824, 706	cd	26
mór	Iäcób	ór-ób	7589-7590, 1898	ab	145
lōr	coemslōg	ór-óg	7165-7166, 1792	ab	133
lōr	Zabulon	ór-on	2993-2994, 749	ab	26
glór	Gabōn	ór-ón	6577-6578, 1645	ab	113
glór	Abisilón	ór-ón	6945-6946, 1737	ab	124
lór	Eglón	ór-ón	5289-5290, 1323	ab	79
mór	legeón	ór-ón	761-762, 191	ab	3
mór	Ārón	ór-ón	4597-4598, 1150	ab	58
lōr	dergōr	ór-ór	7539-7540, 1885	cd	144

Eleven rhyming pairs are contained in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <or>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all examples. Six *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.⁷²³

Four *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Finally, there is one *Rinn*-word that is answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.23.13 -óir

cóir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3533-3534, 884	ab	33
cōir	Iacōib	óir-óib	2979-2980, 745	cd	26
cōir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	4121-4122, 1031	ab	48
glóir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	5547-5548, 1387	cd	85
lōir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3043-3044, 761	cd	26
móir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	2849-2850, 713	ab	26
móir	Iacōib	óir-óib	3125-3126, 782	ab	27
móir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3431-3432, 858	cd	30
tóir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3099-3100, 775	cd	27
tóir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3631-3632, 908	cd	33
tóir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	3825-3826, 957	ab	39
tōir	Iäcōib	óir-óib	7317-7318, 1830	ab	138
cóir	Zabulōin	óir-óin	5133-5134, 1284	ab	75
glōir	Ārōin	óir-óin	4509-4510, 1128	ab	55

⁷²³ The pair *mór:legeón* (Canto 3, ll. 761–762) is regular since the <eo> in the *Ardrinn*-word represents a long /o:/ that is preceded by a palatal consonant. See above, p. 191 and p. 150 FN 619 for similar rhymes.

glōir	Babilōin	óir-óin	7203-7204, 1801	cd	134
lóir	Ērimōin	óir-óin	2361-2362, 591	ab	12
óir	Arōin	óir-óin	4267-4268, 1067	cd	51
tóir	Babilóin	óir-óin	7205-7206, 1802	ab	134
cóir	fo-chētóir	óir-óir	3543-3544, 886	cd	33
cóir	altóir	óir-óir	4393-4394, 1099	ab	51
cóir	dergóir	óir-óir	4505-4506, 1127	ab	55
cóir	glanaltóir	óir-óir	4867-4868, 1217	cd	68
cóir	dergóir	óir-óir	6277-6278, 1570	ab	105
cóir	dergóir	óir-óir	6387-6388, 1597	cd	107
cóir	dergóir	óir-óir	6727-6728, 1682	cd	117
cóir	cētóir	óir-óir	7183-7184, 1796	cd	133
cóir	Tabōir	óir-óir	7657-7658, 1915	ab	147
cōir	altóir	óir-óir	2145-2146, 537	ab	12
cōir	dergōir	óir-óir	4111-4112, 1028	cd	48
cōir	dergōir	óir-óir	4339-4340, 1085	cd	51
cōir	glanaltóir	óir-óir	7557-7558, 1890	ab	144
glóir	écóir	óir-óir	3113-3114, 779	ab	27
glóir	dergōir	óir-óir	4515-4516, 1129	cd	55
glóir	fo-chētóir	óir-óir	5443-5444, 1361	cd	83
lō[i]r	romōir	óir-óir	5301-5302, 1326	ab	79
lóir	dermóir	óir-óir	7613-7614, 1904	ab	146
móir	senóir	óir-óir	2897-2898, 725	ab	26
móir	dergóir	óir-óir	4349-4350, 1088	ab	51
tóir	cētóir	óir-óir	3557-3558, 890	ab	33
tóir	dergóir	óir-óir	4291-4292, 1073	cd	51
tóir	dergóir	óir-óir	6033-6034, 1509	ab	100
tóir	Beōir	óir-óir	7333-7334, 1834	ab	138
tōir	Nachōir	óir-óir	2813-2814, 704	ab	25

There are 43 rhyming pairs in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oir>. The orthography represents a long /o:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Twenty-seven *Rinn* are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

It should be noted that the pair *lō[i]r:romōir* (Canto 79, ll. 5301–5302) has been edited thus by Greene in his working notes. Rawlinson B 502 has *lór:romór* in its stead, with a non-palatal final consonant. The *Rinn*-word is in the nominative case accompanying a feminine noun and the *Ardrinn*-word is in the dative case, also accompanying a feminine noun. Thus, the latter *Ardrinn* must end in a palatal consonant. Hence, the actual rhyme is irregular even though the spelling in the manuscript has been manipulated to form an orthographically correct rhyme.

The remaining sixteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is identical in all cases.

5.23.14 -ur

cur	dīthrub	ur-ub	7365-7366, 1842	ab	138
tur	oenmud	ur-ud	1583-1584, 396	cd	11
tur	Díabul	ur-ul	1165-1166, 292	ab	8
tur	popul	ur-ul	6831-6832, 1708	cd	120
cur	Lucifur	ur-ur	1511-1512, 378	cd	11
cur	Lucifur	ur-ur	1551-1552, 388	cd	11
cur	oenur	ur-ur	6531-6532, 1633	cd	111
lamur	érbalur	ur-ur	1259-1260, 315	cd	8
tur	Luciphur	ur-ur	833-834, 209	ab	4
tur	sósur	ur-ur	843-844, 211	cd	4
tur	Luciphur	ur-ur	1427-1428, 357	cd	9
tur	Lucifur	ur-ur	1839-1840, 460	cd	11
as-biur	oenfiur	iur-iur	3571-3572, 893	cd	33

This group is comprised of thirteen rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <ur>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁷²⁴ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Twelve of these are monosyllabic and seven of them are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Five of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is echoed in each case.

There is one disyllabic *Rinn*-word and this is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* which also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The intervocalic consonant of the *Rinn* is answered appropriately in the *Ardrinn* and the medial vowel is also orthographically identical.

5.23.15 -uir

muir	talmain	uir-ain	287-288, 72	cd	1
tuir	bithsuthain	uir-ain	647-648, 162	cd	2
cuir	lōgmair	uir-air	367-368, 92	cd	2
Romuir	irchomair	uir-air	3987-3988, 997	cd	44
tuir	rogénair	uir-air	3715-3716, 929	cd	35
guir	cīrduib	uir-uib	77-78, 20	ab	1
tuir	dīthruib	uir-uib	6349-6350, 1588	ab	106
scur	mōrchruid	uir-uid	5053-5054, 1264	ab	73
cuir	tabern(a)cuil	uir-uil	4401-4402, 1101	ab	51
cuir	tabernacuil	uir-uil	4879-4880, 1220	cd	69
scur	tabernacuil	uir-uil	4365-4366, 1092	ab	51

⁷²⁴ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

scur	tabernacuil	uir-uil	4579-4580, 1145	cd	57
tuir	tabernacuil	uir-uil	4471-4472, 1118	cd	53
cuir	Lucifuir	uir-uir	1725-1726, 432	ab	11

There are fourteen rhyming pairs in the group where the *Rinn*-words end in <uir>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁷²⁵ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Thirteen of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and five of them are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical except in two cases: twice, <u> is balanced by <a> (*muir:talmair*, Canto 1, ll. 287–288 and *cuir:lógmair*, Canto 2, ll. 367–368).

Three monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in one case and twice <u> is balanced by <a> (*tuir:bithsuthain*, Canto 2, ll. 647–648 and *tuir:rogénair*, Canto 35, ll. 3715–3716).

Five monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

The disyllabic *Rinn* is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in <air>. The palatal quality of the final consonant is represented in the *Ardrinn* and thus the rhyme is regular. The intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn* and the medial vowel is orthographically identical.

5.23.16 -úr

gúr	dúb	úr-úb	1249-1250, 313	ab	8
dúr	Saül	úr-úl	6379-6380, 1595	cd	106
dúr	Saül	úr-úl	6385-6386, 1597	ab	107
gúr	Saül	úr-úl	5903-5904, 1476	cd	99
gúr	Saúl	úr-úl	5947-5948, 1487	cd	100
gúr	Saúl	úr-úl	5963-5964, 1491	cd	100
gúr	Saúl	úr-úl	6093-6094, 1524	ab	101
gúr	Saúl	úr-úl	6391-6392, 1598	cd	107
gúr	Saül	úr-úl	6489-6490, 1623	ab	109
gúr	Saül	úr-úl	6559-6560, 1640	cd	113
gūr	Saül	úr-úl	7371-7372, 1843	cd	138
gúr	prīmdūn	úr-ún	469-470, 118	ab	2
múr	Ithidún	úr-ún	4191-4192, 1048	cd	51
túr	rīgrún	úr-ún	4133-4134, 1034	ab	48
gúr	oenmúr	úr-úr	463-464, 116	cd	2

⁷²⁵ Only in the monosyllabic cases; the vowel in the final syllable of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word represents schwa.

múr	tromthúr	úr-úr	905-906, 227	ab	5
múr	rogúr	úr-úr	5257-5258, 1315	ab	78

This group contains seventeen rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ur>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. One of the *Rinn*-words is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, thus lying outside of the regular rhyming pattern. However, the *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Fifteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.23.17 -úir

dúir	Saüil	úir-úil	6375-6376, 1594	cd	106
dúir	Saüil	úir-úil	6543-6544, 1636	cd	111
gúir	Saúil	úir-úil	6107-6108, 1527	cd	102
gúir	Saüil	úir-úil	6395-6396, 1599	cd	107
gúir	Saüil	úir-úil	6533-6534, 1634	ab	111
gūir	Saüil	úir-úil	5875-5876, 1469	cd	97
gúir	remfúir	úir-úir	6171-6172, 1543	cd	103
gūir	scriptūir	úir-úir	2249-2250, 563	ab	12
gūir	scriptūir	úir-úir	2517-2518, 630	ab	17
tūir	ce[n]tūir	úir-úir	7611-7612, 1903	cd	146

Ten rhyming pairs are contained in this group and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uir>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-words are all rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and contain the orthographically identical rhyming vowel.

5.23.18 -aer

saer	anaeb	aer-aeb	17-18, 5	ab	1
saer	glanaeb	aer-aeb	5377-5378, 1345	ab	82
saer	dubraen	aer-aen	6549-6550, 1638	ab	112
saer	fīrnoeb	aer-oeb	985-986, 247	ab	6
saer	fīrnoeb	aer-oeb	6061-6062, 1516	ab	101
saer	rīgroen	aer-oen	577-578, 145	ab	2

There are six rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aer>. The orthography represents a monophthong in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming monophthong is orthographically identical except in three cases: three times <ae> is balanced by <oe> (*saer:fírnoeb*, Canto 6, ll. 985–986 and Canto 101, ll. 6061–6062; *saer:rígroen*, Canto 2, ll. 577–578). The rhyme is regular.

5.23.19 -eóir

treóir	aneóil	eóir-eóil	3447-3448, 862	cd	31
treōir	anheōil	eóir-eóil	3179-3180, 795	cd	28

The group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eoir>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in <eoil>. This generates a regular rhyme.

5.23.20 -íar

an-íar	fírían	íar-ían	4435-4436, 1109	cd	52
cíar	Abíal	íar-íal	2717-2718, 680	ab	23

There are two rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <iar>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant. Both *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.23.21 -úar

uar	rorúad	uar-úad	313-314, 79	ab	1
úar	imlūad	úar-úad	109-110, 28	ab	1
úar	mōrslúag	úar-úag	4139-4140, 1035	cd	49
ūar	ollmūad	úar-úad	41-42, 11	ab	1

There are four rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uar>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are matched with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.23.22 -úair

glúair	sair-thúaid	úair-úaid	5179-5180, 1295	cd	76
úair	rachrúaid	úair-úaid	4629-4630, 1158	ab	59
úair	lonnbúaid	úair-úaid	6553-6554, 1639	ab	112
úair	srethbúaid	úair-úaid	6825-6826, 1707	ab	120
glúair	mōrsluaig	úair-uaig	4781-4782, 1196	ab	66
glúair	mōrslúraig	úair-úraig	4805-4806, 1202	ab	66
glúair	tromslúraig	úair-úraig	5777-5778, 1445	ab	93
úair	comt[h]rúraig	úair-úraig	7777-7778, 1945	ab	150
úair	comtrúraig	úair-úraig	1289-1290, 323	ab	8
glúair	Úain	úair-úain	601-602, 151	ab	2
gluair	bithbuain	uair-uain	653-654, 164	ab	2

The final group is comprised of eleven rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uair>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal consonant in all cases. One of the *Rinn*-words is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical, but the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

The remaining ten *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.24.1 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rb*

There are two(0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <rb>. The final consonantal cluster represents two *lenis* voiced continuants. Both *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and they are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Hence, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.24.1.1 -airb

gairb	ērmairb	airb-airb	4119-4120, 1030	cd	48
mairb	oenairm	airb-airm	5111-5112, 1278	cd	74

The only group contains two rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words end in <airb>. In both cases the orthography represents a short /a/ followed by two palatal *lenis* voiced continuants. The *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. One ends in two palatal *lenis* voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The other *Ardrinn* ends in a

lenis voiced continuant plus *fortis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is echoed. As seen earlier, the combination of *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuants was recognised to give a valid rhyme, but usually only after a long vowel or diphthong.⁷²⁶ Since this rhyme involves a consonant cluster, the rules that apply to single consonants may be relaxed here due to the greater complexity of the rhyme.

5.24.2 *Saltair na Rann Rinn* Rhyme C rb

There are five (0.13%) *Rinn*-words that also end in orthographic <rb>, but the final consonants in these cases represent a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiced stop. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and each of them is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.24.2.1 -erb

cerb	bēlderg	erb-erg	891-892, 223	cd	5
cerb	slegdergg	erb-ergg	6913-6914, 1729	ab	123
ferb	crúanderg	erb-erg	4341-4342, 1086	ab	51

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <erb>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.24.2.2 -orb

borb	oenord	orb-ord	1239-1240, 310	cd	8
borb	fodord	orb-ord	4495-4496, 1124	cd	54

The final group contains two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <orb>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. Both *Rinn*-words are answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

⁷²⁶ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96. See also Jaskuła (2007) p. 53; what Jaskuła calls ‘the other set of half-long syllables’ i.e. Type D (p. 53) also includes words ending in two *lenis* voiced as well as a *lenis* plus *fortis* voiced continuant.

5.25 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rc*

There are fifteen (0.38%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <rc> or <rcc>. The final consonant clusters represent a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and thirteen (86.67%) are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and two (13.33%) with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.25.1 -airc

airc	cumtabairt	airc-airt	1691-1692, 423	cd	11
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There is a single rhyming pair in the first set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <airc>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant cluster. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.25.2 -árc/-árcc

bārc	Isāc	árc-ác	2819-2820, 705	cd	26
bārc	Isaac	árc-ác	3865-3866, 967	ab	40
ārc	foentrācht	árcc-ácht	2601-2602, 651	ab	20

The group contains three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <arc>/<arcc>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ that is followed by a non-palatal consonant group. The *Rinn*-words are paired twice with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a single voiceless stop. Thus, the *Ardrinn* fails to answer the continuant. It should also be noted that the <r> in both *Rinn*-words is part of a suspension in Rawlinson B 502,⁷²⁷ so that the <c> is left as visual focus in the rhyme. The third *Rinn* is answered by an *Ardrinn* ending in <cht>, but this combination of voiced and voiceless continuant occurred frequently. The rhyming vowel is identical in all cases.

5.25.3 -áirc/-áirc

áirc	oenāitt	áirc-áitt	5157-5158, 1290	ab	75
āirc	do-s-rimthāirc	áirc-áirc	5405-5406, 1352	ab	83
āirc	do-s-rimthāirc	áirc-áirc	5429-5430, 1358	ab	83
āirc	oenāitt	áirc-áitt	2609-2610, 653	ab	20

⁷²⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^v b and f. 26^f a.

áirc	imtháirc	áirc-áirc	4313-4314, 1079	ab	51
aircc	drum[š]laitt	aircc-aitt	2453-2454, 614	ab	15

There are six rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <airc>/<aircc>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal consonant cluster. The *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words three of which end in a single voiceless stop⁷²⁸ and three end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive with a single voiceless plosive has been noted earlier and seems to have been accepted to give a metrically valid rhyme. It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 does not have the length mark on any of the rhyming vowels except in the case of *imtháirc* (Canto 51, l. 4314). The final pair, *aircc:drumslait* (Canto 15, ll. 2453–2454), combines long /a:/ with its short equivalent. In *deibide*-metre this still gives a valid rhyme.⁷²⁹ It is noteworthy that Greene did not add a length mark to the *Rinn*-word in this case.⁷³⁰

5.25.4 -erc

serc	fichet	erc-et	583-584, 146	cd	2
serc	Ēgept	erc-ept	3237-3238, 810	ab	29

Two rhyming pairs are contained in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <erc>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a non-palatal consonant group. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. One ends in a single voiceless stop, the other in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is echoed in both cases. The latter is a form of the name *Égept* and in the majority of cases⁷³¹ this name is rhymed with words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop was, as has been seen earlier, a valid option.⁷³²

⁷²⁸ Stokes has <lt> in l. 5158, although Rawlinson B 502 clearly has <tt>. This must be a transcription error.

⁷²⁹ Murphy (1961) p. 31: ‘In such rimes [stressed syllables with unstressed syllables] an absolutely final stressed long vowel may rime with its unstressed short form [...]’

⁷³⁰ The *Rinn*-word always contains a long /a:/, regardless whether it means ‘Ark of the Covenant’ (l. 5406; l. 5430; l. 4314), ‘Noah’s Ark’ (l. 2454; l. 2610) or ‘ark, coffer’ (l. 5158).

⁷³¹ The name ‘Egypt’ appears 55 times in rhyming position and 33 times is it rhymed with a *Rinn*-word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop (:cert×26; :gelt×1; :mert×2; :nert×3; :serc×1).

⁷³² See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

5.25.5 -eirc/-eircc

seirc	do-rāraic	eirc-aic	7215-7216, 1804	cd	134
seirc	glanedpairt	eirc-airt	7299-7300, 1825	cd	138
seircc	airdircc	eircc-ircc	7129-7130, 1783	ab	131

The final group contains three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eirc>/<eircc>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant group. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* one of which ends in a single voiced stop. As seen above, the *lenis* voiced continuant could be skipped and the combination of voiced and voiceless stop was recognised to give imperfect rhyme.⁷³³ The rhyming vowel from the *Rinn* is balanced by <a> (*seirc:do-rāraic*, Canto 134, ll. 7215–7216).

The other disyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. Greene actually has *airdircc*, but the manuscript reads *airdeircc*,⁷³⁴ which creates a perfect visual rhyme.

The final *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The <e> in the *Rinn* is again answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*seirc:glanedpairt*, Canto 138, ll. 7299–7300).

5.26 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rd*

There are three (0.08%) *Rinn*-words ending in orthographic <rd> or <rdd>. The final consonant cluster always represents a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words in all cases. All rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.26.1 -ard/-ardd

ard	rogarg	ard-arg	6081-6082, 1521	ab	101
ardd	derbgargg	ardd-argg	6653-6654, 1664	ab	115

The first group is comprised of two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ard>/<ardd>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a non-palatal consonant cluster. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words which also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

⁷³³ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷³⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 37^f b.

5.26.2 -aird

aird	oenaird	aird-aird	4431-4432, 1108	cd	52
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The final set contains one rhyming pair where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aird>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant group. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.27 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rg*

There are twenty (0.51%) monosyllabic *Rinn*-words ending in orthographic <rg>. The final consonant cluster represents a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop in all cases. Thirteen (65.00%) of the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and seven (35.00%) are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.27.1 -arg

arg	serbgarg	arg-arg	4757-4758, 1190	ab	65
garg	Danmarg	arg-arg	2379-2380, 595	cd	12
garg	fodard	arg-ard	3397-3398, 850	ab	30

The first group contains three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <arg>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a non-palatal consonant group. All *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all examples.

5.27.2 -airg

gairg	oenaird	airg-aird	4995-4996, 1249	cd	71
mairg	oenaird	airg-aird	3425-3426, 857	ab	30
mairg	oenaird	airg-aird	7387-7388, 1847	cd	138

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <airg>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant group. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in each case.

5.27.3 -erg

berg	airderg	erg-erg	897-898, 225	ab	5
ferg	erderg	erg-erg	921-922, 231	ab	5
ferg	slegderg	erg-erg	5789-5790, 1448	ab	94

The group also contains three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <erg>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a non-palatal consonant group. The *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.27.4 -eirg

leirg	firmimeint	eirg-eint	205-206, 52	ab	1
meirg	firmameint	eirg-eint	277-278, 70	ab	1
meirg	firmameint	eirg-eint	423-424, 106	cd	2
feirg	daigerdeirg	eirg-eirg	5177-5178, 1295	ab	76
leirg	cródeirg	eirg-eirg	5357-5358, 1340	ab	81
meirg	slegdeirg	eirg-eirg	5337-5338, 1335	ab	81
meirg	oenleirg	eirg-eirg	6297-6298, 1575	ab	105
meirg	mōrfeirg	eirg-eirg	6689-6690, 1673	ab	116
feirg	claidebderg	eirg-erg	4981-4982, 1246	ab	71
deirg	firmimint	eirg-int	145-146, 37	ab	1
leirg	firmimint	eirg-int	97-98, 25	ab	1

There are eleven rhyming pairs in the final group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eirg>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant group. Four of the *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a voiced continuant plus voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Seven *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop and in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The latter *Ardrinn*-word is the loanword *firmimint* ‘heaven, firmament’ and it should be noted that no native Irish word ends in /nt/. There are only two cases in ten examples where <nt> of the *Ardrinn* is reflected by <nt> (= /nt/) in the *Rinn*-word (*cint:firmimint*, Canto 1, ll. 133–134; *cin[n]te:firmiminte*, Canto 1, ll. 33–34). The remaining examples have *Rinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop or in a final vowel in a monosyllabic *Rinn*-word, in the case of *firmiminte*. The poet may have pronounced the Latin loanword with final /nd/.

The pair *feirg:claidebderg* (Canto 71, ll. 4981–4982) generates a faulty rhyme, if the *Ardrinn*-compound is to be understood as a neuter *ā/o*-stem adjective: in this case it has to have a non-palatal ending in the accusative case. If the *Ardrinn* can be interpreted as a noun it has to be in the genitive case and as such, it has to end in a palatal consonant group.

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in five cases. Twice the *Rinn*-vowel is answered by a single ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*deirg:firminint*, Canto 1, ll. 145–146 and *leirg:firmimint*, ll. 97–98).

5.28 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rp*

There are three *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨rp⟩. In all cases this consonant cluster represents a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. All of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.28.1 -urp

curp	intlucht	urp-ucht	1153-1154, 289	ab	8
curp	coemc[h]ucht	urp-ucht	2101-2102, 526	ab	12

The first group contains two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨urp⟩. The orthography represents a short /u/ that is followed by a non-palatal consonant group. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a voiceless continuant and a voiceless stop. As seen above, this combination of voiced and voiceless continuant occurred frequently.⁷³⁵ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.28.2 -uirp

cuirp	glēnuicht	uirp-uicht	1357-1358, 340	ab	9
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There is a single rhyming pair in the final set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in ⟨uirp⟩. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal consonant group. The *Rinn* is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. This pair, however, is interesting because the consonant cluster /cht/ is not palatal.⁷³⁶ Most likely the seemingly palatal quality of the

⁷³⁵ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷³⁶ See Thurneysen (1946) p. 101, § 162: ‘The group *cht* remains neutral even at the end of a syllable, and thus always resists palatalization.’ However, there are a few examples of words ending in ⟨cht⟩ that have a supra- or

consonant cluster in the *Ardrinn*-word is merely a graphic application of the palatal marker, answering the actual palatal quality of the *Rinn*-word with a non-palatal cluster.

5.29 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rs*

There are three (0.08%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <rs>. The final consonant group represents a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in all examples. Two (66.67%) *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and one (33.33%) is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Hence, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.29.1 -ars

Mars	lánmas	ars-as	103-104, 26	cd	1
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The first set is comprised of a single rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <ars>. This is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a single voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. However, it should be noted that the vowel in the *Rinn*-word etymologically represents a long /a:/ while the adjective *mass* in the *Ardrinn*-position contains a short /a/. It can be assumed that the poet knew about the quality of the vowel in the Latin pronunciation of *Mars*. As has been seen in other examples involving non-native names the poet may have felt a licence to use these names in a much more flexible manner.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, since there are no native Irish words ending in <rs> the poet must have had the licence to ignore the <r> for the rhyme.

5.29.2 -ers

Pers	comaithches	ers-es	5247-5248, 1312	cd	77
Pers	rígthess	ers-ess	7249-7250, 1813	ab	135

There are two rhyming pairs in the final group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ers>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a non-palatal consonant group. One *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* and the other with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, both of which end in a single voiceless sibilant and the vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

subscript <i> in the Milan and Würzburg glosses (see p. 224, § 351). Thurneysen remarks for the pronunciation of one of the examples (*boicht*) that ‘in present-day Munster Irish only the *t* (not *ch*) is palatal’. See also Ua Súilleabháin, (1994) p. 487, § 2.22: ‘Ní chaolaítear *ch* roimh *t* caol sa charr *cht*, m.sh. *na boicht* /boxt’/ (*ch* leathan agus *t* caol [...])’.

⁷³⁷ See above, pp. 162–3 and FN 645/FN 647, where *Cham* and *Aminadab* are used to rhyme with vowels of different quantity. For a brief discussion of the rhyming behaviour of non-native names see *Conclusion*, p. 408.

5.30 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C rt*

There are 66 (1.69%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <rt>. The consonant cluster represents a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless stop in all cases. Sixty-five (98.48%) of these are monosyllabic and one (1.52%) is disyllabic. Fifty-one (78.46%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and fourteen (21.54%) with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words.

The disyllabic *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

5.30.1 -art

gart	sechtmogat	art-at	2767-2768, 692	cd	24
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The first set contains a single rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <art>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a non-palatal cluster. The *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a voiced stop. The *lenis* voiced continuant is not answered in the *Ardrinn*, and, as has been seen in other cases above,⁷³⁸ can be skipped for the rhyme. However, the combination of voiceless and voiced stop makes the rhyme imperfect.⁷³⁹ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.30.2 -airt

cacairt	prīmsacairt	airt-airt	4399-4400, 1100	cd	51
pairt	ardaitt	airt-aitt	177-178, 45	ab	1

There are two rhyming pairs in the group. The *Rinn*-words end in <airt>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁷⁴⁰ followed by a palatal consonant group. One of these is monosyllabic and it is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in a voiceless stop. As has been noted already, this combination was accepted to give valid rhyme. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

⁷³⁸ See, for example, *serc:fichet* (Canto 2, ll. 583–584); *bārc:Isāc* (Canto 26, ll. 2819–2820); *āirc:oenāitt* (Canto 75, ll. 5157–5158). It is possible that the single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn* compensates for the ‘voiced’ feature of the unanswered continuant in the *Rinn*. There are twenty rhyming pairs where a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive are combined with a single voiced plosive in the *Ardrinn*, but only eight examples where the same *Rinn*-cluster is rhymed with a single voiceless plosive.

⁷³⁹ See Murphy (1961) p. 33: ‘[...] the exceptions would probably have been recognized by the poets themselves as giving imperfect rhyme, necessitated by the difficulty of attaining perfection.’

⁷⁴⁰ Only in the monosyllabic case.

The other *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in <airt>. ⁷⁴¹ The intervocalic consonant and vowel are echoed in the *Ardrinn*, thus creating an identical rhyme.

5.30.3 -ert

cert	deäc	ert-ac	3155-3156, 789	cd	27
cert	deëc	ert-ec	51-52, 13	cd	1
cert	deëc	ert-ec	3011-3012, 753	cd	26
bert	imthecht	ert-echt	1897-1898, 475	ab	11
cert	techtairrecht	ert-echt	689-690, 173	ab	3
cert	tarimthecht	ert-echt	863-864, 216	cd	4
cert	tarimthecht	ert-echt	1533-1534, 384	ab	11
cert	anrecht	ert-echt	1659-1660, 415	cd	11
cert	tímthirecht	ert-echt	3421-3422, 856	ab	30
cert	tímthirecht	ert-echt	4535-4536, 1134	cd	55
cert	coemthecht	ert-echt	4587-4588, 1147	cd	57
cert	tímthirecht	ert-echt	6279-6280, 1570	cd	105
cert	tairimthecht	ert-echt	6497-6498, 1625	ab	109
cert	coemthecht	ert-echt	7713-7714, 1929	ab	149
mert	airchisecht	ert-echt	1673-1674, 419	ab	11
nert	sírimthecht	ert-echt	3747-3748, 937	cd	36
nert	coīmthecht	ert-echt	4137-4138, 1035	ab	49
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	2659-2660, 665	cd	21
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3143-3144, 786	cd	27
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	3149-3150, 788	ab	27
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3167-3168, 792	cd	28
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3225-3226, 807	ab	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3311-3312, 828	cd	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3371-3372, 843	cd	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3373-3374, 844	ab	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3391-3392, 848	cd	30
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3439-3440, 860	cd	31
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	3463-3464, 866	cd	31
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3523-3524, 881	cd	32
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3581-3582, 896	ab	33
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3643-3644, 911	cd	33
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3653-3654, 914	ab	33

⁷⁴¹ This may be evidence of an early change of pronunciation from Old Irish /sagərd/ to Middle Irish /sagərt/. On the value of the final consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word *prímsacairt* Vendryes (1978) says: ‘Ces mots sont [he also mentions the derivative *sacartacht*] empruntés du latin *sacerdōs*, gén. *sacerdōtis* [mais si le *c* prononcé *g* indique un emprunt de la 2^e période (classe *Padraig*), le *t* ou *d* occlusif final doit être le résultat d’influences analogiques].’

cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3673-3674, 919	ab	34
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3697-3698, 925	ab	35
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3723-3724, 931	cd	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3727-3728, 932	cd	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3729-3730, 933	ab	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3759-3760, 940	cd	37
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3795-3796, 949	cd	38
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3939-3940, 985	cd	43
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	4013-4014, 1004	ab	44
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	4329-4330, 1083	ab	51
mert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3071-3072, 768	cd	26
mert	Ēgept	ert-ept	4053-4054, 1014	ab	46
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3847-3848, 962	cd	40
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3961-3962, 991	ab	44
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	5201-5210, 1301	ab	77
cert	sainserc	ert-erc	6833-6834, 1709	ab	120
cert	do-rarngert	ert-ert	3163-3164, 791	cd	27
cert	fotlethet	ert-et	31-32, 8	cd	1
cert	fichet	ert-et	585-586, 147	ab	2
cert	lethet	ert-et	2639-2640, 660	cd	21
cert	lethet	ert-et	4215-4216, 1054	cd	51
cert	lethet	ert-et	4307-4308, 1077	cd	51
cert	fichet	ert-et	4855-4856, 1214	cd	68
cert	foraithmet	ert-et	5739-5740, 1435	cd	92
mert	comarlēicset	ert-et	2779-2780, 695	cd	24

This group is comprised of 57 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ert>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a non-palatal consonant group. Forty-five *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Eight of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a voiced stop. This combination of voiced and voiceless stops was one of Murphy's 'unusual exceptions'.⁷⁴²

The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one case: <e> is balanced by <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*cert:deäc*, Canto 27, ll. 3155–3156).⁷⁴³

Five of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. As noted above, the combination of voiceless and voiced continuant was considered an

⁷⁴² See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷⁴³ It is also noteworthy that the disyllabic use of the *Ardrinn*-word is archaic. In fact, the word for the number 'ten' in rhyming position only ever occurs in the *Ardrinn*-position as a dissyllable. Vendryes (1978), vol. 4 *D*, p. 36, however, states that '*deec, deac*, dissyllabe encore dans le Féilire Oengusso, est déjà contracté en *déc* dans le *Saltair na Rann* (30 ex. sur 42),' looking at the word also appearing within a line.

exception by Murphy,⁷⁴⁴ but occurs frequently here. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Thirty disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic <pt>. This is not a native consonant cluster, but is part of the name *Égept*, sometimes also spelled *Aegept*. Except in one case (*lat:Ēgept*, Canto 33, ll. 3597–3598) this name is always rhymed with a word ending in a voiced or voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop.⁷⁴⁵ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all examples.

Two disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases, thus creating a perfect rhyme.

Eleven monosyllabic *Rinn*-words in this group are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Nine of those end in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop, but, as noted above, this does not generate a faulty rhyme.⁷⁴⁶ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

The remaining two of the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a single voiced stop (*cert:fotlethet*, Canto 1, ll. 31–32; *cert:foraithmet*, Canto 92, ll. 5739–5740). This combination constitutes an imperfect combination as has been seen above.⁷⁴⁷ However, the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both examples.

One *Rinn*-word is paired with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a single voiced stop (*mert:comarléicset*, Canto 24, ll. 2779–2780). The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.30.4 -eirt

beirt	etercheirt	eirt-eirt	2381-2382, 596	ab	12
beirt	ambreit	eirt-eit	5371-5372, 1343	cd	82
ceirt	Ēgept	eirt-ept	3719-3720, 930	cd	36
ceirt	do-rigset	eirt-et	3659-3660, 915	cd	33

There are four rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eirt>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant group. One *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in <eirt>, creating a perfect rhyme.

⁷⁴⁴ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷⁴⁵ See above, p. 102, FN 555, also for the phonetic value of <p> in *Égept*; twenty times *Égept* is rhymed with a *Rinn* ending in <cht>, 31 with a *Rinn* ending in <rt>, one with a *Rinn* ending in <lt> and one with a *Rinn* ending in <rc>.

⁷⁴⁶ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷⁴⁷ See above, p. 80 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

The remaining three *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words two of which end in a single voiced stop. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical, but the quality of the final consonants does not correspond in one pair: *ceirt* rhymes with *do-rigset* (Canto 33, ll. 3659–3660) and thus the rhyme is problematic for three reasons: the *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word is not reflected in the *Ardrinn*, a voiceless is paired with a voiced stop and the quality of the consonants also differs and thus creates a faulty rhyme.

The second pair containing an *Ardrinn* that ends in a single voiced stop is *beirt:ambreit* (Canto 82, ll. 5371–5372) and although the vowels match, the consonantal rhyme is imperfect.⁷⁴⁸

The remaining *Rinn*-word is paired with an *Ardrinn* ending in <pt>. Both words are in the dative singular case and as such they both end in a palatal cluster. Indeed, Rawlinson B 502 provides the correct spelling for both words.⁷⁴⁹ It should be noted that the *Ardrinn*-word appears with a palatal or a non-palatal ending in the text of *Saltair na Rann* in the dative case and, for the rhyme’s sake, should end in a palatal cluster in this instance as well.

5.30.5 -ort

fort	catot	ort-ot	1205-1206, 302	ab	8
fort	toebnocht	ort-ocht	1539-1540, 385	cd	11

The final group is comprised of two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ort>. Both are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and one of these ends in a single voiced stop, creating an irregular rhyme.⁷⁵⁰ The other ends in a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both examples.

5.31 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C s*

There are 246 (6.29%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <s>/<ss>. The final consonant represents a voiceless sibilant in all cases. 237 (96.34%) of these are monosyllabic and nine (3.66%) are disyllabic. Two (0.84%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word, 174 (73.42%) are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, fifty-three

⁷⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the spelling of the *Ardrinn*-word serves the eye-rhyme, since *aimbrit* ‘barren’ is usually spelled without an additional <e>. In fact, the *DIL*’s only example of *ambreit* is taken from *Saltair na Rann* and the editors have added ‘*metri gratia?*’ to the entry (see *DIL*, *aimbrit*, Column 128, l. 59).

⁷⁴⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^r b; the pair will appear in Chapter 6.0.1 *Discrepancies between Rawlinson B 502 and Greene/Greene and Kelly*, p. 317, FN 902.

⁷⁵⁰ The *Ardrinn*-word is one of many examples that show that the poet could use any short vowels that suited him whereas the second *Ardrinn*-word maintains its regular vowel as is often the case in compound words.

(22.36%) with a trisyllabic, seven (2.95%) with a tetrasyllabic and one (0.42%) with a pentasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

All nine disyllabic *Rinn*-words are matched with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Of all rhyming pairs two (0.81%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.31.1 -as

bras	tonnglas	as-as	977-978, 245	ab	6
bras	fíramnas	as-as	1903-1904, 476	cd	11
bras	fireōlas	as-as	3473-3474, 869	ab	31
bras	imamnas	as-as	3615-3616, 904	cd	33
bras	comdas	as-as	4777-4778, 1195	ab	66
bras	amnas	as-as	4813-4814, 1204	ab	66
bras	clemnas	as-as	4843-4844, 1211	cd	68
bras	amnas	as-as	5413-5414, 1354	ab	83
bras	tinninas	as-as	6187-6188, 1547	cd	103
bras	amnas	as-as	7213-7214, 1804	ab	134
bras	muinteras	as-as	7747-7748, 1937	cd	150
bras	prīmīlāichas	as-as	7817-7818, 1955	ab	151
clas	comdas	as-as	4037-4038, 1010	ab	45
Glas	lethanbras	as-as	4001-4002, 1001	ab	44
mas	amnas	as-as	5305-5306, 1327	ab	79
mas	Athemnas	as-as	6005-6006, 1502	ab	100
snas	ernmass	as-ass	5633-5634, 1409	ab	88
tas	fíramnas	as-as	1829-1830, 458	ab	11
ass	amnas	ass-as	1681-1682, 421	ab	11
brass	flaithemnas	ass-as	3347-3348, 837	cd	29
glass	do-ārfas	ass-as	4107-4108, 1027	cd	47
mass	lānamnas	ass-as	2397-2398, 600	ab	13
mass	óclāchas	ass-as	4953-4954, 1239	ab	70
mass	amnas	ass-as	5571-5572, 1393	cd	86
mass	Athemnas	ass-as	6525-6526, 1632	ab	110
tass	do-ārfas	ass-as	3375-3376, 844	cd	29
tass	Lucas	ass-as	7591-7592, 1898	cd	145
brass	admas[s]	ass-as[s]	29-30, 8	ab	1
ass	mōrchlass	ass-ass	4029-4030, 1008	ab	45
ass	bladbrass	ass-ass	6405-6406, 1602	ab	108
ass	amnass	ass-ass	6453-6454, 1614	ab	108
ass	foglass	ass-ass	7709-7710, 1928	ab	149
brass	rinnmass	ass-ass	5635-5636, 1409	cd	88
brass	somblass	ass-ass	7151-7152, 1788	cd	132
cass	lānmass	ass-ass	4357-4358, 1090	ab	51

cass	fírammass	ass-ass	5973-5974, 1494	ab	100
cass	admass	ass-ass	7663-7664, 1916	cd	147
class	rindmass	ass-ass	705-706, 177	ab	3
glass	amnass	ass-ass	3601-3602, 901	ab	33
mass	bladbrass	ass-ass	799-800, 200	cd	3
mass	admass	ass-ass	5023-5024, 1256	cd	72
slass	dronmass	ass-ass	6889-6890, 1723	ab	122
tass	lānmass	ass-ass	5107-5108, 1277	cd	74
ass	Achess	ass-ess	6219-6220, 1555	cd	103
brass	rethess	ass-ess	315-316, 79	cd	1

The first group contains 45 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <as>/<ass>. Thirty-one are rhymed with disyllabic, fourteen with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All of these end in a voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowel is identical in all but two cases: <a> is answered by <e> in the *Ardrinn* twice (*ass:Achess*, Canto 103, ll. 6219–6220; *brass:rethess*, Canto 1, ll. 315–316).

In one case Greene has <ss> for the voiceless sibilant (Canto 88, l. 5634) where the manuscript only has a single orthographic <s> (*ernmas*⁷⁵¹). Phonetically this variation does not matter, but Greene takes the *Ardrinn* to be a compound of *íarn* ‘iron’ and *bás* ‘death’, thus meaning ‘violent death’. There would be no need for him to emend the *Ardrinn*. Furthermore, the vowel in the rhyming syllable would be long and thus the rhyme would be irregular. If the *Ardrinn* were to be understood as a compound of the intensifying prefix *air-* and the adjective *mass*, ‘very beautiful’, the rhyme would be regular. Considering that the preceding nouns are all described by a word meaning ‘beauty’ of some kind (*formaib snas/lainib lígdaib, ler n-ernmass/* with the choicest of forms,/ with shining hosts, with a multitude of great beauty/violent death), *mass* as ‘beauty’ would suit the context. The <n> between the prefix and the adjective may be explained by a slip of the scribe: the line reads *lainib lígdaib, ler n-ernmass* and so the identical sequence of letters occurs just before the compound, e-r-n, which may have caused the scribe to insert an <n> into the compound word.

5.31.2 -ais

brais	senchais	ais-ais	1785-1786, 447	ab	11
brais	telglais	ais-ais	2669-2670, 668	ab	21
brais	admais	ais-ais	5049-5050, 1263	ab	73
cais	Pardais	ais-ais	1015-1016, 254	cd	6

⁷⁵¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 33^v a.

cais	Pardais	ais-ais	1019-1020, 255	cd	6
forais	glanchobais	ais-ais	4391-4392, 1098	cd	51
glais	amnaiss	ais-ais	7403-7404, 1851	cd	138
braiss	admaiss	aiss-aiss	6949-6950, 1738	ab	124
fraiss	longais	aiss-ais	6275-6276, 1569	cd	105
glaiiss	oenbaiss	aiss-aiss	887-888, 222	cd	5
maiss	lānbrais	aiss-ais	2353-2354, 589	ab	12

There are eleven rhyming pairs in this group where the *Rinn*-words end in <ais>/<aiss>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁷⁵² followed by a palatal voiceless sibilant. Ten *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and they are all rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is identical in all cases.

One *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and this is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a voiceless sibilant. The final rhyming vowel is identical. The intervocalic voiced continuant is answered by a voiced continuant and the medial rhyming vowel is echoed in the *Ardrinn*.

5.31.3 -ás

bás	Ammōnitās	ás-ás	6735-6736, 1684	cd	117
sás	díanbās	ás-ás	1719-1720, 430	cd	11
sás	oénbás	ás-ás	4723-4724, 1181	cd	64
tlás	forbás	ás-ás	1665-1666, 417	ab	11
tlās	dot-arfās	ás-ás	3315-3316, 829	cd	29

Five rhyming pairs comprise the following group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <as>. The vowel is long in all instances. Four of these are rhymed with disyllabic and one with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. All *Ardrinn*-words end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.31.4 -áis

Náis	tiugbáis	áis-áis	6725-6726, 1682	ab	117
tláis	tiugbáis	áis-áis	3613-3614, 904	ab	33
tláis	comgnáis	áis-áis	7639-7640, 1910	cd	147

This group contains three rhyming pairs and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ais>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal consonant. The *Rinn*-words are rhymed

⁷⁵² Only in the monosyllabic cases.

with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a palatal voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.31.5 -es

an-des	fīrles	es-es	4437-4438, 1110	ab	52
ces	bādes	es-es	2181-2182, 546	ab	12
cres	lānles	es-es	1191-1192, 298	cd	8
cres	comathches	es-es	3059-3060, 765	cd	26
fa-des	imchres	es-es	2645-2646, 662	ab	21
fo-des	dīrges	es-es	1007-1008, 252	cd	6
tres	amles	es-es	6115-6116, 1529	cd	102
cess	airechass	ess-ass	6989-6990, 1748	ab	124
an-dess	imchres	ess-es	6937-6938, 1735	ab	124
cess	túaslaicfes	ess-es	3283-3284, 821	cd	29
cess	lāndes	ess-es	3349-3350, 838	ab	29
cess	dīles	ess-es	3445-3446, 862	ab	31
cess	lānles	ess-es	3573-3574, 894	ab	33
cress	riges	ess-es	5189-5190, 1298	ab	76
tess	glanches	ess-es	1041-1042, 261	ab	6
cess	carddess	ess-ess	1149-1150, 288	ab	8
cess	bithless	ess-ess	3509-3510, 878	ab	31
cess	an-air-dess	ess-ess	5145-5146, 1287	ab	75
cess	bithchardess	ess-ess	6047-6048, 1512	cd	100
cess	lānless	ess-ess	6125-6126, 1532	ab	102
cness	sīrthess	ess-ess	153-154, 39	ab	1
cress	mōrless	ess-ess	3529-3530, 883	ab	32
cress	an-airdess	ess-ess	5181-5182, 1296	ab	76
dess	imchress	ess-ess	4263-4264, 1066	cd	51
fo-dess	bithdīless	ess-ess	2791-2792, 698	cd	25
fo-dess	bithless	ess-ess	2797-2798, 700	ab	25
fo-dess	comaithchess	ess-ess	3649-3650, 913	ab	33
fo-dess	imchress	ess-ess	4413-4414, 1104	ab	51
sess	amless	ess-ess	1513-1514, 379	ab	11
sess	amless	ess-ess	6145-6146, 1537	ab	102
tess	fīrless	ess-ess	321-322, 81	ab	1
tess	garbchess	ess-ess	917-918, 230	ab	5
tess	dīmess	ess-ess	4353-4354, 1089	ab	51
tress	tess	ess-ess	85-86, 22	ab	1

Thirty-four rhyming pairs make up the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <es>/<ess>. Twenty-seven of these are paired with disyllabic, six with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

They all end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one example: *cess* rhymes with *airechass* (Canto 124, ll. 6989–6990).

One *Rinn*-word is paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in <ess>, but this pair does not conform to the regular stress pattern.

5.31.6 -eis

breis	tegdais	eis-ais	5969-5970, 1493	ab	100
deis	Pardais	eis-ais	1497-1498, 375	ab	11
feis	do-melmais	eis-ais	1563-1564, 391	cd	11
feis	tegdais	eis-ais	1951-1952, 488	cd	11
feis	eclais	eis-ais	4537-4538, 1135	ab	55
geis	do-meldais	eis-ais	1083-1084, 271	cd	7
geis	eclais	eis-ais	4501-4502, 1126	ab	55
geis	eclais	eis-ais	6181-6182, 1546	ab	103
greis	eclais	eis-ais	4443-4444, 1111	cd	52
greis	forais	eis-ais	6467-6468, 1617	cd	108
greis	longais	eis-ais	6715-6716, 1679	cd	117
feis	Bidsomieis	eis-eis	5437-5438, 1360	ab	83
geis	baitheis	eis-eis	7563-7564, 1891	cd	144
greis	aithmeis	eis-eis	1021-1022, 256	ab	6
greis	eirreis	eis-eis	1171-1172, 293	cd	8
greis	Arachiteis	eis-eis	6649-6650, 1663	ab	115
leis	eisleis	eis-eis	6199-6200, 1550	cd	103
leis	eisleis	eis-eis	6345-6346, 1587	ab	106
ro feis	mudaigeis	eis-eis	1679-1680, 420	cd	11
seis	baethigeis	eis-eis	1319-1320, 330	cd	9
deis	aincceiss	eis-eiss	1125-1126, 282	ab	8
geis	ciat-chemmis	eis-is	275-276, 69	cd	1
greis	Laïs	eis-is	6251-6252, 1563	cd	104
leis	Laïs	eis-is	6571-6572, 1643	cd	113
deis	Parduis	eis-uis	7779-7780, 1945	cd	150
feis	Parduis	eis-uis	1571-1572, 393	cd	11
geis	Parduis	eis-uis	1269-1270, 318	ab	8
geis	Parduis	eis-uis	7363-7364, 1841	cd	138
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	1123-1124, 281	cd	8
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	1867-1868, 467	cd	11
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	2203-2204, 551	cd	12
gre[i]ss	Parduis	e[i]ss-uis	2215-2216, 554	cd	12
geiss	eclais	eiss-ais	4483-4484, 1121	cd	54
greiss	eisleis	eiss-eis	2561-2562, 641	ab	18
greiss	Acheis	eiss-eis	6417-6418, 1605	ab	108

There are 35 rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eis>/<eiss>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant in all cases. Thirty-one *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in eight cases. Twelve times <e> in the *Rinn*-word is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn*-words. Three disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words answer the *Rinn*-vowel with a single <i> and eight with <u>.

Rawlinson B 502 has three instances of scribal errors concerning the pairs that contain disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The *Rinn*-word *fes*⁷⁵³ was emended by Greene and Kelly to *feis* (Canto 11, l. 1951) and the *Ardrinn*-word *ciachemmes*⁷⁵⁴ was emended by Greene to *ciatchemmis* (Canto 1, l. 276). In both cases the emendations create regular rhyming pairs.

In the third instance the scribe failed to spell the accusative of the feminine *ā*-stem *gress* with <i> (Canto 12, l. 2215).⁷⁵⁵ Kelly and Greene emended the *Rinn*-word to *greiss*.⁷⁵⁶ The pair must contain a scribal error. Therefore, even though orthographically mismatched, the phonetic rhyme is metrically valid. The pair will not be discussed further.

Two *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a palatal voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

There are two tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words answering the monosyllabic *Rinn*. Both end in a single voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.31.7 -és

bēs	ilglēs	és-és	937-938, 235	ab	5
bēs	bithgrēs	és-és	4911-4912, 1228	cd	69
do-grēs	comlés	és-és	4369-4370, 1093	ab	51

This group contains three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <es>. The vowel is long in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a non-palatal <s> and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

⁷⁵³ Rawl. B 502, f. 23^v b.

⁷⁵⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 19^v a; Greene remarks in a footnote (FN on l. 276) that Rawlinson B 502 actually reads *ciatchemmis*, but Stokes transcription of *ciachemmes* is correct.

⁷⁵⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 24^v a.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 108, l. 2215; it should also be noted that, in this instance, the poet does not change the vowel of the *Ardrinn*-word to make the rhyme orthographically perfect. He does so in the case of the pair *Pardos:immarbos* (Canto 11, ll. 1483–1484), see below pp. 243–4.

5.31.8 -éis

gléis	marēis	éis-éis	765-766, 192	ab	3
sēis	aisnéis	éis-éis	323-324, 81	cd	1
sēis	aisnēis	éis-éis	511-512, 128	cd	2
sēis	aisnēis	éis-éis	519-520, 130	cd	2
sēis	aisnēis	éis-éis	651-652, 163	cd	2
tréis	aisnéis	éis-éis	7247-7248, 1812	cd	135
séis	Fares	éis-es	5705-5706, 1427	ab	91
séis	Potestatés	éis-és	541-542, 136	ab	2
sēis	Uirtutēs	éis-és	663-664, 166	cd	3
trēis	Dominationēs	éis-és	667-668, 167	cd	3
mēiss	drochsēis	éiss-éis	7707-7708, 1927	cd	149

There are eleven rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eis>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal sibilant. Eight of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a palatal <s>. However, in one case the quality of the final consonant seemingly does not match: *séis* is rhymed with the name *Fares* (Canto 91, ll. 5705–5706). However, the *Ardrinn*-word is a form of the non-native name *Phares*⁷⁵⁷ and as such the final <s> may be pronounced with a palatal quality.⁷⁵⁸ Otherwise the rhyme is irregular.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic, one by a tetrasyllabic and one by a pentasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. The *Rinn*-vowel is balanced by a single long <e> in those cases, but the *Ardrinn* fails to balance the orthographical marker of the palatal quality of the final consonant in the *Rinn*-words (*séis:Potestatés*, Canto 2, ll. 541–542; *séis:Uirtutés*, Canto 3, ll. 663–664; *tréis:Dominationés*, Canto 3, ll. 667–668). All *Ardrinn*-words are directly borrowed from Latin and it must be assumed that the poet pronounced the sibilant with a palatal quality, even though he did not change the orthographic form of the Latin word.⁷⁵⁹

5.31.9 -is

fris	tegdais	is-ais	2951-2952, 738	cd	26
fris	eisleis	is-eis	6109-6110, 1528	ab	102
fris	eisleis	is-eis	6317-6318, 1580	ab	105
dis	Achis	is-is	6407-6408, 1602	cd	108
dis	Achis	is-is	6423-6424, 1606	cd	108
fris	eislis	is-is	2837-2838, 710	ab	26

⁷⁵⁷ The name only appears once in *Saltair na Rann*. Cf. Ruth 4.18.

⁷⁵⁸ See below, pp. 408–10, for a brief discussion of rhymes using Latin words.

⁷⁵⁹ See below, pp. 408–10, for a brief discussion of rhymes using Latin words.

fris	eislis	is-is	2945-2946, 737	ab	26
Ciss	indliss	iss-iss	5817-5818, 1455	ab	95
Ciss	eisslis	iss-is	5993-5994, 1499	ab	100
Ciss	eislis	iss-is	6217-6218, 1555	ab	103
Ciss	dílís	iss-is	6517-6518, 1630	ab	110
físs	Danielis	iss-is	7451-7452, 1863	cd	140
sliss	anfíss	iss-iss	4237-4238, 1060	ab	51

This group contains thirteen rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <is>/<iss>. Twelve are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words eleven of which end in a palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but three cases, where the single <i> in the *Rinn* is once answered with <a> (*fris:tegdais*, Canto 26, ll. 2951–2952) and twice with <e> (*fris:eisleis*, Canto 102, ll. 6109–6110 and Canto 105, ll. 6317–6318).

One disyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in a non-palatal sibilant to match the quality of the sibilant in the *Rinn*-word (*sliss:anfíss*, Canto 51, ll. 4237-4238).

One *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. The *Ardrinn*-word represents a biblical name and hence the quality of the final sibilant is uncertain, but to form a valid rhyme the final sibilant has to be non-palatal. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.31.10 -ís

ciis	oenmíss	ís-íss	7015-7016, 1754	cd	125
dís	Fineës	ís-és	5403-5404, 1351	cd	83

There are two rhyming pairs in the group where the *Rinn*-words end in <is>. The orthography represents a long /i:/ followed by a non-palatal sibilant in both instances. One *Rinn* is monosyllabic and paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant.

The other *Rinn*-word is somewhat more problematic. In Rawlinson B 502 the *Rinn*-word is spelled *diis*⁷⁶⁰ whereas Greene spells it *dís*. The disyllabic pronunciation is archaic.⁷⁶¹ It was used as a monosyllable already in the poem *Messe ocus Pangur bán*.⁷⁶² However, the word can also be read as a disyllable if the preceding vowel is elided: *im dá mac Héle a ndiis*. The vowels would reflect a short /i/ followed by a schwa and this would improve the rhyme with trisyllabic

⁷⁶⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^v b.

⁷⁶¹ DIL, 2 *días*, Column 65, l. 40: ‘orig[inally] dis[yllabic]’.

⁷⁶² Stokes/Strachan (eds) (1901), vol. 2, pp. 293–4.

Finees. The spelling in the manuscript reflects the archaic hiatus in the *Rinn*-word in this case. The *Ardrinn* is a form of the biblical name *Phinees*. There is no other rhyme with this name.

5.31.11 -os

ro-chlos	comaitheos	os-eos	6289-6290, 1573	ab	105
ro-clos	aebinneos	os-eos	973-974, 244	ab	6
ro-clos	oebinneos	os-eos	1489-1490, 373	ab	11
ro-clos	flatheos	os-eos	7055-7056, 1764	cd	127
ro-clos	ardflatheos	os-eos	7221-7222, 1806	ab	135
chlos	rīgdos	os-os	795-796, 199	cd	3
fos	Pardos	os-os	1193-1194, 299	ab	8
fos	Pardos	os-os	1861-1862, 466	ab	11
fos	Pardos	os-os	1199-1200, 300	cd	8
fos	Pardos	os-os	1215-1216, 304	cd	8
fos	Pardos	os-os	1473-1474, 369	ab	11
Pardos	immarbos	os-os	1483-1484, 371	cd	11
ro-chlos	doros	os-os	455-456, 114	cd	2
ro-chlos	immarbos	os-os	1039-1040, 260	cd	6
ro-chlos	Pardos	os-os	1375-1376, 344	cd	9
ro-chlos	comaltos	os-os	3245-3246, 812	ab	29
ro-clos	imarbos	os-os	813-814, 204	ab	3
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	1079-1080, 270	cd	6
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	1189-1190, 298	ab	8
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	1221-1222, 306	ab	8
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	1321-1322, 331	ab	9
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	1723-1724, 431	cd	11
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	2385-2386, 597	ab	12
ro-clos	Pardos	os-os	2715-2716, 679	cd	23
ro-clos	condolbos	os-os	3135-3136, 784	cd	27
ro-clos	amlos	os-os	3469-3470, 868	ab	31
ro-clos	denos	os-os	7675-7676, 1919	cd	148
ro-chlos	exercitus	os-us	769-770, 193	ab	3
ro-clos	Pardus	os-us	1099-1100, 275	cd	7
ro-clos	immarbus	os-us	1969-1970, 493	ab	11
doss	frecnarcus	oss-us	3467-3468, 867	cd	31
doss	immarbos	oss-os	6799-6800, 1700	cd	119
foss	immarbos	oss-os	963-964, 241	cd	6
foss	Pardos	oss-os	1711-1712, 428	cd	11
foss	doros	oss-os	1179-1180, 295	cd	8
toss	immarbos	oss-os	1607-1608, 402	cd	11
toss	anforos	oss-os	1633-1634, 409	ab	11

This group contains 37 rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words end in <os>/<oss> and the orthography represents a short /o/⁷⁶³ followed by a non-palatal sibilant. Thirty-six of these are monosyllabic and twenty-one of those are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in one case: *ro-clos* is rhymed with *Pardus* (Canto 7, ll. 1099–1100).

Fourteen of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but two cases: *ro-clos* is answered by *immarbus* (Canto 11, ll. 1969–1970) and *doss* is rhymed with *frencarcus* (Canto 31, ll. 3467–3468).

One monosyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant. Rawlinson B 502 has *ro-chlús* rhyming with *exercitús*, although Greene has *ro-chlos* rhyming with *exercitus* in his text.⁷⁶⁴ This shows that the scribe was more willing to change the orthography of a native word rather than that of a non-native word.⁷⁶⁵

Finally, there is one disyllabic *Rinn*-word that is matched with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* ending in non-palatal <s>. The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical and the intervocalic consonantal group as well as the medial vowel is balanced correctly in the *Ardrinn*.⁷⁶⁶

5.31.12 -ois

crois	anfois	ois-ois	365-366, 92	ab	2
frois	immarbois	ois-ois	4993-4994, 1249	ab	71
rois	Pardois	ois-ois	1339-1340, 335	cd	9
foiss	imarbois	oiss-ois	1447-1448, 362	cd	10
froiss	immarbois	oiss-ois	1437-1438, 360	ab	9

Five rhyming pairs are contained in the next group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ois>/<oiss>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a palatal consonant. Two of these are rhymed with a disyllabic, three of them with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word, all of which

⁷⁶³ Only in the monosyllabic cases.

⁷⁶⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v b.

⁷⁶⁵ This is also an example of a deliberate eye-rhyme, since the scribe added a *síneadh fada* to the vowel of the *Rinn*-word and thus it is unlikely that he just misspelled the *Rinn*-word by accident.

⁷⁶⁶ The pair is *Pardos:immarbos* (Canto 11, ll. 1483–1484). This is an interesting example, because both words regularly contain an etymological <u> in the final syllable and it is possible that the scribe chose to use <o> in this case to fit the regular pattern of the *o*-stem declension.

end in a palatal sibilant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, thus generating an identical rhyme.⁷⁶⁷

5.31.13 -us

dorus	sīršolus	us-us	361-362, 91	ab	2
fus	aneolus	us-us	819-820, 205	cd	3
fus	immarbus	us-us	1651-1652, 413	cd	11
fus	immarbus	us-us	7795-7796, 1949	cd	151
fus	Pardus	us-us	1275-1276, 319	cd	8
fus	frecnarcus	us-us	2083-2084, 521	cd	12
fus	Pardus	us-us	1753-1754, 439	ab	11
fus	marbus	us-us	1907-1908, 477	cd	11
fus	Pardus	us-us	1163-1164, 291	cd	8
fus	diütius	us-ius	1211-1212, 303	cd	8
fus	Pardus	us-us	1219-1220, 305	cd	8
fus	tuüs	us-us	2035-2036, 509	cd	12
fus	tuüs	us-us	2039-2040, 510	cd	12
fus	Pardus	us-us	2199-2200, 550	cd	12
fus	cáduš	us-us	3069-3070, 768	ab	26
fus	úagcommus	us-us	3171-3172, 793	cd	28
fus	furachus	us-us	5959-5960, 1490	cd	100
fus	forus	us-us	6463-6464, 1616	cd	108
gus	Pardus	us-us	1871-1872, 468	cd	11
gus	Tomus	us-us	7587-7588, 1897	cd	145
scrus	Capricornus	us-us	219-220, 55	cd	1
solus	přimdorus	us-us	355-356, 89	cd	2
tlus	Uirtutibus	us-us	539-540, 135	cd	2
tlus	Cantemus	us-us	4039-4040, 1010	cd	45
tlus	immarbus	us-us	4551-4552, 1138	cd	56
tlus	immarbus	us-us	7407-7408, 1852	cd	138
tomus	oendorus	us-us	359-360, 90	cd	2
maithius	fřrflathius	ius-ius	1729-1730, 433	ab	11
maithius	ardflaithius	ius-ius	7051-7052, 1763	cd	127

There are 29 rhyming pairs in the group where the *Rinn*-words end in <us>. The orthography represents a short /u/⁷⁶⁸ followed by a non-palatal sibilant. Twenty-four of these are

⁷⁶⁷ The pairs *fois:immarbois* (Canto 10, ll. 1447–1448) and *froiss:immarbois* (Canto 9, 1437–1438) feature a word in the *Ardrinn*-position that has been noted before. Similar to the cases on p. 240 (FN 756) the vowel in the final syllable has been adjusted orthographically, disregarding the etymologically correct vowel to improve the visual rhyme.

⁷⁶⁸ Only in the monosyllabic cases.

monosyllabic and twelve of those are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all examples.

Ten of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in non-palatal <s>. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

The remaining two monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in <us>, generating an identical rhyme. Both *Ardrinn*-words are Latin terms (*scrus:Capricornus*, Canto 1, ll. 219–220; *tlus:Uirtutibus*, Canto 2, ll. 539–540).

The five disyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in <us>. The intervocalic consonants are answered correctly and the medial vowels are orthographically identical.⁷⁶⁹

5.31.14 -uis

doruis	derbthomuis	uis-uis	373-374, 94	ab	2
doruis	toebtomuis	uis-uis	461-462, 116	ab	2

The group contains two rhyming pairs in which the disyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uis>. The orthography represents a schwa followed by a palatal sibilant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in <uis>. The intervocalic consonants are balanced appropriately and the medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in both cases.

5.31.15 -úis

dúis	coemgnúis	úis-úis	2103-2104, 526	cd	12
dúis	gnúis	úis-úis	1857-1858, 465	ab	11
dúis	galgnúis	úis-úis	4333-4334, 1084	ab	51
gnúis	derbdúis	úis-úis	1069-1070, 268	ab	6
gnúis	gelgnúis	úis-úis	4583-4584, 1146	cd	57

There are five rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uis>. The orthography represents a long /u:/ followed by a palatal consonant. Four of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also contain a long /u:/ followed by a palatal sibilant.

One *Rinn* is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, thus breaking the regular stress pattern. However, the monosyllabic *Ardrinn* also ends in a palatal <s> and the rhyming vowel is identical.

⁷⁶⁹ In the pair *maithius:fírflathius* (Canto 11, ll. 1729–1730) the palatal quality of the intervocalic voiceless continuant is not orthographically indicated in the *Ardrinn*. This does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

5.31.16 -áes

aes	immarbaes	aes-aes	265-266, 67	ab	1
gaes	togaes	aes-aes	1245-1246, 312	ab	8
gaes	togaes	aes-aes	2895-2896, 724	cd	26
baēs	togaīs	aēs-aís	2461-2462, 616	ab	15

Four rhyming pairs are contained in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aes>. The orthography represents a monophthong⁷⁷⁰ followed by a non-palatal or palatal voiceless sibilant. Three times these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words ending in a non-palatal sibilant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical. There is only one case where Greene emended the manuscript version: he has *baes* rhyming with *togaes* (Canto 26, ll. 2461–2462) instead of *togas*.⁷⁷¹ However, both *baes* and *togaes* can be declined as *ā*- or *o*-stems so both words can be read as palatal or non-palatal in this instance.⁷⁷² Greene’s emendation is not necessary.

5.31.17 –úais

uais	rochrúais	uais-úais	6021-6022, 1506	ab	100
úais	anglúais	úais-úais	117-118, 30	ab	1

The final group also contains two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uais>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal consonant. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a palatal voiceless sibilant and the rhyming vowels are identical.

5.32 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C sc*

There are four (0.10%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <sc>. The final consonant group represents a voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and all of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

⁷⁷⁰ The diphthongs *ae* and *oe* already fell together in the Old Irish period (Thurneysen (1946) p. 42, § 66). However, the exact pronunciation of the monophthong they came to represent is not entirely clear.

⁷⁷¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 25^r a; Greene gives the reading of Rawlinson B 502 for both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word.

⁷⁷² DIL, *báes/báis*, Column 8, ll. 51–86 and DIL, *togáes*, Column 214, ll. 47–64; in the case of *togáes* the masculine gender is specifically suggested in the DIL for *Saltair na Rann*.

5.32.1 -eisc

fleisc	mōrcheist	eisc-eist	3863-3864, 966	cd	40
fleisc	mōrcheist	eisc-eist	4489-4490, 1123	ab	54

The first group consists of two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eisc>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant cluster. Both *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in a palatal voiceless sibilant and a voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.⁷⁷³

5.32.2 -osc

rosc	tinchosc	osc-osc	2113-2114, 529	ab	12
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There is one rhyming pair in this set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <osc>. The orthography represents a short /o/ followed by a non-palatal consonant cluster. It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in <osc>, thus generating an identical rhyme.

5.32.3 -uisc

tuisc	August	uisc-uist	247-248, 62	cd	1
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The final set also contains a single rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <uisc>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal consonant group. It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a palatal voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.⁷⁷⁴

5.33 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C st*

There are seven (0.18%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <st>. The final consonant group represents a voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and they are all rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, all of the rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern of the *deibide*-metre.

⁷⁷³ It should be noted that where the *Ardrinn*-words represent a compound word, the vowel in the second part of the compound retains its original phonetic value, i.e. it does not represent a schwa but, in this case, /e/.

⁷⁷⁴ The *Rinn*-word originally contained an etymological <o>. This pair shows again that the poet was more comfortable with an orthographic change in the Irish word rather than in the non-native word. The rhyme is not affected.

5.33.1 -est

cest	athesc	est-esc	1103-1104, 276	cd	7
cest	athesc	est-esc	2439-2440, 610	cd	14
cest	athesc	est-esc	4455-4456, 1114	cd	52
cest	tairmesc	est-esc	4913-4914, 1229	ab	69

The first group contains four rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <est>. All of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a non-palatal voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all examples.

5.33.2 -eist

ceist	Babtaist	eist-aist	7457-7458, 1865	ab	140
ceist	atheisc	eist-eisc	3455-3456, 864	cd	31
ceist	bláithfle[i]sc	eist-e[i]sc	3839-3840, 960	cd	39

There are three rhyming pairs in the second group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eist>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant cluster. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a palatal voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in only one instance. In one case, *ceist* is rhymed with *Babtaist* (Canto 140, ll. 7457–7458).

The other example seemingly rhymes palatal (*ceist*) with non-palatal (*bláithflesc*).⁷⁷⁵ Greene inserts *i* in square brackets. Indeed, the *ā*-stem *flesc* is given in the accusative case and therefore must end in a palatal consonantal group. It must be assumed that this is a scribal error and that the phonetic rhyme is indeed perfect. The pair will not be discussed further.

5.34 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C t* (<ṭ>=/t/)

There are ten (0.26%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ṭ> that represents a voiceless dental stop.⁷⁷⁶ All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and eight (80%) of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, one (10%) with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* and one (10%) with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Of all rhyming pairs one (10%) lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.34.1 -at

lat	armacht	at-acht	6001-6002, 1501	ab	100
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⁷⁷⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^v b.

⁷⁷⁶ For <ṭ>=/d/ see below, pp. 251–5.

lat	ēcomnart	at-art	3805-3806, 952	ab	38
lat	Ēgept	at-ept	3597-3598, 900	ab	33

There are three rhyming pairs in the first group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <at>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a voiceless stop. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words both of which end in clusters of a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in one case. The other instance rhymes *lat* with *Ēgept* (Canto 33, ll. 3597–3598).

The remaining pair is *lat:ēcomnart* (Canto 38, ll. 3805–3806) and thus combines a single voiceless stop with a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical and hence the rhyme is regular.

5.34.2 -ait

trait	sacairt	ait-airt	3767-3768, 942	cd	37
trait	argait	ait-ait	7711-7712, 1928	cd	149
trait	táinic	ait-ic	6995-6996, 1749	cd	124

This group contains three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ait>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal voiceless stop. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words two of which end in a single voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is identical in one case. The other pair combines *trait*⁷⁷⁷ with *táinic*. Both pairs are metrically valid, because voiceless and voiced stops could rhyme giving imperfect rhyme.⁷⁷⁸

In one instance the *Rinn*-word is paired with an *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is echoed and although the voiced continuant is not balanced in the *Rinn*, the rhyme is metrically valid.

5.34.3 -uit

duit	mōrhuilcc	uit-uilcc	1173-1174, 294	ab	8
duit	uilcc	uit-uilcc	1277-1278, 320	ab	8
duit	mōrhuilcc	uit-uilcc	1329-1330, 333	ab	9

⁷⁷⁷ Vendryes argues that the final <ɾ> in the *Rinn*-word is voiceless (Vendryes (1978) vol. 7 *T U*, p. 124, *trait* and pp. 133–4, *treitell*: ‘Plutôt que l’irl. *troit* (/–d/ sonore), il vaut mieux comparer *treit*, *trait*, adj. «vif» (v. à part sous *trait*), car *treitell* suppose –tt– sourd.’

⁷⁷⁸ Murphy (1961) p. 33 and see above, p. 79.

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uit>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal voiceless stop. Two of the *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The combination of a single voiceless stop with a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop was accepted to give imperfect rhyme and the rhyming vowel corresponds orthographically.

The same combination of words occurs in the final example, with the exception that the *Ardrinn* is monosyllabic: *duit* rhymes with *uilcc* (Canto 8, ll. 1277–1278) and thus the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.34.4 -úait

úait	caīnchúaird	úait-úaird	1197-1198, 300	ab	8
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The final set is comprised of a single rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <uait>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal voiceless stop and the *Rinn* is balanced by a disyllabic *Ardrinn*. It is interesting that the *Ardrinn* is spelled <rd>. There are attestations of both *cúairt* and *cúaird*,⁷⁷⁹ and the variation is still found in Modern Irish. It is likely that the final stop in the *Ardrinn*-word here is indeed voiceless. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.35 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C t* (<t>=/d/)

There are 44 (1.12%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <t> that represents a voiced dental stop. Forty-two (95.45%) *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic. Thirty (71.43%) of these are rhymed with a disyllabic, ten (23.81%) with a trisyllabic, one (2.38%) with a tetrasyllabic and one (2.38%) with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

Two (4.55%) of the *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and both are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Of all rhyming pairs two (2.55%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.35.1 -at

blat	comnart	at-art	5685-5686, 1422	ab	90
blat	immformat	at-at	555-556, 139	cd	2
blat	do-rōsat	at-at	4453-4454, 1114	ab	52
blat	tinōlsat	at-at	5119-5120, 1280	cd	74

⁷⁷⁹ DIL, *cúairt*, Column 570, ll. 72 ff.

blat	scarsat	at-at	5311-5312, 1328	cd	79
brat	argat	at-at	5645-5646, 1412	ab	89
dénat	epélat	at-at	4167-4168, 1042	cd	50
túarcát	dublúachat	at-at	903-904, 226	cd	5

The first group is comprised of eight rhyming pairs that end in orthographic <at>. The orthography represents a short /a/⁷⁸⁰ followed by a voiced stop. Six of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and four of these are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Three of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also end in <at>. In one instance *brat* ‘spoil, plunder’ is rhymed with *argat* ‘silver’ (Canto 89, ll. 5645–5646). In both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn* the final consonant represents a voiced stop and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The other examples are *blat:do-rósat* (Canto 52, ll. 4453–4454) and *blat:scarsat* (Canto 79, ll. 5311–5312).⁷⁸¹

Another disyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and serves as rhyming partner to the *Rinn*-word *blat*, that has just been seen to have been rhymed with *Ardrinn*-words ending in a single voiced stop. The rhyme is valid since voiced and voiceless stops could be rhymed with one another to give imperfect rhyme.⁷⁸²

Two monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Both end in orthographic <at> and in both cases the final consonant in the *Ardrinn* represents a voiced stop (*blat:immformat*, Canto 2, ll. 555–556; *blat:tinólsat*, Canto 74, ll. 5119–5120). The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Both disyllabic *Rinn*-words are balanced by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The *Ardrinn*-words end in <at> (*dénat:epélat*, Canto 50, ll. 4167–4168 and *túarcát:dublúachat*, Canto 5, ll. 903–904). The final consonant represents a voiced stop in both cases and thus the end rhyme is perfect. The medial vowels orthographically match those in the *Rinn*-words. However, the intervocalic consonant is not adequately balanced in one case: The *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop in *túarcát* is paired with *dublúachat*. A *lenis* voiced continuant can be rhymed with

⁷⁸⁰ Only in the monosyllabic cases.

⁷⁸¹ The *Rinn*-word *blat* ‘strength’ (DIL, Column 115, l. 81–Column 116, l. 7) has been put into the section of *Rinn*-words ending in a voiced dental stop, because it is mostly (of twenty-two cases only five contain an *Ardrinn*-word ending in a cluster of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop) rhymed with a voiced dental stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. Blathmac has *blat* twice in *Rinn*-position and also rhymes it with *Ardrinn*-words ending in a voiced dental stop (*blat:ro-figarsat*, The Poems of Blathmac, ll. 389–390; *blat:mórbrat*, The Poems of Blathmac, ll. 699–700 (Carney (ed) (1964), p. 34 and p. 60; thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Graham Isaac for pointing this out to me). This word is used as a poetical term only and as such may have had an adaptable phonetic value concerning the final consonant.

⁷⁸² Murphy (1961) p. 33.

a voiceless continuant to create a rhyme,⁷⁸³ but this is one of only two instances where the stop contained in the *Rinn*-word is not balanced.⁷⁸⁴

5.35.2 -ait

blait	Affraic	ait-aic	3243-3244, 811	cd	29
blait	tarlaic	ait-aic	7251-7252, 1813	cd	135
brait	tarlaic	ait-aic	2539-2540, 635	cd	17
brait	bláthblaid	ait-aid	2325-2326, 582	ab	12
blait	aurdaic	ait-airc	5287-5288, 1322	cd	79
blait	prīmsacairt	ait-airt	3755-3756, 939	cd	37
blait	úasalsacairt	ait-airt	4901-4902, 1226	ab	69
blait	sacairt	ait-airt	6211-6212, 1553	cd	103
blait	trīchait	ait-ait	747-748, 187	cd	3
blait	brāgait	ait-ait	1599-1600, 400	cd	11
blait	coīcait	ait-ait	2271-2272, 568	cd	12
blait	oenchubait	ait-ait	2455-2456, 614	cd	15
blait	Eōfrait	ait-ait	2655-2656, 664	cd	21
blait	sechtmogait	ait-ait	3655-3656, 914	cd	33
blait	carait	ait-ait	4143-4144, 1036	cd	49
blait	Eōfrait	ait-ait	5251-5252, 1313	cd	77
blait	dergnāmaid	ait-ait	6367-6368, 1592	cd	106
blait	marbait	ait-ait	7279-7280, 1820	cd	137
brait	argait	ait-ait	3151-3152, 788	cd	27
brait	argait	ait-ait	3979-3980, 995	cd	44
slait	tinólsat	ait-at	6631-6632, 1658	cd	114
blait	foídit	ait-it	4815-4816, 1204	cd	66

There are 22 rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ait>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant in all cases. Sixteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Twelve of these end in a single voiced stop.⁷⁸⁵ The rhyming vowel is identical except in one case: *blait* is rhymed with *foídit* (Canto 66, ll. 4815–4816) where the palatal quality is reflected properly.

Where *blait* rhymes with the name *Eofrait* the final consonant is ambiguous, because the poet uses a non-native name. The word appears three times in rhyming position.⁷⁸⁶ In this

⁷⁸³ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁷⁸⁴ See *érgnai:combérlai* (Canto 24, ll. 2771–2772), where a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant are balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants.

⁷⁸⁵ It should also be noted that Rawlinsin B 502 has *bláthblait* (Rawl. B 502, fol. 24^v b) in line 2326, where Greene has *bláthblaid*. This must be a typing error since Greene spells this word in all other instances with a final <ɫ>.

⁷⁸⁶ The two present instances and in the form *Eufratén*, rhyming with *lén* (Canto 6, ll. 1003–1004).

form it is only rhymed with *blait* and it can be assumed that the final consonant represents a voiced stop.

In two cases the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a cluster of a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There are five *Rinn*-words that are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. They also end in a single voiced plosive. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases, but it should be noted that the *Ardrinn*-word *tinólsat* (Canto 114, l. 6632) does not end in a palatal consonant and thus the rhyme is faulty.⁷⁸⁷

Finally, one *Rinn*-word is balanced by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a palatal cluster of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. As has been seen above the combination of a voiced and voiceless stop was accepted to give imperfect rhyme.⁷⁸⁸

5.35.3 -et

cet	deëc	et-ec	4837-4838, 1210	ab	67
det	deëc	et-ec	1627-1628, 407	cd	11

The group contains two rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <et>. The vowel is short and the consonant represents a voiced stop. Both are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical and thus the rhymes are regular.

5.35.4 -ét

cét	éc	ét-éc	5269-5270, 1318	ab	78
sét	immarbrēc	ét-éc	3197-3198, 800	ab	28
cēt	glanmēt	ét-ét	107-108, 27	cd	1
cēt	oensēt	ét-ét	925-926, 232	ab	5
cēt	derbrēt	ét-ét	2269-2270, 568	ab	12
sét	oenrēt	ét-ét	4665-4666, 1167	ab	61
sét	glanchēt	ét-ét	5025-5026, 1257	ab	72
sét	caīrecht[h]rét	ét-ét	6347-6348, 1587	cd	106
sēt	glanchēt	ét-ét	759-760, 190	cd	3

⁷⁸⁷ Greene comments in a footnote on the translation of this line (FN 4): ‘Perhaps read *tinólsait*, treated as an absolute form, as against *ro thinolsat* 5729, 5748.’ Although this would fix the rhyme it would create a faulty *dúnad* for this Canto (l. 6613: *tinólsat*).

⁷⁸⁸ Murphy (1961) p. 33 and see above, p. 79.

There are nine rhyming pairs in this group in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <et>. The vowel is long and the final consonant represents a voiced stop in all cases. Six of these are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a voiced stop.

Two *Rinn*-words are paired with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in a voiced stop.

Finally, one *Rinn*-word is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and thus the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern, although the vocalic and consonantal rhymes are perfect.

5.35.5 -ót

rót	Enóc	ót-óc	2287-2288, 572	cd	12
rōt	Enóc	ót-óc	4943-4944, 1236	cd	70
rōt	Henóc	ót-óc	7141-7142, 1786	ab	132

This group is comprised of three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ot>. The vowel is long and the consonant represents a voiced stop in all cases. The *Rinn*-word is answered by the same disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word in all examples. The *Ardrinn*-word is a non-native name and it must be assumed that the final <c> was pronounced as a voiced stop. The rhyming vowel is matched orthographically in all cases.

5.36 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C th*

There are 394 (10.07%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <th>. The orthography represents a voiceless continuant in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and eight (2.03%) are paired with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, 258 (65.48%) with a disyllabic, 123 (31.22%) with a trisyllabic and five (1.27%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*. Of all rhyming pairs, eight (2.03%) do not agree with the regular stress pattern.

5.36.1 -ath

cath	Aminadab	ath-ab	5459-5460, 1365	cd	83
rath	Aminadab	ath-ab	5461-5462, 1366	ab	83
brath	intliuchtach	ath-ach	261-262, 66	ab	1
brath	golp[h]artach	ath-ach	875-876, 219	cd	5
brath	nathrach	ath-ach	1177-1178, 295	ab	8
brath	cathrach	ath-ach	3067-3068, 767	cd	26
brath	intliuchtach	ath-ach	3337-3338, 835	ab	29
brath	Cannānach	ath-ach	3547-3548, 887	cd	33

brath	cathrach	ath-ach	4657-4658, 1165	ab	61
brath	cathrach	ath-ach	6201-6202, 1551	ab	103
brath	i-mmárach	ath-ach	6495-6496, 1624	cd	109
cath	sīrechtach	ath-ach	873-874, 219	ab	5
cath	dīumussach	ath-ach	943-944, 236	cd	5
cath	uamnach	ath-ach	3895-3896, 974	cd	41
cath	armach	ath-ach	4031-4032, 1008	cd	45
cath	tossach	ath-ach	4831-4832, 1208	cd	67
cath	cathach	ath-ach	5079-5080, 1270	cd	74
cath	armach	ath-ach	5401-5402, 1351	ab	83
cath	úallach	ath-ach	5471-5472, 1368	cd	83
cath	cumachtach	ath-ach	5499-5500, 1375	cd	84
cath	engach	ath-ach	5577-5578, 1395	ab	86
cath	armach	ath-ach	5595-5596, 1399	cd	87
cath	díummasach	ath-ach	5741-5742, 1436	ab	92
cath	dássachtach	ath-ach	5889-5890, 1473	ab	98
cath	tromdebthach	ath-ach	6091-6092, 1523	cd	101
cath	dīummasach	ath-ach	6855-6856, 1714	cd	121
cath	fergach	ath-ach	6863-6864, 1716	cd	121
cath	slógbúadach	ath-ach	6931-6932, 1733	cd	123
cath	cathrach	ath-ach	6963-6964, 1741	cd	124
cath	cathrach	ath-ach	7415-7416, 1854	cd	138
dath	beothach	ath-ach	27-28, 7	cd	1
dath	nathrach	ath-ach	911-912, 228	cd	5
dath	sochruthach	ath-ach	1067-1068, 267	cd	6
dath	caīrach	ath-ach	2935-2936, 734	cd	26
dath	sonthach	ath-ach	4641-4642, 1161	ab	60
dath	darach	ath-ach	6915-6916, 1729	cd	123
rath	irfortach	ath-ach	411-412, 103	cd	2
rath	cruthach	ath-ach	571-572, 143	cd	2
rath	ainmnitach	ath-ach	3297-3298, 825	ab	29
rath	sonthach	ath-ach	4561-4562, 1141	ab	56
rath	dūthrechtach	ath-ach	5501-5502, 1376	ab	84
rath	bennach	ath-ach	7191-7192, 1798	cd	133
rath	mōrc[h]athrach	ath-ach	7355-7356, 1839	cd	138
rath	cumtach	ath-ach	7693-7694, 1924	ab	148
srath	cruthach	ath-ach	979-980, 245	cd	6
bath	marbad	ath-ad	4059-4060, 1015	cd	46
brath	cruthad	ath-ad	2045-2046, 512	ab	12
brath	tarrasad	ath-ad	2571-2572, 643	cd	19
brath	do-génad	ath-ad	2923-2924, 731	cd	26
brath	dolbanrad	ath-ad	3063-3064, 766	cd	26

brath	ragad	ath-ad	3131-3132, 783	cd	27
brath	comlad	ath-ad	3207-3208, 802	cd	28
brath	comallad	ath-ad	3271-3272, 818	cd	29
brath	soerad	ath-ad	3625-3626, 907	ab	33
brath	for-congrad	ath-ad	4619-4620, 1155	cd	58
brath	brēcad	ath-ad	4679-4680, 1170	cd	62
brath	mallachad	ath-ad	4799-4800, 1200	cd	66
brath	comolnad	ath-ad	6359-6360, 1590	cd	106
brath	connertad	ath-ad	6449-6450, 1613	ab	108
cath	do-duäd	ath-ad	1439-1440, 360	cd	9
cath	tuistigad	ath-ad	1779-1780, 445	cd	11
cath	tīssad	ath-ad	1815-1816, 454	cd	11
cath	sīlad	ath-ad	2015-2016, 504	cd	11
cath	marbad	ath-ad	3259-3260, 815	cd	29
cath	menmanrad	ath-ad	3267-3268, 817	cd	29
cath	druäd	ath-ad	3857-3858, 965	ab	40
cath	mallachad	ath-ad	4783-4784, 1196	cd	66
cath	delbad	ath-ad	5081-5082, 1271	ab	74
cath	marbad	ath-ad	5291-5292, 1323	cd	79
cath	Mesbad	ath-ad	5495-5496, 1374	cd	84
cath	marbad	ath-ad	5807-5808, 1452	cd	95
cath	troethad	ath-ad	6807-6808, 1702	cd	119
cath	armrad	ath-ad	6957-6958, 1740	ab	124
cath	Gerad	ath-ad	7035-7036, 1759	cd	126
cath	tróethad	ath-ad	7085-7086, 1772	ab	129
cath	cōrad	ath-ad	7235-7236, 1809	cd	135
cath	clochad	ath-ad	7359-7360, 1840	cd	138
dath	bidbad	ath-ad	2689-2690, 673	ab	22
dath	lāmnad	ath-ad	3027-3028, 757	cd	26
rath	ingnad	ath-ad	325-326, 82	ab	1
rath	dechmad	ath-ad	343-344, 86	cd	2
rath	duilerad	ath-ad	619-620, 155	cd	2
rath	adrad	ath-ad	1117-1118, 280	ab	8
rath	bethad	ath-ad	1383-1384, 346	cd	9
rath	bethad	ath-ad	1431-1432, 358	cd	9
rath	trebad	ath-ad	1927-1928, 482	cd	11
rath	taiscērad	ath-ad	3115-3116, 779	cd	27
rath	adrad	ath-ad	4115-4116, 1029	cd	48
rath	sīrsellad	ath-ad	4163-4164, 1041	cd	50
rath	crochad	ath-ad	4171-4172, 1043	cd	50
rath	turbad	ath-ad	4265-4266, 1067	ab	51
rath	bennachad	ath-ad	4803-4804, 1201	cd	66

rath	domnad	ath-ad	5425-5426, 1357	ab	83
rath	bífad	ath-ad	5811-5812, 1453	cd	95
rath	faicserad	ath-ad	6123-6124, 1531	cd	102
rath	mórchad	ath-ad	6491-6492, 1623	cd	109
rath	turcbad	ath-ad	7043-7044, 1761	cd	126
rath	ingnad	ath-ad	7253-7254, 1814	ab	136
srath	tarrasad	ath-ad	2551-2552, 638	cd	18
srath	dos-fucad	ath-ad	3227-3228, 807	cd	29
srath	ingenrad	ath-ad	3735-3736, 934	cd	36
srath	Mesbad	ath-ad	5479-5480, 1370	cd	84
cath	dīgal	ath-al	3943-3944, 986	cd	43
cath	dígáil	ath-al	6555-6556, 1639	cd	112
brath	athar	ath-ar	3015-3016, 754	cd	26
brath	bātar	ath-ar	3787-3788, 947	cd	37
cath	brāthar	ath-ar	4469-4470, 1118	ab	53
cath	degathar	ath-ar	5987-5988, 1497	cd	100
cath	athar	ath-ar	6903-6904, 1726	cd	123
rath	Athar	ath-ar	603-604, 151	cd	2
rath	Athar	ath-ar	2241-2242, 561	ab	12
rath	lúagmar	ath-ar	3369-3370, 843	ab	29
rath	ilar	ath-ar	7289-7290, 1823	ab	137
srath	día-nechtar	ath-ar	4887-4888, 1222	cd	69
brath	ógrath	ath-ath	3809-3810, 953	ab	38
brath	noebrath	ath-ath	7153-7154, 1789	ab	132
brath	Iosofath	ath-ath	7739-7740, 1935	cd	150
cath	mó[r]rath	ath-ath	5901-5902, 1476	ab	99
cath	mōrrath	ath-ath	6909-6910, 1728	ab	123
dath	alath	ath-ath	2955-2956, 739	cd	26
rath	braenchath	ath-ath	441-442, 111	ab	2
rath	duilirath	ath-ath	1363-1364, 341	cd	9
rath	celebrath	ath-ath	4441-4442, 1111	ab	52
rath	Iosophath	ath-ath	5215-5216, 1304	cd	77
rath	Ramath	ath-ath	5523-5524, 1381	cd	85
rath	glēbrath	ath-ath	7703-7704, 1926	cd	149
brath	dīscaīlteach	ath-each	1911-1912, 478	cd	11
rath	claideb	ath-eb	5935-5936, 1484	cd	100
rath	claideb	ath-eb	6165-6166, 1542	ab	103
brath	airbirech	ath-ech	941-942, 236	ab	5
brath	caīrech	ath-ech	2931-2932, 733	cd	26
cath	formtech	ath-ech	1291-1292, 323	cd	8
dath	indligthech	ath-ech	1569-1570, 393	ab	11
dath	caīrech	ath-ech	2959-2960, 740	cd	26

bath	fuined	ath-ed	2431-2432, 608	cd	14
cath	rīched	ath-ed	655-656, 164	cd	2
cath	tuistiged	ath-ed	1145-1146, 287	ab	8
cath	trēnmīled	ath-ed	4689-4690, 1173	ab	62
cath	catheirred	ath-ed	6511-6512, 1628	cd	109
cath	Coimded	ath-ed	7495-7496, 1874	cd	142
dath	ordaiged	ath-ed	1503-1504, 376	cd	11
rath	tened	ath-ed	7391-7392, 1848	cd	138
srath	rīched	ath-ed	135-136, 34	cd	1
srath	ro-chluined	ath-ed	4539-4540, 1135	cd	55
rath	bádud	ath-ud	7325-7326, 1832	ab	138

The first group contains 145 rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in orthographicic <ath>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a voiceless continuant in all cases. Ninety-eight *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thirty-seven of those also end in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but three cases where <a> is balanced by <e>⁷⁸⁹ (*brath:caírech*, Canto 26, ll. 2931–2932; *cath:formtech*, Canto 8, ll. 1291–1292; *dath:caírech*, Canto 26, ll. 2959–2960).

Fifty disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographicic <d>. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant and the combination of voiced plus voiceless continuant has already been noted as a frequent occurrence in the *Saltair*.⁷⁹⁰ The final rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but seven cases: six times <a> is balanced by <e> and once by <u>⁷⁹¹ (*bath:fuined*, Canto 14, ll. 2431–2432; *cath:rīched*, Canto 2, ll. 655–656; *cath:coimded*, Canto 142, ll. 7495–7496; *rath:tened*, Canto 138, ll. 7391–7392; *srath:rīched*, Canto 1, ll. 135–136; *srath:ro-chluined*, Canto 55, ll. 4539–4540; *rath:bádud*, Canto 138, ll. 7325–7326). The rhymes are regular in all cases.

The remaining eleven *Ardrinn*-words also end in *lenis* voiced continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all eleven cases.

Forty-five *Rinn*-words ending in orthographicic <ath> are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Twenty-four of those end in voiceless continuants. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but two cases: *brath* is rhymed with *airbirech* (Canto 5, ll. 941–942) and *dath* is answered by *indligthech* (Canto 11, ll. 1569–1570).

⁷⁸⁹ This irregularity occurs only two times in the manuscript: Rawlinson B 502 has *cairach* (Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v b) where Greene has typed *cairech* (l. 2960).

⁷⁹⁰ But cf. Murphy (1961) p. 33 and his description of this combination as exceptional.

⁷⁹¹ In the manuscript this does not occur: where Greene has edited *bádud* (Canto 138, l. 7326), Rawlinson B 502 has *badad* (Rawl. B 502, f. 38^r b).

Twenty trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic <d>. The final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant in all cases and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical except in four cases where <a> is answered by <e> (*cath:tuistiged*, Canto 8, ll. 1145–1146; *cath:trénmíled*, Canto 62, ll. 4689–4690; *cath:catheirred*, Canto 109, ll. 6511–6512; *dath:ordaiged*, Canto 11, ll. 1503–1504).

One trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ends in <r> and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

There are two *Rinn*-words that are rhymed with tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, both of which end in orthographic . Both tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words are a form of the Hebrew name *Abinadab* and it must be assumed that the final consonant represents a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.36.2 -aith

flaith	flescaib	aith-aib	3851-3852, 963	cd	40
raith	cétaib	aith-aib	3955-3956, 989	cd	44
raith	oenchlaich	aith-aich	5319-5320, 1330	cd	80
maith	bráthair	aith-air	2925-2926, 732	ab	26
flaith	bithmaith	aith-aith	1523-1524, 381	cd	11
flaith	bithraith	aith-aith	3321-3322, 831	ab	29
maith	ardflaith	aith-aith	1255-1256, 314	cd	8
maith	ardflaith	aith-aith	1485-1486, 372	ab	11
maith	fírflaith	aith-aith	1617-1618, 405	ab	11
raith	ceólmaith	aith-aith	1023-1024, 256	cd	6
raith	fírflaith	aith-aith	1811-1812, 453	cd	11
raith	bithmaith	aith-aith	3317-3318, 830	ab	29
raith	cíalmaith	aith-aith	4741-4742, 1186	ab	64
raith	bithmaith	aith-aith	7245-7246, 1812	ab	135

There are fourteen rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aith>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal voiceless continuant. All *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Eleven of those end in voiceless continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Three *Ardrinn*-words end in *lenis* voiced continuants: *flaith* is rhymed with *flescaib* (Canto 40, ll. 3851–3852), *raith* with *cétaib* (Canto 44, ll. 3955–3956) and *maith* is paired with *bráthair* (Canto 26, ll. 2925–2926). The rhymes are valid, because the combination of *lenis* voiced and voiceless continuants occurs so frequently that it must be regarded as the rule rather than an exception. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.36.3 -áth

blāth	soergrád	áth-ád	613-614, 154	ab	2
brāth	comrād	áth-ád	517-518, 130	ab	2
trāth	grād	áth-ád	1605-1606, 402	ab	11

This group is comprised of three rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <ath>. The vowel is long in all instances. Two *Rinn*-words are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

One *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn* and thus the rhyming pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern. The *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is identical in all three cases.

5.36.4 -áith

áith	ollgrāid	áith-áid	4325-4326, 1082	ab	51
bláith	comsnáid	áith-áid	961-962, 241	ab	6
blāith	saergrāid	áith-áid	965-966, 242	ab	6
blāith	Achāib	áith-áid	7381-7382, 1846	ab	138
fáith	coemgrāid	áith-áid	289-290, 73	ab	1
fáith	comráid	áith-áid	7109-7110, 1778	ab	131
fāith	glanbāig	áith-áig	5541-5542, 1386	ab	85
fāith	noebnāir	áith-áir	7133-7134, 1784	ab	131
blāith	rāith	áith-áith	3181-3182, 796	ab	28
blāith	imthlāith	áith-áith	4065-4066, 1017	ab	46
blāith	banfāith	áith-áith	7471-7472, 1868	cd	141
fāith	imthlāith	áith-áith	5677-5678, 1420	ab	90
fāith	imthláith	áith-áith	7361-7362, 1841	ab	138
rāith	dimbláith	áith-áith	6545-6546, 1637	ab	112
tlāith	robláith	áith-áith	7615-7616, 1904	cd	146

There are fifteen rhyming pairs in the group in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aith>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal consonant in all cases. Fourteen of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Eight of those end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

Six disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in voiceless continuants.

There is one monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in <th>, but the pair deviates from the regular stress pattern. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.36.5 -eth

meth	da-finggēbad	eth-ad	5795-5796, 1449	cd	94
cleth	cailech	eth-ech	7723-7724, 1931	cd	149
meth	mertnech	eth-ech	4571-4572, 1143	cd	56
meth	airchinnech	eth-ech	5941-5942, 1486	ab	100
reth	buidech	eth-ech	2671-2672, 668	cd	21
breth	ráded	eth-ed	4979-4980, 1245	cd	70
breth	faided	eth-ed	6835-6836, 1709	cd	120
do-gneth	cned	eth-ed	1409-1410, 353	ab	9
leth	garbthened	eth-ed	901-902, 226	ab	5
leth	tened	eth-ed	4795-4796, 1199	cd	66
leth	teched	eth-ed	1397-1398, 350	ab	9
meth	rīched	eth-ed	345-346, 87	ab	2
meth	ro-das-fessed	eth-ed	561-562, 141	ab	2
meth	rīched	eth-ed	805-806, 202	ab	3
meth	Comded	eth-ed	1203-1204, 301	cd	8
meth	rīched	eth-ed	2699-2700, 675	cd	23
sreth	gaisced	eth-ed	4755-4756, 1189	cd	65
meth	oenleith	eth-eith	385-386, 97	ab	2
leth	armiger	eth-er	5625-5626, 1407	ab	88
leth	amser	eth-er	4971-4972, 1243	cd	70
meth	oenleth	eth-eth	1561-1562, 391	ab	11
meth	oenleth	eth-eth	1601-1602, 401	ab	11
meth	prīmleth	eth-eth	4289-4290, 1073	ab	51
meth	oenleth	eth-eth	7425-7426, 1857	ab	139
sreth	leth	eth-eth	2711-2712, 678	cd	23

The group consists of 25 rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in orthographic <eth>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a voiceless continuant in all cases. Nineteen *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Eight of these also end in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases but the palatal quality of the final consonant differs in one example in Greene's text: *meth* is rhymed with *oenleith* (Canto 2, ll. 385–386). However, Greene has adopted the version from the manuscript 24 P 27 in the *Royal Irish Academy*. Rawlinson B 502 has *im-muig*⁷⁹² in the *Rinn*-position which makes the rhyme regular. In P the palatal quality of the final consonant in the *Ardrinn* is not present in the *Rinn*-word and this generates a faulty rhyme. Greene gives the variant reading of Rawlinson B 502 in his footnotes, but he does not give an explanation for his

⁷⁹² Rawl. B 502, f. 19^v b.

choice. The two lines, as they are found in Rawlinson B 502, *airfortoich namurim-muig/immondun docachoenleith* ‘the enclosures of the walls outside/around the fort on every side’, make sense. Greene’s choice also provides a sensible context, but regarding that he is usually following Rawlinson B 502 and that the rhyme is faulty in 24 P 27, there is no reason to abandon Rawlinson’s version of the line.

Eleven *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.

Four times the *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. One of those also ends in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. The remaining three *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one example: *meth* is rhymed with *da-finggébad* (Canto 94, ll. 5795-5796).

Twice the *Rinn*-word is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*. One of these ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant, the other in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

5.36.6 -eith

cleith	tedmannaib	eith-aib	1879-1880, 470	cd	11
leith	innarthaib	eith-aib	6265-6266, 1567	ab	105
leith	fuidlechaib	eith-aib	7627-7628, 1907	cd	146
sreith	brithemnaib	eith-aib	6901-6902, 1726	ab	123
feith	airfortaich	eith-aich	403-404, 101	cd	2
leith	tinōlaid	eith-aid	2623-2624, 656	cd	20
leith	imthesbaid	eith-aid	4609-4610, 1153	ab	58
sreith	comdelbaid	eith-aid	837-838, 210	ab	4
sreith	imhesbaid	eith-aid	987-988, 247	cd	6
cleith	étaig	eith-aig	7643-7644, 1911	cd	147
sreith	cathraig	eith-aig	389-390, 98	ab	2
leith	ídail	eith-ail	7063-7064, 1766	cd	128
cleith	athair	eith-air	1073-1074, 269	ab	6
sreith	sósair	eith-air	1833-1834, 459	ab	11
cleith	sainred	eith-ed	4345-4346, 1087	ab	51
leith	trénmīled	eith-ed	4745-4746, 1187	ab	65
cleith	dagdoīneib	eith-eib	4613-4614, 1154	ab	58
cleith	brat[h]reib	eith-eib	5809-5810, 1453	ab	95
gleith	caíreib	eith-eib	6299-6300, 1575	cd	105
leith	oentreib	eith-eib	4653-4654, 1164	ab	61
leith	comdíneib	eith-eib	5915-5916, 1479	cd	99
sreith	airbreib	eith-eib	1385-1386, 347	ab	9

sreith	deichthreib	eith-eib	7047-7048, 1762	cd	127
leith	nemaicseid	eith-eid	329-330, 83	ab	1
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	4577-4578, 1145	ab	57
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	2683-2684, 671	cd	22
leith	teneid	eith-eid	3919-3920, 980	cd	42
leith	tathigeid	eith-eid	4419-4420, 1105	cd	51
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	5267-5268, 1317	cd	78
sreith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	5529-5530, 1383	ab	85
cleith	cáireig	eith-eig	5723-5724, 1431	cd	91
cleith	comsreith	eith-eith	2465-2466, 617	ab	15
leith	comsreith	eith-eith	4281-4282, 1071	ab	51
leith	comsreith	eith-eith	2985-2986, 747	ab	26
leith	comsreith	eith-eith	4897-4898, 1225	ab	69
leith	comgleith	eith-eith	7223-7224, 1806	cd	135
sreith	saindleith	eith-eith	1921-1922, 481	ab	11
sreith	oenleith	eith-eith	4409-4410, 1103	ab	51
sreith	oenleith	eith-eith	5013-5014, 1254	ab	72
sreith	oenleith	eith-eith	7439-7440, 1860	cd	139
cleith	slēbib	eith-ib	2527-2528, 632	cd	17
leith	prīmdoirsib	eith-ib	357-358, 90	ab	2
leith	airgdidib	eith-ib	377-378, 95	ab	2
leith	comaithe[h]ib	eith-ib	6285-6286, 1572	ab	105
leith	faitchib	eith-ib	437-438, 110	ab	2
leith	anglib	eith-ib	779-780, 195	cd	3
sreith	uisidib	eith-ib	2957-2958, 740	ab	26
sreith	inailtib	eith-ib	2983-2984, 746	cd	26
cleith	rīchid	eith-id	1027-1028, 257	cd	6
cleith	Comdid	eith-id	2617-2618, 655	ab	20
cleith	ráidid	eith-id	4499-4500, 1125	cd	54
leith	rīchid	eith-id	615-616, 154	cd	2
leith	Coimdid	eith-id	3843-3844, 961	cd	40
leith	gaiscid	eith-id	5775-5776, 1444	cd	93
sreith	rīchid	eith-id	1217-1218, 305	ab	8
leith	aurchōtig	eith-ig	1293-1294, 324	ab	9
sreith	anim	eith-im	1091-1092, 273	cd	7
leith	do-chúaid	eith-úaid	4775-4776, 1194	cd	65
cleith	riaguil	eith-uil	1223-1224, 306	cd	8

There are 59 rhyming pairs in the following group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eith>. The orthography represents a short /e/ followed by a palatal consonant in all cases.

Thirty-eight of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Of those, nine end in a voiceless continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all nine cases.

Twenty-nine disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in eleven examples, but six times ⟨e⟩ is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in the *Ardrinn* (*cleith:étaig*, Canto 147, ll. 7643–7644; *sreith:cathraig*, Canto 2, ll. 389–390; *leith:ídail*, Canto 128, ll. 7063–7064; *cleith:athair*, Canto 6, ll. 1073–1074; *sreith:sósair*, Canto 11, ll. 1833–1834; *leith:do-chúaid*, Canto 65, ll. 4775–4776), once the palatal quality of the final consonant is not reflected in the *Ardrinn* (*cleith:sainred*, Canto 51, ll. 4345–4346), ten times ⟨i⟩ answers the *Rinn*-vowel (*cleith:slébib*, Canto 17, ll. 2527–2528; *leith:faitchib*, Canto 2, ll. 437–438; *leith:anglib*, Canto 3, ll. 779–780; *cleith:ríchid*, Canto 6, ll. 1027–1028; *cleith:comdid*, Canto 20, ll. 2617–2618; *cleith:ráidid*, Canto 54, ll. 4499–4500; *leith:ríchid*, Canto 2, ll. 615–616; *leith:coimdid*, Canto 40, ll. 3843–3844; *leith:gaiscid*, Canto 93, ll. 5775–5776; *sreith:ríchid*, Canto 8, ll. 1217–1218) and once ⟨e⟩ is balanced by ⟨u⟩ (*cleith:riaguil*, Canto 8, ll. 1223–1224).

The remaining disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the *Rinn*-vowel is rhymed with a single ⟨i⟩, thus balancing the palatal quality of the final consonant correctly (*sreith:anim*, Canto 7, ll. 1091–1092).

Twenty *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Only one of these ends in a voiceless continuant and ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in the *Ardrinn*-word (*feith:airfortaich*, Canto 2, ll. 403–404). The remaining nineteen trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant, but the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in only four pairs. Eight times the *Rinn* rhyming vowel is answered by ⟨a⟩ and six times by ⟨i⟩. It should be noted, however, that Rawlinson B 502 has *inailteib* where Greene has silently emended to *inailtib* (l. 2984).⁷⁹³

In one case the *Rinn*-word *leith* is answered by *trénmiled* (Canto 65, ll. 4745–4746). The palatal quality of the final consonant is not balanced in the *Ardrinn* and hence the rhyme is faulty.

5.36.7 -éth

fēth	Amaléch	éth-éch	4075-4076, 1019	cd	46
Sēth	comthrēn	éth-én	2389-2390, 598	ab	13
Sēth	comthrēn	éth-én	2405-2406, 602	ab	13

⁷⁹³ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v a; the ⟨e⟩ in the final syllable of the *Ardrinn*-word has no etymological value and is used solely for the purpose of an eye-rhyme.

This group is comprised of three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eth>. The vowel is long in all three cases. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.

The remaining *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all instances.

5.36.8 -éith

trēith	Iāfēith	éith-éith	2499-2500, 625	cd	16
trēith	Dauíd	éith-íd	6917-6918, 1730	ab	123
trēith	Duíd	éith-íd	6925-6926, 1732	ab	123

There are three rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <eith>. The orthography represents a long /e:/ followed by a palatal consonant. Two of these are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. <e> in the *Rinn*-word is rhymed with long /i:/ in the *Ardrinn*.⁷⁹⁴ This combination generates a mismatch both in the vocalic as well as the consonantal rhyme. Since the rhyming vowel in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word is long they must correspond.⁷⁹⁵ The combination of a voiceless and a *lenis* voiced continuant has been noted before and due to its frequency it must represent the rule rather than an exception.

The remaining *Rinn*-word is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that ends in a voiceless continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.36.9 -ith

clith	bliadnaib	ith-aib	2267-2268, 567	cd	12
clith	cētaib	ith-aib	2299-2300, 575	cd	12
clith	comlepaíd	ith-aíd	3175-3176, 794	cd	28
clith	córaíd	ith-aíd	5827-5828, 1457	cd	96
clith	cináíd	ith-aíd	7807-7808, 1952	cd	151
clith	nathraig	ith-aig	1281-1282, 321	ab	8
clith	suidigthib	ith-ib	83-84, 21	cd	1
clith	fichtib	ith-ib	6203-6204, 1551	cd	103
clith	Coimdid	ith-id	1645-1646, 412	ab	11
clith	Comdid	ith-id	6879-6880, 1720	cd	122

⁷⁹⁴ Rawlinson B 502 frequently abbreviates the name *Dauid* and where it does the inter-consonantal *au* is always part of the suspension. Where the name is written in full it is always spelled *Duíd* and the *síneadh fada* can be found in all examples, reflecting the tradition of a long /i:/ in the name *David*.

⁷⁹⁵ See also p. 113–14, Chapter 5.6.6 -éid, where the name *Dauid* is rhymed with *snéid*.

clith	aurchōtig	íth-ig	1313-1314, 329	ab	9
bith	bithrith	íth-íth	167-168, 42	cd	1
bith	glanrith	íth-íth	259-260, 65	cd	1

The group consists of thirteen rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <íth>. The orthography represents a short /i/ followed by a voiceless continuant. Ten of these are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, two of which also end in a voiceless continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

The remaining eight disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Five times the rhyming vowel <í> in the *Rinn*-word is answered by <a> in the *Ardrinn* and three times the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

Three *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All of these end in voiced continuants and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all but one case: *clith* rhymes with *comlepaid* (Canto 28, ll. 3175–3176).

5.36.10 -íth

díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	5711-5712, 1428	cd	91
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	5911-5912, 1478	cd	99
díth	Duïd	íth-íd	6023-6024, 1506	cd	100
díth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6151-6152, 1538	cd	102
díth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6335-6336, 1584	cd	105
díth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6357-6358, 1590	ab	106
díth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6641-6642, 1661	ab	115
dīth	Dauïd	íth-íd	5943-5944, 1486	cd	100
dīth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6599-6600, 1650	cd	113
dīth	Duïd	íth-íd	6993-6994, 1749	ab	124
fríth	Dauïd	íth-íd	7447-7448, 1862	cd	140
líth	Duïd	íth-íd	6189-6190, 1548	ab	103
líth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6763-6764, 1691	cd	117
níth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6041-6042, 1511	ab	100
scíth	Dauïd	íth-íd	6451-6452, 1613	cd	108
rīth	derbdīth	íth-íth	3153-3154, 789	ab	27

There are sixteen rhyming pairs in the group in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <íth>. The vowel is long in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words of which only one also ends in a voiceless continuant. The remaining *Ardrinn*-words are all a form of the name *David* and thus they all end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is an orthographic match in each case.

5.36.11 -oth

cloth	comollud	oth-ud	3359-3360, 840	cd	29
cloth	cathugod	oth-od	4915-4916, 1229	cd	69

The group is comprised of two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <oth>. The vowel is short. Both of these are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. Although one pair does not contain orthographically identical vowels, the rhyme is metrically valid.⁷⁹⁶

5.36.12 –uth

ruth	fúatlach	uth-ach	7411-7412, 1853	cd	138
cruth	tuistiugad	uth-ad	2423-2424, 606	cd	14
cruth	suidiugad	uth-ad	4511-4512, 1128	cd	55
cruth	cathugad	uth-ad	5757-5758, 1440	ab	93
cruth	fírugad	uth-ad	5843-5844, 1461	cd	96
cruth	airfitiud	uth-iud	683-684, 171	cd	3
cruth	cainairliud	uth-iud	1463-1464, 366	cd	10
cruth	airfitiud	uth-iud	1491-1492, 373	cd	11
cruth	derchañiud	uth-iud	3399-3400, 850	cd	30
cruth	brissiud	uth-iud	3903-3904, 976	cd	42
cruth	airfitiud	uth-iud	4321-4322, 1081	ab	51
cruth	díscañliud	uth-iud	6049-6050, 1513	ab	100
cruth	airfitiud	uth-iud	6057-6058, 1515	ab	101
cruth	ciniud	uth-iud	6257-6258, 1565	ab	104
cruth	ētiud	uth-iud	6839-6840, 1710	cd	121
guth	tinphiud	uth-iud	605-606, 152	ab	2
cruth	ōssor	uth-or	1147-1148, 287	cd	8
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4055-4056, 1014	cd	46
cruth	díthrub	uth-ub	4671-4672, 1168	cd	61
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4825-4826, 1207	ab	67
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4987-4988, 1247	cd	71
ruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	6043-6044, 1511	cd	100
ruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4051-4052, 1013	cd	46
sruth	crisluch	uth-uch	1637-1638, 410	ab	11
bruth	loscud	uth-ud	879-880, 220	cd	5
bruth	anmnigud	uth-ud	1175-1176, 294	cd	8
cruth	ordugud	uth-ud	81-82, 21	ab	1

⁷⁹⁶ In the case where the rhyming vowels match, the <o> in the final syllable of the *Ardrinn* has no etymological justification and was used to create an eye-rhyme.

cruth	ēilniud	uth-iud	597-598, 150	ab	2
cruth	smachtugud	uth-ud	699-700, 175	cd	3
cruth	tuistigud	uth-ud	1847-1848, 462	cd	11
cruth	cumscugud	uth-ud	1863-1864, 466	cd	11
cruth	sídugud	uth-ud	1981-1982, 496	ab	11
cruth	deligud	uth-ud	2987-2988, 747	cd	26
cruth	oentagud	uth-ud	3209-3210, 803	ab	28
cruth	tuscurnud	uth-ud	3323-3324, 831	cd	29
cruth	fúaslucud	uth-ud	3355-3356, 839	cd	29
cruth	bádud	uth-ud	3695-3696, 924	cd	35
cruth	sārgud	uth-ud	3763-3764, 941	cd	37
cruth	suidiugud	uth-ud	4219-4220, 1055	cd	51
cruth	suidigud	uth-ud	4543-4544, 1136	cd	56
cruth	suidigud	uth-ud	4883-4883, 1221	cd	69
cruth	cairigud	uth-ud	5829-5830, 1458	ab	96
cruth	sārugud	uth-ud	6087-6088, 1522	cd	101
cruth	imthelgud	uth-ud	6351-6352, 1588	cd	106
cruth	orddugud	uth-ud	7103-7104, 1776	cd	130
cruth	sainiugud	uth-ud	7255-7256, 1814	cd	136
cruth	orddogud	uth-ud	7267-7268, 1817	cd	136
cruth	bádud	uth-ud	7393-7394, 1849	ab	138
guth	cennsagud	uth-ud	5985-5986, 1497	ab	100
guth	sārgud	uth-ud	6003-6004, 1501	cd	100
ruth	biüd	uth-ud	3107-3108, 777	cd	27
sruth	mesrugud	uth-ud	43-44, 11	cd	1
sruth	fothrucud	uth-ud	1597-1598, 400	ab	11
sruth	fīrmugud	uth-ud	1685-1686, 422	ab	11
sruth	certugud	uth-ud	5041-5042, 1261	ab	72
sruth	suidigud	uth-ud	5171-5172, 1293	cd	76
suth	ūrugud	uth-ud	7283-7284, 1821	cd	137
cruth	saegul	uth-ul	2387-2388, 597	cd	12
cruth	fīriarthur	uth-ur	4255-4256, 1064	cd	51
cruth	fīrúachtur	uth-ur	4331-4332, 1083	cd	51
sruth	Lucifur	uth-ur	1705-1706, 427	ab	11
sruth	Lucifur	uth-ur	1883-1884, 471	cd	11
cruth	garbsruth	uth-uth	1677-1678, 420	ab	11
biuth	ciniud	iuth-iud	1877-1878, 470	ab	11
r[i]uth	cumriuch	[i]uth-iuch	3285-3286, 822	ab	29

There are 65 rhyming pairs in this group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uth>. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a non-palatal voiceless continuant. Twenty-four *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Four of these end in a voiceless

continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases. However, Greene has *fúatlach* (l. 7412) in the *Ardrinn* instead of *fúatluch* as it is found in Rawlinson B 502.⁷⁹⁷

The remaining twenty disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in nineteen cases.

Once, ⟨u⟩ is answered by ⟨o⟩: *cruth* is balanced by *óssor* (Canto 8, ll. 1147–1148). The combination creates a valid rhyme, because the non-palatal quality of the final consonants matches and the combination of voiceless and voiced continuants occurs too frequently to be called exceptional.⁷⁹⁸

Forty-one *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All of these end in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all of these rhyming pairs. However, in four cases Greene has edited the *Ardrinn*-words to contain ⟨a⟩ as the rhyming vowel (*cruth:tuistiugad*, Canto 14, ll. 2423–2424; *cruth:suidiugad*, Canto 55, ll. 4511–4512; *cruth:cathugad*, Canto 5757–5758; *cruth:fírugad*, Canto 96, ll. 5843–5844), disregarding the orthographically perfect rhyme in Rawlinson B 502.⁷⁹⁹

5.36.13 -uith

sruith	airfortuig	uith-uig	391-392, 98	cd	2
sruith	díthruib	uith-uib	4739-4740, 1185	cd	64
sruith	dīthruib	uith-uib	7575-7576, 1894	cd	145

There are three rhyming pairs in the group in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in ⟨uith⟩. The orthography represents a short /u/ followed by a palatal voiceless continuant. Two *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in both cases.

The remaining *Rinn*-word is answered by a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical, but it should be noted that there is no etymological justification for the ⟨u⟩. This is another case where the spelling was altered to create an eye-rhyme.

⁷⁹⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^r a; Greene's emendation is silent and is of no consequence to the rhyme. What is of interest is that the poet here clearly treats the *Ardrinn*-word as an *o*-stem (here in the dative singular case). The *DIL* suggests it to be an *s*-stem (*DIL*, *fúatlach*, Column 463, l. 82–6). However, the *Ardrinn* is not very well attested (*DIL* gives three examples including the present one) and seems to base its suggestion for the *s*-stem on the form *fuatlaig* found in O'Mulconry's Glossary (Whitley Stokes, 'O'Mulconry's Glossary', in *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie*, ed. by Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (Halle a. d. Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1898) pp. 232–324, 473–481, 629; here p. 243, § 208).

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. Murphy (1961) p. 33 and see above p. 80.

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 25^r a; f. 30^v a; f. 33^v b; f. 34^r a.

5.36.14 -úth

lūth	bithimpūd	úth-úd	199-200, 50	cd	1
lūth	Saül	úth-úl	6253-6254, 1564	ab	104

The group is comprised of two rhyming pairs where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in orthographic <uth>. The vowel is long in both cases. One *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic and one with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*. Both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.36.15 –aeth

gaeth	slānaeb	aeth-aeb	53-54, 14	ab	1
baeth	laech	aeth-aech	3193-3194, 799	ab	28
baeth	laech	aeth-aech	4381-4382, 1096	ab	51
baeth	fírgaeth	aeth-aeth	4589-4590, 1148	ab	57
saeth	prīngaeth	aeth-aeth	67-68, 17	cd	1

This group contains five rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <aeth>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a non-palatal voiceless continuant in all cases.⁸⁰⁰ Three *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and two of those also end in voiceless continuants. The third disyllabic *Ardrinn* ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

Two *Rinn*-words are answered by monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and thus the pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern. However, they end in voiceless continuants and the rhyming monophthong is orthographically identical.

5.36.16 -aíth

baíth	fírgaeth	aíth-aeth	1317-1318, 330	ab	9
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There is a single rhyming pair contained in the set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aíth>. The orthography represents a monophthong followed by a non-palatal voiceless

⁸⁰⁰ For the change of diphthongs to monophthongs see L. Breatnach (1994) p. 233, §§ 3.8–3.9, where he lists various examples showing that the diphthongs changed to become a long vowel. He also lists a few rhyming pairs to illustrate the point. The long vowel varies.

continuant.⁸⁰¹ It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word also ending in a non-palatal voiceless continuant, but <ai> is balanced by <ae>.

5.36.17 –íath

tríath	Iosíab	íath-íab	7551-7552, 1888	cd	144
íath	Malalíach	íath-íach	2285-2286, 572	ab	12
íath	Lamíach	íath-íach	2753-2754, 689	ab	24
íath	Melchisedíach	íath-íach	2781-2782, 696	ab	25
íath	Lamíach	íath-íach	4941-4942, 1236	ab	70
līath	Melchisidīach	íath-íach	2255-2256, 564	cd	12
tríath	Amalíach	íath-íach	5643-5644, 1411	cd	89
tríath	Amalíach	íath-íach	5663-5664, 1416	cd	89
tríath	Lamíach	íath-íach	7301-7302, 1826	ab	138
bíath	anríad	íath-íad	4817-4818, 1205	ab	67
tríath	Malalíal	íath-íal	4945-4946, 1237	ab	70
íath	Iosíaph	íath-íaph	7445-7446, 1862	ab	140
īath	Iäfiath	íath-íath	2653-2654, 664	ab	21
tríath	Elizafíath	íath-íath	7475-7476, 1869	cd	141

There are fourteen rhyming pairs in the group where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <iath>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a non-palatal voiceless continuant in all instances. Six of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Four of those end in voiceless continuants. The rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all four cases. Two of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words end in a *lenis* voiced continuant.⁸⁰²

Five *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words four of which also end in a voiceless continuant. The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

One trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word ends in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming diphthong corresponds orthographically.

Finally, there are three *Rinn*-words which are answered by tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in a voiceless continuant and the rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

5.36.18 -úath

lúath	túath	úath-úath	3833-3834, 959	ab	39
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⁸⁰¹ For the change of diphthongs to monophthongs see above FN 800; *baíth* is an *ā/o*-stem adjective and here agrees with a feminine noun. Thus the final continuant is non-palatal in the vocative case.

⁸⁰² It is noteworthy that one of the words, *Iosíab*, only appears once as opposed to the version spelled *Iosíaph*: the former represents Joseph, husband of Mary, and the latter Joseph the Patriarch. Here, *Iosíab* is in the nominative case. Since there is only one example of *Iosíab* the difference in the orthography might be coincidental.

lúath	ollmúad	úath-úad	5485-5486, 1372	ab	84
tūath	srethslūag	úath-úag	2691-2692, 673	cd	22

This group is comprised of three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uath>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a non-palatal voiceless continuant. Two *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that both end in a *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in both cases.

One *Rinn*-word is answered by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in <uath>. However, the pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.36.19 -úaith

lúaith	oenúair	úaith-úair	5411-5412, 1353	cd	83
túaith	glanbúaid	úaith-úaid	4705-4706, 1177	ab	63
túaith	glanbúaid	úaith-úaid	7429-7430, 1858	ab	139

The final group contains three rhyming pairs in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words end in <uaith>. The orthography represents a diphthong followed by a palatal consonant. All *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in a palatal *lenis* voiced continuant and the rhyming diphthong is orthographically identical in all cases.

5.37 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C tt*

There are two (0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <tt> and the final consonants represent a voiceless stop in both cases. Both are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and thus the group lies within the regular stress pattern.

5.37.1 -aitt

aitt	coīcait	aitt-ait	753-754, 189	ab	3
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One rhyming pair comprises the first set where the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <aitt>. The orthography represents a short /a/ followed by a palatal consonant. The *Rinn* is answered by a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in orthographic <ait>. The rhyming vowel corresponds orthographically, but the final <t> represents a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. However, the combination of voiced and voiceless stops was recognised to give imperfect rhyme.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

5.37.2 -áitt

áitt	Isáic	áitt-áic	7313-7314, 1829	ab	138
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The final set also contains a single rhyming pair in which the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in <áitt>. The orthography represents a long /a:/ followed by a palatal consonant in this case. The *Rinn* is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a palatal voiceless stop.⁸⁰⁴ The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical.

5.38 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme C z*

Boz	anfost	oz-ost	5701-5702, 1426	ab	91
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There is only one (0.03%) rhyming pair in this set and the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word ends in orthographic <z>. It is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in the voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical. <z> is not part of the Irish alphabet. The *Rinn*-word is a form of the name *Boaz*, an important figure in the Book of Ruth. It must be assumed that the most similar sound to what was written as <z> was represented by Irish <st>.

5.39 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V a*

In this chapter all *Rinn*-words are listed that end in the vowel <a>. It is important to note that additionally to this grouping relevant for the rhyme an additional classification has been added here that has not been added before. To handle the size of the larger groups better, these have been subdivided alphabetically by initial letter of the *Rinn*-word. Thus, the first sub-list in the first group contains all *Rinn*-words with final <a> that also begin with <a>. This is followed by a list of *Rinn*-words with a final <a> beginning with and so on. This classification has been chosen for the sake of convenience and is of no relevance for the rhyme. The smaller groups are not divided.

There are 148 (3.78%) *Rinn*-words in *Saltair na Rann* that end in orthographic <a>. It represents a short /a/ in monosyllabic and schwa in disyllabic *Rinn*-words. Twenty-nine (19.59%) of these are monosyllabic and 119 (80.41%) are disyllabic. Fifteen (51.72%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, thirteen (44.83%) by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and one (3.45%) by a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

⁸⁰⁴ The name *Isaac* is always rhymed with a *Rinn*-word that ends in a voiceless stop and thus it can be assumed that the final <c> of the *Ardrinn* likewise represents a voiceless stop.

107 (89.92%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, eight (6.72%) by disyllabic and four (3.36%) by tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, eight (5.41%) rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

5.39.1 a-

ada	nemnecha	ada-echa	4069-4070, 1018	ab	46
ada	Galgatha	ada-atha	5675-5676, 1419	cd	90
ada	imglana	ada-ana	6519-6520, 1630	cd	110
alta	lāmanta	alta-anta	3031-3032, 758	cd	26
amra	Sodomda	amra-omda	2811-2812, 703	cd	25
amra	ētarba	amra-arba	3309-3310, 828	ab	29
amra	adamra	amra-amra	7117-7118, 1780	ab	131
amra	glanphalma	amra-alma	7685-7686, 1922	ab	148
anma	éramra	anma-amra	3585-3586, 897	ab	33
atcha	cathracha	atcha-acha	4753-4754, 1189	ab	65

There are ten disyllabic *Rinn*-words ending in ⟨a⟩ that also begin with ⟨a⟩. The *Rinn*-words are answered by trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in orthographic ⟨a⟩. Thus, the stress pattern is regular throughout and the final rhyming vowels are orthographically identical (representing schwa) in all cases. However, there are a few mismatches concerning the medial vowels and intervocalic consonants. *ada* rhymes with *nemnecha* (Canto 46, ll. 4069–4070), so the initial ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨e⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. The rhyme is still valid, since ⟨e⟩ is unstressed. The regularity of the combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant and a voiceless continuant has been noted above.

There is another instance of an intervocalic voiced continuant rhyming with a voiceless continuant, but here the preceding vowel corresponds orthographically (*ada:Galgatha*, Canto 90, ll. 5675–5676).

In another instance, the initial ⟨a⟩ is balanced by ⟨o⟩ in the *Ardrinn*, generating a valid rhyme (*amra:Sodomda*, Canto 25, ll. 2811–2812).

Finally, *atcha* rhymes with *cathracha* (Canto 65, ll. 4753–4754) and thus the ⟨t̪⟩ in the *Rinn*-word is not answered in the *Ardrinn*. The meaning and origin of *atcha* itself are not entirely clear and this word seems to appear only in *Saltair na Rann*. It has been suggested that it is connected to the word *athach* ‘breeze, blast’.⁸⁰⁵ In that case, the ⟨t̪⟩ might in fact be a voiceless continuant or the word was pronounced as *acha* in which case the rhyme would be perfect.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, FN 4753.

In two cases a *lenis* voiced continuant is answered by a *fortis* voiced continuant or vice versa (*amra:glanphalma*, Canto 148, ll. 7685–7686; *anma:éramra*, Canto 33, ll. 3585–3586), but as has been previously seen this combination gives a valid rhyme.⁸⁰⁶

The remaining vocalic and consonantal rhymes are regular. In one case a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant, twice two *lenis* voiced continuants are rhymed with an appropriate cluster and once a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is paired with an appropriate cluster.

5.39.2 b-

badbda	Sodomda	adba-omda	7307-7308, 1827	cd	138
banna	anmanna	anna-anna	1195-1196, 299	cd	8
bassa	dīummusa	assa-usa	6795-6796, 1699	cd	119
bla	ainbthecha	bla-cha	95-96, 24	cd	1
bla	ēsca	bla-sca	105-106, 27	ab	1
bla	etherda	bla-rda	119-120, 30	cd	1
bla	airegda	bla-gda	201-202, 51	ab	1
bla	ésca	bla-sca	223-224, 56	cd	1
bla	ēsca	bla-sca	415-416, 104	cd	2
bla	medōncha	bla-ncha	665-666, 167	ab	3
bla	caterua	bla-rua	767-768, 192	cd	3
bla	rīgda	bla-gda	867-868, 217	cd	4
bla	Eua	bla-va	1155-1156, 289	cd	8
bla	Eua	bla-va	1233-1234, 309	ab	8
bla	cethra	bla-thra	2337-2338, 585	ab	12
bla	ingena	bla-na	2491-2492, 623	cd	16
bla	Dina	bla-na	3065-3066, 767	ab	26
bla	cathracha	bla-cha	4707-4708, 1177	cd	63
bla	druīdechta	bla-chta	4779-4780, 1195	cd	66
bla	doenna	bla-nna	5539-5540, 1385	cd	85
bla	Iūda	bla-du	5659-5660, 1415	cd	89
bla	Iudae	bla-dae	5691-5692, 1423	cd	91
bla	Iuda	bla-da	5699-5700, 1425	cd	91
bla	adamra	bla-mra	6063-6064, 1516	cd	101
bla	dīthrubha	bla-ba	6291-6292, 1573	cd	105
bla	trīcha	bla-cha	6655-6656, 1664	cd	115
bla	Pedemacha	bla-cha	6955-6956, 1739	cd	124
bla	aígarda	bla-rda	5867-5868, 1467	cd	97
blíadna	Caspíanda	adna-anda	4011-4012, 1003	cd	44

⁸⁰⁶ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

blíadna	comchíalla	adna-íalla	5683-5684, 1421	cd	90
broga	imthoga	oga-oga	505-506, 127	ab	2
buana	ūag[d]a	uana-úagda	2323-2324, 581	cd	12

There are 32 *Rinn*-words with a final <a> that begin with . Seven of these are disyllabic and six of those are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also ending in orthographic <a>.

One disyllabic *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in <a>. Therefore, this pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

The medial vowels are orthographically identical except in one case: *bassa* is rhymed with *díummusa* (Canto 119, ll. 6795–6796) and thus the medial <a> of the *Rinn* is rhymed with <u> in the *Ardrinn*.

Mismatches can also be found in the combinations of intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters. Thus, *badbda* and *Sodomda* (Canto 138, ll. 7307–7308) are rhymed with one another. The *Rinn* features a consonant cluster of three *lenis* voiced continuants that is answered by two *lenis* voiced continuants. However, two consonants could be answered by two, three or even four as long as no further feature⁸⁰⁷ was added.⁸⁰⁸ Additionally, <a> in the *Rinn* is balanced by <o> in the *Ardrinn*, but that does not interfere with the validity of the rhyme.

Another example of a mismatched rhyme is to be found in the combination of *blíadna* and *comchíalla* (Canto 90, ll. 5683–5684). The *Rinn*'s two *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by a single *fortis* voiced continuant.⁸⁰⁹ Because a *fortis* voiced continuant could be rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant in intervocalic position,⁸¹⁰ this does not cause the rhyme to be faulty.

Another consonantal mismatch is to be found only in Greene's own text. Rawlinson B 502 has *buana* rhyming with *úaga*,⁸¹¹ but Greene adds <d> to the *Ardrinn* (*úag[d]a*, l. 2324). There is no necessity for adding the <d>, since *úag(a)e/óg(a)e* meaning 'perfection', etc.⁸¹² is a regularly occurring noun and Greene translates it as such, even though, by adding <d>, he gives the *Ardrinn*-word an adjectival ending. The <d> is superfluous in the rhyme. The only mismatch

⁸⁰⁷ By 'feature' I refer to Ó Cuív's 'prosodies', such as voice, voicelessness etc.; see Ó Cuív (1966) p. 97.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 100: 'If my interpretation of the bardic classification of single consonants at a 'prosodic' level is correct, we may deduce that the poets were aware of certain dominant 'prosodies' and that in the practice of rhyme they limited *requirements* to having such 'prosodies' balanced in rhyming words. This did not preclude additional phonemes in a group so long as no extraneous 'prosody' was added. So *two* consonants might equate with *two*, *three*, or *four* consonants.'

⁸⁰⁹ It should be kept in mind that the scribe had two letters, <ll>, in front of him and that it is possible that he would have regarded them, at least visually, as two separate *lenis* voiced continuants, thus making the rhyme perfect.

⁸¹⁰ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁸¹¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 24^v b.

⁸¹² DIL, *óg(a)e*, Column 111, ll. 44–55.

of this rhyming pair occurs in the stress pattern, since both the *Rinn* and the *Ardrinn* are disyllabic.

The remaining disyllabic *Rinn*-words have regular rhymes throughout. Once a *fortis* voiced continuant is balanced by its equivalent, in one instance a voiceless sibilant is paired with its equivalent, in one case a *lenis* voiced continuant is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and once two *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by a single *fortis* voiced continuant (*blíadna:Caspíanda*, Canto 44, ll. 4011–4012).⁸¹³ As before, the intervocalic position of the rhyming consonants allows for the rhyme to be regular.⁸¹⁴ The preceding vowels correspond orthographically in all cases.

The remaining twenty-five *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and thirteen of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The *Ardrinn*-words all end in <a> with one exception: *bla* rhymes with *Iudae* (Canto 91, ll. 5691–5692). The *Ardrinn* is in the genitive singular case and might well be an example of how unwilling the poet was to change non-native forms for the sake of the metre.⁸¹⁵

Eleven of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words rhyme with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in <a> and thus are regular.

There is one example of a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in <a>.

5.39.3 c-

cachta	comblechta	achta-echta	5427-5428, 1357	cd	83
cachta	comalta	achta-alta	5991-5992, 1498	cd	100
cachta	comalta	achta-alta	6099-6100, 1525	cd	101
cachta	imthechta	achta-echta	6455-6456, 1614	cd	108
cachta	Ammōnita	achta-ita	6739-6740, 1685	cd	117
cachta	intliuchta	achta-uchta	7207-7208, 1802	cd	134
catha	dīthrua	atha-uba	6343-6344, 1586	cd	106
certa	tarmthechta	erta-echta	7195-7196, 1799	cd	134
cíalla	blíadna	íalla-íadna	3385-3386, 847	ab	30
crecha	Ericha	echa-icha	5051-5052, 1263	cd	73
crotha	sīrsrotha	otha-otha	995-996, 249	cd	6
crucha	athrucha	ucha-ucha	7753-7754, 1939	ab	150

⁸¹³ Considering that <nn> and <nd> for /N/ were interchangeable in the Middle Irish period, it is conceivable that the poet perceived <nd> as two individual letters to match the *Rinn*-word (cf. above p. 277, where *blíadna* and *comchíalla* (Canto 90, ll. 5683–5684) are combined to give rhyme). It is also noteworthy that the present rhyming pair combines, at least orthographically, the identical letters, even if they are in reversed order in the *Ardrinn*-word.

⁸¹⁴ See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁸¹⁵ See Chapter 7 p. 408 for a brief discussion on how the non-native words in *Saltair na Rann* are dealt with in rhyming position.

cumma	mōrmungga	umma-ungga	5361-5362, 1341	ab	81
cumma	damchunga	umma-unga	5763-5764, 1441	cd	93

There are fourteen rhyming pairs in which the disyllabic *Rinn*-words with a final <a> begin with <c>. Twelve of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words all of which end in <a>. However, there are some mismatches concerning the medial vowels. Twice a medial <a> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <e> in the *Ardrinn* (*cachta:comblechta*, Canto 83, ll. 5427–5428; *cachta:imthechta*, Canto 108, ll. 6455–6456).

Twice the *Rinn*'s <a> is answered with <u> in the *Ardrinn* (*cachta:intliuchta*, Canto 134, ll. 7207–7208; *catha:díthruaba*, Canto 106, ll. 6343–6344).

Where Rawlinson B 502 has *cricha* in the *Rinn*-position,⁸¹⁶ Greene has <e> rhyming with <i> (*crecha:Ericha*, Canto 73, ll. 5051–5052).⁸¹⁷ The form as it is written in the manuscript offers the visually more pleasing vocalic rhyme, although it is not etymologically correct. This is another possible example that the scribe – consciously or unconsciously – disregarded the etymologically correct spelling for the sake of an eye-rhyme.

Finally, there is one example rhyming <a> in the *Rinn* with <i> in the *Ardrinn* (*cachta:Ammónita*, Canto 117, ll. 6739–6740), but this does not interfere with the validity of the rhyme.

Concerning the medial consonants, there are six mismatches to be noted. Twice, *cachta* rhymes with *comalta* (Canto 100, ll. 5991–5992 and Canto 101, ll. 6099–6100) and thus the consonant cluster consisting of a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. The combination of voiced and voiceless continuant was considered to be a permissible exception by Murphy, but is a regular occurrence here.⁸¹⁸

In another example a single medial voiceless continuant is rhymed with a single medial *lenis* voiced continuant (*catha:díthruaba*, Canto 106, ll. 6343–6344). As has been just seen, this rhyming combination was a regular occurrence.

There is a pair that rhymes *certa* with *tarmthechta* (Canto 134, ll. 7195–7196). The consonant cluster comprised of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is answered by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop.

In one case the disyllabic *Rinn* is rhymed with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*: *cachta* is answered by *Ammónita* (Canto 117, ll. 6739–6740). The *Rinn*'s consonant cluster consisting of

⁸¹⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^r a.

⁸¹⁷ Greene gives the spelling of Rawlinson B 502 and remarks that he is following 'all prose versions' by writing *crecha* (FN 1 for ll. 5049–5052). He also gives the example of the pair *secho:hEricho* (Canto 138, ll. 7345–7346) to justify his choice of spelling. In this case this spelling is found in Rawlinson B 502.

⁸¹⁸ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

a voiceless continuant plus voiceless plosive is rhymed with a single voiced stop.⁸¹⁹ The voiceless continuant remains unanswered. It already has been noted that continuants before stops could be skipped and still form an acceptable rhyme.

There is one disyllabic *Ardrinn* that rhymes with a disyllabic *Rinn* and thus breaks the regular stress pattern: *cíalla* rhymes with *blíadna* (Canto 30, ll. 3385–3386). In this case a single *fortis* voiced continuant is rhymed with two *lenis* voiced continuants.⁸²⁰

The remaining pairs are regular: Three times a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*, three times a single voiceless continuant is paired with a single voiceless continuant and twice a *fortis* voiced continuant is matched with its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*.

5.39.4 d-

da	comdána	da-na	6135-6136, 1534	cd	102
dāla	gabāla	ála-ála	6459-6460, 1615	cd	108
dāla	comlāna	ála-ána	7651-7652, 1913	cd	147
dalbda	aurlabra	albda-abra	4809-4810, 1203	ab	66
dána	sodála	ána-ála	59-60, 15	cd	1
dána	lāma	ána-áma	3817-3818, 955	ab	39
dána	Cannána	ána-ána	5123-5124, 1281	cd	75
dána	lonnbága	ána-ága	5721-5722, 1431	ab	91
dána	drochdála	ána-ála	6933-6934, 1734	ab	123
dána	combága	ána-ága	7369-7370, 1843	ab	138
dāna	spirtālda	ána-álda	735-736, 184	cd	3
dāna	ilgrāda	ána-áda	2703-2704, 676	cd	23
dāna	Bala	ána-ala	2997-2998, 750	ab	26
dāna	dermāra	ána-ára	5059-5060, 1265	cd	73
dāna	Cannāna	ána-ána	7343-7344, 1836	cd	138
dāna	barbāda	ána-áda	7351-7352, 1838	cd	138
data	brecnata	ata-ata	3933-3934, 984	ab	43
datha	sogabtha	atha-abtha	63-64, 16	cd	1
datha	ilchatha	atha-atha	5057-5058, 1265	ab	73
datta	dīnerta	atta-erta	2831-2832, 708	cd	26
datta	Ammoníta	atta-íta	6747-6748, 1687	cd	117

⁸¹⁹ In an Irish context it is likely that the <þ> in the *Ardrinn*-word was pronounced as a voiced stop. However, the only other example also features a *Rinn*-word with a voiceless stop: *datta:Ammoníta* (Canto 117, ll. 6747–6748); for a discussion of this pair see below, p. 281. The rhyme is valid in either case, because the combination of voiced and voiceless stops was considered to be an unusual exception that gave imperfect rhyme (see Murphy (1961) p. 33).

⁸²⁰ See above, p. 277 (*blíadna:comchíalla*, Canto 90, ll. 5683–5684) and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96; like above, the poet may have also considered the visual level of two letters ryming with two letters of the same class.

dessa	laíchessa	essa-essa	4385-4386, 1097	ab	51
díana	comríada	íana-íada	6793-6794, 1699	ab	119
dochta	ētrochta	ochta-ochta	725-726, 182	ab	3
dochta	imnochta	ochta-ochta	6687-6688, 1672	cd	116
dogra	rīgdomna	ogra-omna	6131-6132, 1533	cd	102
dot-rega	bithdoéra	ega-oéra	3343-3344, 836	cd	29

There are 27 rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words ending in ⟨a⟩ begin with ⟨d⟩. One of these is monosyllabic and it is paired with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in ⟨a⟩, creating a regular rhyme.

The remaining 26 *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and 23 of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. All rhyming pairs are regular with few exceptions. In one example *datta* is rhymed with *dínerta* (Canto 26, ll. 2831–2832). The medial ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨e⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. Since the ⟨e⟩ is unstressed, this does not generate a faulty rhyme. However, the single voiceless stop being balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop creates a mismatch in that the *lenis* voiced continuant is not balanced in the *Rinn*-word. This combination can be found rather frequently regarding the ending of a word.⁸²¹ However, it is rare in intervocalic position and thus it is justifiable to have a closer look at this rhyming pair. The *Rinn*-word *datta* is a derivative of the noun *dath* ‘colour, beauty’ and the adjectival ending *-da*. Although the poet would never have pronounced *datta* with one or even two continuants (*daththa*), this is the underlying form of the derived adjective. Kiparsky had this concept in mind when he looked at poetry of the Finnish *Kalevala* and the Sanskrit *Rigveda*. He states that it was ‘long an unquestioned axiom of metrical theory that the metrically relevant features of a line are phonetic, that is, audible in the recitation intended by the poet [...]’.⁸²² However, he finds that ‘potential audibility is not always necessary’⁸²³ and that ‘prosodic constraints may involve stages in the derivation that are not (even optionally) realized on the phonetic level’.⁸²⁴ This theorem can be applied to the case at hand, where *datta* derives from *dath+da>*daththa>*dathta*. These stages of the derivation are indeed not realised on the phonetic level, but they still may have been accessed by the poet, so that ultimately the *lenis* voiced continuant in the cluster of *dínerta* was in fact answered by a voiceless continuant – of a derivational rather than phonetic level – in *datta*.

⁸²¹ See, for example, *mac:connart* (Canto 11, ll. 1909–1910), *mac:legart* (Canto 26, ll. 2833–2834) etc.

⁸²² Kiparsky (1972) p. 174.

⁸²³ Op. cit. p. 175.

⁸²⁴ Op. cit. p. 176.

Another rhyming pair consists of *dot-rega* and *bithdoéra* (Canto 29, ll. 3343–3344). The intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuants are regular and <e> is balanced by <oe>. However, since <oe> does not represent a diphthong but a single long <e>, the mismatch of this rhyme is to be found in the combination of the short vowel in the *Rinn*-word and the long vowel in the *Ardrinn*-word. Greene’s suggestion of emending *bithdoéra* to *bithbenchae*, ‘which would give a poor, but acceptable rhyme’⁸²⁵ does not improve the pair, but rather creates a greater irregularity by putting the consonantal rhyme off balance.

There are two instances of a single continuant in the *Rinn*-word being balanced by two continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word. *datha* is rhymed with *sogabtha* (Canto 1, ll. 63–64). The voiceless continuant is also reflected in the *Ardrinn*, but the *lenis* voiced continuant stands unbalanced.

The other example is *dána:spirtálda* (Canto 3, ll. 735–736). The *Ardrinn* contains a *lenis* voiced continuant that is not present in the *Rinn*-word.

There is one example of three *lenis* voiced continuants in a *Rinn*-word being rhymed with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn* (*dalbda:aurlabra*, Canto 66, ll. 4809–4810). However, since only two sounds were counted for the rhyme, the combination of these consonant-clusters is still valid.⁸²⁶

There are two disyllabic *Rinn*-words that are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words (*dána:láma*, Canto 39, ll. 3817–3818; *dána:Bala*, Canto 26, ll. 2997–2998). Thus the stress pattern is not adhered to. The second pair possibly shows the combination of a long vowel with a short vowel. However, the *Ardrinn*-word is a biblical name and the phonetic value of the vowel cannot be ascertained.

Finally, there is one tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that answers a disyllabic *Rinn*-word: *datta* rhymes with *Ammoníta* (Canto 117, ll. 6747–6748). The medial <a> in the *Rinn* is answered by <i> in the *Ardrinn* and the voiceless stop is rhymed with a – presumably – voiced stop.⁸²⁷ The non-native *Ardrinn*-word has also been combined with *cachta* which also contains a voiceless stop.⁸²⁸ It has become clear in this work, that the combination of voice and voiceless occurred frequently and must have been accepted as being part of the rhyming rules.

The remaining pairs are regular. Fifteen times a *lenis* voiced continuant is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, twice a voiceless plosive is balanced by its equivalent,

⁸²⁵ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 3341–3344, FN 4.

⁸²⁶ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁸²⁷ In this case there is no benefit to the rhyme in accessing the earlier derivative stages of <tt> in the *Rinn*-word (see above, p. 281).

⁸²⁸ See above, pp. 278–9.

once a voiceless continuant is paired with a voiceless continuant, once the voiceless sibilant is matched with the voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn*, twice a cluster of voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is answered by an identical cluster and once two *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants. If not otherwise indicated above, the medial rhyming vowels are orthographically identical.

5.39.5 e-

etla	mōrphecta	etla-ecta	7199-7200, 1800	cd	134
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There is one *Rinn*-word ending in ⟨a⟩ that begins with ⟨e⟩. The disyllabic *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that echoes both rhyming vowels. However, the cluster ⟨tl⟩ in the *Rinn* is answered with ⟨cth⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. The voiceless stop is answered in kind, but the *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*. As seen earlier, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuants was a frequently occurring combination.

5.39.6 f-

fata	Moābdita	ata-ita	5697-5698, 1425	ab	91
fechta	imthechta	echta-echta	6447-6448, 1612	cd	108
fedba	demna	edba-emna	7645-7646, 1912	ab	147
for-assa	regat-sa	assa-atsa	5859-5860, 1465	cd	96

There are four rhyming pairs where the *Rinn*-words ending in ⟨a⟩ begin with ⟨f⟩. They are disyllabic and two of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in ⟨a⟩. In one case, *for-assa* rhymes with *regat-sa* (Canto 96, ll. 5859–5860). The single voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn* is answered by a voiceless stop plus voiceless sibilant. This creates an orthographically irregular rhyme, but it must be assumed that to the poet the rhyme was acceptable. This is not the only instance where a single voiceless sibilant is rhymed with a sibilant plus an additional consonant in intervocalic position which supports the view that this combination was a permitted exception.⁸²⁹

The other pair is regular. The medial and final vowels correspond orthographically and the intervocalic cluster of a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by the identical cluster.

⁸²⁹ *cobsaíd:coemchossaib*, Canto 11, ll. 1593–1594; *dúmsaig:do-rodíusaig*, Canto 123, ll. 6935–6936; *cota-coímsed:prímthóisech*, Canto 82, ll. 5387–5388; *glassa:fábulla*, Canto 100, ll. 6039–6040. However, in this instance the additional consonant is a stop which is usually always balanced in consonantal clusters.

There is one example of two disyllabic words rhyming together, thus breaking the regular stress pattern. The phonetic rhyme is regular by pairing two *lenis* voiced continuants with two *lenis* voiced continuants. The medial and final rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

Finally, there is one tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn* that answers the disyllabic *Rinn*-word: *fata* rhymes with *Moábdita* (Canto 91, ll. 5697–5698). The ⟨a⟩ in the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* and the voiced stop in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by its equal in the *Ardrinn*-word. However, it should be noted that the poet also combines *garta* with *Moábdita* (Canto 91, ll. 5695–5696), combining a voiceless stop with a single stop in the *Ardrinn*.⁸³⁰ This is possibly another instance where the poet shows great flexibility in using a non-native word, i.e. where he allows himself to use the same word in different phonetic contexts.

5.39.7 g-

gaetha	lānaeba	aetha-aeba	45-46, 12	ab	1
garta	mórgorta	arta-orta	3383-3384, 846	cd	30
garta	Moabditá	arta-ita	5695-5696, 1424	cd	91
gelbda	tigerna	elbda-erna	3187-3188, 797	cd	28
glanbda	glēāmra	anbda-amra	69-70, 18	ab	1
glanna	talmunna	anna-unna	99-100, 25	cd	1
glanna	adamra	anna-amra	727-728, 182	cd	3
glanna	scrībenna	anna-enna	861-862, 216	ab	4
glanna	anmanna	anna-anna	1133-1134, 284	ab	8
glanna	anmanna	anna-anna	1201-1202, 301	ab	8
glanna	anmanna	anna-anna	1235-1236, 309	cd	8
glanna	anmanna	anna-anna	1889-1890, 473	ab	11
glanna	talmanna	anna-anna	3713-3714, 929	ab	35
glanna	sutralla	anna-alla	4343-4344, 1086	cd	51
glanna	Sisarra	anna-arra	5219-5220, 1305	cd	77
glanna	talmanna	anna-anna	6223-6224, 1556	cd	103
glanna	anmanna	anna-anna	7269-7270, 1818	ab	136
glassa	fābullsa	assa-ullsa	6039-6040, 1510	cd	100
gnīma	Sīna	íma-ína	4097-4098, 1025	ab	47
gorta	lomnochta	orta-ochta	1419-1420, 355	cd	9
gorta	lomnochta	orta-ochta	3407-3408, 852	cd	30
grāda	degdāna	áda-ána	677-678, 170	ab	3
grāda	anāla	áda-ála	2107-2108, 527	cd	12
grāda	comlāna	áda-ána	5423-5424, 1356	cd	83

⁸³⁰ See below, p. 286.

grānna	Cannána	ánna-ána	5087-5088, 1272	cd	74
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There are 25 *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <g>. They are all disyllabic and twenty-three of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in orthographic <a>. Three times the orthography of the rhyming vowel does not match (*garta:mórgorta*, Canto 30, ll. 3383–3384; *glanna:scribenna*, Canto 4, ll. 861–862; *glassa:fábullsa*, Canto 100, ll. 6039–6040), but this does not disrupt the rhyme.

Where Rawlinson B 502 has *talmanna*, making the rhyme orthographically perfect, Greene has transcribed the rhyming pair *glanna:talmunna* (Canto 1, ll. 99–100).⁸³¹

There are also a few mismatches regarding some of the intervocalic consonants. The rhyme between *glassa* and *fábullsa* (Canto 100, ll. 6039–6040) balances the single voiceless sibilant with a *fortis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant. The *fortis* voiced continuant must have been disregarded for the rhyme.⁸³²

There are two examples where *gorta* rhymes with *lomnochta* (Canto 9, ll. 1419–1420 and Canto 30, ll. 3407–3408). The consonant cluster consisting of a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. As seen earlier, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuant was a frequently occurring combination.

Another example rhymes a single voiceless continuant with a voiced continuant: *gaetha* is balanced by *lánaeba* (Canto 1, ll. 45–46), but the medial and final vowels match orthographically.

There are two examples where a cluster of three *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn* is answered by a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn* (*gelbda:tigerna*, Canto 28, ll. 3187–3188; *glanbda:gléämra*, Canto 1, ll. 69–70), but, as has been mentioned above, only two consonants of each group are counted for the rhyme.⁸³³

In one case a *fortis* voiced continuant is balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants: *glanna* rhymes with *adamra* (Canto 3, ll. 727–728). That a *fortis* and a *lenis* voiced continuant can rhyme with one another in intervocalic position is a valid option,⁸³⁴ but the *Rinn* does not contain an additional voiced continuant to balance the second one in the *Ardrinn*.⁸³⁵

⁸³¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 19^f b; *talmanna* is in fact the orthographically correct form and since Greene's emendation is silent, a typographical slip is likely. In fact, Greene remarks in a deleted footnote (FN 2) attached to the translation of lines 97 to 100 that 'talmann = older talmandae' where he does not change the vowel in question.

⁸³² Cf. above, p. 283 and FN 829 on the same page.

⁸³³ See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁸³⁴ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

⁸³⁵ However, see above, p. 278 and p. 280, where it has been noted that the poet may have perceived the single *fortis* voiced continuant in both the aural dimension and in the orthographic dimension, i.e. he saw two *lenis*

There is another example of a *fortis* voiced continuant rhyming with a *lenis* voiced continuant (*gránna:Cannána*, Canto 74, ll. 5087–5088), but as was just mentioned, this was an acceptable rhyme in intervocalic position.⁸³⁶

One disyllabic *Rinn*-word is paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and although the rhyme is perfect (*gníma:Sína*, Canto 47, ll. 4097–4098), the stress pattern diverges from the regular one.

Finally, there is a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that answers a disyllabic *Rinn*-word: *garta* rhymes with *Moábdita* (Canto 91, ll. 5695–5696).⁸³⁷ The medial vowels do not match orthographically and the *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a single, presumably voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*. The vocalic rhyme is still valid, but the *Ardrinn* lacks a voiced continuant to match the <ɾ> in the *Rinn*.

The remaining pairs are regular. Eleven times a *fortis* voiced continuant is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*, three times a *lenis* voiced continuant is paired with a *lenis* voiced continuant and once a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive is matched with an equivalent cluster. The medial and final rhyming vowels agree, unless indicated otherwise.

5.39.8 1-

lāma	dermára	áma-ára	5095-5096, 1274	cd	74
lergga	srebderga	ergga-erga	6779-6780, 1695	cd	118
lethna	oebthrethna	ethna-ethna	493-494, 124	ab	2
lōrda	forōrda	órda-órda	4279-4280, 1070	cd	51
luba	imthuga	uba-uga	7273-7274, 1819	ab	137

There are five *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <ɫ>. All of these are disyllabic and are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in orthographic <a>. There is no mismatch to be found in any of the rhymes. Twice a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, once a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiced stop is balanced by an equivalent cluster, once two *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants, and once a voiceless continuant plus *lenis* voiced continuant is rhymed with an identical cluster in the *Ardrinn*. The medial vowels are orthographically identical in all cases.

voiced continuants additionally to hearing the single *fortis* voiced continuant and thus both continuants from the *Rinn*-word would be balanced appropriately.

⁸³⁶ See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96. Here the concept of the two-dimensional perception of two consonants does not apply.

⁸³⁷ See above, p. 283, where *fata* rhymes with *Moábdita* (Canto 91, ll. 5697–5698).

5.39.9 m-

Maffa	firflatha	affa-atha	6243-6244, 1561	cd	103
menma	comfedma	enma-edma	3453-3454, 864	ab	31

There are two *Rinn*-words ending in ⟨a⟩ that begin with ⟨m⟩. Both are disyllabic and are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨a⟩. The rhymes are regular: once, a voiceless continuant is paired with a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* and once a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a *fortis* voiced continuant is balanced by an equivalent cluster. The preceding vowels agree in both cases.

5.39.10 n-

nerta	doínachta	erta-achta	7509-7510, 1878	ab	143
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There is one *Rinn*-word ending in ⟨a⟩ that begins with ⟨n⟩. The disyllabic *Rinn* is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in orthographic ⟨a⟩. The medial ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. Furthermore, the cluster ⟨rt⟩ is answered by ⟨cht⟩ and thus the voiced continuant is rhymed with a voiceless continuant. As seen above, this was a frequently occurring combination and is considered here to be the rule rather than Murphy's permissible exception.⁸³⁸

5.39.11 o-

ócda	Ciclōpda	ócda-ópda	7349-7350, 1838	ab	138
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There is one *Rinn*-word ending in ⟨a⟩ that begins with ⟨o⟩. It is disyllabic and rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in orthographic ⟨a⟩. The intervocalic cluster containing a voiced stop followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a voiced stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant, giving a regular rhyme.

5.39.12 p-

pectha	sírhattla	ectha	2085-2086, 522	ab	12
plāga	combāga	ága-ága	3941-3942, 986	ab	43

⁸³⁸ Cf. Murphy (1961) p. 33.

There are two *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <p>. Both are disyllabic and they are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in orthographic <a>. The rhymes are regular: *pectha* rhymes with *sírettla*, thus balancing a voiceless continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant. As seen above, this was a frequently occurring combination.

The other pair combines a *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and the medial rhyming vowels correspond.

5.39.13 r-

ratha	ildatha	atha-atha	55-56, 14	cd	1
ratha	fír[f]latha	atha-atha	5847-5848, 1462	cd	96
rechta	tarmthechta	echta-echta	6861-6862, 1716	ab	121
rélta	taiscélta	éлта-éлта	3475-3476, 869	cd	31
rí[a]gla	blíadna	íagla-íadna	4621-4622, 1156	ab	59
ríagla	oenblíadna	íagla-íadna	229-230, 58	ab	1
ríagla	oenblíadna	íagla-íadna	4853-4854, 1214	ab	68
rīgda	mīgnīma	ígda-íma	7815-7816, 1954	cd	151

There are eight *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <r>. The *Rinn*-words are all disyllabic. Seven of these are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that all end in orthographic <a>. One mismatch can be found in the combination of the intervocalic consonants: *rīgda* rhymes with *mīgnīma* (Canto 151, ll. 7815–7816). The cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn* is balanced by a single voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and thus one of the voiced continuants remains unbalanced.⁸³⁹ The rhyming vowels are identical.

The other six pairs are regular. Twice a single voiceless continuant is balanced by a single voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*, twice two *lenis* voiced continuants are paired with two *lenis* voiced continuants, once a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is rhymed with the identical cluster and in one case a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is paired with an equivalent cluster in the *Ardrinn*. The preceding vowel corresponds orthographically within each pair.

In the pair *rígla:blíadna* (Canto 59, ll. 4621–4622) both Greene and Stokes have emended the *Rinn*-word to *ríagla*. Rawlinson B 502 most likely contains a scribal error⁸⁴⁰ or

⁸³⁹ At some point in the Middle Irish period the cluster of lenited <gd> would have been pronounced as a single *lenis* voiced continuant, but it is not certain whether this was the case already for the poet of *Saltair na Rann*. Cf. L. Breatnach (1994) pp. 234–5, § 3.18. This pair will not be discussed further.

⁸⁴⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v b; in two other instances *ríagla* is rhymed with *oenblíadna* (Canto 1, ll. 229–230 (f. 19^v a) and Canto 68, ll. 4853–4854 (f. 31^f b)) where Rawlinson B 502 indeed contains <ia> in the *Rinn*-word. The pair will not be discussed in the section on mismatches.

indeed a variation of spelling. That does not change the fact that the intervocalic consonantal cluster is non-palatal. The only mismatch is to be found in the syllable-count of the rhyming words, since both are disyllabic and thus they rhyme two stressed syllables with one another.

5.39.14 s-

scéla	imséna	éla-éna	3771-3772, 943	cd	37
sēna	cenēla	éna-éla	3881-3882, 971	ab	41
sengga	coemlenna	engga-enna	497-498, 125	ab	2
sla	nemdesctha	sla-sctha	4351-4352, 1088	cd	51
slāna	ilgrāda	ána-áda	709-710, 178	ab	3
slassa	somblassa	assa-assa	4071-4072, 1018	cd	46
slechts	cilecda	echta-ecda	6871-6872, 1718	cd	122
sochta	ētrochta	ochta-ochta	2135-2136, 534	cd	12
sóeba	garbgaetha	óebda-aetha	4287-4288, 1072	cd	51
sosta	anfosta	osta-osta	1733-1734, 434	ab	11

There are ten *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <s>. Nine of these are disyllabic and they are all rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that end in an orthographic <a>. Two rhyming pairs should be noted: *slechts* rhymes with *cilecda*. The pair matches a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop with a voiceless stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant. As just mentioned, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuant was a regular occurrence and must have been the rule rather than Murphy's permissible exception.⁸⁴¹ It should be pointed out, however, that the continuant-stop-cluster is answered in the *Ardrinn* in reverse order.⁸⁴² The adjective is derived from the loanword *cilic* 'sack-cloth' and the only citation given in DIL for *cilecda* is from *Saltair na Rann*.⁸⁴³ The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical in this pair.

The pair *sóeba:garbgaetha* also combines voice and voicelessness. Additionally, the monophthong <oe> is balanced by <ae> in the *Ardrinn* which gives a valid rhyme.⁸⁴⁴

The remaining pairs are regular. Three times a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, once a *fortis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *fortis* voiced continuant, once a voiceless sibilant is rhymed with its equivalent, in one case a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is paired with the identical cluster and in one case a voiceless sibilant followed by a voiceless stop is matched with a voiceless sibilant plus

⁸⁴¹ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁸⁴² The only other pair where the reversed order of a consonant cluster is found in a rhyme is *trebthai:ilchethrai* (Canto 61, ll. 4661–4662). See below p. 372, Chapter 6.2.10 – *Reversed order of rhyming elements* and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 101 on this issue.

⁸⁴³ DIL, *cilecda*, Column 185, l. 74.

⁸⁴⁴ See L. Breatnach (1994) p. 233, § 3.8 for the development of Old Irish diphthongs in Middle Irish.

voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*. The preceding rhyming vowels correspond orthographically in each pair.

There is one monosyllabic *Rinn*-word that is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* also ending in <a>. This pair also represents a regular rhyme.

5.39.15 t-

talgga	roardda	algga-ardda	363-364, 91	cd	2
tola	fofa	ola-ola	7641-7642, 1911	ab	147
tra	aérda	tra-rda	111-112, 28	cd	1
tra	turba	tra-rba	771-772, 193	cd	3
túatha	comlúatha	úatha-úatha	5453-5454, 1364	ab	83

There are five *Rinn*-words ending in <a> that begin with <t>. Three of these are disyllabic and two of those are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in orthographic <a>. The rhymes are both regular: once a voiceless continuant is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn* and once a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop is rhymed with an equivalent cluster. The medial vowels agree orthographically in both pairs.

One disyllabic *Rinn*-word is matched with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and although the rhyme is perfect in that the pair matches a *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant and has corresponding medial vowels, the regular stress pattern is disrupted.

Two of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and they are both paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in orthographic <a>. The rhyme is regular in both cases.

5.39.16 u-

unga	comthrumma	unga-umma	5759-5760, 1440	cd	93
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There is one *Rinn*-word ending in <a> that begins with <u>. The *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and it is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* that also ends in orthographic <a> and the medial vowel and consonants are balanced appropriately.

5.40 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V á*

blā	físsi-sea	blá-sea	3339-3340, 835	cd	29
blā	ingena	blá-na	3423-3424, 856	cd	30
blā	do-raega	blá-ga	3435-3436, 859	cd	30
blā	fescorda	blá-rda	4403-4404, 1101	cd	51
blā	tuctha	blá-tha	7667-7668, 1917	cd	147

cná	Pedemachá	cná-chá	6975-6976, 1744	cd	124
for-tā	anma	ortá-anma	1453-1454, 364	ab	10
im-rā	Etheopda	imrá-eopda	2647-2648, 662	cd	21
mná	oenlāa	mná - láa	1449-1450, 363	ab	10
mná	iarma	mná - rma	4203-4204, 1051	cd	51
mnā	dīgla	mná-gla	4147-4148, 1037	cd	49
na-mmā	caīnmná	mmá-mná	2483-2484, 621	cd	16
na-mmā	oenmnā	mmá-mná	2515-2516, 629	cd	17
ro-das-tā	do-s-raíga	tá-ga	7527-7528, 1882	cd	143
trá	grānmara	trá-ra	3331-3332, 833	cd	29
trā	anma	trá-ma	1349-1350, 338	ab	9
trā	lāāsa	trá-sa	6139-6140, 1535	cd	102
trā	Iuda	trá-da	6143-6144, 1536	cd	102
trā	senchassa	trá-ssa	6637-6638, 1660	ab	115
trā	demna	trá-mna	7619-7620, 1905	cd	146

There are 20 (0.51%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <a>, representing a long vowel in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and twelve (60%) of those are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, seven (35%) with a trisyllabic and one (5%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical in all cases.⁸⁴⁵

5.41 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V ae*

bannae	sutralla	annae-alla	4347-4348, 1087	cd	51
lubae	crēdumae	ubae-umae	393-394, 99	ab	2

There are two (0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ae>. The orthography represents a schwa in both cases. Both *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and they are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words only one of which ends in <ae>. The other *Ardrinn* ends in a single <a>, but the rhyme is still regular. The consonantal rhyme is regular: the *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn* and the preceding vowel is echoed in the *Ardrinn*. The final <ae> in *bannae* (nominative singular, *io*-stem) ‘drop’ and the final <a> in *sutralla* (nominative plural, *ā*-stem) ‘light’ are etymologically correct.

The second pair is regular. The *Ardrinn* also ends in <ae> and the medial vowel is echoed in the *Ardrinn*. The intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced appropriately. The final <ae>

⁸⁴⁵ The quantity does not match in all cases, but a long vowel could be rhymed with its short equivalent in *deibide*-rhyme (see Murphy (1961) p. 31).

is etymologically correct in both words though it may be pointed out that the *Ardrinn*-word, the *io*-stem *crédumae* ‘bronze, brass’, was often used attributively in the genitive singular and thus could be expected to end in <ai>.

5.42 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V ai*

balnai	Amrai	alnai-amrai	3813-3814, 954	ab	39
blai	brethai	blai-thai	5327-5328, 1332	cd	80
blai	Sarraí	blai-rrai	7483-7484, 1871	cd	141
bochtai	ūachtgortai	ochtai-ortai	1477-1478, 370	ab	11
ērgnai	combērlai	érgnai-érlai	2771-2772, 693	cd	24
fechtai	tuicthechtai	echtai-echtai	1709-1710, 428	ab	11
garbdai	barbardai	arbdai-ardai	5015-5016, 1254	cd	72
glórdai	dergórdai	órdai-órdai	475-476, 119	cd	2
glórdai	dergórdai	órdai-órdai	4367-4368, 1092	cd	51
gortai	bithbochtai	ortai-ochtai	951-952, 238	cd	5
lórdai	forórdai	órdai-órdai	501-502, 126	ab	2
lórdai	erórdai	órdai-órdai	5431-5432, 1358	cd	83
lubai	clārbrugai	ubai-ugai	4663-4664, 1166	cd	61
Mamrai	amrai	amrai-amrai	2801-2802, 701	ab	25
ōgdai	forórdai	ógdai-órdai	4227-4228, 1057	cd	51
samlai	Amrai	amlai-amrai	3821-3822, 956	ab	39
senchai	oentelchai	enchai-elchai	6751-6752, 1688	cd	117
solmai	innlobrai	olmai-obrai	7375-7376, 1844	cd	138
tachtai	anartai	achtai-artai	5971-5972, 1493	cd	100
tarbai	comlabrai	arbai-abrai	4373-4374, 1094	ab	51
tarbai	Amrai	arbai-amrai	4397-4398, 1100	ab	51
techtai	cumrechtai	echtai-echtai	3561-3562, 891	ab	33
teclai	Sirecdai	eclai-ecdai	6765-6766, 1692	ab	118
trebthai	ilchethrai	ebthai-ethrai	4661-4662, 1166	ab	61

There are 24 (0.61%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ai>, representing a short monophthong in all cases. Two (8.33%) of these are monosyllabic and both are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The remaining 22 (91.67%) *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Eighteen (81.81%) of these are matched with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. The remaining four (18.19%) are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, four rhyming pairs (16.67%) lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

All *Ardrinn*-words also end in orthographic <ai> and the medial vowels are orthographically identical in all 24 cases. In more than half of the cases the final <ai> in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words is etymologically correct. In eleven pairs the final vowels are not

etymologically correct. The *Rinn*-word in the pair *balnai:Amrai* (Canto 39, ll. 3813–3814) appears only in *Saltair na Rann* and the meaning is not clear. The *Ardrinn* is the genitive case of a non-native name and this form is always rhymed with words ending in <ai>.

The *Ardrinn*-word *brethai* (Canto 80, l. 5328), if taken as an accusative plural of the feminine \bar{a} -stem *breth*, should end in a single <a>, reflecting another instance of an eye-rhyme.

The dative singular of the *io*-stem *érgna* should end in a non-palatal vowel, but is here spelled with final <ai>.

Both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word in the pair *fechtai:tuicthechtai* (Canto 11, ll. 1709–1710) only appear in *Saltair na Rann* and the meaning is not entirely clear.

The *Ardrinn*-word *bithbochtai* (Canto 5, l. 952), an \bar{a}/o -stem here in the nominative plural case, should end in a single <a>, but has been changed by the scribe to suit the etymologically correct *gortai*.

The pair *lórdai:erórdai* (Canto 83, ll. 5431–5432) should have both words ending in <ae> and thus the scribe did not change only one word to suit the other.

The pair *Mamrai:amrai* (Canto 25, ll. 2801–2802) combines a non-native name in the genitive singular with an adjective that is also in the genitive singular, but as a masculine *io*-stem it should end in a single <a>. The scribe changed the ending of the *Ardrinn*-word to match the non-native name.

The *Rinn*-word *ógdai* (Canto 51, l. 4228), here in the nominative singular, usually ends in <ae> and presents another case of an eye-rhyme.

The *Ardrinn*-word *anartai* (Canto 100, l. 5971) is used in the nominative plural. Originally, it was a masculine *o*-stem and one would expect the form to be *anairt*. Later it was used as a feminine \bar{a} -stem and as such ends in a single <a>. To match the etymologically correct spelling *tachtai* in the *Rinn*-position the scribe changed the spelling of the *Ardrinn*-word.

The pair *techtai:cumrechtai* (Canto 33, ll. 3561–3562) rhymes a verb in the *Rinn*-position with the dative plural of an *io/ia*-stem adjective. One would expect the word to end in <aib> and thus the scribe changed the spelling to suit the rhyme.

Finally, the pair *teclai:Sirecdai* (Canto 118, ll. 6765–6766) contains a *hapax legomenon* in the *Rinn*-position and a non-native name in the *Ardrinn*-position. According to Greene the *Rinn* ‘is presumably connected to teclaim’,⁸⁴⁶ but he does not give an explanation for the form as it stands here.

⁸⁴⁶ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, FN 1, l. 6756.

The only mismatches can be found in the rhyming combinations of the medial consonants and consonant clusters. In three cases *lenis* voiced and voiceless continuants are rhymed (*gortai:bithbochtai*, Canto 5, ll. 951–952; *bochtai:úachtgortai*, Canto 11, ll. 1477–1478; *tachtai:anartai*, Canto 100, ll. 5971–5972). As seen earlier, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuants is a frequently occurring rhyming combination in the *Saltair*. In all examples the voiceless stop <þ> is echoed in the *Ardrinn*-words.

There is one rhyming pair where the *Rinn*-word contains a cluster of three *lenis* voiced continuants that is answered by a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. *garbdai* is rhymed with *barbardai* (Canto 72, ll. 5015–5016). However, since only two consonants are counted for the rhyme, the combination is still metrically valid.⁸⁴⁷

One pair rhymes a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant with two *lenis* voiced continuants (*érgnai:combérlai*, Canto 24, ll. 2771–2772). This is one of only two pairs that do not balance a stop.⁸⁴⁸

The remaining rhyming pairs are regular. Eleven times two *lenis* voiced continuants are rhymed with two *lenis* voiced continuants, twice a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop is matched with the identical cluster, twice a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless continuant are paired with an appropriate cluster in the *Ardrinn*, once a *lenis* voiced continuant is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant and once a voiced stop followed by a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by an equivalent cluster in the *Ardrinn*.

The two monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words that also end in <ai>. Thus, these rhyming pairs are regular.

5.43 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V aí*

a-taī	dagmnaī	taí-mnaí	1305-1306, 327	ab	9
baī	immarbae	baí-bae	5433-5434, 1359	ab	83
baī	úamai	baí-mai	6353-6354, 1589	ab	106
blaí	eörnae	blaí-rnae	7021-7022, 1756	ab	125
blaī	brathemdai	blaí-mdai	7741-7742, 1936	ab	150
Maí	immarchlaí	maí-chlaí	241-242, 61	ab	1

There are six *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ai>. The vowels represent a long monophthong. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and two of those are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Both of the disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also end in orthographic <ai>. It should be

⁸⁴⁷ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁸⁴⁸ See *túarcas:dublúachat*, Canto 5, ll. 903–904, where the voiced stop is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*-word.

noted that in the pair *baí:úamaí* (Canto 106, ll. 6353–6354) the *Ardrinn* is in the genitive singular and there is no need for the final ⟨i⟩. This is a clear example of an eye-rhyme, since any vowel or vowel combination in an unstressed position would have had the same phonetic value.

The remaining four *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Two of these, however, end in orthographic ⟨ae⟩ (*baí:immarbae*, Canto 83, ll. 5433–5434; *blaí:eornae*, Canto 125, ll. 7021–7022). Both words in the first pair are spelled etymologically correct, whereas the *Ardrinn* in the second pair, here in the genitive case, is expected to be spelled *eórna*.⁸⁴⁹ The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* only cites *Saltair na Rann* for the form *eórnae*.

The other two trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words also end in ⟨ai⟩ and these and their *Rinn*-words are spelled etymologically correct.

5.44 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V au*

I-ssau	immargú	issau-argú	2851-2852, 713	cd	26
I-ssau	immargau	issau-argau	2879-2880, 720	cd	26
snau	ciriasu	snau-su	2183-2184, 546	cd	12

There are three (0.08%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic ⟨au⟩, the vowels representing a short monophthong. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic or carry their stress on their final syllable and each is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Two of the *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic ⟨u⟩. The *Ardrinn*-word *immargú* is spelled orthographically correct. The *Ardrinn*-word *ciriasu* is not clear.

The remaining *Ardrinn* also ends in ⟨au⟩ and thus the rhyme is perfect. This form is an archaic spelling of *immargó* that was here used to create an eye-rhyme.

5.45 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V e*

aile	ergnaide	aile-aide	49-50, 13	ab	1
am-ne	forngaire	amne-aire	1851-1852, 463	cd	11
am-ne	noebnime	amne-ime	3137-3138, 785	ab	27
am-ne	buide	amne-uide	3183-3184, 796	cd	28
am-ne	Moyse	amne-oyse	3793-3794, 949	ab	38
am-ne	Moīse	amne-oīse	3869-3870, 968	ab	41
am-ne	Iēsse	amne-esse	5801-5802, 1451	ab	95
am-ne	Noue	amne-ove	6207-6208, 1552	cd	103
báge	dīárme	áge-árme	5115-5116, 1279	cd	74
bine	rindnime	ine-ime	509-510, 128	ab	2

⁸⁴⁹ See DIL, *eórna*, Column 154, ll. 41–8.

bine	ingine	ine-ine	7529-7530, 1883	ab	144
caire	uasaltechtaire	aire-aire	691-692, 173	cd	3
caire	trōcaire	aire-aire	723-724, 181	cd	3
caire	golgaire	aire-aire	1767-1768, 442	cd	11
caire	tarbaige	aire-aige	2007-2008, 502	cd	11
caire	ecnaide	aire-aide	2969-2970, 743	ab	26
chlithe	athirge	ithe-irge	451-452, 113	cd	2
cin[n]te	firiminte	in[n]te-inte	33-34, 9	ab	1
cloīne	tromdoere	oīne-oere	3663-3664, 916	cd	34
de	dūle	de-le	21-22, 6	ab	1
de	mesraigthe	de-the	159-160, 40	cd	1
de	rīg-se	de-se	335-336, 84	cd	1
de	aurgairthe	de-the	1323-1324, 331	cd	9
de	cluinte	de-te	2479-2480, 620	cd	15
de	delaide	de-de	2557-2558, 640	ab	18
de	sochraide	de-de	2973-2974, 744	ab	26
de	sochaīne	de-ne	2999-3000, 750	cd	26
de	sleithe	de-the	3481-3482, 871	ab	31
de	cinaid-se	de-se	3611-3612, 903	cd	33
de	Moíse	de-se	4079-4080, 1020	cd	46
de	ecalse	de-se	4241-4242, 1061	ab	51
de	Leue	de-ve	4447-4448, 1112	cd	52
de	blíadne	de-ne	4727-4728, 1182	cd	64
de	sanctáire	de-re	4899-4900, 1225	cd	69
de	Zebe	de-be	5307-5308, 1327	cd	79
de	āirce	de-ce	5451-5452, 1363	cd	83
de	gaethrige	de-ge	5977-5978, 1495	ab	100
de	Iësse	de-se	6255-6256, 1564	cd	104
de	Giluäe	de-väe	6397-6398, 1600	ab	107
de	daille	de-lle	7389-7390, 1848	ab	138
de	trēde	de-de	7579-7580, 1895	cd	145
de	mīli	de-li	7655-7656, 1914	cd	147
dīne	ilmīle	íne-íle	4019-4020, 1005	cd	44
doíre	cloíne	íre-íne	3953-3954, 989	ab	44
eire	oentreibe	eire-eibe	5043-5044, 1261	cd	72
gaíne	dagdaíne	aíne-aíne	5919-5920, 1480	cd	99
glaine	Galaile	aine-aile	7677-7678, 1920	ab	148
grēne	comglére	éne-ére	719-720, 180	cd	3
i-lle	Iudaide	ille-aide	6415-6416, 1604	cd	108
imma-le	ētrochtaí	le-tai	599-600, 150	cd	2
imma-lle	Ainge	le-ge	6271-6272, 1568	cd	105
imma-lle	cosmaile	le-le	7275-7276, 1819	cd	137

im-ne	aidche	ne-che	6179-6180, 1545	cd	103
lāme	imhāirme	áme-áirme	4251-4252, 1063	cd	51
lére	essēрге	ére-érge	7797-7798, 1950	ab	151
ma-le	corcrai	le-rai	73-74, 19	ab	1
ma-le	tigernai	le-nai	1161-1162, 291	ab	8
ma-le	cotarsnai	le-nai	1519-1520, 380	cd	11
má-le	inailte	le-te	2977-2978, 745	ab	26
ma-lle	senistre	le-tre	183-184, 46	cd	1
ma-lle	aurgairthi	le-thi	1157-1158, 290	ab	8
masse	coemchla[i]sse ⁸⁵⁰	asse-aisse	4531-4532, 1133	cd	55
masse	Manasse	asse-asse	5183-5184, 1296	cd	76
mo-le	comlabrae	le-brae	1585-1586, 397	ab	11
mo-le	dathe	le-the	3363-3364, 841	cd	29
mo-le	sonaide	le-de	3381-3382, 846	ab	30
noībe	degmoīne	oībe-oīne	4335-4336, 1084	cd	51
núine	ildúile	úine-úile	7759-7760, 1940	cd	150
pēne	essēirge	éne-éirge	2207-2208, 552	cd	12
ríge	ilmíle	íge-íle	5605-5606, 1402	ab	87
ríge	míle	íge-íle	6929-6930, 1733	ab	123
saine	clāрмаige	aine-aige	507-508, 127	cd	2
se	merdrige	se-te	6147-6148, 1537	cd	102
tailce	drumslaite	ailce-aite	4271-4272, 1068	cd	51
te	gorte	te-te	1555-1556, 389	cd	11
teinne	přimgeinne	einne-einne	3675-3676, 919	cd	34
terce ⁸⁵¹	liuchdeircce	erce-eircce	2995-2996, 749	cd	26
tine	oennime	ine-ime	631-632, 158	cd	2
tlāthe	oenrāthi	áthe-áthi	5351-5352, 1338	cd	81
traite	Affraice	aite-aice	6769-6770, 1693	ab	118
uimle	gnāthchuibdi	uimle-uibdi	721-722, 181	ab	3

There are 81 (2.07%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <e>, the vowel being short in all instances. Forty-six (56.80%) *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and the remaining thirty-five (43.21%) *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Twenty-five (54.35%) of the monosyllabic *Rinn*-words are rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, while the remaining twenty-one (45.65%) are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words.

⁸⁵⁰ Rawlinson B 502 does not contain the palatal marker in the *Rinn*- nor *Ardrinn*-word (f. 30^v a). Greene emends the *Ardrinn* silently, but does not change the *Rinn*-word. This does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

⁸⁵¹ Rawlinson B 502 does not give the palatal marker in the *Rinn*-word (f. 26^v a). This does not affect the palatal quality of the intervocalic consonant cluster.

Thirty-one (88.57%) of the disyllabic *Rinn*-words are regularly rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, two (5.71%) are combined with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word, one (2.86%) with a tetrasyllabic and one (2.86%) with a pentasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word.

Overall, two (2.47%) rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

There are seven examples in which a monosyllabic *Rinn*-word is answered by an *Ardrinn* not ending in orthographic <e>. In two cases <e> is answered by <i> in the *Ardrinn* (*ma-le:aurgairthi*, Canto 8, ll. 1157–1158; *de:míli*, Canto 147, ll. 7655–7656). Furthermore, in the case of *de:míli*, the *Ardrinn*-word is in the genitive singular case, which is correctly spelled *míle*. The grammatical correction would make the orthographical rhyme perfect. The rhyme as it is spelled here is also metrically valid.

There are four examples where the final rhyming vowel in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by orthographic <ai> in the *Ardrinn* (*ma-le:corcraí*, Canto 1, ll. 73–74; *imma-le:étrochtai*, Canto 2, ll. 599–600; *ma-le:tigernai*, Canto 8, ll. 1161–1162; *ma-le:cotarsnai*, Canto 11, ll. 1519–1520). It should be noted that the conservative spelling of the *Ardrinn*-word *cotarsnai* is *cotarsnu*.

There is one example where <e> is balanced by <ae> in the *Ardrinn* (*mo-le:comlabrae*, Canto 11, ll. 1585–1586). The final vowels of the *Ardrinn* do not represent a diphthong, but a schwa and thus the rhyme is regular.

The remaining *Ardrinn*-words that are rhymed with monosyllabic *Rinn*-words all end in orthographic <e> and thus these rhymes are perfect.

There are two examples where the final <e> of the disyllabic *Rinn*-word is balanced by <i> in the *Ardrinn* (*tláthe:oenráthi*, Canto 81, ll. 5351–5352; *uimle:gnáthchuidi*, Canto 3, ll. 721–722). The first pair contains two words that represent both an *iā*-stem and both are in the accusative singular. As such both should actually end in a single <i>. The second pair is spelled grammatically and etymologically correct, with the *Rinn*-word representing the genitive singular case of the *iā*-stem *uimle* and the *Ardrinn* representing the dative singular case of the *iā*-stem *cuibde*.

In four cases a single consonant in the *Rinn*-word is answered by a cluster of two consonants in the *Ardrinn* (*láme:imháirme*, Canto 51, ll. 4251–4256; *báge:díárme*, Canto 74, ll. 5115–5116; *clithe:athirge*, Canto 2, ll. 451–452; *lére:essérge*, Canto 151, ll. 7797–7798). The rhyming pair *clithe:athirge* is also an example of a voiceless continuant being matched with a *lenis* voiced continuant. As has been seen earlier, this combination appears too frequently in the *Saltair* to be considered an exception.

The pair *tailce:drumslaite* (Canto 51, ll. 4271–4272) exemplifies the reverse case: the cluster of a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*.

Finally, *cin[n]te* rhymes with *firmiminte* (Canto 1, ll. 33–34).⁸⁵² This pair is noteworthy because the manuscript actually features the unusual spelling *cinte*, not reflecting the *fortis* voiced continuant. The rhyme is still regular with the usual spelling *cinnte*, since *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants could be rhymed with each other in intervocalic position.⁸⁵³

The remaining rhyming pairs are regular and the final rhyming vowels correspond orthographically unless stated otherwise earlier. The intervocalic consonants are balanced appropriately: twenty-one times a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, twice the voiceless sibilant is balanced by its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*, in one case a *fortis* voiced continuant is paired with a *fortis* voiced continuant, once a voiceless continuant is rhymed with the identical voiceless continuant, once a voiceless stop is combined with its equivalent in the *Ardrinn*, in one instance a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by an appropriate cluster and in one case two *lenis* voiced continuants are matched with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. The preceding vowels are orthographically identical unless otherwise indicated.

5.46 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V é*

Dé	Bersabe	é-e	6623-6624, 1656	cd	114
Dé	Bersabe	é-e	6811-6812, 1703	cd	120
dé	cairpdé	é-é	3967-3968, 992	cd	44
Dé	ardrige	é-e	6537-6538, 1635	ab	111
Dé	glé	é-é	1841-1842, 461	ab	11
Dé	fīrinne	é-e	449-450, 113	ab	2
Dé	inglaine	é-e	1609-1610, 403	ab	11
Dé	cloenré	é-é	3617-3618, 905	ab	33
Dé	escrai-se	é-e	3583-3584, 896	cd	33
Dé	Gesse	é-e	7175-7176, 1794	cd	133
Dé	aurnaigthe	é-e	4869-4870, 1218	ab	68
dē	aidche	é-e	3963-3964, 991	cd	44
glē	do-s-timchella	é-a	179-180, 45	cd	1
glé	Iudae	é-ae	5707-5708, 1427	cd	91

⁸⁵² See above, pp. 205–06; the *Ardrinn*-word is rhymed with *Rinn*-words ending in a voiced stop or a voiceless stop, like the example at hand. The possibility needs to be considered that *firmimint* was indeed pronounced with a final voiced stop. If this was the case all rhymes are still valid due to the rule that voice and voicelessness could be combined.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96; it must be assumed that the rule also holds for intervocalic clusters.

glé	Iudae	é-ae	6581-6582, 1646	ab	113
glé	fīnemnae	é-ae	5341-5342, 1336	ab	81
glé	Febrae	é-ae	235-236, 59	cd	1
glē	romrae	é-ae	3327-3328, 832	cd	29
glē	Amrae	é-ae	4525-4526, 1132	ab	55
gnē	Giluae	é-ae	6487-6488, 1622	cd	109
glē	lecdai	é-ai	4303-4304, 1076	cd	51
glé	imdibe	é-e	4859-4860, 1215	cd	68
glé	Bersabe	é-e	5521-5522, 1381	ab	85
glē	slēbe	é-e	3019-3020, 755	cd	26
glé	āirce	é-e	4903-4904, 1226	cd	69
glé	áirce	é-e	5463-5464, 1366	cd	83
glē	fīce	é-e	1359-1360, 340	cd	9
glē	usce	é-e	1505-1506, 377	ab	11
glē	aircce	é-e	2575-2576, 644	cd	19
glē	āirce	é-e	2605-2606, 652	ab	20
glē	āirce	é-e	4305-4306, 1077	ab	51
glē	āirce	é-e	5415-5416, 1354	cd	83
glē	āirce	é-e	5439-5440, 1360	cd	83
glé	aidche	é-e	6303-6304, 1576	cd	105
glé	aidche	é-e	7573-7574, 1894	ab	145
glē	aidche	é-e	2523-2524, 631	cd	17
glē	faithche	é-e	3047-3048, 762	cd	26
glé	cétfaide	é-e	2903-2904, 726	cd	26
glé	buide	é-e	3667-3668, 917	cd	34
glé	umaide	é-e	4161-4162, 1041	ab	50
glé	airde	é-e	4217-4218, 1055	ab	51
glé	Ebraide	é-e	5907-5908, 1477	cd	99
glé	fidbaide	é-e	6083-6084, 1521	cd	101
glé	Iudaide	é-e	6557-6558, 1640	ab	113
glé	nemide	é-e	7149-7150, 1788	ab	132
glē	uiscide	é-e	39-40, 10	cd	1
glē	deichde	é-e	743-744, 186	cd	3
glē	teinntide	é-e	923-924, 231	cd	5
glē	sochaide	é-e	1071-1072, 268	cd	6
glē	ēlnide	é-e	1611-1612, 403	cd	11
glē	ardde	é-e	2459-2460, 615	cd	15
glē	techtaide	é-e	2507-2508, 627	cd	16
glē	ro-rāide	é-e	2511-2512, 628	cd	16
glē	teintide	é-e	4091-4092, 1023	cd	47
glē	orddnide	é-e	4129-4130, 1033	ab	48
glē	coimtide	é-e	4761-4762, 1191	ab	65

glē	geintlíde	é-e	5011-5012, 1253	cd	72
glé	blíadne	é-e	6563-6564, 1641	cd	113
glē	Noë	é-e	2261-2262, 566	ab	12
glē	Noë	é-e	2599-2600, 650	cd	19
glé	comairge	é-e	4153-4154, 1039	ab	49
glé	rīge	é-e	5575-5576, 1394	cd	86
glé	commairge	é-e	5953-5954, 1489	ab	100
glé	rīge	é-e	7107-7108, 1777	cd	130
glé	fairrge	é-e	7395-7396, 1849	cd	138
glé	essérge	é-e	7699-7700, 1925	cd	149
glē	aithirge	é-e	579-580, 145	cd	2
glē	essērgē	é-e	1047-1048, 262	cd	6
glē	tīrchtaiḡe	é-e	1095-1096, 274	cd	7
glē	atheirge	é-e	1573-1574, 394	ab	11
glē	cumscaige	é-e	1619-1620, 405	cd	11
glē	cruthaige	é-e	2493-2494, 624	ab	16
glē	saccraige	é-e	3035-3036, 759	cd	26
glē	cennaige	é-e	3145-3146, 787	ab	27
glē	aislingge	é-e	3365-3366, 842	ab	29
glē	meraige	é-e	3765-3766, 942	ab	37
glē	oentige	é-e	3899-3900, 975	cd	42
glē	coimtige	é-e	4293-4294, 1074	ab	51
glé	aile	é-e	1933-1934, 484	ab	11
glé	meirle	é-e	3567-3568, 892	cd	33
glé	cocéile	é-e	4847-4848, 1212	cd	68
glé	aile	é-e	5607-5608, 1402	cd	87
glé	cóicmīle	é-e	5895-5896, 1474	cd	98
glé	Carmelle	é-e	6403-6404, 1601	cd	108
glé	innile	é-e	6437-6438, 1610	ab	108
glé	Hēle	é-e	7163-7164, 1791	cd	132
glē	uile	é-e	91-92, 23	cd	1
glē	mīle	é-e	129-130, 33	ab	1
glē	raile	é-e	283-284, 71	cd	1
glē	mīrbaile	é-e	327-328, 82	cd	1
glē	araile	é-e	427-428, 107	cd	2
glē	araile	é-e	467-468, 117	cd	2
glē	comarle	é-e	1257-1258, 315	ab	8
glē	uile	é-e	1831-1832, 458	cd	11
glē	indile	é-e	2341-2342, 586	ab	12
glē	tuīle	é-e	2537-2538, 635	ab	17
glē	dia-raile	é-e	2763-2764, 691	cd	24
glē	cosmaile	é-e	2891-2892, 723	cd	26

glē	dia-raile	é-e	3247-3248, 812	cd	29
glē	Galaile	é-e	7547-7548, 1887	cd	144
glé	nime	é-e	1809-1810, 453	ab	11
glé	nime	é-e	4557-4558, 1140	ab	56
glé	noebnime	é-e	5277-5278, 1320	ab	79
glé	rindnime	é-e	7049-7050, 1763	ab	127
glé	noemnime	é-e	7487-7488, 1872	cd	142
glé	nime	é-e	7787-7788, 1947	cd	150
glē	nime	é-e	1107-1108, 277	cd	8
glē	nime	é-e	1367-1368, 342	cd	9
glē	nime	é-e	2739-2740, 685	cd	24
glé	ingine	é-e	5995-5996, 1499	cd	100
glē	Olliuane	é-e	2487-2488, 622	cd	16
glē	Deprofane	é-e	4007-4008, 1002	cd	44
glē	duine	é-e	4145-4146, 1037	ab	49
glē	cluicíne	é-e	4507-4508, 1127	cd	55
glē	sechtmaine	é-e	5063-5064, 1266	cd	73
glē	sechtmaine	é-e	5561-5562, 1391	ab	86
glē	cardine	é-e	5857-5858, 1465	ab	96
glē	fírinne	é-e	7705-7706, 1927	ab	149
glé	fairsinge	é-e	381-382, 96	ab	2
glé	archangle	é-e	1837-1838, 460	ab	11
glé	forngaire	é-e	1853-1854, 464	ab	11
glé	trebaire	é-e	1923-1924, 481	cd	11
glé	doéire	é-e	3883-3884, 971	cd	41
glé	ingaire	é-e	5713-5714, 1429	ab	91
glé	conaire	é-e	7607-7608, 1902	cd	146
glé	oegaire	é-e	7715-7716, 1929	cd	149
glē	at-beire	é-e	1267-1268, 317	cd	8
glē	forngaire	é-e	1515-1516, 379	cd	11
glē	trócaire	é-e	1535-1536, 384	cd	11
glē	trócaire	é-e	2071-2072, 518	cd	12
glē	trōcaire	é-e	2175-2176, 544	cd	12
glē	mōrgaire	é-e	2197-2198, 550	ab	12
glē	muintire	é-e	2541-2542, 636	ab	18
glē	forngaire	é-e	2569-2570, 643	ab	19
glē	conaire	é-e	3091-3092, 773	cd	27
glē	fíire	é-e	3593-3594, 899	ab	33
glē	tromdaíre	é-e	3693-3694, 924	ab	35
glē	conaire	é-e	3745-3746, 937	ab	36
glē	aimsire	é-e	3783-3784, 946	cd	37
glē	forngaire	é-e	3797-3798, 950	ab	38

glē	saere	é-e	3845-3846, 962	ab	40
glē	sanctare	é-e	4257-4258, 1065	ab	51
glē	ergaire	é-e	4807-4808, 1202	cd	66
glē	forngaire	é-e	5671-5672, 1418	cd	90
glé	oenchrose	é-e	371-372, 93	cd	2
glé	do-rīse	é-e	1663-1664, 416	cd	11
glé	Moīse	é-e	4567-4568, 1142	cd	56
glé	Iësse	é-e	5681-5682, 1421	ab	90
glé	Iesse	é-e	5853-5854, 1464	ab	96
glé	Iësse	é-e	5967-5968, 1492	cd	100
glé	Iësse	é-e	5983-5984, 1496	cd	100
glé	Iësse	é-e	5997-5998, 1500	ab	100
glé	Iësse	é-e	6013-6014, 1504	ab	100
glé	Iësse	é-e	6017-6018, 1505	ab	100
glé	Iësse	é-e	6213-6214, 1554	ab	103
glé	Iësse	é-e	6369-6370, 1593	ab	106
glé	Iësse	é-e	6479-6480, 1620	cd	109
glé	Iësse	é-e	6617-6618, 1655	ab	114
glé	Iësse	é-e	6645-6646, 1662	ab	115
glé	Helesse	é-e	7181-7182, 1796	ab	133
glé	Iësse	é-e	7501-7502, 1876	ab	143
glē	amainse	é-e	1139-1140, 285	cd	8
glē	ubuill-se	é-e	1311-1312, 328	cd	9
glē	do-ridise	é-e	1411-1412, 353	cd	9
glē	ésse-se	é-e	2043-2044, 511	cd	12
glē	ēsse-se	é-e	2047-2048, 512	cd	12
glē	Iësse	é-e	2313-2314, 579	ab	12
glē	Iësse	é-e	2317-2318, 580	ab	12
glē	do-ridise	é-e	2555-2556, 639	cd	18
glē	sére-se	é-e	2867-2868, 717	cd	26
glē	bráthirse	é-e	3055-3056, 764	cd	26
glē	brátharse	é-e	3061-3062, 766	ab	26
glē	do-ridise	é-e	3499-3500, 875	cd	31
glē	Moīse	é-e	3725-3726, 932	ab	36
glē	Moīse	é-e	4135-4136, 1034	cd	48
glē	Moīse	é-e	4179-4180, 1045	cd	50
glē	Moīse	é-e	4473-4474, 1119	ab	53
glē	ecailse	é-e	4919-4920, 1230	cd	69
glē	ecailse	é-e	4923-4924, 1231	cd	69
glē	ēsse-se	é-e	4931-4932, 1233	cd	70
glē	Iësse	é-e	6035-6037, 1509	cd	100
glē	do-rīse	é-e	6119-6120, 1530	cd	102

glē	Iësse	é-e	6877-6878, 1720	ab	122
glē	Moīse	é-e	7555-7556, 1889	cd	144
glé	scaīlte	é-e	4315-4316, 1079	cd	51
glé	sacerdōte	é-e	5155-5156, 1289	cd	75
glē	fīrmiminte	é-e	163-164, 41	cd	1
glē	fīrmiminte	é-e	213-214, 54	ab	1
glē	oeneitte	é-e	623-624, 156	cd	2
glē	fīrmiminte	é-e	2151-2152, 538	cd	12
glē	Ēgīpte	é-e	3591-3592, 898	cd	33
glē	sacerdōte	é-e	4487-4488, 1122	cd	54
glē	drumslaite	é-e	4891-4892, 1223	cd	69
glē	Bidsomite	é-e	5447-5448, 1362	cd	83
glé	lathe	é-e	3811-3812, 953	cd	38
glé	nemdescaigthe	é-e	3913-3914, 979	ab	42
glé	lathe	é-e	4099-4100, 1025	cd	47
glé	cumnigthe	é-e	6155-6156, 1539	cd	102
glē	cruthaigthe	é-e	203-204, 51	cd	1
glē	boltnaigthe	é-e	487-488, 122	cd	2
glē	nemlochtaigthe	é-e	591-592, 148	cd	2
glē	fīrfuirbthe	é-e	1937-1938, 485	ab	11
glē	aislingthe	é-e	3269-3270, 818	ab	29
glē	aislingthe	é-e	3281-3282, 821	ab	29
glē	aislingthe	é-e	3335-3336, 834	cd	29
glē	aislingthe	é-e	3345-3346, 837	ab	29
glē	ithe	é-e	3909-3910, 978	ab	42
glē	lathe	é-e	4667-4668, 1167	cd	61
glē	sruithe	é-e	4999-5000, 1250	cd	71
glē	imthelgthe	é-e	5419-5420, 1355	cd	83
glē	senistre	é-e	181-182, 46	ab	1
gné	Maire	é-e	4647-4648, 1162	cd	60
gné	Ebraide	é-e	7503-7504, 1876	cd	143
gnē	dergnaide	é-e	947-948, 237	cd	5
gné	fáithsine	é-e	6475-6476, 1619	cd	109
gnē	óene	é-e	7599-7600, 1900	cd	145
gné	ecailse	é-e	263-264, 66	cd	1
gnē	cinnte	é-e	697-698, 175	ab	3
gnē	aislingthe	é-e	3277-3278, 820	ab	29
gnē	forloiscthe	é-e	4311-4312, 1078	cd	51
glé	cē	é-é	1885-1886, 472	ab	11
glé	Dé	é-é	1793-1794, 449	ab	11
glē	ilgnē	é-é	1689-1690, 423	ab	11
glē	Iëssé	é-é	5709-5710, 1428	ab	91

gnē	cert-dē	é-é	5149-5150, 1288	ab	75
glē	iluisci	é-i	607-608, 152	cd	2
glé	faithchi	é-i	397-398, 100	ab	2
glē	ro-rāidi	é-i	3867-3868, 967	cd	40
glé	Moīsi	é-i	4553-4554, 1139	ab	56
glē	Tribinthe	é-i	5743-5744, 1436	cd	92
gné	Sephi	é-i	6383-6384, 1596	cd	106
rē	Ebraide	é-e	7515-7516, 1879	cd	143
tē	trōcaire	é-e	7791-7792, 1948	cd	151

There are 233 (5.96%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <e>. The vowel is long in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and three (1.29%) of these are rhymed with monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, eighty-four (36.05%) are paired with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*, 136 (58.37%) with a trisyllabic and ten (4.29%) with a tetrasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, 1.29% of all rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

With the exception of fifteen examples, all *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic <e>. Seven times the final <e> of the *Rinn*-word is balanced by orthographic <ae> in the *Ardrinn* (*glé:Iudae*, Canto 91, ll. 5707–5708 and Canto 113, ll. 6581–6582; *glé:fīnemnae*, Canto 81, ll. 5341–5342; *glé:Febrae*, Canto 1, ll. 235–236; *glé:romrae*, Canto 29, ll. 3327–3328; *glé:Amrae*, Canto 55, ll. 4525–4526; *glé:Giluae*, Canto 109, ll. 6487–6488).

In one instance, it should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 has <ae> answering <e> in the *Rinn*-word⁸⁵⁴ where Greene has final <e> balanced by <a> (*glé:do-s-timchella*, Canto 1, ll. 179–180).

Another mismatch can be noted in Greene’s text where he reverses the order of words in one line:⁸⁵⁵ Greene edits *im na táiblide lecdai*. However, the order in Rawlinson B 502 – *lecdai taiblide*⁸⁵⁶ – is metrically more regular, although Greene’s version does not produce an invalid rhyme. In Rawlinson’s case the poet preposed the adjective. This is a poetical licence and there is no need for Greene’s emendation.

There are four instances where Rawlinson contains a final <e> in the *Ardrinn*-word that Greene silently emends to <i>⁸⁵⁷ and two cases where Rawlinson B 502 also contains an orthographic <i> in the *Ardrinn* (*glé:iluisci*, Canto 2, ll. 607–608; *glé:faithchi*, Canto 2, ll. 397–398; *glé:ro-ráidi*, Canto 40, ll. 3867–3868; *glé:Moīsi*, Canto 56, ll. 4553–4554; *glé:Tribinthe*, Canto 92, ll. 5743–5744; *gné:Sephi*, Canto 106, ll. 6383–6384). The rhymes are still regular,

⁸⁵⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 19^f b.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 4304.

⁸⁵⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^f a.

⁸⁵⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v a: *iluisce*; f. 28^v b: *roráide*; f. 30^v a: *Moise*; f. 33^v b: *Tribinthe*.

because the final syllable of the *Ardrinn* is not stressed. In the case of the *Ardrinn*-word *iluisci* Greene is not correct in emending the final vowel, because the word is a masculine *io*-stem in the genitive plural and should end in <e>. Greene himself quotes the appropriate Bible passage where *aquarum* clearly represents the genitive plural of *aqua*.⁸⁵⁸

The *Ardrinn*-word *faithchi*, which is so spelled also in Rawlinson B 502, should end in <e>, as a feminine *iā*-stem in the genitive case.

In the case of the *Ardrinn*-word *roráide* Greene chose the more common spelling of the third person singular preterite of the verb *raided*, thereby upsetting the orthographically perfect vowel-match.

In two cases where Rawlinson B 502 has a final <e>, the *Ardrinn*-words are non-native names: *Moise* in the dative singular and *Tribinthe* in the genitive plural. In both cases Greene has both words ending in <i>. In the case of *Tribinthe* Greene probably followed the Bible.⁸⁵⁹ The name *Moise* appears with final <e> and final <i> in various cases so it cannot be ascertained which spelling is etymologically correct in the Irish context, but Rawlinson's scribe was satisfied to use the *e*-spelling in this case.

In the case of *gné:Sephi* Rawlinson B 502 and Greene agree in the spelling. *Sephi* appears one other time in non-rhyming position in *Saltair na Rann* (Canto 106, l. 6337). The name is found as *Ziphaei* in the Bible.⁸⁶⁰

5.47 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V eó*

gleō	lineo	gleó-neo	6205-6206, 1552	ab	103
Leō	lāngleō	leó-leó	245-246, 62	ab	1

There are two (0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <eo>, the vowels representing a long monophthong in each case. Both *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and they are answered by disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, the two rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

Both *Ardrinn*-words also end in orthographic <eo> and thus generate a perfect rhyme with the *Rinn*-words.

5.48 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V i*

aili	cosmaile	aili-aile	1595-1596, 399	cd	11
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⁸⁵⁸ Apocalypsis 14.2: 'et audivi vocem de caelo tamquam vocem aquarum multarum [...]'.
⁸⁵⁹ I Samuelis 17.2: 'porro Saul et viri Israhel congregati venerunt in valle Terebinthi et direxerunt aciem ad pugnandum contra Philisthim'.
⁸⁶⁰ I Samuelis 26.1.

aīssi	glangaīsse	aīssi-aīsse	2829-2830, 708	ab	26
aithbi	oenfaithchi	aithbi-aithchi	383-384, 96	cd	2
bláithi	bithráithi	áithi-áithi	477-478, 120	ab	2
buidi	tuili	uidi-uili	7513-7514, 1879	ab	143
caīnti	mōrfailti	aínti-aílti	3639-3640, 910	cd	33
classi	sombla[i]ssi ⁸⁶¹	assi-aissi	495-496, 124	cd	2
clithi	damseche	ithi-eche	5771-5772, 1443	cd	93
clithi	athirgi	ithi-irgi	6875-6876, 1719	cd	122
coimsi	sīrthoirsi	oimsi-oirsi	2111-2112, 528	cd	12
duilgi	anhuimli	uilgi-uimli	1751-1752, 438	cd	11
dūli	glanrūni	úli-úni	1613-1614, 404	ab	11
foigli	co[n]dailbi	oigli-ailbi	1869-1870, 468	ab	11
gaīssi	Moīsi	aīssi-oīsi	3773-3774, 944	ab	37
glinni	aslingge	inni-ingge	3119-3120, 780	cd	27
glinni	prīmgindi	inni-indi	4025-4026, 1007	ab	44
grinni	bláithbinni	inni-inni	483-484, 121	cd	2
mailli	lāndailli	ailli-ailli	7179-7180, 1795	cd	133
meirbi	comdeilbi	eirbi-eilbi	1807-1808, 452	cd	11
mīli	oenmīli	īli-īli	6227-6228, 1557	cd	103
mīli	dīne	īli-īne	7621-7622, 1906	ab	146
Moīsi	gaeissi	oīsi-aeissi	4101-4102, 1026	ab	47
nimi	ingini	imi-ini	7519-7520, 1880	cd	143
rainni	fīrc[h]laine	ainni-ainne	1063-1064, 266	cd	6
saigthi	mesraigthe	aigthi-aigthe	155-156, 39	cd	1
snaissi	oenchlaissi	aissi-aissi	491-492, 123	cd	2
soillsi	prīmdoirsi	oillsi-oirsi	445-446, 112	ab	2
fīri	coemrīge	īri-īge	6797-6798, 1700	ab	119
toimsi	sīrsoillsi	oimsi-oillsi	169-170. 43	ab	1
toirsi	mórlongsi	oirsi-ongsi	4747-4748, 1187	cd	65
trúaigi	oenúaire	úaigi-úaire	7169-7170, 1793	ab	133
tuinchi	lethu[l]chi	uinchu-u[l]chi	6719-6720, 1680	cd	117
uili	rīgšuide	uili-uide	141-142, 36	ab	1
uili	rīgsuide	uili-uide	529-530, 133	ab	2
uili	rīgsuide	uili-uide	545-546, 137	ab	2
uili	imdruini	uili-uini	565-566, 142	ab	2
uili	duine	uili-uine	3937-3938, 985	ab	43

There are 37 (0.94%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <i>. The final vowel is short and unstressed in all cases, since all *Rinn*-words are disyllabic. Thirty-one (83.78%) of these are

⁸⁶¹ Rawlinson B 502 does not contain the palatal marker in the *Rinn*- nor the *Ardrinn*-word (f. 20^f b). Greene emends the *Ardrinn* silently but does not change the spelling of the *Rinn*-word.

rhymed with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words and the remaining six (16.22%) are paired with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, 16.22% lie outside of the regular rhyming pattern.

In thirteen cases the final <i> in the *Rinn*-words is balanced by <e> in the *Ardrinn*. In one of these cases, the medial vowel of the *Ardrinn* also differs from the *Rinn*: *clithi* rhymes with *damseche* (Canto 93, ll. 5771–5772). The rhyme is regular, because the palatal quality of the intervocalic voiceless continuant is present in both cases.

In three cases Rawlinson B 502 has a final <e> in the *Rinn*-words⁸⁶² where the *Ardrinn*-words also end in <e> and thus the rhyme is orthographically perfect. Both spelling variations are grammatically correct in each case. Greene gives all three *Rinn*-words with a final <i>.

In another example, Rawlinson B 502 has *rígsuidi* instead of Greene's *rígsuide* (Canto 2, l. 545), making the rhyme orthographically perfect.⁸⁶³ *suide* is a neuter *io*-stem, here in the genitive, and should be spelled with a final <i>. The rhyme is valid in either case.

There are three examples where the medial vowels in the *Ardrinn* do not correspond orthographically to the ones in the *Rinn*-word: in one case *foigli* rhymes with *co[n]dailbi* (Canto 11, ll. 1869–1870). It should be noted that the *Rinn*-word *foigli* seems to be a *hapax legomenon* and its meaning is not clear.⁸⁶⁴

There is one instance where the name *Moísi* rhymes with *gaeissi* (Canto 47, ll. 4101–4102) and one where *gaíssi* is paired with *Moísi* (Canto 37, ll. 3773–3774). Since the vowels in both the *Rinn*- and the *Ardrinn*-words represent a monophthong the rhyme is regular in both pairs.

There are four examples where the combination of the medial consonant clusters is mismatched. *aithbi* rhymes with *oenfaithchi* (Canto 2, ll. 383–384), thus combining a voiceless plus *lenis* voiced continuant with two voiceless continuants. However, as seen above, this rhyming combination occurred frequently.⁸⁶⁵

In the pair *toirsi:mórlongsi* (Canto 65, ll. 4747–4748) the medial consonant cluster <rs> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <ngs> in the *Ardrinn*, thus combining a *lenis* voiced continuant with a *fortis* voiced continuant. As seen above, this was a permissible combination in intervocalic position.⁸⁶⁶

The following rhyming pair shows a mismatch both in the medial consonant cluster as well as in the cluster's quality: *tuinchi* rhymes with *lethu[l]chi* (Canto 117, ll. 6719–6720).

⁸⁶² Rawl. B 502, f. 19^r b: *saigthe*; f. 19^r b: *uile*; f. 20^r b: *uile*.

⁸⁶³ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r b.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann*, Greene/Kelly (eds) p. 85, FN 1 and DIL.

⁸⁶⁵ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

⁸⁶⁶ See above, p. 79 and Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96; it must be assumed that this rule was also valid for intervocalic clusters.

Greene’s emendation of adding an ⟨ð⟩ to the *Ardrinn*-word is necessary, because the word as it is spelled in Rawlinson B 502, *lethuchi*, does not make sense in this context. Additionally, the *Rinn*-word contains a palatal consonant cluster, whereas the *Ardrinn*-cluster is non-palatal. *tuinech* is a feminine *ā*-stem with an intervocalic palatal /n/ whereas *ulcha* is a feminine noun with a non-palatal medial consonant cluster. Both words here represent the nominative plural and as an *ā*-stem the *Rinn*-word should end in an ⟨e⟩. The scribe possibly changed the *Rinn*-word to suit the *Ardrinn* if the latter is declined as an *iā*-stem. In this case the final vowel in *lethulchi* would be etymological.

Another rhyming pair contains a single voiceless continuant balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants (*clithi:athirgi*, Canto 122, ll. 6875–6876). As just noted, this was a frequently occurring combination. However, the second voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* is not balanced in the *Rinn*-word.

The remaining pairs are regular as far as the intervocalic consonants are concerned. Thirteen times a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, five times a *fortis* voiced continuant is paired with its equivalent, twice a voiceless continuant is matched with a voiceless continuant, five times the voiceless sibilant is combined with its equivalent, three times a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants is balanced by an appropriate cluster, twice a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant, once a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is paired with a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and once a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless continuant is balanced by the identical cluster in the *Ardrinn*. Unless otherwise stated above, the medial and final rhyming vowels correspond orthographically.

5.49 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V í*

bí	p̄r̄imgeinni	bí-ni	4861-4862, 1216	ab	68
bí	aurnaigthi	bí-thi	7671-7672, 1918	cd	148
bī	rī	bí-rí	749-750, 188	ab	3
bī	coemchrí	bí-chrí	2533-2534, 634	ab	17
bī	do-rigni	bí-ni	7731-7732, 1933	cd	149
crí	Nabrí	crí-rí	2383-2384, 596	cd	12
crí	noebrī	crí-rí	7793-7794, 1949	ab	151
crí	dom-rigni	crí-ni	2059-2060, 515	cd	12
crí	saeri	crí-ri	5275-5276, 1319	cd	78
crī	naebrī	crí-rí	675-676, 169	cd	3
crī	nephní	crí-ní	7517-7518, 1880	ab	143
crī	noebrī	crí-rí	1109-1110, 278	ab	8

crī	ráidi	crí-di	3927-3928, 982	cd	42
dí	Marti	dí-ti	237-238, 60	ab	1
do-slī	findruini	slí-ni	417-418, 105	ab	2
gní	mīli	gní-li	2327-2328, 582	cd	12
gní	athrí	gní-rí	6895-6896, 1724	cd	123
lí	do-rigni	lí-ni	959-960, 240	cd	5
lí	findruini	lí-ni	4249-4250, 1063	ab	51
lí	lēignidi	lí-di	4389-4390, 1098	ab	51
lí	ardrí	lí-rí	4421-4422, 1106	ab	51
lí	bíathai	lí-thai	4635-4636, 1159	cd	59
lí	éti	lí-ti	4839-4840, 1210	cd	67
lí	findruine	lí-ne	4895-4896, 1224	cd	69
lí	ilmīli	lí-li	5065-5066, 1267	ab	73
lí	do-rigni	lí-ni	6163-6164, 1541	cd	102
lí	Iabussi	lí-si	6883-6884, 1721	cd	122
lī	airgdidi	lí-di	1029-1030, 258	ab	6
lī	mīli	lí-li	2311-2312, 578	cd	12
lī	rādi	lí-di	2415-2416, 604	cd	13
lī	sāssai	lí-sai	2563-2564, 641	cd	18
lī	iunachi	lí-chi	7211-7212, 1803	cd	134
lī	Ardrī	lí-rí	7285-7286, 1822	ab	137
lī	grāndi	lí-di	7379-7380, 1845	cd	138
rí	comchuibdi	rí-di	295-296, 74	cd	1
Rí	coemlí	rí-lí	2081-2082, 521	ab	12
rī	āirmi	rí-mi	303-304, 76	cd	1
rī	nephnī	rí-ní	563-564, 141	cd	2
rī	coemlī	rí-lí	737-738, 185	ab	3
rī	nephnī	rí-ní	2173-2174, 544	ab	12
Rī	teintidi	rí-di	3791-3792, 948	cd	38
tlí	ardrí	tlí-rí	3443-3444, 861	cd	31
tlí	ilardai	tlí-dai	5799-5800, 1450	cd	94
tlí	Treibinthe	tlí-thi	5893-5894, 1474	ab	98
tlí	farsaidi	tlí-di	7549-7550, 1888	ab	144
trī	glanlī	trí-lí	2981-2982, 746	ab	26
líi	uisce	líi-ci	7019-7020, 1755	cd	125
tíi	cluicíní	tíi-ní	4503-4504, 1126	cd	55

There are 48 (1.23%) *Rinn*-words ending in orthographic <i> or <ii>, the final vowel representing a long stressed /i:/ in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and one (2.08%) of these is rhymed with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*, thirty-one (64.58%) *Rinn*-words are matched

with disyllabic and sixteen (33.33%) with trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-words. Thus, 2.08% of all rhyming pairs lie outside of the regular stress pattern.

With the exception of four cases, all *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic <i>.

In three cases the final long <i> in the *Rinn* is balanced by <ai> in the *Ardrinn* (*lí:bíathai*, Canto 59, ll. 4635–4636; *lí:sássai*, Canto 18, ll. 2563–2564; *tlí:ilardai*, Canto 94, ll. 5799–5800). In the case of *bíathai* and *sássai* the final two vowels do not represent a diphthong but a schwa. Both words are weak verbs, representing the third person singular conjunct preterite. Liam Breatnach discusses the preterite form in Middle Irish, giving examples from *Saltair na Rann*.⁸⁶⁷

The word *ilardai* is the nominative plural of the adjective *ilardae*. The adjectival suffix *-de*, or *-dae* in this case, does not contain a diphthong, but represents a schwa. The spelling is etymologically correct and suits the visual rhyme with the final <i>.

Finally, *lí* is rhymed with *findruine* (Canto 69, ll. 4895–4896). As in the examples above, the rhyme is valid, because the final <e> in the *Ardrinn* is unstressed, representing a schwa-sound.

5.50 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V ia*

día	Íabía	día-bía	6755-6756, 1689	cd	117
Día	Ficconicía	día-cía	2205-2206, 552	ab	12
Día	Meseppotamía	día-mía	5227-5228, 1307	cd	77
Dīa	Ar-menīa	día-nía	2603-2604, 651	cd	20
dīa	Ar-menīa	día-nía	2615-2616, 654	cd	20
día	Isaía	día-saía	7449-7450, 1863	ab	140
Dīa	Assīa	día-sía	2661-2662, 666	ab	21
dīa	cuinia	dīa-nīa	763-764, 191	cd	3
Dīa	Missi[mb]ria	dīa-bria	1055-1056, 264	cd	6
fía	Fuffoniae	fīa-nīae	7455-7456, 1864	cd	140
nía	Mesopotamía	nía-mía	5283-5284, 1321	cd	79

⁸⁶⁷ On the conjunct preterite in Middle Irish see L. Breatnach (1994) p. 300, § 12.32: ‘Sa **3 u.** i bhformhór mór na bhfoirmeacha (samplaí as *SR* in 12.27 thuas), sé -ø an foirceann cónasctha. [...] In *SR*, áfach, tá líon maith samplaí (c. 70 ar fad) ina bhfaightear guta (a litrítear mar *i*, *e*, *ai* nó *a*, .i. schwa) mar fhoirceann cónasctha, m.sh. *ro fáidi* ‘a chuir’, 2600, *ro héige* ‘ghlaoigh’, 3215, *ro gellai* ‘gheall’, 5817, *ro delba* ‘a chruthaigh’, 331; féach Strachan (1896, 32). Téann an foirceann seo i léig i gcaitheamh ré na *MG*, agus ní fhaightear ach fo-shampla níos déanaí, m.sh. *ra rāde* ‘a ndúirt’, *LL* 7652 (*TBC*).’ Strachan (1898) has both verbs listed in the *s*-preterite section for forms ending in *i* (*e*) in ‘The Verbal System of *Saltair na Rann*’, p. 32, l. 726 and l. 729.

There are eleven *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <ia>, the final vowels representing a stressed diphthong in all cases. All of the *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and two (18.18%) of these are rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word, six (54.55%) with a trisyllabic, one (9.09%) with a tetrasyllabic and two (18.18%) with a pentasyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, all rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

With one exception, all *Ardrinn*-words end in orthographic <ia>. It is noteworthy to point out that ten of the *Ardrinn*-words are personal non-Irish names and that one word is a borrowing from Latin (*cuinia*, Canto 3, l. 764; from *cuneus* ‘one hundred thousand’).

The only mismatch occurs in the pair *fīa:Fuffoniae* (Canto 140, ll. 7455–7456). The *Ardrinn* represents the Irish form of the Greek name *Sophonias*.⁸⁶⁸ The use of the final <iae> might be influenced by the Latin declension: the *Ardrinn*-word is here in the accusative singular and thus should end in <m>, but the poet uses the Latin genitive ending to suit the rhyme.

5.51 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V o*

secho	Hericho	cho-cho	7345-7346, 1837	ab	138
togo	Hericho	go-cho	6723-6724, 1681	cd	117

There are two (0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in orthographic <o> and the final vowel represents schwa in both cases. The *Rinn*-words are disyllabic and both are rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*, both of which also end in orthographic <o>. Thus, the rhyming pairs lie within the regular stress pattern.

However, mismatches can be noted regarding the medial vowels. In one instance *secho* is rhymed with *Hericho* (Canto 138, ll. 7345–7346). Thus the medial <e> in the *Rinn* is answered by <i> in the *Ardrinn*. The *Rinn*-word, the preposition *sech* here with a masculine suffixed pronoun, would have been spelled with final <ae>⁸⁶⁹ and the non-etymological spelling here clearly reflects the eye-rhyme.

The second rhyming pair combines *togo* and *Hericho* (Canto 117, ll. 6723–6724). Two different vowels are rhymed and additionally to that the voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*. The latter is a frequently occurring combination and the vowels do not create a faulty rhyme, because the <i> in the *Ardrinn* is not stressed. However, Greene remarks in a footnote that ‘togo neither makes sense nor fits

⁸⁶⁸ The Hebrew original is *Zephania*.

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. DIL, *sech*, Column 122, l. 86; the form [se]chae is cited from the Würzburg glosses (Wb. 24 a 17) (the reconstructed first syllable is due to the binding which does not allow the first two letters to be read).

metrically; elsewhere *Hericho* rhymes with *crecha* 5052 and *secho* 7346.⁸⁷⁰ Greene’s comment regarding the metrically unfit combination cannot be upheld. The vowels give a perfectly valid rhyme. The scribe created another eye-rhyme, considering that *toga* was indeclinable in Old Irish, but later became an *io*-stem, neither of which possibility provides for the final, unetymological <o>.⁸⁷¹ Greene’s second admonition, that the *Rinn*-word does not make sense, is challengeable since the two lines may be translated as: ‘for their restoration, according to their **wish**, they were in Jericho’.⁸⁷²

5.52 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V ói*

toī	imchlóe	toí-chlóe	4715-4716, 1179	cd	63
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There is one (0.02%) *Rinn*-word that ends in orthographic <oi>, the final vowels representing a monophthong. The *Rinn*-word is monosyllabic and it is rhymed with a disyllabic *Ardrinn* that ends in orthographic <oe>. The rhyming vowels in the *Ardrinn*-word represent a schwa in this unstressed position and hence the rhyme is regular.

5.53 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V u*

slúagu	ilbúadu	agu-adu	1735-1736, 434	cd	11
friu	laesechu	friu-chu	3977-3978, 995	ab	44

There are two (0.05%) *Rinn*-words that end in <u>. One *Rinn*-word is disyllabic and it is rhymed with a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in orthographic <u>.⁸⁷³ The medial vowels are orthographically identical and the *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. Thus, the rhyme is perfect.

The other pair rhymes *friu* with *laesechu* (Canto 44, ll. 3977–3978), where the *Ardrinn*-word is a *hapax*.⁸⁷⁴ The rhyming vowel is identical.

5.54 *Saltair na Rann Rinn Rhyme V ú*

clú	Capricornú	clú-nú	255-256, 64	cd	1
clú	bráthriu	clú-riu	4639-4640, 1160	cd	60
clú	cétchuinscliu	clú-scliu	6583-6584, 1646	cd	113

⁸⁷⁰ Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 6723, FN 1.

⁸⁷¹ See DIL, *toga/togu*, Column 213, ll. 30 ff.

⁸⁷² *fria n-athnugud, fria togo / ro bátar i n-Hericho*.

⁸⁷³ *búad* is here in the accusative plural and, as a neuter *i*-stem, should end in <i>. The poet deliberately chose to decline the *Ardrinn* as an *o*-stem to suit the rhyme.

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 3978, FN 1.

clū	rīgsuidiu	clú-diu	7783-7784, 1946	cd	150
clū	noebaingliu	clú-gliu	1421-1422, 356	ab	9
dú	ēscu	dú-cu	297-298, 75	ab	1
dú	aingliu	dú-liu	1495-1496, 374	cd	11
dú	cainchlú	dú-chlú	5489-5490, 1373	ab	84
dú	amru	dú-ru	6627-6628, 1657	cd	114
dū	archangliu	dú-liu	1805-1806, 452	ab	11
dū	rīgsuidiu	dú-diu	2155-2156, 539	cd	12
dū	archaingliu	dú-liu	2209-2210, 553	ab	12
dū	idnu	dú-nu	3023-3024, 756	cd	26
dū	innarbu	dú-bu	3731-3732, 933	cd	36
dū	pecthachu	dú-chu	4177-4178, 1045	ab	50
dū	brāthriu	dú-riu	4699-4700, 1175	cd	63
dū	Iessu	dú-su	5849-5850, 1463	ab	96
I-ssú	immargáu	sú-gáu	3057-3058, 765	ab	26
siú	friú	siú-friú	4427-4428, 1107	cd	51

There are nineteen (0.49%) *Rinn*-words that end in <u>, the vowel being long in all cases. All *Rinn*-words are monosyllabic and eight (42.11%) of these are rhymed with disyllabic *Ardrinn*-words, nine (47.37%) with trisyllabic, one (5.26%) with a tetrasyllabic and one (5.26%) with a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus, one (5.26%) rhyming pair lies outside of the regular stress pattern.

Eighteen of the *Ardrinn*-words also end in orthographic <u>. Thus, the rhymes are perfect.

One *Ardrinn* ends in orthographic <au>. The rhyme is metrically valid, because the final syllable of the *Ardrinn* is not stressed.

6.0 Introduction

After having given a detailed overview of the 3912 rhyming pairs that are the subject of this thesis, the focus will now be on rhyming combinations that show some kind of mismatch between the form of the *Rinn* and the form of the *Ardrinn*, though this does not necessarily generate an actually metrically faulty rhyme. These mismatches fall into three broad classes. They include

- (a) any pairs constituting orthographic mismatches in rhyming vowels which are not indicative of a metrically faulty rhyme and generate valid rhyming pairs,
- (b) mismatches in the consonants of rhymes which, in many cases, have been traditionally classified as exceptional although on evidence in this and the preceding chapter this view can be questioned,
- (c) and faulty couplets that create actually flawed rhyming pairs.

The collection of rhyming pairs containing any mismatch is comprehensive.

The first sub-chapter, however, will present all those rhyming pairs that present a mismatch as defined above only in Greene's edition. In each instance Rawlinson B 502 does not contain a mismatch and *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word give a perfect rhyme. Greene's form of the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words is given first followed by Rawlinson's form in parentheses.

A note must also be made of the rhyming combination of the intervocalic consonantal cluster -gd-, such as in *rígda* (Canto 151, l. 7815).⁸⁷⁵ The two voiced continuants *gh* and *dh* began to fall together at the beginning of the Irish period, resulting in the fact that this cluster would only have the value of a single *lenis* voiced continuant. There are a handful of examples from the Middle Irish period where single *d* was written for single *g* or the other way around.⁸⁷⁶ Even though there are only few examples in the written tradition at the beginning of the Middle Irish period, it can be assumed that this development had already taken place in speech and had been established in speech by the time it slowly entered writing. Should this be the case it is notable that the scribe is certainly aware of when to write both consonants even though he and the poet would not have pronounced them individually.

⁸⁷⁵ See above, p. 288 and below, p. 350 for the pair *rígda:migníma* and pp. 76 ff. for *sluagdaib:ilbuadaib*.

⁸⁷⁶ See L. Breatnach (1994) p. 234–5, § 3.18: 'Tá líon beag samplaí a thaispeánann go raibh d séimhithe agus g séimhithe, go háirithe caol, ag tosú ag rith ina chéile i ré na MG. [...] I lár focail tá sampla amháin de *d* in áit *g* caol, *íslidte* 'íslithe', SR 3482 (LS), dhá shampla amháin dá mhalairt, *do thigeacht* 'a theacht', LL 11262 (TBC), *aigchi* 'oíche', LU (H) 8966, agus dhá shampla de *g* in áit *d* leathan, *do-rignacht* 'a bhronn', SR 2020 (LS, sa dúnadh), 2672.'

6.0.1 Discrepancies between Rawlinson B 502 and Greene/Greene and Kelly

do-forgaib	erardaib (erordaib) ⁸⁷⁷	aib-aib	531-532, 133	cd	2
glanna	talmunna (talmanna) ⁸⁷⁸	anna-unna	99-100, 25	cd	1
crecha (cricha) ⁸⁷⁹	Ericha	echa-icha	5051-5052, 1263	cd	73
dath	cairech (cairach) ⁸⁸⁰	ath-ech	2959-2960, 740	cd	26
cota-gaib	fochraiccib (fochraicaib) ⁸⁸¹	aib-ib	515-516, 129	cd	2
cota-gaib	fochraicib (fochraicaib) ⁸⁸²	aib-ib	521-522, 131	ab	2
gail	imcaisin (imcasain) ⁸⁸³	ail-in	5923-5924, 1481	cd	99
daill	fairind (fairaind) ⁸⁸⁴	aill-ind	6355-6356, 1589	cd	106
baēs	togaīs (togaes) ⁸⁸⁵	aēs-aís	2461-2462, 616	ab	15
tenn	Hierusalam (Hierusal-) ⁸⁸⁶	enn-am	6771-6772, 1693	cd	118
den	ētan (ecen) ⁸⁸⁷	en-an	1451-1452, 363	cd	10
lenn (lainn) ⁸⁸⁸	colam (colaim)	enn-am	2581-2582, 646	ab	19
glē	lecdai (taiblide) ⁸⁸⁹	é-ai	4303-4304, 1076	cd	51
de	mīli (mile) ⁸⁹⁰	de-li	7655-7656, 1914	cd	147
glē	iluisce (iluisce) ⁸⁹¹	é-i	607-608, 152	cd	2

⁸⁷⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^f b; Greene provides the form as it appears in Rawlinson B 502, as well as in 24 P 27 and *Leabhar Breac*. Etymologically, <a> is expected in the *ā/o*-stem adjective *ard*.

⁸⁷⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 19^f b; Greene does not give the form as it appears in Rawlinson B 502, but comments in a footnote to line 100 that *talmandae* was the older form. Etymologically, Rawlinson B 502 contains the correct spelling of the *io/iā*-stem adjective and Greene's edition may contain a typographical error.

⁸⁷⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^f a; Greene gives the spelling of Rawlinson B 502 and remarks that he is following 'all prose versions' by writing *crecha* (FN 1 for ll. 5049–5052). He also gives the example of the pair *secho:hEricho* (Canto 138, ll. 7345–7346) to justify his choice of spelling. In this case this spelling is found in Rawlinson B 502. The spelling as it is preserved in the manuscript is not etymologically correct: the feminine *ā*-stem *crech* appears here in the accusative plural and would be expected to read *crecha*.

⁸⁸⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v a; Greene silently emends the *Ardrinn*-word, a genitive plural of the feminine guttural stem *cáera*, to the etymologically correct form.

⁸⁸¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^f b; Greene gives the form as it is contained in the manuscript. His emendation creates the etymologically correct form of the dative plural of the verbal noun *fochraic*.

⁸⁸² Rawl. B 502, f. 20^f b; this emendation is silent, but creates the etymologically correct form.

⁸⁸³ Rawl. B 502, f. 34^f b; Greene emends the nominative singular of the verbal noun silently. The dative of the *n*-stem *imcaisiu* is later used as nominative singular. Since the <s> is palatal, Greene's emendation reflects the etymologically correct spelling.

⁸⁸⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 35^f b; Greene emends the accusative singular of the feminine *ā*-stem *foirenn* silently. The form as it is preserved in the manuscript is not etymologically correct.

⁸⁸⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 25^f a.

⁸⁸⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^v a.

⁸⁸⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 22^v a; Greene and Kelly follow the reading of *Leabhar Breac*, but also give the reading of Rawlinson B 502. *for écen* 'under compulsion/force' in Rawlinson suits the context less than Greene's and Kelly's choice to follow the reading in *Leabhar Breac*.

⁸⁸⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 25^v a.

⁸⁸⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^f a; Greene reverses the order of the last two words in the *Ardrinn*-line from *lecdai taiblide* to *taiblide lecdai* and gives the original reading from Rawlinson B 502 in a footnote. His emendation is not necessary for the line to make sense.

⁸⁹⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^v b.

⁸⁹¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v a; Greene emends silently. Since a genitive singular of the masculine *io*-stem is required (accepting that *il* 'many' is followed by the singular, see Thurnseyesen (1946) p. 244, § 389) Greene's emendation produces the etymologically correct form.

glē	ro-rāidi (roraide) ⁸⁹²	é-i	3867-3868, 967	cd	40
glé	Moīsi (Moise) ⁸⁹³	é-i	4553-4554, 1139	ab	56
glē	Tribinthe (Tribinthe) ⁸⁹⁴	é-i	5743-5744, 1436	cd	92
gné	Sephi (Sephe) ⁸⁹⁵	é-i	6383-6384, 1596	cd	106
find	sírIffrind ⁸⁹⁶	ind-ind	1771-1772, 443	cd	11
greimm (graim) ⁸⁹⁷	Effraim	eimm-aim	3687-3688, 922	cd	34
seircc	airdircc (airdeircc) ⁸⁹⁸	eircc-ircc	7129-7130, 1783	ab	131
gein	Beithil (Bethel) ⁸⁹⁹	ein-il	7521-7522, 1881	ab	143
dein	tuirid (tuiridein) ⁹⁰⁰	ein-id	4519-4520, 1130	cd	55
deil	rēisin (coresein) ⁹⁰¹	eil-in	5755-5756, 1439	cd	93
treib	rīgdoirsib (rigsuideib) ⁹⁰²	eib-ib	401-402, 101	ab	2

⁸⁹² Rawl. B 502, f. 28^v b; Greene emends silently. The *Ardrinn* is the third singular preterite of *ráidid* and is found with both spellings (DIL, *ráidid*, Column 4, ll. 29–30).

⁸⁹³ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v a.

⁸⁹⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 33^v b.

⁸⁹⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 35^v a.

⁸⁹⁶ The pair *find:síriffind* (Canto 11, ll. 1771–1772) actually reads *fid* and *siriff* (Rawl. B 502, f. 23^v a), with a suspension stroke for <n> in the *Rinn*-word and a suspension stroke for the last syllable of the *Ardrinn*-word. Including this instance, the word for ‘hell’ appears nine times in rhyming position. It is abbreviated to *Iff* three times, but if spelled out in its entirety always with final <rn>. It is always rhymed with words ending in a single *fortis* voiced continuant, so Greene’s and Kelly’s expansion should reflect that.

⁸⁹⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^r b; Greene gives the reading as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502 in a footnote. The *Rinn*-word is the nominative singular of the *n*-stem *greimm* and there is no etymological justification for the spelling in the manuscript. The *Ardrinn Effraim* is rhymed twice more with the same word (*greim:Effraim*, Canto 75, ll. 5151–5152; *greim:Effraim*, Canto 124, ll. 6947–6948), but in these cases the suspension has to be expanded to <re> and not <ra>, as in the present case. These other two instances feature the *Rinn*-word in the accusative case and as such they are spelled correctly. However, in all three cases the *Rinn*-word ends in a single <m>. In Canto 75 (ll. 5143–5144) *Effraim* is rhymed with *grinn* and here the final *fortis* voiced continuant is orthographically marked.

⁸⁹⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 37^r b; Greene emends the *Ardrinn*-word silently to *airdircc* and his emendation reflects the etymological spelling of the accusative singular case of the *i*-stem adjective *airdirc*. Rawlinson B 502 provides a vocalic eye-rhyme.

⁸⁹⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^v a; Greene emends *Bethel* silently to *Beithil*. The biblical name here appears in the dative singular. This word appears as part of an internal rhyme also in the dative case in l. 7541, rhyming with *techid* in the following line (Canto 144). The name appears in non-rhyming position spelled *Bethil* in the dative singular in line 5692 (Canto 91) and possibly as an internal rhyme with *milib* in line 5700 (Canto 91) in the accusative case. Another instance gives *Bethil* in the dative case, possibly forming internal rhyme with *dechel* (Canto 102, ll. 6143–6144).

⁹⁰⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v a; Greene emends the line *a druim frisin tuiridein* to *is a druim frisin tuirid* ‘and with its back towards the pillar’ and gives the reading as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502. There is no need for Greene’s emendation: both *tuirid* and *tuirigin* (this is a case of the mix-up between intervocalic lenited *d* and *g*) have the same meaning, although the latter is less common and occurs ‘chiefly in glossaries, and [is] found only rarely in literary texts where its use seems in most cases artificial’ (DIL, *tuirigin*, Column 368, ll. 62–4). The spelling of the final syllable as it occurs in Rawlinson B 502 is justified only by the eye-rhyme.

⁹⁰¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 33^v b; Greene does not give Rawlinson’s reading. According to Greene the *Ardrinn*-word is the accusative of the word *rēise* ‘finger, span, handbreadth’, although he remarks that ‘there are no other examples of the *n*-declension of *rēise*’ (FN 3, l. 5756). He crossed out the footnote that the word in fact should be read as *córai* ‘correct’, agreeing with the preceding *ferchubait*, because he follows the Bible (I Regum 17.4: ‘Et egressus est vir spurius de castris Philistinorum nomine Goliath, de Geth, altitudinis sex cubitorum et palmi.’) This is another clear instance of an eye-rhyme where not only the orthography of the rhyming vowels has been altered but the entire declension seems to have been fitted to match up with the *Rinn*-word.

⁹⁰² Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r a; Greene gives the form as it appears in Rawlinson B 502. Greene’s spelling of the dative plural of the masculine *o*-stem *dorus* is etymologically correct and the manuscript contains another perfect eye-rhyme.

ceirt	Ēge(i)pt ⁹⁰³	eirt-ept	3719-3720, 930	cd	36
docht (dacht) ⁹⁰⁴	ārracht	ocht-acht	2679-2680, 670	cd	22
docht (dacht) ⁹⁰⁵	fortacht	ocht-acht	3677-3678, 920	ab	34
ro-chlos (rochlús) ⁹⁰⁶	exercitus (exercitús)	os-us	769-770, 193	ab	3
dron	imfordul (imfordol) ⁹⁰⁷	on-ul	4233-4234, 1059	ab	51
buana	ūagda (uaga) ⁹⁰⁸	ana-agda	2323-2324, 581	cd	12
lūth	bithimpūd (bithimpuh) ⁹⁰⁹	úth-úd	199-200, 50	cd	1
brāth (cobrad) ⁹¹⁰	comrād	áth-ád	517-518, 130	ab	2
míad	Elizafíath (Elizafiad) ⁹¹¹	íad-íath	7491-7492, 1873	cd	142
míad	Elizafíath (Elizafiad)	íad-íath	7493-7494, 1874	ab	142
Carmill (Carmil) ⁹¹²	oenbargin	ill-in	6307-6308, 1577	cd	105
trebt[h]lacht ⁹¹³	fīrflathemnacht	acht-acht	6635-6636, 1659	cd	115
gíal[l] ⁹¹⁴ (gíal)	Rachíal	íall-íal	2971-2972, 743	cd	26
gíal[l] (gíal)	Rachíal	íall-íal	3003-3004, 751	cd	26

⁹⁰³ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^r b; Greene does not give the reading as it is contained in the manuscript and both words are in the dative singular case. The *Rinn* and *Ardrinn* are thus spelled correctly in Rawlinson B 502. The *Ardrinn*-word appears both with a palatal and a non-palatal ending in the text of *Saltair na Rann* in the dative case, but should end in a palatal cluster for the rhyme's sake. Greene's emendation is therefore not suitable in this instance.

⁹⁰⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 25^v b.

⁹⁰⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^r b.

⁹⁰⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v b.

⁹⁰⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^b b; Greene emends the vowel of the *Ardrinn* silently. The accusative case of *imfordol* is found to be spelled with <o> or <u> (DIL, *imfordol*, Column 93, ll. 70-75) and thus Greene's emendation is not necessary.

⁹⁰⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 24^v b.

⁹⁰⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 19^v a; Greene does not give the form as it occurs in Rawlinson B 502. In fact, the *Ardrinn*-word should end in a *lenis* voiced continuant (DIL, *impód/impúd*, Column 164, ll. 34 ff.). There are examples where *d* stands for *th* (see Canto 8, l. 1111: *cad* (:ordaiged) for *cath*; cf. L. Breatnach (1994) p. 229, §2.6: 'Tá samplaí le fáil freisin de *d* á úsáid in áit an ghnáthlithre le *th*, m.sh. *gud* 'guth', *Harl* 352.77, *líad* 'liath', *Harl* 352.79. Cf. freisin: *fo chlid* (:rīchid), *SR* 1731 [...].'), but there are no other examples of the voiceless continuant representing the voiced continuant.

⁹¹⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r b; Greene emends the *Rinn*-word silently. The *Rinn* represents the accusative singular of the masculine *u/o*-stem *bráth*. Etymologically, this noun ends in a voiceless continuant and this is an example of *d* representing *th* (see L. Breatnach (1994) p. 229, § 2.6). Thus, orthographically the rhyme is perfect, but on a phonological level there is a mismatch between a voiceless and a voiced continuant (cf. *cad:ordaiged*, Canto 8, ll. 1111–1112).

⁹¹¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^r b; in this and the following case (l. 7494, same folio) Greene emends the genitive case of the name *Elizafíath* silently without giving the form as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502. In one case the name is rhymed with *triath* (Canto 141, ll. 7475–7476) and is spelled with a final <th>. The name appears once more in the *Saltair* in a non-rhyming position (Canto 142, l. 7487) and is spelled *Elizafeth* in the genitive case. It becomes clear that in the present two instances the scribe chose the spelling to create a perfect eye-rhyme, and, as has been just stated in FN 910, *d* could stand for *th*.

⁹¹² Rawl. B 502, f. 35^r b; Greene emends the *Rinn*-word silently without giving the form as it occurs in Rawlinson B 502. It is noteworthy that the biblical name of Mount Carmel is otherwise spelled with <ll> (l. 6289; l. 6268, l. 6285, l. 6294 (rhyming once with *greim* and once with *garbgreim*), l. 6403–6404 (*glé:Carmelle*)). This clearly shows an intentional eye-rhyme in this case.

⁹¹³ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^r a.

⁹¹⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v a; Greene emends this and the following *Rinn*-word silently. The forms as they occur in Rawlinson B 502 are not etymologically correct and they are another instance of an eye-rhyme. The *Ardrinn*-word occurs altogether six times in the *Saltair* and is always spelled *Rachíal*. Once, it is rhymed with the correctly spelled *míad* (Canto 141, ll. 7467–7468) and once with *cial* (Canto 27, ll. 3117–3118). The latter case is not spelled etymologically correct, but here Greene does not emend the *Rinn*-word. In these cases the scribe seems more comfortable in changing the Irish words rather than the biblical name.

rēil	glanchēill(glancheil) ⁹¹⁵	éil-éill	4105-4106, 1027	ab	47
calmaib	dīthoglaib (dithaglaib)	almaib-oglaib	4691-4692, 1173	cd	62
folacht (folocht) ⁹¹⁶	torocht	acht-ocht	7737-7738, 1935	ab	150
sein (seing) ⁹¹⁷	Neptalim	ein-im	5139-5140, 1285	cd	75
sin	derbdein (derbden) ⁹¹⁸	in-ein	785-786, 197	ab	3
níam (níab) ⁹¹⁹	Siliem	íam-iem	7413-7414, 1854	ab	138
drung	iallacrannd (iallacraund) ⁹²⁰	ung-annd	3911-3912, 978	cd	42
ruth	fúatlach (fuatluch) ⁹²¹	uth-ach	7411-7412, 1853	cd	138
garbdai (graddai) ⁹²²	barbardai	arbdai-ardai	5015-5016, 1254	cd	72
tlacht ⁹²³	tochomrac[ht] (tocomrac)	acht-ach[t]	1353-1354, 339	ab	9
cacht ⁹²⁴	tochomrac[ht] (tocomrac)	acht-ac[ht]	4569-4570, 1143	ab	56
ait[t] (ait) ⁹²⁵	coīcait	aitt-ait	753-754, 189	ab	3
leith	Coimd[i]d (coimded) ⁹²⁶	eith-id	3843-3844, 961	cd	40

In the pair *baes:togaes* (Canto 15, ll. 2461–2462) both words can end either in a palatal or in a non-palatal sibilant and can be either masculine or feminine. *The Dictionary of the Irish*

⁹¹⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^v a; Greene emends the *Ardrinn*-word silently. His spelling reflects the correct spelling of the accusative singular form of the feminine *ā*-stem *cíall*, ending in a *fortis* voiced continuant. The *Rinn*-word *réil* ‘clear, manifest’ is found with a *fortis* or a *lenis* voiced continuant, although usually spelled *rēil* in Middle Irish (cf. *DIL*, *réil(l)*, Column 34, l. 50). In Modern Irish it is spelled with a *lenis* voiced continuant, *réil*. The rhyme is valid in either case, but it is clear that the scribe is creating another eye-rhyme.

⁹¹⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 39^f a; Greene emends the *Rinn*-word silently. His emendation reflects the etymologically correct spelling of the accusative singular form of the masculine *u*-stem *fulacht*. The *Ardrinn*-word is usually also spelled with an <a> in the second syllable (*toracht*) and it appears here in the nominative singular case. The scribe presents another eye-rhyme in this instance. Greene does not emend the *Ardrinn*-word although he comments in the footnote to this line: ‘*toracht* for *torachta*, as in 4286; cf. *folacht* for *folachta*.’

⁹¹⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^f a; Greene gives the reading as it is contained in the manuscript in a footnote. Assuming that the *Rinn*-word is a form of the demonstrative *sin*, Greene’s emendation would be correct. Rawlinson’s form indicates that the *Ardrinn*, a non-native name, was pronounced with a final *fortis* voiced continuant.

⁹¹⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 21^f a; Greene chooses the reading with the palatal marker, as it is contained in 24 P 27. He gives P’s and Rawlinson’s reading in a footnote.

⁹¹⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^f a; Greene does not note the original manuscript version in his notes and the emendation is not necessary for rhyme or context. Furthermore, the *b*-spelling is rather common for *níam*; see *DIL* (*níam*, Column 44, ll. 62 ff.).

⁹²⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^f a; Greene emends the *Ardrinn*-word silently. The manuscript form reflects the archaic spelling of the dative case.

⁹²¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^f a; Greene’s emendation is silent. What is of interest is that the poet here clearly treats the *Ardrinn*-word as an *o*-stem (here in the dative singular case). The *DIL* suggests it to be an *s*-stem (*DIL*, *fúatlach*, Column 463, l. 82–6). However, the *Ardrinn* is not very well attested (*DIL* gives three examples including the present one) and seems to base its suggestion for the *s*-stem on the form *fuatlach* found in O’Mulconry’s Glossary.

⁹²² Rawl. B 502, f. 31^v b; Greene notes Rawlinson’s form in a footnote. This could be taken as the genitive plural of the *u*-stem *grád* ‘love, affection’, which suits the context. Greene remarks that the ‘emendation [was] suggested by Bergin’ (FN 1 l. 5015).

⁹²³ Rawl. B 502, f. 22^f b; Greene’s and Kelly’s emendation is indeed more suitable for the context.

⁹²⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v a; see above, FN 923.

⁹²⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v b; Greene emends the *Rinn*-word silently to the usual spelling. The manuscript contains an eye-rhyme while single <t> still represents a voiceless stop.

⁹²⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 28^v b; Greene gives Rawlinson’s spelling. The *Ardrinn*-word is in the dative singular and as a *t*-stem should end in a palatal consonant.

Language suggests that *togáes* might in fact be an *o*-stem in *Saltair na Rann*.⁹²⁷ It is noteworthy that Greene emended the *Ardrinn*-word to contain the palatal marker, but not the *Rinn*-word in his working notes.

In *tenn:Hierusalem* (Canto 118, ll. 6771–6772) the final syllable is suspended and reads *hierusat*. While Greene expanded it to *Hierusalem* in his edition, Stokes chose *Hierusalem*. Indeed, comparing Knott’s ‘Index to Proper Names in *Saltair na Rann*’, it can be seen that the name *Jerusalem*, when written in full, is always spelled with final . ⁹²⁸

The pair *lainn:colaim* is edited by Greene to read *lenn:colam* (Canto 19, l. 2581). Greene’s text also generates a valid rhyme. Grammatically, *colam* has to be in the accusative case and, as a feminine *ā*-stem,⁹²⁹ should read *colaim*. However, the form *lainn* ‘with us’ is not attested for the preposition *la*. The adjective *lainn* ‘keen, joyful’ cannot be the basis of the *Rinn*-word unless it is an interjection. Greene, who emended an originally typed *lann* to *lenn* in his working notes, refers back to line 2543 in Canto 18, where it says: *cethrachar ar chét lathi lenn*. Greene does not translate *lenn* in this instance and remarks in a footnote ‘that *lainn* will not fit here’. The orthography as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502 is perfect, but the meaning of the *Rinn*-word is problematic.

míle (Canto 147, l. 7656) is a feminine *ā*-stem, here in the genitive plural, and thus the form as it appears in the manuscript is expected and Greene’s silent emendation is not necessary.

There are also three *Ardrinn*-words that represent non-native names, all in different cases.⁹³⁰ Rawlinson B 502 has all three names ending in a single <e>, giving a perfect visual rhyme in each case.

Greene’s text rhymes <o> with <a> in *docht:árracht* (Canto 22, ll. 2679–2680) and *docht:fortacht* (Canto 34, ll. 3677–3678). In both cases Rawlinson B 502 has *dacht* in the position of the *Rinn*-word. The only occurrence of the *Rinn*-word spelled with <a> is cited in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* from *Saltair na Rann*.⁹³¹

⁹²⁷ DIL, *togáes*, Column 214, l. 47; see also above, pp. 246–7, Chapter 5.31.16.

⁹²⁸ Knott (1952) p. 112; see above, pp. 202–03, FN 709: *Hierusalem/Hirusalem* appears twelve times in the *Ardrinn*-position. The name is fully expanded seven times and every time it ends in *-em*. This spelling includes the accusative, dative and genitive cases, which indicates that the non-native *Ardrinn* was not declined. Therefore it is very likely that the suspension is to be extended to read *-em*, as has been done by Greene in every other case where the final syllable is suspended. This may indicate a typographical error in Greene’s working notes.

⁹²⁹ However, *colam* can also be a masculine *o*-stem (see DIL, *colum*, Column 330, l. 29), in which case the non-palatal form for the accusative case is the correct one.

⁹³⁰ *Moísi* is in the dative singular, *Tribinthe* in the genitive plural and *Sephi* in the accusative plural case.

⁹³¹ DIL, *docht*, Column 227, l. 12 and l. 32.

What Greene has edited to read *ro-chlos:exercitus* (Canto 3, ll. 769–770), is actually *ro-chlús:exercitús* in Rawlinson B 502. It appears that the poet was not comfortable with changing the Latin word to fit the metre. However, he did not show any qualms about modifying the Irish word orthographically, providing another instance of deliberately creating a visually perfect rhyme. Although it cannot be said with certainty who changed the spelling to create this eye-rhyme – the poet or the scribe – the question should at least be asked whether this and similar instances give an insight into the poet’s mind itself.

Apart from the identical number of syllables in both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn*, the rhyming pair *buana:uaga* (Canto 12, ll. 2323–2324) is regular as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502. However, Greene has inserted <d> as the adjectival marker in the *Ardrinn*-word, but the form *úaga* or *óga* is grammatically also acceptable in this context: *ocus cóic cét co húaga* ‘and five hundred with perfection’. This form represents the accusative singular case and *úaga* is regularly found with numbers.⁹³² While the *Ardrinn* as a feminine *iā*-stem should end in <ai> in the accusative case, it has been seen before that the etymologically correct spelling was not followed so as to give a visually perfect rhyme. Greene’s emendation therefore is not necessary.

What Greene has emended to *trebthlacht:fírflathemnacht* (Canto 115, ll. 6635–6636) consists of a monosyllabic *Rinn* and a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* in Rawlinson B 502,⁹³³ i.e. *tlacht* rhymes with *flathemnacht* and thus the mismatch does not occur. However, considering that the last two words in the *Rinn*-line are two nouns in the genitive plural case, Greene’s emendation to merge them into a single compound is possible. However, the emendation is not necessary since the line *fortir fortalam treb tlath* translates without complications to ‘on land, on earth of dwellings of ornamentations’.

The pair *calmaib:díthaglaib* (Canto 62, ll. 4691–4692) balances the intervocalic consonantal group consisting of a *lenis* plus *fortis* voiced continuant with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. However, as Ó Cuív pointed out, ‘bardic usage provided for the equation of consonants from [those two phonetic classes between vowels]’.⁹³⁴ There are fourteen instances of the *lenis-fortis*-voiced combination in consonant clusters and thirty-one pairs that contain this combination with single consonants. This shows that this combination was accepted to give a correct rhyme, but the poet did not make extensive use of it in the

⁹³² DIL, *óg(a)e*, Column 111, ll. 70–1: ‘*deich cétaib co n-úagai* with ten hundred, all told, LL 182 a 52 = Arch. Hib. ii 55 § 17.’

⁹³³ Rawl. B 502, f. 36^r a.

⁹³⁴ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

Saltair. It should also be noted that the *Ardrinn*-word as it is spelled in Rawlinson B 502 is not etymologically correct.⁹³⁵

6.1 Mismatches in the combination of rhyming vowels

All instances in this sub-chapter reflect metrically valid rhyming pairs and will be of interest only regarding the interface of the poet’s rhyming activity and the scribal writing activity.

Altogether there are 331 (i.e. 8.46% of all rhyming pairs) pairs that show an orthographic mismatch in the combination of their rhyming vowels and in their rhyming vowels only. Words that contain additional irregularities, such as mismatched consonantal combinations, will be considered below.

6.1.1 Medial rhyming vowels

saeraib	fírnóebaib	aeraib-óebaib	4573-4574, 1144	ab	57
Demuin	lenamuin	emuin-amuin	1721-1722, 431	ab	11
doenib	degmoínib	oenib-oínib	1977-1978, 495	ab	11
cachta	comblechta	achta-echta	5427-5428, 1357	cd	83
cachta	imthechta	achta-echta	6455-6456, 1614	cd	108
glanna	scrībenna	anna-enna	861-862, 216	ab	4
datta	Ammoníta	atta-íta	6747-6748, 1687	cd	117
fata	Moābdita	ata-ita	5697-5698, 1425	ab	91
cachta	intliuchta	achta-uchta	7207-7208, 1802	cd	134
garta	mórgorta	arta-orta	3383-3384, 846	cd	30
bassa	dīummusa	assa-usa	6795-6796, 1699	cd	119
gaíssi	Moísi	aíssi-oísi	3773-3774, 944	ab	37
secho	Hericho	echo-icho	7345-7346, 1837	ab	138
Moísi	gaeissi	oísi-aeissi	4101-4102, 1026	ab	47
foigli	co[n]dailbi	oigli-ailbi	1869-1870, 468	ab	11
cloíne	tromdoere	oíne-oere	3663-3664, 916	cd	34

Sixteen of these concern medial vowels, i.e. vowels in the first stressed syllable in a disyllabic *Rinn*-word and in the second syllable in a polysyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Thus *saeraib* is answered by *fírnóebaib* (Canto 57, ll. 4573–4574). The rhyming vowels represent a monophthong in both words and the vocalic rhyme is valid.

Similar instances can also be found in the pairs *gaíssi:Moísi*⁹³⁶ (Canto 37, ll. 3773–3774) and *Moísi:gaeissi* (Canto 47, ll. 4101–4102). In Old Irish, these vocalic digraphs would

⁹³⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 31^r a; see DIL, *díthogla*, Column 24–6: the only citation of *díthaglaib* is the present example. Greene gives the reading as it is contained in the *Saltair* in a footnote.

have been phonologically distinct, but the pronunciation had fallen together in Middle Irish and the digraphs represent a monophthong in each case. Thus, the rhymes are metrically valid.

Another instance of orthographically different digraphs combined in a rhyming pair can be found in *doenib:degmoínib* (Canto 11, ll. 1977–1978) and *cloíne:tromdoere* (Canto 34, ll. 3663–3664).

Another pair combines *demuin* with *lenamuin* (Canto 11, ll. 1721–1722) and thus <e> is balanced by <a>. The same vocalic combination with the rhyming vowels in reversed order is contained in the pairs *cachta:comblechta* (Canto 83, ll. 5427–5428), *cachta:imthechta* (Canto 108, ll. 6455–6456) and *glanna:scribenna* (Canto 4, ll. 861–862) where <a> is balanced by <e>.

In one pair <a> is balanced by <u> (*bassa:díummusa*, Canto 119, ll. 6795–6796) and the pair *cachta:intliuchta* (Canto 134, ll. 7207–7208) combines <a> with <u>. The pair *foigli:co[n]dailbi* (Canto 11, ll. 1869–1870) balances <o> followed by a palatal consonant cluster with <a> followed by a palatal consonant cluster in the *Ardrinn*. There is one pair that combines <e> in the *Rinn*-word with <a> in the *Ardrinn* (*secho:Hericho*, Canto 138, ll. 7345–7346).

In two cases <a> is rhymed with <i> (*datta:Ammoníta*, Canto 117, ll. 6747–6748; *fata:Moábdita*, Canto 91, ll. 5697–5698). The second example rhymes the voiced stop in the *Rinn*-word with its equal in the *Ardrinn*-word. However, it should be noted that the poet also combines *garta* with *Moábdita* (Canto 91, ll. 5695–5696), combining a voiceless stop with a single stop in the *Ardrinn*.⁹³⁷ This is possibly an instance where the poet shows great flexibility in using a non-native word, i.e. where he allows himself to use the same word in different phonetic contexts.

The rhyming pair *garta:mórgorta* (Canto 30, ll. 3383–3384) combines <a> with <o>. This case is interesting because the *Ardrinn*-word is a compound and as such the vowel in the second syllable retains its original phonetic value and does not become schwa. This still generates a valid rhyme, since any stressed short vowel can rhyme with any unstressed short vowel.

6.1.2 Final rhyming vowels

The remaining pairs concern orthographic vocalic mismatches in the final syllables of the *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words, i.e. they usually contain monosyllabic⁹³⁸ *Rinn*- and polysyllabic *Ardrinn*-

⁹³⁶ The *Ardrinn*-word is spelled with a final <e> in Rawlinson B 502 (*Moise*, f. 28^v a). Greene emends the word silently. The *Ardrinn* here is in the accusative case, but the biblical name appears in various cases both with final <i> or <e> throughout the *Saltair*. Greene's emendation is not necessary, but adequate for a visual rhyme.

⁹³⁷ See above, pp. 284–5.

⁹³⁸ Monosyllabic *Rinn*-words or words that carry their stress on their final syllable, such as *immach*.

words, rhyming stressed and unstressed syllables, or rhyming two unstressed syllables with one another if the *Rinn*-word is disyllabic.

6.1.2.1 a:e, a:o, a:ae

i-mmach	indligthech	ach-ech	1187-1188, 297	cd	8
i-mmach	cumrech	ach-ech	1279-1280, 320	cd	8
i-mmach	sirthrech	ach-ech	6371-6372, 1593	cd	106
im-mach	glantoīsech	ach-ech	4969-4970, 1243	ab	70
cacht	toīssigecht	acht-echt	5019-5020, 1255	cd	72
cacht	comaitech	acht-echt	1727-1728, 432	cd	11
cacht	tarimthecht	acht-echt	1525-1526, 382	ab	11
smacht	tarmthecht	acht-echt	1529-1530, 383	ab	11
smacht	brēcairecht	acht-echt	3483-3484, 871	cd	31
smacht	toīsigecht	acht-echt	4459-4460, 1115	cd	53
tlacht	tarmthecht	acht-echt	1469-1470, 368	ab	11
tlacht	tarimthecht	acht-echt	1557-1558, 390	ab	11
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	3427-3428, 857	cd	30
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	3689-3690, 923	ab	34
smacht	Ēgept	acht-ept	7331-7332, 1833	cd	138
glan	ingen	an-en	3757-3758, 940	ab	37
glan	airmiten	an-en	5913-5914, 1479	ab	99
clann	dīlenn	ann-enn	2293-2294, 574	ab	12
rann	scrībenn	ann-enn	4967-4968, 1242	cd	70
ass	Achess	ass-ess	6219-6220, 1555	cd	103
brass	rethess	ass-ess	315-316, 79	cd	1
brath	airbirech	ath-ech	941-942, 236	ab	5
brath	caīrech	ath-ech	2931-2932, 733	cd	26
cath	formtech	ath-ech	1291-1292, 323	cd	8
dath	indligthech	ath-ech	1569-1570, 393	ab	11
glan	Esrom	an-om	6607-6608, 1652	cd	113
bla	Iudae	a-ae	5691-5692, 1423	cd	91

There are 25 pairs where <a> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <e> in the *Ardrinn*. The rhymes are all metrically valid.

Once <a> is paired with <o> (*glan:Esrom*, Canto 113, ll. 6607–6608).

In the pair *bla:Iudae* (Canto 91, ll. 5691–5692) <a> is balanced by a vocalicdigraph that represents a monophthong. Since the latter is unstressed the rhyme is valid. This example may be an indication of the scribe’s unwillingness to change the orthography of non-native words for the sake of the visual rhyme. The *Ardrinn Iudae* is here in the genitive case and marks this with the Latin ending.

6.1.2.1.1 ai:ei, ai:i, ai:oi, ai:ui

cota-gaib	oentreib	aib-eib	5199-5200, 1300	cd	76
cotan-gaib	oentreib	aib-eib	3223-3224, 806	cd	28
cotn-gaib	eitteib	aib-eib	621-622, 156	ab	2
gaib	commorgeib	aib-eib	6009-6010, 1503	ab	100
graig	cennaigeib	aig-eib	3139-3140, 785	cd	27
i-mmaig	sáergein	aig-ein	5981-5982, 1496	ab	100
maig	airmitein	aig-ein	7003-7004, 1751	cd	125
gail	claideib	ail-eib	5067-5068, 1267	cd	73
gail	cafreib	ail-eib	5715-5716, 1429	cd	91
cain	comaittreib	ain-eib	1167-1168, 292	cd	8
sain	nāimteib	ain-eib	7233-7234, 1809	ab	135
cain	airmitein	ain-ein	1499-1500, 375	cd	11
glain	airitein	ain-ein	839-840, 210	cd	4
sain	derbdemein	ain-ein	1949-1950, 488	ab	11
sain	airmeitein	ain-ein	6319-6320, 1580	cd	105
glain	Archaingeil	ain-eil	687-688, 172	cd	3
an-air	toebdein	air-ein	4433-4434, 1109	ab	52
maig	Archainglib	aig-ib	537-538, 135	ab	2
maig	ordaigid	aig-id	4927-4928, 1232	cd	69
traig	aided	aig-id	6443-6444, 1611	cd	108
maig	tōisig	aig-ig	2251-2252, 563	cd	12
maig	dérc[h]oíntig	aig-ig	3451-3452, 863	cd	31
maig	ailig	aig-ig	4067-4068, 1017	cd	46
maig	ailig	aig-ig	6153-6154, 1539	ab	102
at-raig	archaingil	aig-il	739-740, 185	cd	3
glain	airbrib	ain-ib	2201-2202, 551	ab	12
sain	mīlib	ain-ib	137-138, 35	ab	1
glain	saindil	ain-il	1967-1968, 492	cd	11
cain	noebnim	ain-im	5299-5300, 1325	cd	79
sain	noebnim	ain-im	1013-1014, 254	ab	6
cain	airmitin	ain-in	679-680, 170	cd	3
cain	airmitin	ain-in	1743-1744, 436	cd	11
glain	airmitin	ain-in	659-660, 165	cd	3
gaes [glain]	airmitin	ain-in	6625-6626, 1657	ab	114
sain	écin	ain-in	3835-3836, 959	cd	39
sain	imcaisin	ain-in	2577-2578, 645	ab	19
claind	at-bailim	aind-im	2031-2032, 508	cd	12
blait	foídit	ait-it	4815-4816, 1204	cd	66
cain	doöib	ain-oib	7271-7272, 1818	cd	136

ail	taberncuil ⁹³⁹	ail-uil	4513-4514, 1129	ab	55
gail	Dīabuil	ail-uil	1707-1708, 427	cd	11
cain	domuin	ain-uin	3487-3488, 872	cd	31
sain	domuin	ain-uin	2663-2664, 666	cd	21
craind	mōrdruing	aing-uing	1433-1434, 359	ab	9
gair	taberncuil ⁹⁴⁰	air-uil	4863-4864, 1216	cd	68

There are 45 instances where the vowel <a>, followed by a palatal consonant, in the *Rinn* is balanced by an orthographically different vowel in the *Ardrinn*. However, the palatal quality of the final consonant is maintained in all examples.

Seventeen times <a> is rhymed with <e>, such as in *graiḡ:cennaigeib* (Canto 27, ll. 3139–3140). It is worth pointing out that in fourteen cases the Middle Irish spelling <ei> is applied rather than the Old Irish spelling with a single orthographic <i> in the *Ardrinn*-words⁹⁴¹ and in ten of the fourteen cases the occurrence of these spellings is only to be found in *Saltair na Rann*, according to the citations of *The Dictionary of the Irish Language*.

The three remaining instances contain original <ei> in their final syllables, i.e. *oentreib* (Canto 28, l. 3224 and Canto 76, l. 5200) and *sáergein* (Canto 100, l. 5982).

In 21 instances, <a> followed by a palatal consonant is balanced by a single orthographic <i> in the *Ardrinn*, for example *maig:ailig* (Canto 102, ll. 6153–6154). The spelling of each *Ardrinn* is regular and it is interesting to see that some of the words that were spelled with <ei>

⁹³⁹ Rawlinson B 502 actually has *tabernacuil* in the *Ardrinn*-position. Greene emends the word to contain one syllable less and gives the reading of the manuscript in a footnote. However, the line as it appears in Rawlinson B 502 contains the correct number of syllables and thus Greene's emendation is not necessary.

⁹⁴⁰ In this instance Greene is correct in emending the *Ardrinn* to contain a syllable less. Otherwise the line (*do-gres isin tabernacuil*) is hypermetrical. It should be noted that in this instance the *Ardrinn*-word as it occurs in the manuscript contains a suspension (*tab̄nacuil*).

⁹⁴¹ Liam Breatnach (1994) comments not only on the rhyming pairs with <ei>, but also on consonantal changes for the sake of a perfect visual rhyme in 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 230, § 2.11: 'Tréith shuntasach a bhaineann leis an bhfilíocht is ea litriú neamhghnách a úsáid chun comhardadh a dhéanamh níos soiléire (féach Meyer, 1905). Dá réir sin faightear (1) consán singil in áit chonsáin dúbailte in: *dagcēil* 'deáchiall' (áins.) :slēib 'sliabh' (tabh.), SR 4110, *chīal* 'ciall' :*Rachīal* 'Ráchael', SR 3117; faightear (2) ei seachas i roimh chonsán in *brāthreib* 'deartháireacha' (tabh.) :*threib* 'áitreabh' (tabh.), SR 3088, o seachas a roimh chonsán in: *fora hēton* 'ar a éadan' :*col* 'coir', SR 2000, agus fiú ús seachas os in *ro-chlús* 'chualathas' :*exercitús*, SR 769. I gcás na ngutaí deiridh (3), is minic síneadh fada á chur ar ghuta gearr neamhaiceanta a dhéanann *rinn*₇ *airdrinn* le guta fada aiceanta, m.sh. *buidé* 'búí' :*nglé* 'glé', SR 3668, *linduscí* 'uisce ina linn' :*scí* 'sceach' (tabh.), LL 30218 (MD), *Emnó* 'na hEamhna' :*bó* 'bó', LL 22678 (CRR), uaireanta fiú amháin nuair nach mbíonn síneadh fada ar an nguta fada aiceanta: *diglá* 'díoltais' :*mná* 'mná', SR 4148, *Iudá* 'Iudá' :*trā* 'mar sin', SR 6144; i gcás (*bad*) *teinné* 'ba dhéine' :*prīmgeinné* 'céadghinte', SR 3675, tá dhá ghuta ghearra neamhaiceanta againn.' Kuno Meyer remarks briefly in one of his 'Miscellanea' (1905) p. 84: 'In their copies of poems, in order to mark more clearly both final and internal assonance, Irish scribes of all ages are accustomed to change the ordinary spelling of a word by leaving out, or adding, or altering letters. Examples of this practice will be found in almost every page of Irish manuscripts containing poetry. [...] Such forms as these, it is important to observe, are merely for the eye, and had no existence in the spoken language. They should not therefore be admitted into dictionaries.'

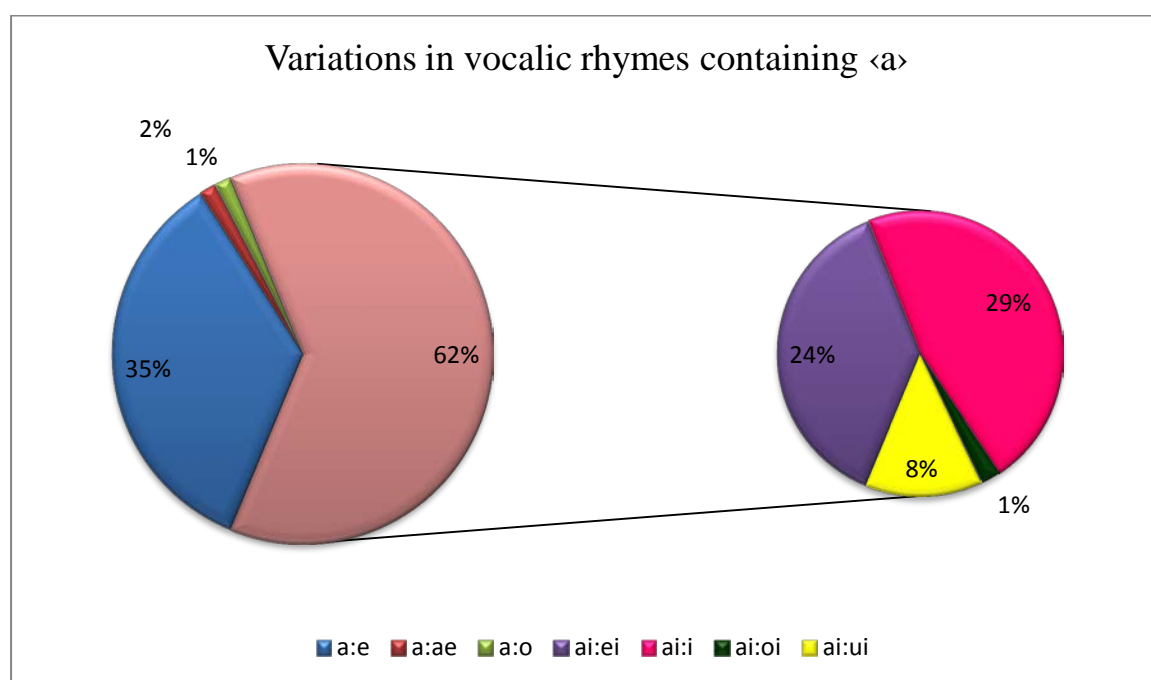
above are here spelled with a single <i>, such as *airmitin* (Canto 114, l. 6626) or *archaingil* (Canto 3, l. 740).

There is one instance where <ai> is balanced by <oi> in the *Ardrinn* (*cain:doob*, Canto 136, ll. 7271–7272). The spelling of the *Ardrinn*-word reflects an archaism and as Kuno Meyer points out in his article:

‘Another practice of Irish scribes, which, however, has not nearly obtained the same vogue, was to mark disyllables in poetry by doubling a vowel. It stands to reason that such a practice would only be adopted at a time when in ordinary speech the word had ceased to be disyllabic.’⁹⁴²

Six pairs contain the combination <ai> and <ui>, for example *gail:díabuil* (Canto 11, ll. 1707–1708).

Of all 72 examples that have been discussed above where <a> is balanced by an orthographically different vowel in the *Ardrinn* the majority of variations occur where a postvocalic palatal consonant is involved.



6.1.2.2 Irregularities in rhyming combinations containing *a*-digraphs

mael	sochaín	ael-aín	2975-2976, 744	cd	26
saer	fínoeb	aer-oeb	985-986, 247	ab	6
saer	fínoeb	aer-oeb	6061-6062, 1516	ab	101
saer	rīgroen	aer-oen	577-578, 145	ab	2
craunn	oenubull	aunn-ull	1253-1254, 314	ab	8
craunn	óenubull	aunn-ull	1261-1262, 316	ab	8

⁹⁴² Meyer (1905) p. 85.

I-ssau	immargú	issau-argú	2851-2852, 713	cd	26
snau	ciriasu	snau-su	2183-2184, 546	cd	12

There are four cases where the digraph <ae> is rhymed with an orthographically different digraph. In one case, <ae> is balanced by <ai> (*mael:socháin*, Canto 26, ll. 2975–2976).⁹⁴³

In three instances <ae> is combined with <oe>, for example *saer:fírnoeb* (Canto 6, ll. 985–986). These rhymes are also metrically regular, because the monophthong in the *Rinn*-word rhymes with schwa in the *Ardrinn*-word.

There are three instances where <au> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a single <u> in the *Ardrinn*-word, but although the cases are orthographically similar they each reflect a different example of mismatching vowels. The first instance combines *craunn* with *oenubull* (Canto 8, ll. 1253–1254 and ll. 1261–1262). It is noteworthy that the <a> is superscripted which is commonly expanded to <ra>.⁹⁴⁴ Thus the focus of the visual rhyme is directed at the single <u> in both words.⁹⁴⁵

The second instance rhymes *snau* with *ciriasu* (Canto 12, ll. 2183–2184). This pair is problematic due to the rhyming words themselves. The *Rinn*-word is only rarely attested and has been interpreted to mean ‘stream’ which would leave the translation of the entire line still open to speculation.⁹⁴⁶ The *Ardrinn*-word is a *hapax* and the meaning is not clear. The whole line, *indatinum ciriasu*, has not been translated at all. Murdoch comments that the line ‘is presumably corrupt, although it satisfies the metrical requirements of the line, provided that the *-ia-* be read as the Irish diphthong.’⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴³ The *Rinn*-word *mael* is an *ā*-stem noun, here governed by the preposition *cen* and thus in the accusative singular case. The final consonant therefore is palatal, even though this is not indicated in the orthography and the rhyme is regular.

⁹⁴⁴ See Rawl. B 502, f. 22^r a; see also above, p. 198 for the example of *iallacraund* which also contains superscript <a>.

⁹⁴⁵ The *Ardrinn*-word is a neuter *o*-stem, here in the accusative singular case. If it were to follow strict Old Irish rules the form to be expected is *uball* in which case the spelling as it is present here would represent yet another case of an eye-rhyme to suit the *Rinn*-word. However, since the spelling with <u> in the Middle Irish period is common this statement should only serve as a comment on the possible spelling habits of the scribe.

⁹⁴⁶ *i sruth na sirdrung na snau* – ‘in the stream of the everlasting crowds of streams (?)’ [my translation]; it has been suggested that *snau* (also *snó*, *snú*) is a by-form of *snúad* (DIL, *snó*, *snau*, *snú*, Column 305, ll. 9–17). The word appears in the form *snó* once more in the *Saltair* in a possible internal rhyming position with *dó* in the next line (Canto 117, l. 6759: *clanna Dauid sretha snó snell*) which Greene translates as ‘hosts (?)’.

⁹⁴⁷ Murdoch (1976) p. 144. In comparing the line to passages in apocryphal texts Murdoch suggests to take the *Ardrinn* as a personal name: ‘The form of the proper name may be considered first, as even the Greek texts of AM [*Apocalypsis Mosis* in C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig: [n. pub.], 1866), pp. 1–23] vary here. The texts have *gerousias* (see Tischendorf’s apparatus), the reading *acherousan* being based upon the *Apocalypse of Paul* xxii. The Latin recensions of the Paul apocryphon have for this *Acherusius lacus*. Other versions of the Adambook, however, omit the initial vowel. The Slav text (Jagič, p. 97 [Vatroslav Jagič, *Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen I*, Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 42 (Wien: Tempsky, 1893)] has *v gerusia blato* and similar varia. The form without the *a* here may be allowed to stand, perhaps.’

Finally, the pair *I-ssau:immargú* (Canto 26, ll. 2851–2852) combines a biblical name with an Irish word. The initial vowel of the *Rinn*-word is elided and the reason why Greene inserted a dash after the initial <i>. The *Rinn*-word here appears in the genitive singular and the final digraph <au> follows the spelling of the Latin form of the name, *Esau*.⁹⁴⁸ The name appears three times in rhyming position including this instance and does so only ever in the *Rinn*-position.⁹⁴⁹ This case and the other instances of *Issau/Issú* cannot provide a clear answer as to how the Irish pronounced this biblical name. This *Rinn*-word is always rhymed with the same *Ardrinn*-word *immargú/immargau* ‘great lie’. Twice it appears in the nominative singular (*immargú*, l. 2852; *immargau*, l. 3058) and once in the accusative singular case (*immargau*, l. 2880).

6.1.2.3 e

This group is comprised of *Rinn*-words that contain <e> in their rhyming syllable that is answered by a different vowel or vowel combination in the *Ardrinn*-words.

6.1.2.3.1e:a

immo-sech	bennach	ech-ach	7631-7632, 1908	cd	146
is-tech	teglach	ech-ach	6129-6130, 1533	ab	102
ma-sech	debthach	ech-ach	5687-5688, 1422	cd	90
tech	étach	ech-ach	1891-1892, 473	cd	11
slecht	déächt	echt-acht	7757-7758, 1940	ab	150
sel	forcetal	el-al	4379-4380, 1095	cd	51
den	Düleman	en-an	1391-1392, 348	cd	9
cess	airechass	ess-ass	6989-6990, 1748	ab	124
bannae	sutralla	annae-alla	4347-4348, 1087	cd	51

Nine times <e> is balanced by orthographic <a> in the *Ardrinn*-words.

In one case the vowel is word final and is preceded by <a> to indicated the non-palatal quality of the preceding consonant (*bannae:sutralla*, Canto 51, ll. 4347–4348). The final <e> in the *Rinn* is balanced by a simple <a>.

In one instance the *Rinn*-word can either be spelled with a palatal or non-palatal final consonant (*den*, Canto 9, l. 1391) and to suit the non-palatal quality of the *Ardrinn*-word the

⁹⁴⁸ See, for example, Genesis 25.25.

⁹⁴⁹ *I-ssau:immargau* (Canto 26, ll. 2879–2880) and *I-ssú:immargau* (Canto 26, ll. 3057–3058). In both these instances the name appears in the nominative case. The initial vowel is elided in the first example and unstressed but not elided in the second example. The name appears thirteen times in the whole text of *Saltair na Rann* and eleven times it ends in <au>, which can represent either the nominative or genitive case. Likewise, final <ú> appears once in the nominative and once in the genitive case.

poet chose the non-palatal form. *The Dictionary of the Irish Language* states that the adjective is ‘apparently indecl[inable] and found only in verse’.⁹⁵⁰ Kuno Meyer discusses the word in his *Wortkunde*:

‘Neben dem Adjektiv *den* ‘gut, tüchtig, tapfer’, welches POKORNY Zfvgl. Spr. XLI, S. 152 mit lat. *bonus* (aus **dueno-*) zusammengebracht hat, liegt in derselben Bedeutung ein i-Stamm *dein*, der, ebenso wie die i-Stämme *baile*, *glain*, *lōir*, *nāir* usw., besonders gern von Dichtern gebraucht wird. So findet er sich häufig im [sic] *Saltair na Rann*, wo STOKES im Index die Belegstellen aufführt, zu denen noch Z. 955 (*cēt tengat dein*) kommt. Außerdem liegt das Wort Z. 6909 in dem Kompositum *glērdin* vor, das auf *trēnfir* reimt [...]’.⁹⁵¹

6.1.2.3.2 é:ae, e:ae

mo-le	comlabrae	e-ae	1585-1586, 397	ab	11
glé	Iudae	é-ae	5707-5708, 1427	cd	91
glé	Iudae	é-ae	6581-6582, 1646	ab	113
glé	fīnemnae	é-ae	5341-5342, 1336	ab	81
glé	Febrae	é-ae	235-236, 59	cd	1
glē	romrae	é-ae	3327-3328, 832	cd	29
glē	Amrae	é-ae	4525-4526, 1132	ab	55
gnē	Giluae	é-ae	6487-6488, 1622	cd	109
glē	do-s-timchella	é-a	179-180, 45	cd	1

In eight cases a final long <e> in the *Rinn*-words is balanced by <ae> in the *Ardrinn* and in one case a short final <e> is rhymed with <ae>. In the latter case, *mo-le:comlabrae*, it must be assumed that the final <e> in the *Ardrinn* was added by the scribe for the benefit of a better visual rhyme. Similarly, the scribe of Rawlinson B 502 added an <e> to the *Ardrinn* of the pair *glé:do-s-timchellae*.⁹⁵² Greene emends this instance silently. It should be pointed out that in five of the instances where long <e> is rhymed with <ae> the *Ardrinn* represents a non-native name in the genitive singular case.

6.1.2.3.3 e:ai

imma-le	ētrochtaí	le-tai	599-600, 150	cd	2
ma-le	corcraí	le-raí	73-74, 19	ab	1
ma-le	tigernai	le-nai	1161-1162, 291	ab	8

⁹⁵⁰ DIL, *de(i)n*, Column 22, ll. 43–4.

⁹⁵¹ Meyer (1914) p. 944, § 115. [In addition to the adjective *den* ‘good, diligent, courageous’ that Pokorny connected to Lat. *bonus* (from **dueno-*), there is the i-stem *dein* with the same meaning that is, like the i-stems *baile*, *glain*, *lōir*, *nāir* etc., used especially by the poets. Thus, it can be found frequently in *Saltair na Rann* where Stokes gives the references in his index to which line 955 has to be added. Furthermore, the word can be found in the compound *glērdin* which is rhymed with *trēnfir*.]

⁹⁵² Rawl. B 502, f. 19^f b.

ma-le	cotarsnai	le-nai	1519-1520, 380	cd	11
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Similarly, in four instances a short final <e> is rhymed with <ai> in the *Ardrinn*. It may be worth pointing out that the adverb *immale(i)* ‘jointly, together’ belongs both to this and also to the group above where final short or long <e> is balanced by <ae>. The *Ardrinn*-words are spelled etymologically correct with the exception of two cases. *étrochtai* is an *io/iā*-stem adjective and should end in <a> as a masculine form in the genitive singular case. Similarly, *corcrai* should end in a single <a> in the accusative singular case.

6.1.2.3.4 e:i/é:i

ma-lle	aurgairthi	le-thi	1157-1158, 290	ab	8
tláthe	oenrāthi	áthe-áthi	5351-5352, 1338	cd	81
uimle	gnāthchuibdi	uimle-uibdi	721-722, 181	ab	3
glé	faithchi	é-i	397-398, 100	ab	2

There are three pairs in which a final short <e> is balanced by a final short <i> in the *Ardrinn*, and one instance where a long stressed final <e> is also balanced by a short unstressed <i>. With the exception of two *Ardrinn*-words, they are spelled grammatically and orthographically correctly. In the case of *aurgairthi* (Canto 8, l. 1158), an *io/iā*-stem adjective, here in the genitive singular, a non-palatal intervocalic cluster would be expected, followed by a non-palatal vowel.

Finally, *faithchi* (Canto 2, l. 398), a feminine *iā*-stem in the genitive singular case, should – following strictly the Old Irish spelling – end in <e>.

6.1.2.3.5 ei:ai

feib	grādaib	eib-aib	559-560, 140	cd	2
feib	écaib	eib-aib	7119-7120, 1780	cd	131
feib	blíadnaib	eib-aib	2023-2024, 506	cd	12
treib	máthreachaib	eib-aib	3007-3008, 752	cd	26
treib	forórdaib	eib-aib	4259-4260, 1065	cd	51
treib	bronngaethaib	eib-aib	4565-4566, 1142	ab	56
treib	ingenaib	eib-aib	5001-5002, 1251	ab	71
treib	écaib	eib-aib	7091-7092, 1773	cd	129
treib	lestraib	eib-aib	7167-7168, 1792	cd	133
treib	erbaid	eib-aid	7477-7478, 1870	ab	141
treib	ildelbaig	eib-aig	4211-4212, 1053	cd	51
treib	Ádaim	eib-aim	2433-2434, 609	ab	14
treib	athair	eib-air	1899-1900, 475	cd	11
deil	ergail	eil-aíl	5785-5786, 1447	ab	94

greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5151-5152, 1288	cd	75
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5271-5272, 1318	cd	78
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	5373-5374, 1344	ab	82
greim	Effraim	eim-aim	6947-6948, 1737	cd	124
dein	ingenaib	ein-aib	1971-1972, 493	cd	11
dein	ríagaltaib	ein-aib	3367-3368, 842	cd	29
dein	clemnaib	ein-aib	5339-5340, 1335	cd	81
dein	mōrchintaib	ein-aib	6873-6874, 1719	ab	122
dein	talmannaib	ein-aib	7159-7160, 1790	cd	132
sein	ócaib	ein-aib	5653-5654, 1414	ab	89
gein	Ādaim	ein-aim	1049-1050, 263	ab	6
sein	Ādaim	ein-aim	1309-1310, 328	ab	9
dein	Solamain	ein-ain	7033-7034, 1759	ab	126
sein	imressain	ein-ain	2965-2966, 742	ab	26
sein	imresain	ein-ain	6981-6982, 1746	ab	124
seirc	glanedpairt	eirc-airt	7299-7300, 1825	cd	138
breis	tegdais	eis-ais	5969-5970, 1493	ab	100
deis	Pardais	eis-ais	1497-1498, 375	ab	11
feis	do-melmais	eis-ais	1563-1564, 391	cd	11
feis	tegdais	eis-ais	1951-1952, 488	cd	11
feis	eclais	eis-ais	4537-4538, 1135	ab	55
geis	do-meldais	eis-ais	1083-1084, 271	cd	7
geis	eclais	eis-ais	4501-4502, 1126	ab	55
geis	eclais	eis-ais	6181-6182, 1546	ab	103
greis	eclais	eis-ais	4443-4444, 1111	cd	52
greis	forais	eis-ais	6467-6468, 1617	cd	108
greis	longais	eis-ais	6715-6716, 1679	cd	117
geiss	eclais	eiss-ais	4483-4484, 1121	cd	54
ceist	Babtaist	eist-aist	7457-7458, 1865	ab	140
feith	airfortaich	eith-aich	403-404, 101	cd	2

Further variations in the rhyming vowels can be found when looking at *Rinn*-words that contain <e> followed by a palatal consonant. In 44 cases <e> is balanced by <a> in the *Ardrinn*, but the palatal quality of the final consonant is present in both words. The orthography is in all cases regular and does not diverge from the regular spelling. However, in one case, where Greene emends to *feis*, Rawlinson B 502 does not contain the palatal marker in the *Rinn*-word *fes* (Canto 11, l. 1951).⁹⁵³

⁹⁵³ Rawl. B 502, f. 23^v b.

6.1.2.3.6 ei:i/éi:i

treib	búachailib	eib-ib	3097-3098, 775	ab	27
treib	cumrigib	eib-ib	5349-5350, 1338	ab	81
snéid	Duïd	éid-íd	6865-6866, 1717	ab	122
snéid	Dauïd	éid-íd	6897-6898, 1725	ab	123
sleig	rígthig	eig-ig	6073-6074, 1519	ab	101
ceil	remib	eil-ib	7443-7444, 1861	cd	139
greim	oebind	eim-ind	793-794, 199	ab	3
sein	rīmirib	ein-ib	123-124, 31	cd	1
sein	nimib	ein-ib	195-196, 49	cd	1
gein	coemdil	ein-il	7489-7490, 1873	ab	142
sein	noebgil	ein-il	6885-6886, 1722	ab	122
sein ⁹⁵⁴	Neptalim	ein-im	5139-5140, 1285	cd	75
dein	amsirsin	ein-in	2347-2348, 587	cd	12
dein	imcaisin	ein-in	2469-2470, 618	ab	15
dein	fir-sin	ein-in	5861-5862, 1466	ab	97
dein	aimsir	ein-ir	955-956, 239	cd	5
dein	aimsir	ein-ir	1471-1472, 368	cd	11
geis	ciat-chemmis ⁹⁵⁵	eis-is	275-276, 69	cd	1
greis	Laïs	eis-is	6251-6252, 1563	cd	104
leis	Laïs	eis-is	6571-6572, 1643	cd	113

Similarly, there are twenty pairs in which ⟨e⟩ followed by a palatal consonant is combined with a single orthographic ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. In two cases (*snéid:Duïd*, Canto 122, ll. 6865–6866 and *snéid:Dauïd*, Canto 123, ll. 6897–6898) this concerns long vowels and as such they are expected to be identical. These rhymes are therefore irregular.

6.1.2.3.7 ei:oi

treib	doöib	eib-oib	7295-7296, 1824	cd	137
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In one instance ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn* is rhymed with ⟨o⟩ in the *Ardrinn*. In this pair it is noteworthy that the disyllabic *doöib* is an archaised form. It would have been already a monosyllabic word

⁹⁵⁴ The *Rinn*-word of this pair is spelled with a final *fortis* voiced continuant in Rawlinson B 502 (*seing*, f. 32^r a). Greene gives the reading as it is contained in the manuscript in a footnote. Assuming that the *Rinn*-word is a form of the demonstrative *sin*, Greene's emendation would be correct. Rawlinson's form indicates that the *Ardrinn*, a non-native name, was pronounced with a final *fortis* voiced continuant.

⁹⁵⁵ Rawlinson B 502 does not mark the palatal quality of the final sibilant (f. 19^v a: *cemmes*). Stokes (1883) p. 5 inserts ⟨i⟩, while Greene gives Rawlinson's reading wrongly as *cemnis*, due to the confusion of minims. In either case the first plural past subjunctive of *ad-cí* 'sees' ends in a palatal sibilant.

in Middle Irish. Thus it appears in the Würzburg glosses 95 times as a monosyllable and only once as *doiib* (27 d 13), hinting at a disyllabic pronunciation.

6.1.2.3.8 ei:ui

sein	imguin	ein-uin	5097-5098, 1275	ab	74
deis	Parduis	eis-uis	7779-7780, 1945	cd	150
feis	Parduis	eis-uis	1571-1572, 393	cd	11
geis	Parduis	eis-uis	1269-1270, 318	ab	8
geis	Parduis	eis-uis	7363-7364, 1841	cd	138
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	1123-1124, 281	cd	8
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	1867-1868, 467	cd	11
greis	Parduis	eis-uis	2203-2204, 551	cd	12

Eight times <e>is balanced by <u> followed by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*. The spelling of the pairs that combine <ei> and <ui> is regular in all instances.

6.1.2.3.9 eo:o

séol	Sem[e]ōn	éol-[e]ón	5131-5132, 1283	cd	75
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In another case the digraph <eo> is balanced by a single <o>, as it is preserved in Rawlinson B 502:⁹⁵⁶ *séol* is rhymed with the name *Semon*. Both Greene and Stokes printed an additional <e>. The Irish form of the biblical name *Simeon the Patriarch* is spelled *Semeon* in a non-rhyming position in another line (Canto 26, l. 2993).⁹⁵⁷ This particular rhyming combination reflects the development of the Old Irish diphthong *éo* that already started to shift the stress on its second element during the Old Irish period:

‘Cé gur minic bhualtear le sealaíochtaí ar nós *cenéuil/ceníuil* thuas, níor cuireadh *éol/éu* agus *íu* trína chéile sa chás gur idirdhealaigh an chodarsnacht sin péirí gramadúla ar nós ain. u. *béo*, tabh. u. *bíu* nó 1 u. táscach láithreach *-bíu*, foshuiteach *-béu/-béo*. Tugtar faoi deara go gcuireann *u* nó *o* an dara heilimint de na défhoghair /āu/, /ēu/ in iúl agus go raibh lár an tsiolla ag tosú ar aistriú go dtí an dara cuid seo sa chaoi gur tháinig /ō/ idir dhá chonsan chaola chun cinn: m.sh., ain. iol. *beóil* /b’ōl’/ ‘liopaí, béal’ (Wb. 7^d9), gin. u. *a cheneóil* /xen’ōl’/ ‘a chine’ (Wb. 6^d6).’⁹⁵⁸

In Middle Irish this process had progressed further and Liam Breatnach remarks:

‘Fianaise d’athrú an défhoghair *áe/aí/óe/oí* go guta fada is ea (a) an litriú in: *ébind* ‘aoibhinn’, LL 38031 (*Bór*) [...], b’fheidir (b) an comhardadh in: *a-taí* ‘tá tú’:*do-gní* ‘a dhéanann tú’, LL 33754 (*TF*) [...] agus (c) an t-athrú sa 3 u. caite

⁹⁵⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^r a.

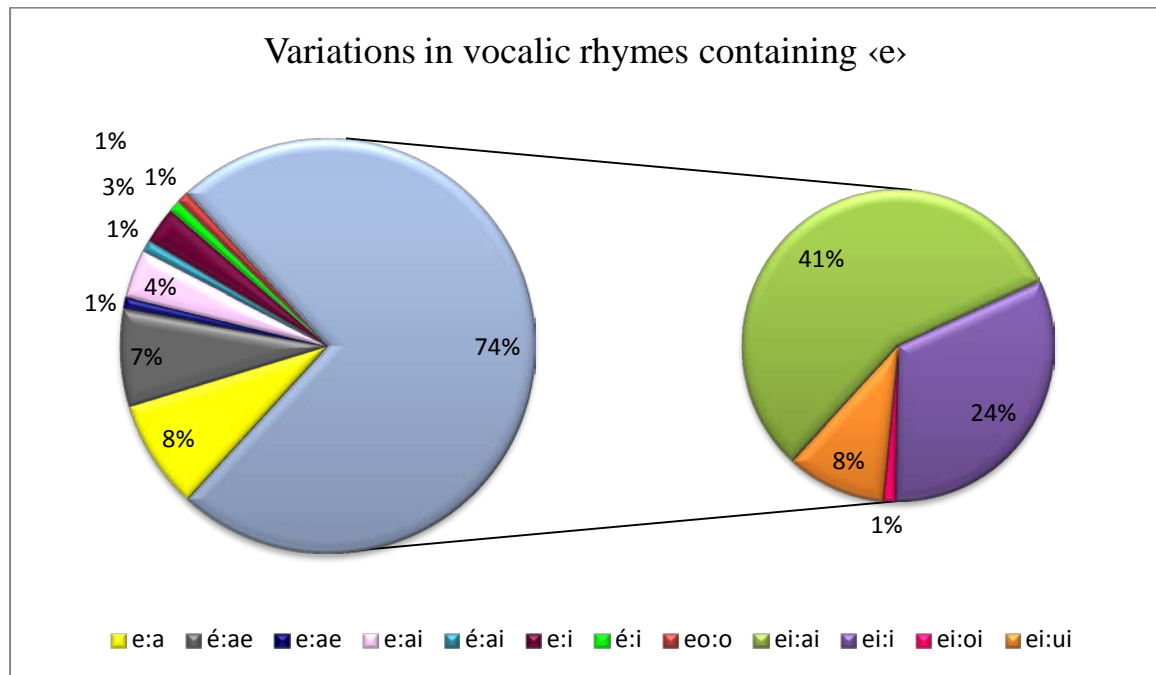
⁹⁵⁷ See also *brón:Celleón* (Canto 91, ll. 5693–5694) and *mór:legeón* (Canto 3, ll. 761–762).

⁹⁵⁸ McCone (1994) p. 92, § 11.4.

den bhriathar substainteach ó *boí* go *bí* (12.65). Mar an gcéanna b'fheidir go gciallaíonn an comhardadh in *forcoméót* 'faire' (tabh.): *rót* 'bóthar', *LL* 28138 (*MD*) [...], go raibh *é*o athruithe ar a laghad go défhoghar éiritheach.⁹⁵⁹

Regarding these phonological developments, it is important to keep in mind that in this case the trace of recording can only be followed back to the scribe's activities and it cannot be stated what the poet wrote down when he first composed the *Saltair*.

Of 101 cases where <e> is balanced by an orthographically different vowel, the majority occur where a palatal consonant follows the vowel.



This data is quite similar to the variations in vocalic rhymes containing <a> with the exception that the variety of combinations is bigger, because the possibilities of combinations of long <e> are added.

6.1.2.4 Vocalic variations containing *i*

This group is comprised of *Rinn*-words that contain <i> in their rhyming syllable that is answered by a different vowel or vowel combination in the *Ardrinn*-words.

6.1.2.4.1 i:ai

lib	Ādaim	ib-aim	673-674, 169	ab	3
tig	ro-attlaig	ig-aig	3531-3532, 883	cd	32
dig	fíaccail	ig-ail	5359-5360, 1340	cd	81
tig	adhúathmair	ig-air	1459-1460, 365	cd	10

⁹⁵⁹ L. Breatnach (1994) p. 233, § 3.8.

dil	ilmīlaib	il-aib	1631-1632, 408	cd	11
dil	cintaib	il-aib	1699-1700, 425	cd	11
dil	écsamlaib	il-aib	1919-1920, 480	cd	11
dil	bēlaib	il-aib	2587-2588, 647	cd	19
dil	cennaib	il-aib	3671-3672, 918	cd	34
dil	[foraib]	il-aib	5543-5544, 1386	cd	85
dil	béldergaib	il-aib	7409-7410, 1853	ab	138
dil	banamail	il-ail	1225-1226, 307	ab	8
dil	ídail	il-ail	5491-5492, 1373	cd	84
dil	Ādaim	il-aim	2171-2172, 543	cd	12
dil	Ādaim	il-aim	7511-7512, 1878	cd	143
dil	anmain	il-ain	1057-1058, 265	ab	6
dil	menmain	il-ain	1509-1510, 378	ab	11
dil	imressain	il-ain	3569-3570, 893	ab	33
nim	anmannaib	im-aib	1121-1122, 281	ab	8
nim	adamraib	im-aib	5113-5114, 1279	ab	74
nim	timnaib	im-aib	7187-7188, 1797	cd	133
nim	[Ādaim]	im-aim	1131-1132, 283	cd	8
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1399-1400, 350	cd	9
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1625-1626, 407	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1787-1788, 447	cd	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1797-1798, 450	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	1849-1850, 463	ab	11
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	2153-2154, 539	ab	12
nim	Ādaim	im-aim	2245-2246, 562	ab	12
nim	imresain	im-ain	1741-1742, 436	ab	11
nim	talmain	im-ain	2521-2522, 631	ab	17
nim	menmain	im-ain	3807-3808, 952	cd	38
nim	imresain	im-ain	6037-6038, 1510	ab	100
sin	clannaib	in-aib	1105-1106, 277	ab	8
sin	slúagaib	in-aib	6589-6590, 1648	ab	113
sin	Ādaim	in-aim	1989-1990, 498	ab	11
grinn	Effraim	inn-aim	5143-5144, 1286	cd	75
fris	tegdais	is-ais	2951-2952, 738	cd	26

There are 38 instances where simple <i> is balanced by <ai> in the *Ardrinn*. All rhyming pairs are metrically valid, because the quality of the final consonants matches in each rhyming pair. However, there are two instances where the *Ardrinn*-line is two syllables short: line 5544 reads *do oenrig uasail* and although the final word of the line as it is preserved in Rawlinson B

502 gives a valid rhyme,⁹⁶⁰ the syllable count is faulty. Greene supplies a suitable disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word (*foraib*). Line 1132 reads *conair d'admilliud* and is also two syllables short. Both Greene and Stokes supply *Adaim* to match the syllable count.⁹⁶¹

6.1.2.4.2 í:e

dís	Fineëš	ís-és	5403-5404, 1351	cd	83
lí	findruine	lí-ne	4895-4896, 1224	cd	69

There are two instances where a long stressed <i> is paired with an unstressed <e>. The non-palatal quality of the final sibilant is present in both words in the first pair and thus the rhyme is regular. The trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word *Finees* only appears once in the whole of *Saltair na Rann*. This is the Irish form of the name *Phinees* or *Phinehas*, the grandson of Aaron. It should also be noted that Rawlinson B 502 uses the archaic spelling *diis* for the monosyllabic *Rinn*-word.⁹⁶²

The rhyming words of the second pair both end in a vowel and the combination is metrically valid.

6.1.2.4.3 í:ai

lí	bíathai	lí-thai	4635-4636, 1159	cd	59
lí	sāssai	lí-sai	2563-2564, 641	cd	18
tlí	ílardai	tlí-dai	5799-5800, 1450	cd	94

In three cases the *Rinn*-word ends in a long stressed <i> and these are all balanced by <ai> in the *Ardrinn*. The spelling is etymologically correct in all cases.

6.1.2.4.4 i:ei

dil	noebtreib	il-eib	649-650, 163	ab	2
sin	derbdein	in-ein	785-786, 197	ab	3
fris	eisleis	is-eis	6109-6110, 1528	ab	102
fris	eisleis	is-eis	6317-6318, 1580	ab	105

In four instances short <i> in the *Rinn*-word is combined with an *Ardrinn* containing <e> followed by a palatal consonant. The rhymes are all metrically valid. It should be noted that

⁹⁶⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 33^r b.

⁹⁶¹ Stokes, however, gives *Adim* to match the *Rinn*-word visually (Stokes (1883) p. 17). Since *Adam* is always spelled with <ai> this is a hypercorrection.

⁹⁶² Rawl. B 502, f. 32^v b; but see also above, p. 242, Chapter 5.31.10 where it is argued that the *Rinn*-word can also be read as a disyllable to improve the rhyme.

Rawlinson B 502 does not mark the palatal quality of the final consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word in the pair *sin:derbden*.⁹⁶³

6.1.2.4.5 i:ui

dil	mōrp[h]obuil	il-uil	4103-4104, 1026	cd	47
dil	tempuil	il-uil	7763-7764, 1941	cd	150

In two pairs the single <i> in the *Rinn* is balanced by <u> followed by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*.

6.1.2.4.6 i:e

aili	cosmaile	aili-aile	1595-1596, 399	cd	11
aīssi	glangaīsse	aīssi-aīsse	2829-2830, 708	ab	26
glinni	aslingge	inni-ingge	3119-3120, 780	cd	27
mīli	dīne	īli-īne	7621-7622, 1906	ab	146
rainni	fīrc[h]lainne	ainni-ainne	1063-1064, 266	cd	6
saigthi	mesraigthe	aigthi-aigthe	155-156, 39	cd	1
tīri	coemrīge	īri-īge	6797-6798, 1700	ab	119
trúaigi	oenúaire	úaigi-úaire	7169-7170, 1793	ab	133
uili	rīgšuide	uili-uide	141-142, 36	ab	1
uili	rīgsuide	uili-uide	529-530, 133	ab	2
uili	rīgsuide	uili-uide	545-546, 137	ab	2
uili	duine	uili-uine	3937-3938, 985	ab	43
clithi	damseche	ithi-eche	5771-5772, 1443	cd	93

Thirteen cases have final short unstressed <i> balanced by final short unstressed <e> in the *Ardrinn* and in one of these pairs this happens in both medial as well as in final position (*clithi:damseche*, Canto 93, ll. 5771–5772). All rhyming pairs are metrically valid.

6.1.2.4.7 ía:iae/ía:ie

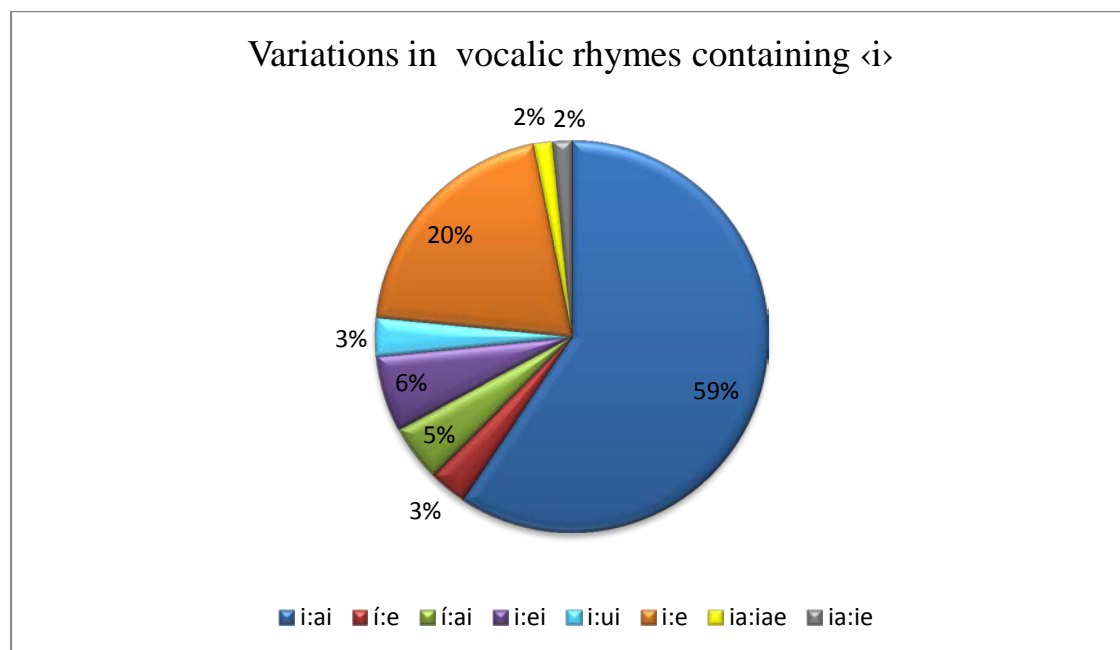
fía	Fuffoniae	fía-niae	7455-7456, 1864	cd	140
níam	Siliem	íam-iem	7413-7414, 1854	ab	138

In two cases <ia> is matched by orthographically different vowels in the *Ardrinn*. In the first pair, Greene did not translate the *Rinn*-word and merely refers to *The Dictionary of the Irish*

⁹⁶³ Rawl. B 502, f. 21^f a; Greene chooses the reading with the palatal marker, as it is contained in 24 P 27. He gives P's and Rawlinson's reading in a footnote.

Language that does not offer a translation for *fía*.⁹⁶⁴ The *Ardrinn* represents the Irish form of the name *Sophonias*. This name only appears once in the *Saltair* and it appears here in the accusative case. It must be assumed that the *Ardrinn* is treated as an *io*-stem and thus ends in <ae>.

The second pair combines the nominative case of *níam* with the accusative case of the Irish form of the name *Silas*. Although the poet writes *Siliem* the metrical value of this <ie> must equal the Irish diphthong *ia* to match the one in the *Rinn*-word.



6.1.2.5 Vocalic variations containing *o*

This group is comprised of *Rinn*-words that contain <o> as their rhyming vowel and are balanced by an orthographically different vowel in the *Ardrinn*-words.

6.1.2.5.1 o:eo/ó:eó

ro-chlos	comaithcheos	os-eos	6289-6290, 1573	ab	105
ro-clos	aebinneos	os-eos	973-974, 244	ab	6
ro-clos	oebinneos	os-eos	1489-1490, 373	ab	11
ro-clos	flatheos	os-eos	7055-7056, 1764	cd	127
ro-clos	ardflatheos	os-eos	7221-7222, 1806	ab	135
brón	Celleón	ón-ón	5693-5694, 1424	ab	91
mór	legeón	ór-ón	761-762, 191	ab	3

⁹⁶⁴ DIL, *fía*, Column 107, ll. 31–6.

In seven cases the <o> is actually echoed in the *Ardrinn*, and it is preceded by a palatal consonant which is marked by an <e> in each case. The rhymes are perfectly valid, but it is interesting that in five of the examples (*comaitheos*, Canto 105, l. 6290; *aebinneos*, Canto 6, l. 974; *oebinneos*, Canto 11, l. 1490; *flatheos*, Canto 127, l. 7056; *ardflatheos*, Canto 135, l. 7222) there is no justification in Old Irish etymology for <o>. This does not affect the rhyme either way, but it is noteworthy that at some point the scribe or the poet deliberately chose to spell these words with a digraph to make the rhyme visually more pleasing and create eye-rhymes.

In the case of the pair *brón:Celleón* the *Ardrinn*-word represents the biblical name of Elimelek's son Chelion.⁹⁶⁵ It only appears once in the *Saltair* and it seems that the Latin form of the name that contains <o> has been adapted here.

The final pair also contains a non-native word: the *Ardrinn legeón* is a loanword from Latin *legiō*. The <o> has been adopted from the Latin original.⁹⁶⁶

6.1.2.5.2 o:u

mod	cumscugud	od-ud	2057-2058, 515	ab	12
mod	airfitiud	od-ud	1119-1120, 280	cd	8
col	domun	ol-un	5243-5244, 1311	cd	77
Ádom	imgābud	om-ud	1065-1066, 267	ab	6
drong	Capharnaüm	ong-um	7609-7610, 1903	ab	146
ro-clos	Pardus	os-us	1099-1100, 275	cd	7
ro-clos	immarbus	os-us	1969-1970, 493	ab	11
doss	frecnarcus	oss-us	3467-3468, 867	cd	31

In eight cases <o> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <u> in the *Ardrinn*-word.

The pair *mod:cumscugud* is contained in Rawlinson B 502 with the <o> of the *Rinn*-word written above the <m> and the <d> suspended and the *Ardrinn*-word reads *cumscud* in the manuscript, missing a syllable.⁹⁶⁷ Both Stokes and Greene supply the correct emendation of *cumscugud*.

The pair *Ádom:imgābud* is also metrically valid and the spelling is regular, but it is noteworthy that the scribe spelled the *Rinn* as *Ádum* in line 1100, rhyming internally with

⁹⁶⁵ Ruth 1.2: 'Ipse vocabatur Elimelech, et uxor ejus Noëmi: et duo filii, alter Mahalon, et alter Chelion, Ephrathæi de Bethlehem Juda. Ingressique regionem Moabitidem, morabantur ibi.' [He was called Elimelech and his wife, Noemi: and two sons, one Mahalon and the other Chelion. They were Ephrathites from Bethlehem, Juda. And they entered the region of Moab and lived there.]

⁹⁶⁶ For rhymes like *legeón* and *Celleón* see above, pp. 334–5.

⁹⁶⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 24^r a.

gábud. The grammatical case is identical with the one in line 1100, so the scribe could have chosen the visually more pleasing form of the name *Ádam*.

The pair *drong:Capharnaum* (Canto 146, ll. 7609–7610) is also metrically valid. Here the *Ardrinn*-word also represents a non-native place-name that appears in the *Saltair* only once. It has been directly borrowed from the Latin⁹⁶⁸ and must be counted as tetrasyllabic to fit the rhyme.

Similarly, the pair *ro-clos:Pardus* (Canto 7, ll. 1099–1100) contains a non-native word that, in this instance, appears in the dative case. It is noteworthy that the same *Ardrinn* is spelled with <o>, also appearing in the dative case rhyming with the same *Rinn*-word, in another instance.⁹⁶⁹

ro-clos:immarbus (Canto 11, ll. 1969–1970) is also a valid rhyming pair, but the same combination appears in lines 1039–1040, with the *Ardrinn*-word ending in <os>. The citation form in the *DIL* is indeed *immarmus*.⁹⁷⁰

This and the previous two sub-chapters show a range of different possibilities that the poet or scribe employed to deal with mismatches concerning the vowel /o/ in the *Rinn*-word. It has been shown that the spelling of words usually ending in *-us* was changed to read *-os* in those cases where the final syllable was preceded by a palatal consonant. However, this change was not made in the case of *airfítiud* (Canto 8, l. 1120) where the *Ardrinn* ends in <d>. In the case where the final syllable *-us* is not preceded by a palatal consonant a change to a visually more pleasing *-os* is much less likely. In fact, it was the *Rinn*-word the etymological spelling of which was changed to suit the Latin *Ardrinn*-word.

6.1.2.5.3 oi:ai

soimm	glérainn	oimm-ainn	5163-5164, 1291	cd	75
droing	derbrainn	oing-ainn	433-434, 109	ab	2

Twice, <o> is followed by a palatal consonant and this is balanced by <a> also followed by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*. It should be noted that Greene attached a footnote to the *Ardrinn*-word of the first pair in which he states that Rawlinson B 502 has *gleram*.⁹⁷¹ Looking at the manuscript it is understandable that Greene would have read *gleram*. Stokes has even

⁹⁶⁸ Matthew 8.5: ‘Cum autem introisset Capharnaum, accessit ad eum Centurio, rogans eum [...]’ [When he had thus entered Capharnaum, a centurion approached him, asking him [...].]

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. l. 1190.

⁹⁷⁰ *DIL*, *immarmus*, Column 132, l. 83.

⁹⁷¹ Cf. Greene, *Saltair na Rann*, l. 5164, FN 5164.

edited the *Ardrinn* to be read as *gleraim*.⁹⁷² Stokes' version is not possible, because the manuscript clearly only contains three shafts⁹⁷³ within the minims and therefore can only stand for a single *m* or *in*. Considering the nature of minims it is thus equally possible to read the *Ardrinn* as *glerain*. The manuscript does lack the second *n* to mark the *fortis* voiced continuant at the end of the word. Otherwise the spelling of both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word is regular and although the rhyming vowel does not match orthographically, the rhyme is still valid.

The second pair is also metrically valid and both words adhere to their etymologically correct spelling. However, Rawlinson B 502 has *baind* 'deed, amount' in the *Rinn* position,⁹⁷⁴ making the rhyme both aurally and visually perfect. Greene chose the less perfect but still regular *droing* from manuscript 24 P 27⁹⁷⁵ in the *Royal Irish Academy* in his edition. Considering that *baind* is contained in the older manuscript and that the meaning of *baind* and *droing* are very similar if not identical, the former is probably the better choice for this particular rhyming pair, although both words comprise a perfectly valid rhyme.

6.1.2.5.4 oe:ae and oi:oe

noeb	ffrsaer	oeb-aer	7567-7568, 1892	cd	144
toī	imchlóe	toí-chlóe	4715-4716, 1179	cd	63

There are two instances where a digraph containing <o> is balanced by an orthographic variation in the *Ardrinn*. Both cases represent valid rhyming pairs.

Hence, there are 21 instances where <o> or a digraph containing <o> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by an orthographically different vowel in the *Ardrinn*-word.⁹⁷⁶ In this group it is not the combination of <o> followed by a palatal consonant that represents the largest group of orthographic variation.

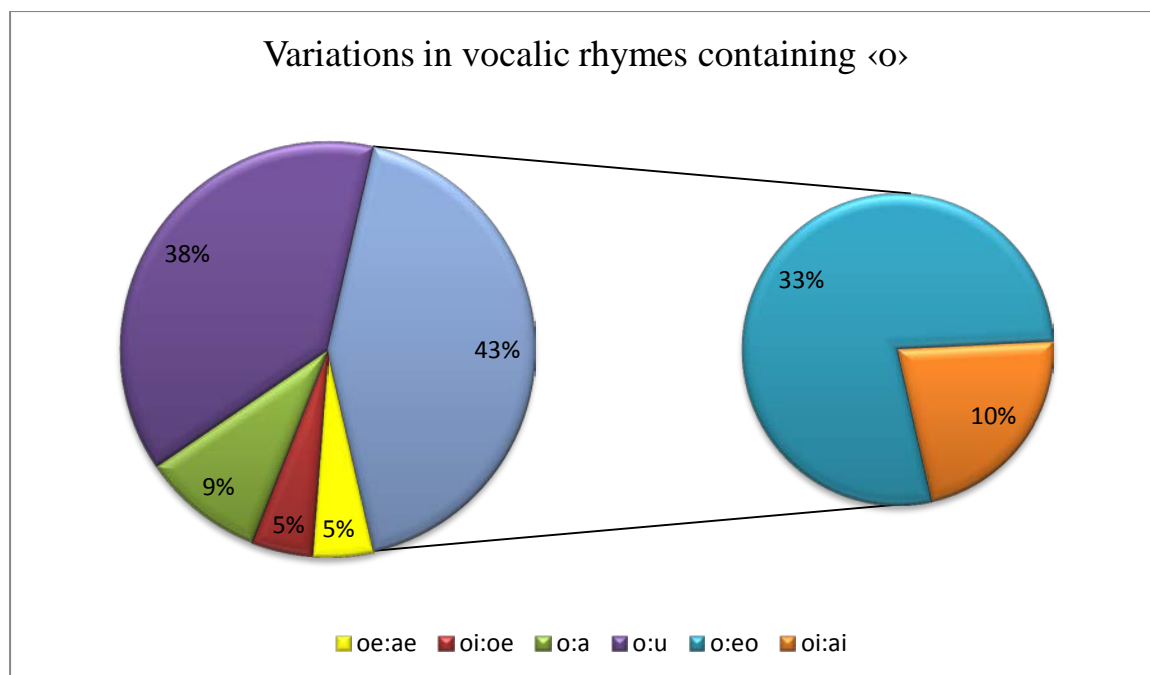
⁹⁷² Cf. Stokes (1883) p. 75.

⁹⁷³ Rawl. B 502, f. 32^f b.

⁹⁷⁴ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^f a.

⁹⁷⁵ This manuscript is younger than Rawlinson B 502.

⁹⁷⁶ The seven examples of <o> rhyming with <o> preceded by a palatal consonant are perfectly regular and hence not part of the graph.



6.1.2.6 Vocalic variations containing *u*

The following group consists of *Rinn*-words that contain <u> as a rhyming vowel which is combined with a different vowel or vowel-combination in the *Ardrinn*-word.

6.1.2.6.1 u:a

drung	iallacrannd	ung-annd	3911-3912, 978	cd	42
ruth	fúatlach	uth-ach	7411-7412, 1853	cd	138

There are two cases where <u> is balanced by <a> in the *Ardrinn*. It should be noted, however, that in contrast to Greene's text and his silent emendation, Rawlinson B 502 has *iallacraund*⁹⁷⁷ and *fúatluch*⁹⁷⁸ for the *Ardrinn* respectively. The *Ardrinn* *iallacraund* also contains a suspension where <a> is written above the word and <r> has to be expanded. It should further be pointed out that both *Ardrinn*-words are in the dative singular and thus Rawlinson's *iallacraund* is spelled correctly if the word is to be understood as a masculine *o*-stem. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* remarks that *íallaccrann* was originally a feminine *ā*-stem in which case the dative would end in a palatal consonant.⁹⁷⁹ *fúatlach* is an *s*-stem and should end in a palatal

⁹⁷⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^f a.

⁹⁷⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^f a.

⁹⁷⁹ DIL, *íallaccrann*, Column 14, l. 81.

consonant.⁹⁸⁰ However, the poet treats this *Ardrinn* as an *o*-stem to optimise the visual effect of the rhyme.

6.1.2.6.2 ui:ai

luid	mebaid	uid-aid	5927-5928, 1482	cd	99
bruig	nemdaib	uig-aib	7535-7536, 1884	cd	144
im-muig	slōgaib	uig-aib	4297-4298, 1075	ab	51
im-muig	primchathraig	uig-aig	399-400, 100	cd	2
Díabuil	ilphánaib	uil-aib	927-928, 232	cd	5
Díabuil	bithphánaib	uil-aib	1739-1740, 435	cd	11
Díabuil	oenblíadain	uil-ain	1457-1458, 365	ab	10
uile	tormailt	uile-ailt	1247-1248, 312	cd	8
druing	forgaill	uing-aill	4301-4302, 1076	ab	51
druing	oenchraind	uing-aind	1227-1228, 307	cd	8
muir	talmain	uir-ain	287-288, 72	cd	1
tuir	bithsuthain	uir-ain	647-648, 162	cd	2
cuir	lōgmair	uir-air	367-368, 92	cd	2
Romuir	irchomair	uir-air	3987-3988, 997	cd	44
tuir	rogénair	uir-air	3715-3716, 929	cd	35

In fifteen instances the rhyming vowel <u> is followed by a palatal consonant in the *Rinn*-words. This is balanced by <a> followed by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*-words. The orthography is regular in all cases and the rhymes are all metrically valid. However, in one case the final syllable of the *Ardrinn* is part of a suspension⁹⁸¹ and was expanded by Stokes to *logmuir*.⁹⁸² The *Ardrinn* is an *ā/o*-stem adjective, here feminine dative singular. It cannot be decided without doubt how the scribe wanted to expand the suspension, but both orthographic variations are valid options.

6.1.2.6.3 ui:i

i-mmuig	caīrib	uig-ib	3789-3790, 948	ab	38
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In one case the *Ardrinn* contains a single <i> to balance <u> followed by a palatal consonant in the *Rinn*-word. Both words follow their etymologically correct spelling and the rhyme is metrically valid.

⁹⁸⁰ See DIL, *fúatlach*, Column 463, l. 82.

⁹⁸¹ *loḡ*: Rawl. B 502, f. 19^v b.

⁹⁸² Stokes (ed.) (1883) p. 6.

6.1.2.6.4 ui:oi

luib	degthoil	uib-oil	7277-7278, 1820	ab	137
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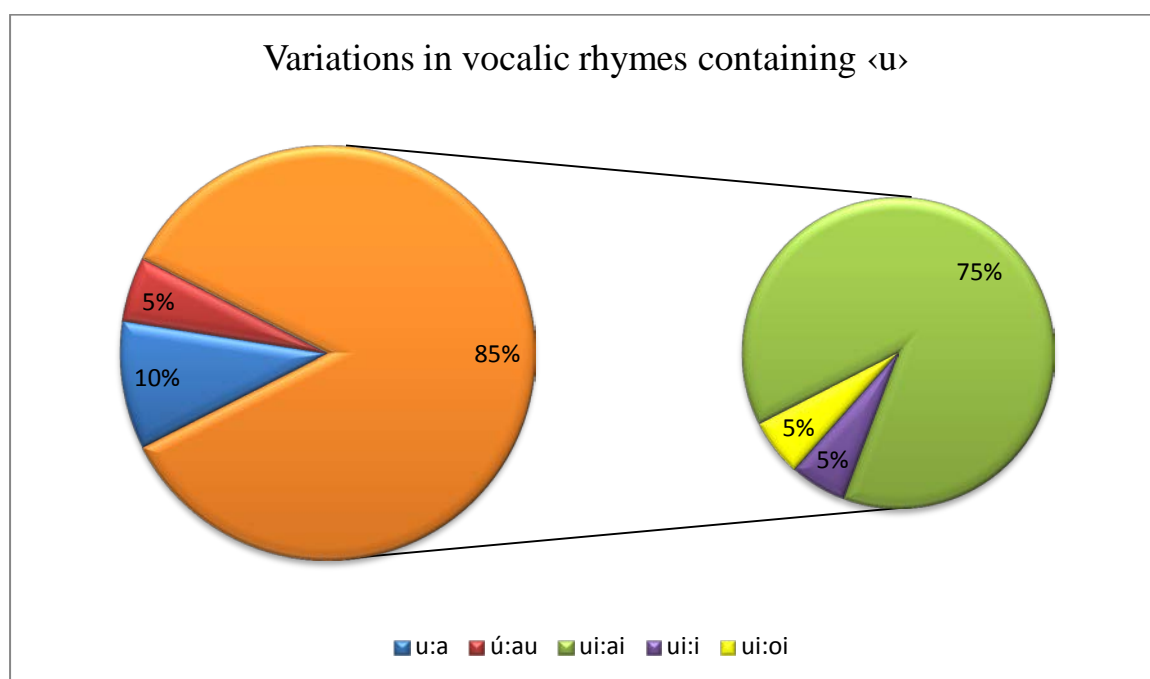
In one instance <u> followed by a palatal consonant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <o> preceding a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word. Both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word are spelled regularly and the rhyme is metrically valid.

6.1.2.6.5 ú:au

Issú	immargáu	sú-gáu	3057-3058, 765	ab	26
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In one case, a single final <u> is balanced by <au> in the *Ardrinn*. Knott remarks that the *Rinn*-word must be ‘unstressed but not elided (:immargau if this is the name intended here)’.⁹⁸³ To create a valid rhyme, the *Rinn*-word must be read with an unstressed first syllable. That the author chose this particular spelling for the *Ardrinn* instead of *immargó* cannot be a coincidence.⁹⁸⁴ *immargau* is found in one other instance where it also rhymes with the biblical name of *Esau*, this time spelled *Issau*.⁹⁸⁵ In both examples the *Rinn* is in the nominative case.

Of all 20 instances the majority of mismatches occur in connection to a palatal consonant that is following the rhyming vowel.



⁹⁸³ Knott (1952) p. 114.

⁹⁸⁴ See Thurneysen (1946) p. 44, §69; on the diphthong *áu*: ‘*áu* in the Old Irish period is in transition to *ó* by way of intermediate *áo*, all three spellings being often found side by side.’

⁹⁸⁵ Canto 26, ll. 2879–2880.

6.2 Consonantal mismatches

This section considers those rhyming pairs that contain mismatches in their rhyming consonants and in their rhyming consonants only. The pairs considered here are, as above, all metrically valid rhymes.

6.2.1 Additional consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word

One of the consonantal mismatches concerns an additional consonant in clusters in either the *Rinn*- or the *Ardrinn*-word. The following instances only contain pairs of which the only rhyming mismatch is an additional consonant in either word. Note that instances where one of the rhyming words contains an additional consonant and where the phonetic classes of the consonants do not match will be discussed later. There are 60 instances altogether: 26 times the *Ardrinn* contains one more consonant, 34 times the *Rinn*-word.

báge	dǫ́arme	áge-árme	5115-5116, 1279	cd	74
lére	essēрге	ére-érge	7797-7798, 1950	ab	151
pēne	essēirge	éne-éirge	2207-2208, 552	cd	12
lāme	imhāirme	áme-áirme	4251-4252, 1063	cd	51
dāna	spirtālda	ána-álda	735-736, 184	cd	3
rétaib	claschélaib	aib-aib	2165-2166, 542	ab	12
sētaib	classchēlaib	aib-aib	2127-2128, 532	cd	12
medrach	mórmenmnach	ach-ach	6523-6524, 1631	cd	110
duit	mōrhuilcc	uit-uilcc	1173-1174, 294	ab	8
duit	mōrhuilcc	uit-uilcc	1329-1330, 333	ab	9
duit	uilcc	uit-uilcc	1277-1278, 320	ab	8
blait	aurdaire	ait-airc	5287-5288, 1322	cd	79
úait	caīnchúaird	úait-úaird	1197-1198, 300	ab	8
blat	comnart	at-art	5685-5686, 1422	ab	90
lat	ēcomnart	at-art	3805-3806, 952	ab	38
blaid	prīmsacairt	aid-airt	4957-4958, 1240	ab	70
blait	prīmsacairt	ait-airt	3755-3756, 939	cd	37
blait	úasalšacairt	ait-airt	4901-4902, 1226	ab	69
blait	sacairt	ait-airt	6211-6212, 1553	cd	103
trait	sacairt	ait-airt	3767-3768, 942	cd	37
mac	comnart	ac-art	1909-1910, 478	ab	11
mac	legart	ac-art	2833-2834, 709	ab	26
glaic	comthailc	aic-aile	5769-5770, 1443	ab	93
mac	frituttacht	ac-acht	6893-6894, 1724	ab	123
mac	tochomracht	ac-acht	6921-6922, 1731	ab	123
lat	armacht	at-acht	6001-6002, 1501	ab	100

Twenty-two *Ardrinn*-words contain an additional voiced continuant, in intervocalic or in word-final position. The first four cases (*báge:díarme*, ll. 5115–5116; *lére:essérge*, ll. 7797–7798; *péne:essérge*, ll. 2207–2208; *láme:imháirme*, Canto 51, ll. 4251–4252) concerning intervocalic consonants contain a single palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word that is balanced by two palatal *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*.⁹⁸⁶

The following pair (*dána:spirtálda*, Canto 3, ll. 735–736) combines a single non-palatal *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with two non-palatal *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word.

The following two (*rétaib:claschélaib*, ll. 2165–2166 and *sétaib:classchélaib*, ll. 2127–2128) rhyme a voiced plosive with a voiced plosive plus voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. In the first pair the rhyming words are *rétaib*, dative plural of *rét* ‘star’, and *claschélaib*, dative plural of the compounded verbal noun *clas-chétal* ‘choir-singing’ (Canto 12, ll. 2165–2166). It is possible that the poet had the Middle Irish word for ‘star’, *réta*, in mind, but used the older form.⁹⁸⁷

One *Ardrinn* contains an additional *fortis* voiced continuant (*medrach:mórmennach*, Canto 110, ll. 6523–6524). Here, two non-palatal *lenis* voiced continuants are balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants and a *fortis* voiced continuant. However, since only two consonants are counted for the rhyme,⁹⁸⁸ that does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

In fifteen instances a final single voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is balanced with a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*. It should be noted that in all of these instances it is always the stop that is balanced and that the additional consonant always comes before the stop. Two orthographic oddities should be noted in these instances. In the pair *úait:caínchúaird* (Canto 8, ll. 1197–1198) the *Ardrinn*-word is spelled with a final <d> instead of <t>. Citations in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* provide ample evidence for both spelling variations.⁹⁸⁹ Modern Irish also maintains the orthographic difference both of the *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop and the *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop as the final letters of the word

⁹⁸⁶ In Rawlinson B 502, the *Ardrinn*-word *eseirge* contains the preconsonantal palatal marker while it is not present in the *Rinn*-word (f. 39^f b). Similarly, there is no palatal marker in *péne* while it is present in *essérge* (f. 24^v a). The quality of the consonants still matches in both pairs.

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. DIL, *rét*, Column 50, l. 75–77 and *réta*, Column 51, l. 67–Column 52, l. 29.

⁹⁸⁸ See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. DIL, *cúaird*, Column 570, l. 65 and *cúairt*, Column 570, l. 72.

for ‘circuit, visit’.⁹⁹⁰ It must be assumed that the phonetic value of the final dental was indeed that of a voiceless stop.

In Greene’s edition the pair *blaid:prímšacairt* (Canto 70, ll. 4957–4958) seems to combine a voiced continuant with a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. However, he translates *blaid* with ‘strength’, a word he previously transcribed as *blat* or *blait* that is listed as *blat* in the *DIL*.⁹⁹¹ Furthermore, Rawlinson B 502 contains, indeed, *blait*.⁹⁹² In Greene’s edition the single voiced continuant is answered in the *Rinn*-word, but the voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn* remains unbalanced and the examples that have been observed so far always skipped the voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* and balanced the final stop. Greene’s working notes must contain a typing error.

The remaining three pairs rhyme a single voiceless stop in the *Rinn* with a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn* (*lat:armacht*, Canto 100, ll. 6001–6002; *mac:frituttacht*, Canto 123, ll. 6893-6894; *mac:tochomracht*, Canto 123, ll. 6921-6922). As described in the preceding paragraph, it is always the continuant that is not balanced.

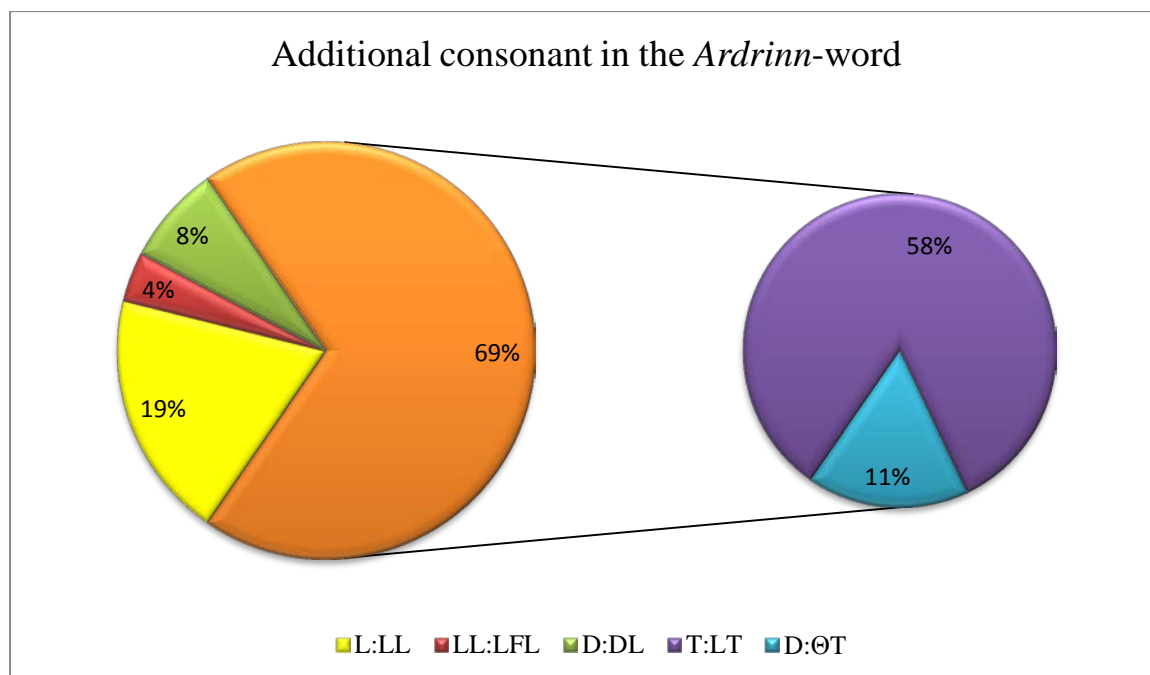
The following table contains a list of symbols that are used in the pie-charts and headings found below.

V	vowel
VV	diphthong
T	voiceless stop
D	voiced stop
L	<i>lenis</i> voiced continuant
F	<i>fortis</i> voiced continuant
Θ	voiceless continuant
S	sibilant

⁹⁹⁰ *Foclóir Gaeilge-Bearla*, ed. by Niall Ó Dónaill and Tomás De Bhaldraithe (Dublin: An Gúm, 1977; repr. 2005), *cuaird*, p. 334: 1 = cuairt. 2. *Jur.*: Circuit, and *cuairt*, p. 334: 1. Circuit; round, course 2. Visit 3. Occasion, time.

⁹⁹¹ *DIL*, *blat*, Column 115, ll. 81 ff.

⁹⁹² Rawl. B 502, f. 31^v b.



6.2.2 Additional consonant in the *Rinn*-word

The other 34 examples consist of pairs in which the *Rinn*-word contains an additional consonant in the cluster.

6.2.2.1 +L

sluagdaib	ilbuadaib	aib-aib	715-716, 179	cd	3
túargaib	mōrslúagaib	aib-aib	5581-5582, 1396	ab	87
mainbthech	iltairthech	ech-ech	4701-4702, 1176	ab	63
dalbda	aurlabra	albda-abra	4809-4810, 1203	ab	66
gelbda	tigerna	elbda-erna	3187-3188, 797	cd	28
glanbda	glēāmra	anbda-amra	69-70, 18	ab	1
garbdai	barbardai	arbdai-ardai	5015-5016, 1254	cd	72
rīgda	mīgnīma	ígda-íma	7815-7816, 1954	cd	151
tailce	drumslaite	ailce-aite	4271-4272, 1068	cd	51
cobsaid	coemchossaib	aid-aib	1593-1594, 399	ab	11
cota-coīmsed	prīmthoisech	ed-ech	5387-5388, 1347	cd	82
dífumsaig	do-rodíúsaig	aig-aig	6935-6936, 1734	cd	123
Mars	lánmas	ars-as	103-104, 26	cd	1
Pers	comaithches	ers-es	5247-5248, 1312	cd	77
Pers	rígthess	ers-ess	7249-7250, 1813	ab	135
bārc	Isāc	ārc-ác	2819-2820, 705	cd	26
bārc	Isaac	ārc-ác	3865-3866, 967	ab	40
āirc	oenāitt	āirc-áitt	5157-5158, 1290	ab	75
aircc	drum[š]laitt	aircc-aitt	2453-2454, 614	ab	15

áircc	oenāitt	áircc-áitt	2609-2610, 653	ab	20
pairt	ardaitt	airt-aitt	177-178, 45	ab	1

Twenty-one times the additional consonant is a *lenis* voiced continuant, both in intervocalic and word-final position. There are four examples concerning intervocalic consonants that contain three *lenis* voiced continuants that are balanced by two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn* (*dalbda:aurlabra*, ll. 4809–4810; *gelbda:tigerna*, ll. 3187–3188; *glanbda:géamra*, ll. 69–70; *garbdai:barbardai*, Canto 72, ll. 5015-5016). Because only two consonants of each cluster are counted for the rhyme, these pairs are regular.⁹⁹³ It should be noted that Rawlinson B 502 has *graddai* in line 5015 in the *Rinn*-position which could be taken as the genitive plural of the *u*-stem *grád* ‘love, affection’. Greene remarks that the ‘emendation [was] suggested by Bergin’⁹⁹⁴ and he gives four references for where the word *garbdai* is found in the *Saltair*. However, the word as it stands in Rawlinson, apart from also providing a valid rhyme, also suits the context: *ní gebat frit gnúis gráddai* ‘they will not resist your face of affections’.

There are three pairs that contain two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn* that are balanced by a single *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*sluagdaib:ilbuadaib*, ll. 715–716; *túargaib:mórslúagaib*, ll. 5581–5582; *rígda:mígníma*, ll. 7815–7816).⁹⁹⁵

There is one pair which contains two *lenis* voiced continuants plus a voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* which is combined with one *lenis* voiced plus voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* (*mainbthech:iltairthech*, ll. 4701–4702).

The following pair is an example of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop rhyming with a single voiceless stop (*tailce:drumslaite*, ll. 4271–4272).

In three pairs a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn* is combined with a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn* (*cobsaid:coemchossaib*, ll. 1593–1594; *cota-coímsed:prímthóisech*, ll. 5387–5388; *díumsaig:do-rodíusaig*, ll. 6935–6936).

There are three pairs that contain a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn*-word which is combined with a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn* (*Mars:lánmas*, ll. 103–104; *Pers:comaithches*, ll. 5247–5248; *Pers:rígthess*, ll. 7249–7250). All the *Rinn*-words are non-native names and in Irish the combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant does not exist in word-final position.

The final six pairs combine a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word with a single voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*.

⁹⁹³ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

⁹⁹⁴ See l. 5015, FN 1.

⁹⁹⁵ See above, p. 315 for a comment on the consonantal cluster in *rígda*.

6.2.2.2 +Θ

smacht	rígmacc	acht-ac	3133-3134, 784	ab	27
tlacht	oenmacc	acht-acc	2495-2496, 624	cd	16
tlacht	tochomrac[h[t]	acht-ach[t]	1353-1354, 339	ab	9
cacht	tochomrac[ht]	acht-ac[ht]	4569-4570, 1143	ab	56
im-rächt	Isaac	ächt-ac	2913-2914, 729	ab	26
im-rächt	Issác	ächt-ác	2825-2826, 707	ab	26
im-rächt	Issác	ächt-ác	2847-2848, 712	cd	26
trächt	Barác	ächt-ác	5295-5296, 1324	cd	79
trächt	Issác	ächt-ác	2855-2856, 714	cd	26

There are nine *Rinn*-words that contain an additional voiceless continuant in the final rhyming syllable. It should be noted that Greene and Kelly read *tochomracht* (l. 1354 and l. 4570) ‘weariness’ where Rawlinson B 502 has *tocomrac* ‘meeting’.⁹⁹⁶ Indeed, the emendation, and therefore their translation, is more suitable for this context.

6.2.2.3 +T

derscaig	imthesbaid	aig-aid	4423-4424, 1106	cd	51
atcha	cathracha	atcha-acha	4753-4754, 1189	ab	65

There are two instances where the *Rinn*-word contains a voiceless plosive that is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*. The pair *derscaig:imthesbaid* does not create an imperfect rhyme, because only two of the consonants are counted in each group.⁹⁹⁷ However, the other pair contains a *Rinn*-word that appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. Greene does not translate *atcha*, but suggests that it could be the plural of *attach* ‘refuge’ or should be read as *athcha* which he translates as ‘blasts’. As the pair stands, the rhyme is irregular, because the single voiceless stop is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*.

6.2.2.4 +D

ērgnai	combērlai	érgnai-érlai	2771-2772, 693	cd	24
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Another pair balances a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop plus *lenis* voiced continuant with two voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. There are only two or three other pairs that do not balance a stop (*túarcát:dublúachat*, Canto 5, ll. 903–904 and see 6.2.2.3 above).

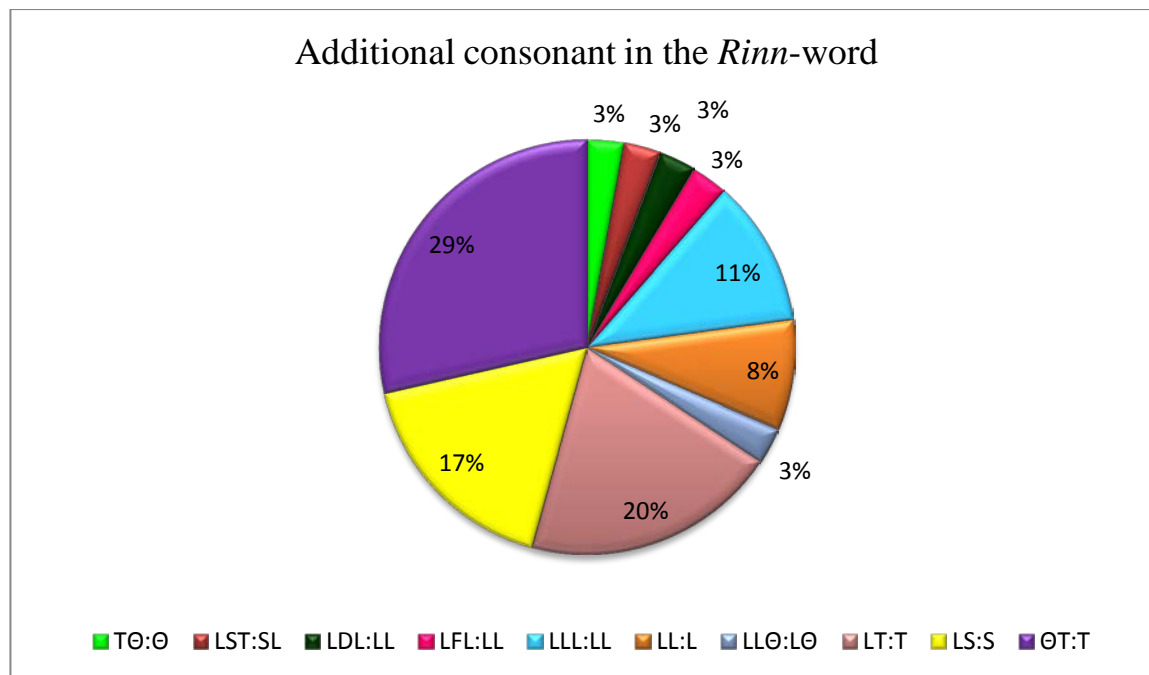
⁹⁹⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 22^f b and f. 30^v a.

⁹⁹⁷ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

6.2.2.5 +F

menmnach	comdelbach	ach-ach	5989-5990, 1498	ab	100
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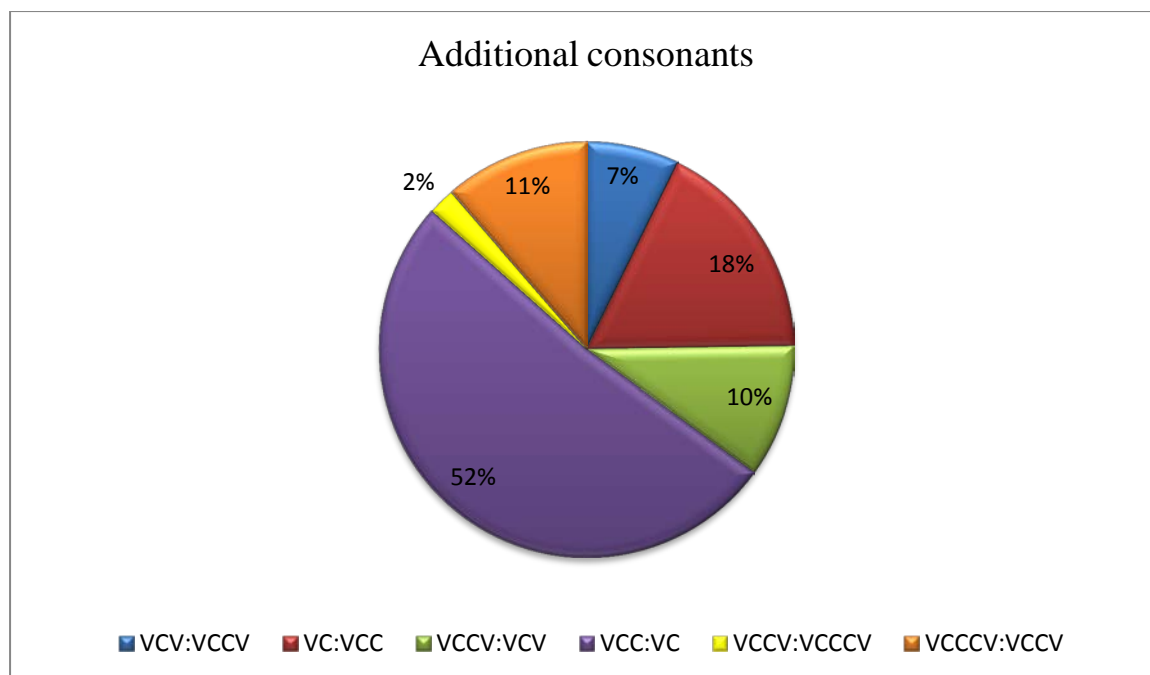
This pair contains an additional *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* that is not answered in the *Ardrinn*.



6.2.3 Overview of rhyming pairs where one element contains an additional consonant

There are altogether 98 pairs that include either a *Rinn*- or an *Ardrinn*-word with one additional consonant.⁹⁹⁸ The possible combinations include a single consonant in the *Rinn*-word being paired with a cluster of two consonants in the *Ardrinn*-word (1:2), a cluster of two consonants in the *Rinn*-word being rhymed with a single consonant in the *Ardrinn* (2:1), a cluster of three consonants in the *Rinn*-word being answered by two consonants in the *Ardrinn*-word (3:2) as well as a cluster of two consonants in the *Rinn*-word being rhymed with a cluster of three consonants in the *Ardrinn* (2:3). These clusters appear both in intervocalic as well as in word-final position. (V= any vowel; C=any consonant)

⁹⁹⁸ This number includes – additionally to the 57 pairs discussed in chapters 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 – those pairs that show a vocalic mismatch as well as the additional consonant in one of the rhyming words to give the full picture of this consonantal mismatch.



The combination 1:2 appears seven times in intervocalic position. In three of these examples a single *lenis* voiced continuant is paired with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*. In this case the consonants all belong to the same phonetic class.

In two instances a single voiced plosive is combined with a cluster of a voiced plosive plus *lenis* voiced continuant and in one case a voiceless plosive is combined with a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive.

Finally, an intervocalic voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn*-word is paired with a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn*-word.

The combination 1:2 can be found far more frequently in word final position. There are seventeen pairs that correspond to this pattern and all cases combine a single voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word with a consonant cluster in the *Ardrinn*-word. Fourteen of these pair the single consonant in the *Rinn* with a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless plosive in the *Ardrinn*-word and the remaining three pairs have a voiceless continuant followed by a voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*.

The reverse combination 2:1 can be found in 60 rhyming pairs. Ten of these concern intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters. In three of these ten pairs two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn*-word are rhymed with a single *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word. In three examples a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn*-word are paired with a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn*-word.

In two pairs a cluster of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a single voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*-word.

In one instance a voiceless continuant followed by a voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a single voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*.

The final intervocalic instance contains a *Rinn*-word the meaning of which has not been entirely discerned: *atcha* is paired with *cathracha* (Canto 65, ll. 4753–4754). As has been mentioned earlier⁹⁹⁹ Greene did not translate the word, but offered that it could be a form of the word for *athach* ‘breeze’ or a form of the word *attach* ‘refuge’. It is unlikely that the <ʰ> in the *Rinn*-word represents a stop, because all the examples that have been listed above and below show that it is always the stop that is balanced in the pairs rather than the continuant.¹⁰⁰⁰

The combination 2:1 is much more frequent in word-final position. There are 50 pairs that rhyme a cluster of two word-final consonants in the *Rinn*-word with a single consonant in the *Ardrinn*-word. There are six *Rinn*-words that contain a word-final *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless stop that is answered by a single voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. In three cases the same cluster in the *Rinn*-word is paired with a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*.

In three cases a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn*-word is paired with a single voiceless sibilant in the *Ardrinn*.

In seven instances a cluster of a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word is combined with a single voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. In 32 instances the same cluster in the *Rinn*-word is rhymed with a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-word.

The combination of 2:3 can be found twice within the rhyming pairs and in both instances it concerns intervocalic consonant clusters. In one case two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn* are combined with a *lenis* plus *fortis* plus *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word and the other example rhymes a *fortis* plus *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with three *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word. In both instances it is the *fortis* voiced continuant that is not balanced in the rhyme.¹⁰⁰¹

The reverse combination of 3:2 appears more frequently. There are eleven pairs where the *Rinn*-word contains a cluster of three consonants that is balanced by a cluster of two consonants in the *Ardrinn*-word. All clusters are intervocalic. Six pairs contain three *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Rinn*-word that are paired with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word.

⁹⁹⁹ See above, p. 351.

¹⁰⁰⁰ There are 71 rhyming pairs that combine a voiced or voiceless stop plus a continuant in one word with a single consonant in the other word. 100% of these pairs always balance the stop rather than the continuant.

¹⁰⁰¹ This is noteworthy since, according to O’Molloy, the ‘strong’ consonants (i.e. *fortis* voiced continuants) are ranking over the ‘weak’ consonants (i.e. the *lenis* voiced continuants): ‘Similiter duras excellere asperas, & *fortes* *præcelcere* [sic] *leuibus omniū, vtpote ignobilissimis, & debilissimis.*’ (O’Molloy (1677) p. 160). O’Molloy’s findings will be discussed in greater detail in the *Conclusion* below, pp. 400–01.

There are three instances where there are two *lenis* voiced plus one voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-word and twice the cluster is answered by a *lenis* voiced plus voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn* and once by two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word. Considering that the poets, according to O’Molloy, found the voiceless continuants to surpass the *lenis* voiced continuants in rank, the last case is unusual. Looking at all three examples the positioning of the voiceless continuant may have an influence on the rhyming combination: in the two cases where the voiceless continuant is answered, it is positioned at the end of each cluster in the *Rinn*-word, whereas the third case finds the voiceless continuant between the two *lenis* voiced continuants as a result of lenition due to the compound nature of the *Rinn*-word (*trebthlacht*, Canto 115, l. 6635).¹⁰⁰²

In one instance a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless sibilant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word is paired with a voiceless sibilant plus voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. Once again the *lenis* voiced continuant is not balanced, agreeing with the idea that the *lenis* voiced continuants are the weakest of all rhyming consonants.¹⁰⁰³

Finally, there is one *Rinn*-word that contains a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants that sandwich a *fortis* voiced continuant and this is rhymed with a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word. According to O’Molloy¹⁰⁰⁴ *fortis* voiced continuants outrank *lenis* voiced continuants and should be expected to be reflected in the *Ardrinn*-word if they are not in word-final position after a long vowel or diphthong. Considering the above instance of the voiceless continuant – if we follow Greene’s edition – the medial position of the stronger consonant may be the source of this unusual rhyming combination.

6.2.4 Θ:L

gaetha	lānaeba	aetha-aeba	45-46, 12	ab	1
achtach	lámachtad	ach-ad	2881-2882, 721	ab	26
glórach	cōrad	ach-ad	5885-5886, 1472	ab	98
golach	mōrmolad	ach-ad	5921-5922, 1481	ab	99
i-mmach	bethad	ach-ad	1423-1424, 356	cd	9
cathrach	imathlam	ach-am	895-896, 224	cd	5
cách	ollgrád	ách-ád	6333-6334, 1584	ab	105
cāch	coemrād	ách-ád	2749-2750, 688	ab	24

¹⁰⁰² It must be borne in mind, however, – as discussed above (see Chapter 5.5.1, pp. 100–04 and Chapter 6.0.1, p. 316–21) – that this compound is an artefact of Greene’s text rather than of Rawlinson B 502 (fol. 36^r a) where this mismatch does not occur at all.

¹⁰⁰³ However, that the plosive in the *Ardrinn*-word is voiced may reflect the desire of the poet to reflect the voice of the missing *lenis* continuant.

¹⁰⁰⁴ O’Molloy (1677) p. 160.

cách	dermár	ách-ár	6069-6070, 1518	ab	101
buidech	fuined	ech-ed	2633-2634, 659	ab	21
daigrech	comclaidbed	ech-ed	5887-5888, 1472	cd	98
tech	ēted	ech-ed	1475-1476, 369	cd	11
creich	latheib	eich-eib	6851-6852, 1713	cd	121
fích	dligthib	ích-ib	7053-7054, 1764	ab	127
crích	Dauíd	ích-íd	6247-6248, 1562	cd	103
crích	Dauíd	ích-íd	6593-6594, 1649	ab	113
crích	ardríg	ích-íg	1113-1114, 279	ab	8
crích	Ardríg	ích-íg	5727-5728, 1432	cd	91
fíach	bīad	íach-íad	3389-3390, 848	ab	30
cath	Aminadab	ath-ab	5459-5460, 1365	cd	83
rath	Aminadab	ath-ab	5461-5462, 1366	ab	83
bath	marbad	ath-ad	4059-4060, 1015	cd	46
brath	cruthad	ath-ad	2045-2046, 512	ab	12
brath	tarrasad	ath-ad	2571-2572, 643	cd	19
brath	do-génad	ath-ad	2923-2924, 731	cd	26
brath	dolbanrad	ath-ad	3063-3064, 766	cd	26
brath	ragad	ath-ad	3131-3132, 783	cd	27
brath	comlad	ath-ad	3207-3208, 802	cd	28
brath	comallad	ath-ad	3271-3272, 818	cd	29
brath	soerad	ath-ad	3625-3626, 907	ab	33
brath	for-congrad	ath-ad	4619-4620, 1155	cd	58
brath	brēcād	ath-ad	4679-4680, 1170	cd	62
brath	mallachad	ath-ad	4799-4800, 1200	cd	66
brath	comolnad	ath-ad	6359-6360, 1590	cd	106
brath	connertad	ath-ad	6449-6450, 1613	ab	108
cath	do-duād	ath-ad	1439-1440, 360	cd	9
cath	tuistigad	ath-ad	1779-1780, 445	cd	11
cath	tīssad	ath-ad	1815-1816, 454	cd	11
cath	sīlad	ath-ad	2015-2016, 504	cd	11
cath	marbad	ath-ad	3259-3260, 815	cd	29
[cath]	menman(d)rad	ath-ad	3267-3268, 817	cd	29
cath	druād	ath-ad	3857-3858, 965	ab	40
cath	mallachad	ath-ad	4783-4784, 1196	cd	66
cath	delbad	ath-ad	5081-5082, 1271	ab	74
cath	marbad	ath-ad	5291-5292, 1323	cd	79
cath	Mesbad	ath-ad	5495-5496, 1374	cd	84
cath	marbad	ath-ad	5807-5808, 1452	cd	95
cath	troethad	ath-ad	6807-6808, 1702	cd	119
cath	armrad	ath-ad	6957-6958, 1740	ab	124
cath	Gerad	ath-ad	7035-7036, 1759	cd	126

cath	tróethad	ath-ad	7085-7086, 1772	ab	129
cath	cōrad	ath-ad	7235-7236, 1809	cd	135
cath	clochad	ath-ad	7359-7360, 1840	cd	138
dath	bidbad	ath-ad	2689-2690, 673	ab	22
dath	lāmnad	ath-ad	3027-3028, 757	cd	26
rath	ingnad	ath-ad	325-326, 82	ab	1
rath	bád(a)[u]d	ath-ud	7325-7326, 1832	ab	138
rath	dechmad	ath-ad	343-344, 86	cd	2
rath	duilerad	ath-ad	619-620, 155	cd	2
rath	adrad	ath-ad	1117-1118, 280	ab	8
rath	bethad	ath-ad	1383-1384, 346	cd	9
rath	bethad	ath-ad	1431-1432, 358	cd	9
rath	trebad	ath-ad	1927-1928, 482	cd	11
rath	taiscērad	ath-ad	3115-3116, 779	cd	27
rath	adrad	ath-ad	4115-4116, 1029	cd	48
rath	sīrsellad	ath-ad	4163-4164, 1041	cd	50
rath	crochad	ath-ad	4171-4172, 1043	cd	50
rath	turcbad	ath-ad	4265-4266, 1067	ab	51
rath	bennachad	ath-ad	4803-4804, 1201	cd	66
rath	domnad	ath-ad	5425-5426, 1357	ab	83
rath	bífad	ath-ad	5811-5812, 1453	cd	95
rath	faicserad	ath-ad	6123-6124, 1531	cd	102
rath	mórchad	ath-ad	6491-6492, 1623	cd	109
rath	turcbad	ath-ad	7043-7044, 1761	cd	126
rath	ingnad	ath-ad	7253-7254, 1814	ab	136
srath	tarrasad	ath-ad	2551-2552, 638	cd	18
srath	dos-fucad	ath-ad	3227-3228, 807	cd	29
srath	ingenrad	ath-ad	3735-3736, 934	cd	36
srath	Mesbad	ath-ad	5479-5480, 1370	cd	84
cath	dīgal	ath-al	3943-3944, 986	cd	43
cath	dígal	ath-al	6555-6556, 1639	cd	112
brath	athar	ath-ar	3015-3016, 754	cd	26
brath	bātar	ath-ar	3787-3788, 947	cd	37
cath	brāthar	ath-ar	4469-4470, 1118	ab	53
cath	degathar	ath-ar	5987-5988, 1497	cd	100
cath	athar	ath-ar	6903-6904, 1726	cd	123
rath	Athar	ath-ar	603-604, 151	cd	2
rath	Athar	ath-ar	2241-2242, 561	ab	12
rath	lúagmar	ath-ar	3369-3370, 843	ab	29
rath	ilar	ath-ar	7289-7290, 1823	ab	137
flaith	flescaib	aith-aib	3851-3852, 963	cd	40
raith	cétaib	aith-aib	3955-3956, 989	cd	44

maith	brāthair	aith-air	2925-2926, 732	ab	26
blāth	soergrád	áth-ád	613-614, 154	ab	2
trāth	grád	áth-ád	1605-1606, 402	ab	11
āith	ollgráid	áith-áid	4325-4326, 1082	ab	51
bláith	comsnáid	áith-áid	961-962, 241	ab	6
blāith	saergráid	áith-áid	965-966, 242	ab	6
blāith	Achāib	áith-áid	7381-7382, 1846	ab	138
fáith	coemgráid	áith-áid	289-290, 73	ab	1
fáith	comráid	áith-áid	7109-7110, 1778	ab	131
fāith	glanbāig	áith-áig	5541-5542, 1386	ab	85
fāith	noebnāir	áith-áir	7133-7134, 1784	ab	131
breth	ráded	eth-ed	4979-4980, 1245	cd	70
breth	faided	eth-ed	6835-6836, 1709	cd	120
do-gneth	cned	eth-ed	1409-1410, 353	ab	9
leth	garbthened	eth-ed	901-902, 226	ab	5
leth	tened	eth-ed	4795-4796, 1199	cd	66
leth	teched	eth-ed	1397-1398, 350	ab	9
meth	rīched	eth-ed	345-346, 87	ab	2
meth	rīched	eth-ed	805-806, 202	ab	3
meth	Comded	eth-ed	1203-1204, 301	cd	8
meth	rīched	eth-ed	2699-2700, 675	cd	23
sreth	gaisced	eth-ed	4755-4756, 1189	cd	65
leth	armiger	eth-er	5625-5626, 1407	ab	88
leth	amser	eth-er	4971-4972, 1243	cd	70
cleith	dagdoīneib	eith-eib	4613-4614, 1154	ab	58
cleith	brat[h]reib	eith-eib	5809-5810, 1453	ab	95
gleith	caíreib	eith-eib	6299-6300, 1575	cd	105
leith	oentreib	eith-eib	4653-4654, 1164	ab	61
leith	comdíneib	eith-eib	5915-5916, 1479	cd	99
sreith	airbreib	eith-eib	1385-1386, 347	ab	9
sreith	inailt(e)ib	eith-ib	2983-2984, 746	cd	26
sreith	deichthreib	eith-eib	7047-7048, 1762	cd	127
leith	nemaicseid	eith-eid	329-330, 83	ab	1
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	4577-4578, 1145	ab	57
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	2683-2684, 671	cd	22
leith	teneid	eith-eid	3919-3920, 980	cd	42
leith	tathigeid	eith-eid	4419-4420, 1105	cd	51
leith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	5267-5268, 1317	cd	78
sreith	Coimdeid	eith-eid	5529-5530, 1383	ab	85
cleith	cáireig	eith-eig	5723-5724, 1431	cd	91
Sēth	comthrēn	éth-én	2389-2390, 598	ab	13
Sēth	comthrēn	éth-én	2405-2406, 602	ab	13

clith	suidigthib	ith-ib	83-84, 21	cd	1
clith	fichtib	ith-ib	6203-6204, 1551	cd	103
clith	Coimdid	ith-id	1645-1646, 412	ab	11
clith	Comdid	ith-id	6879-6880, 1720	cd	122
clith	aurchōtig	ith-ig	1313-1314, 329	ab	9
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	5711-5712, 1428	cd	91
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	5911-5912, 1478	cd	99
díth	Duíd	íth-íd	6023-6024, 1506	cd	100
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6151-6152, 1538	cd	102
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6335-6336, 1584	cd	105
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6357-6358, 1590	ab	106
díth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6641-6642, 1661	ab	115
dīth	Dauíd	íth-íd	5943-5944, 1486	cd	100
dīth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6599-6600, 1650	cd	113
dīth	Duíd	íth-íd	6993-6994, 1749	ab	124
fríth	Dauíd	íth-íd	7447-7448, 1862	cd	140
líth	Duíd	íth-íd	6189-6190, 1548	ab	103
líth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6763-6764, 1691	cd	117
níth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6041-6042, 1511	ab	100
scíth	Dauíd	íth-íd	6451-6452, 1613	cd	108
cloth	cathugod	oth-od	4915-4916, 1229	cd	69
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4055-4056, 1014	cd	46
cruth	díthrub	uth-ub	4671-4672, 1168	cd	61
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4825-4826, 1207	ab	67
cruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4987-4988, 1247	cd	71
ruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	6043-6044, 1511	cd	100
ruth	dīthrub	uth-ub	4051-4052, 1013	cd	46
bruth	loscud	uth-ud	879-880, 220	cd	5
bruth	anmnigud	uth-ud	1175-1176, 294	cd	8
cruth	ordugud	uth-ud	81-82, 21	ab	1
cruth	smachtugud	uth-ud	699-700, 175	cd	3
cruth	tuistigud	uth-ud	1847-1848, 462	cd	11
cruth	cumscugud	uth-ud	1863-1864, 466	cd	11
cruth	sídugud	uth-ud	1981-1982, 496	ab	11
cruth	deligud	uth-ud	2987-2988, 747	cd	26
cruth	oentagud	uth-ud	3209-3210, 803	ab	28
cruth	tuscurnud	uth-ud	3323-3324, 831	cd	29
cruth	fúaslucud	uth-ud	3355-3356, 839	cd	29
cruth	bádud	uth-ud	3695-3696, 924	cd	35
cruth	sārgud	uth-ud	3763-3764, 941	cd	37
cruth	suidiugud	uth-ud	4219-4220, 1055	cd	51
cruth	suidigud	uth-ud	4543-4544, 1136	cd	56

cruth	suidigud	uth-ud	4883-4883, 1221	cd	69
cruth	cairigud	uth-ud	5829-5830, 1458	ab	96
cruth	sārugud	uth-ud	6087-6088, 1522	cd	101
cruth	imthelgud	uth-ud	6351-6352, 1588	cd	106
cruth	orddugud	uth-ud	7103-7104, 1776	cd	130
cruth	saini[u]gud	uth-ud	7255-7256, 1814	cd	136
cruth	orddogud	uth-ud	7267-7268, 1817	cd	136
cruth	bádud	uth-ud	7393-7394, 1849	ab	138
guth	cennsagud	uth-ud	5985-5986, 1497	ab	100
guth	sárgud	uth-ud	6003-6004, 1501	cd	100
ruth	biüd	uth-ud	3107-3108, 777	cd	27
sruth	mesrugud	uth-ud	43-44, 11	cd	1
sruth	fothrucud	uth-ud	1597-1598, 400	ab	11
sruth	tīrmugud	uth-ud	1685-1686, 422	ab	11
sruth	certugud	uth-ud	5041-5042, 1261	ab	72
sruth	suidigud	uth-ud	5171-5172, 1293	cd	76
suth	ūrugud	uth-ud	7283-7284, 1821	cd	137
biuth	ciniud	iuth-iud	1877-1878, 470	ab	11
cruth	tuisti[u]g(u)[a]d	uth-ad	2423-2424, 606	cd	14
cruth	suidi[u]g(u)[a]d	uth-ad	4511-4512, 1128	cd	55
cruth	cathug(u)[a]d	uth-ad	5757-5758, 1440	ab	93
cruth	fírug(u)[a]d	uth-ad	5843-5844, 1461	cd	96
cruth	saegul	uth-ul	2387-2388, 597	cd	12
cruth	fíríarthur	uth-ur	4255-4256, 1064	cd	51
cruth	fírúachtur	uth-ur	4331-4332, 1083	cd	51
sruth	Lucifur	uth-ur	1705-1706, 427	ab	11
sruth	Lucifur	uth-ur	1883-1884, 471	cd	11
lūth	Saül	úth-úl	6253-6254, 1564	ab	104
sruith	airfortuig	uith-uig	391-392, 98	cd	2
sruith	díthruib	uith-uib	4739-4740, 1185	cd	64
sruith	dīthruib	uith-uib	7575-7576, 1894	cd	145
gaeth	slānaeb	aeth-aeb	53-54, 14	ab	1
tríath	Iosíab	íath-íab	7551-7552, 1888	cd	144
bíath	anríad	íath-íad	4817-4818, 1205	ab	67
tríath	Malalíal	íath-íal	4945-4946, 1237	ab	70
lúath	ollmúad	úath-úad	5485-5486, 1372	ab	84
tūath	srethslūag	úath-úag	2691-2692, 673	cd	22
lúath	oenúair	úath-úair	5411-5412, 1353	cd	83
túath	glanbúaid	úath-úaid	4705-4706, 1177	ab	63
túath	glanbúaid	úath-úaid	7429-7430, 1858	ab	139

The biggest group of orthographic mismatches concerns those pairs in which the *Rinn*-word contains a single voiceless continuant which is balanced by a single *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. First, all the pairs will be considered that only contain this single consonantal mismatch, not regarding those that also contain a vocalic orthographic mismatch. Altogether 216 pairs combine a voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* with a voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, one of which contains the consonantal mismatch in an intervocalic position (*gaetha:lánaeba*, Canto 1, ll. 45–46). The consonantal mismatch in the remaining 215 pairs can be found in the combination of the final, postvocalic consonants.

In the case of *rath:badud* (Canto 138, ll. 7325–7326) Rawlinson B 502 actually has *badad* for what has been silently emended to *bádud* in Greene’s edition.¹⁰⁰⁵ Greene uses the etymologically correct spelling of the masculine *o*-stem noun that appears here in the accusative singular case. This is possibly another instance of an eye-rhyme in Rawlinson B 502.

The *Rinn*-word in the pair *cath:menmandrad* (Canto 29, ll. 3267–3268) is an emendation made by Greene, because the *Rinn*-line in Rawlinson B 502 ends in *crimnach* and is a syllable short (*hicacht carcrach crimnach* ‘in constraint of captivity, complaining [?]’).¹⁰⁰⁶ Greene’s emendation is therefore metrically necessary.

In the pair *sreith:inailteib* (Canto 26, ll. 2983–2984) Greene silently emended the *Ardrinn*-word to *inailtib* despite Rawlinson’s vocalic eye-rhyme.¹⁰⁰⁷ His emendation produces the etymologically correct form, but does not influence the aural rhyme.

In four examples, Greene has silently emended ⟨u⟩ in the *Ardrinn*-word of the manuscript to ⟨a⟩.¹⁰⁰⁸ All four words are masculine *u*-stems and none of the grammatical cases demands an emendation.

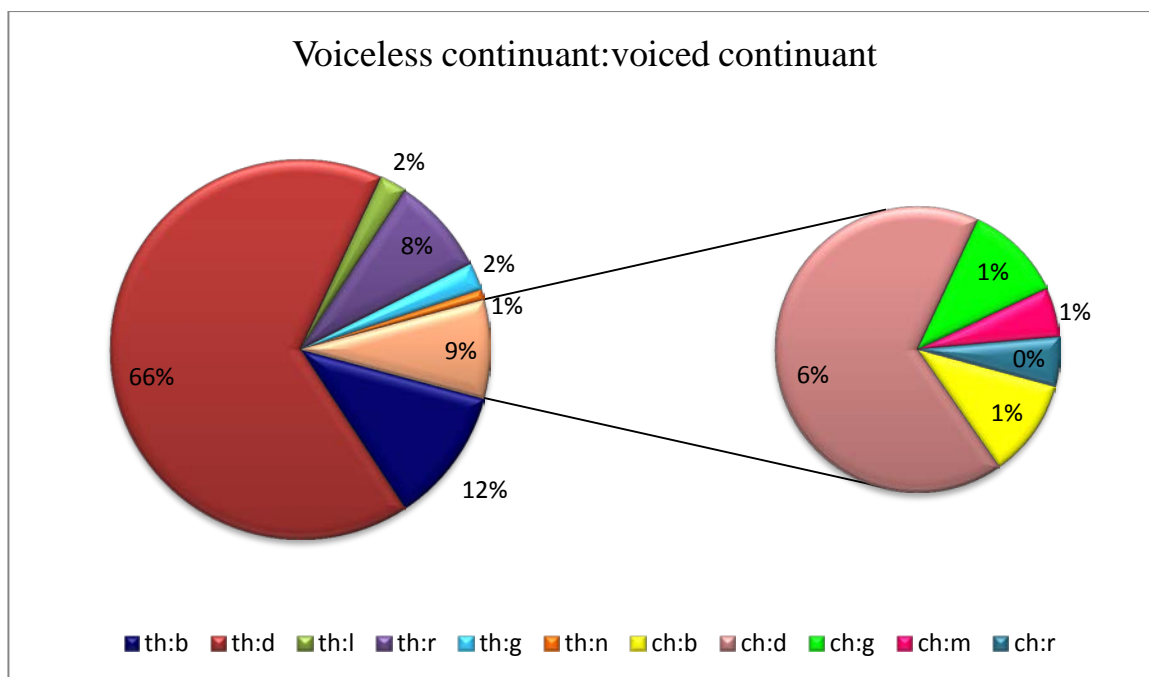
The following consonantal combinations within the group can be found:

¹⁰⁰⁵ Rawl. B 502, f. 38^r a.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Rawl. B 502, f. 27^r b.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^v a.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *tuistigud* (Rawl. B 502, f. 25^r a) in the nominative singular; *suidigud* (Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v a) in the dative singular; *cathugud* (Rawl. B 502, f. 33^v b) in the accusative singular; *fírugud* (Rawl. B 502, f. 34^r a) in the dative singular.



From this overview it becomes clear that the great majority (72%) of all voiceless continuants in the *Rinn*-words are balanced by the voiced dental fricative in the *Ardrinn*-words. Note also that the overwhelming majority of *Rinn*-words (91%) in this group ends in the voiceless dental fricative spelled <th>.

6.2.5 L:Θ

do-s-rogaib	rīgsrothaib	aib-aib	503-504, 126	cd	2
treib	oensreith	eib-eith	5321-5322, 1331	ab	80
cummad	certmullach	ad-ach	5767-5768, 1442	cd	93
lasad	forbhassach	ad-ach	7785-7786, 1947	ab	150
rad	Iosofath	ad-ath	2001-2002, 501	ab	11
gráid	prīm fáith	áid-áith	7131-7132, 1783	cd	131
snēid	scēith	éid-éith	3049-3050, 763	ab	26
mud	uachtaruch	ud-uch	2451-2452, 613	cd	15
críad	Abimelíach	íad-íach	6173-6174, 1544	ab	103
críad	Lamiach	íad-íach	2247-2248, 562	cd	12
míad	Lamíach	íad-íach	2489-2490, 623	ab	16
níad	Amalíach	íad-íach	4085-4086, 1022	ab	46
ríad	Amalíach	íad-íach	4077-4078, 1020	ab	46
míad	Iosíaph	íad-íaph	3691-3692, 923	cd	34
míad	Iafíath	íad-íath	2263-2264, 566	cd	12
ūad	fonnlūath	úad-úath	2549-2550, 638	ab	18
búaid	sairthúath	úaid-úath	4005-4006, 1002	ab	44
dúalaig	iltúathaib	aig-aib	2695-2696, 674	cd	23

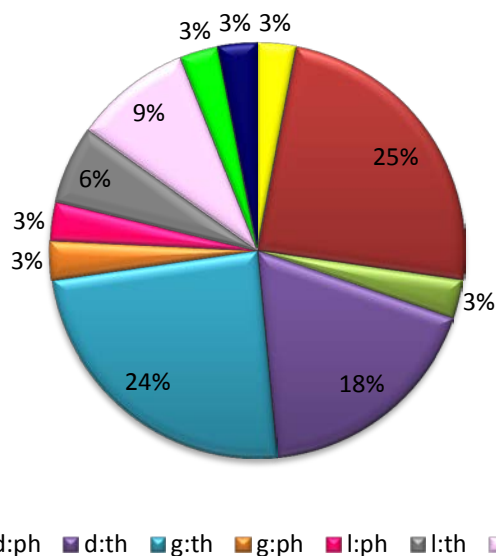
fēig	Iosēiph	éig-éiph	3083-3084, 771	cd	27
slōg ¹⁰⁰⁹	Sabaōth	óg-óth	581-582, 146	ab	2
slōg	Sabaōth	óg-óth	587-588, 147	cd	2
slōg	Sabaóth	óg-óth	711-712, 178	cd	3
truag	iltuath	uag-uath	2345-2346, 587	ab	12
slúa(i)g ¹⁰¹⁰	Sochua(i)th	úag-uath	3959-3960, 990	cd	44
úag	túath	úag-úath	5473-5474, 1369	ab	84
slúaig	síarthúaith	úaig-úaith	4009-4010, 1003	ab	44
nēl	Calēph	él-éph	4991-4992, 1248	cd	71
scēl	Iāfēth	él-éth	2665-2666, 667	ab	21
lén	Calēph	én-éph	4721-4722, 1181	ab	64
cēin	Iosēiph	éin-éiph	3161-3162, 791	ab	27
cían	Iosíaph	ían-íaph	3263-3264, 816	cd	29
fair	ardflaith	air-aith	3253-3254, 814	ab	29
réir	Iosēiph	éir-éiph	3665-3666, 917	ab	34

There are 33 pairs in which the *Rinn*-word contains a *lenis* voiced continuant that is balanced by a voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*. Three of those contain the consonantal variation in intervocalic position (*ada:Galgatha*, Canto 90, ll. 5675–5676; *do-s-rogaib:rígsrothaib*, Canto 2, ll. 503–504; *dúalaig:iltúathaib*, Canto 23, ll. 2695–2696). The remaining 30 consonantal variations can be found in postvocalic, final position. The following combinations within the group can be found:

¹⁰⁰⁹ For this and the two following pairs in the list it is noteworthy that the poet uses the archaic form of the masculine *o*-stem *slōg* which appears in the dative singular case in all three instances. At the same time, he uses the younger forms in those pairs where it suits the rhyme, e.g. *slúaig:síarthúaith* (Canto 44, ll. 4009–4010).

¹⁰¹⁰ Rawlinson B 502 has both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word ending in a palatal consonant. Greene's edition gives the reading as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502, but he emends both words to end in non-palatal consonants. The *Ardrinn*-word is in the dative singular case and assuming the poet adopted the feminine *ā*-stem paradigm for this biblical name it would indeed end in a palatal consonant. However, the *Rinn*-word has to end in a non-palatal consonant, because it is in the nominative case and the form of the preceding copula, *ba*, demands the singular rather than the plural form.

voiced continuant:voiceless continuant



The biggest groups here are the combinations of <d>:ch (21%), <d>:th (24%) and <g>:th (21%). This again shows a preference for the use of the dental fricative in the consonantal mismatches. However, in comparison to the group above, where the pairs rhyming <th> in the *Rinn* with <d> in the *Ardrinn* represent 66% of all combinations, no single rhyming combination represents the great majority in the present group. It should also be noted that over half of the pairs (19) contain a biblical personal or place name, always in the *Ardrinn*-position.

6.2.6 L:Θ in a cluster

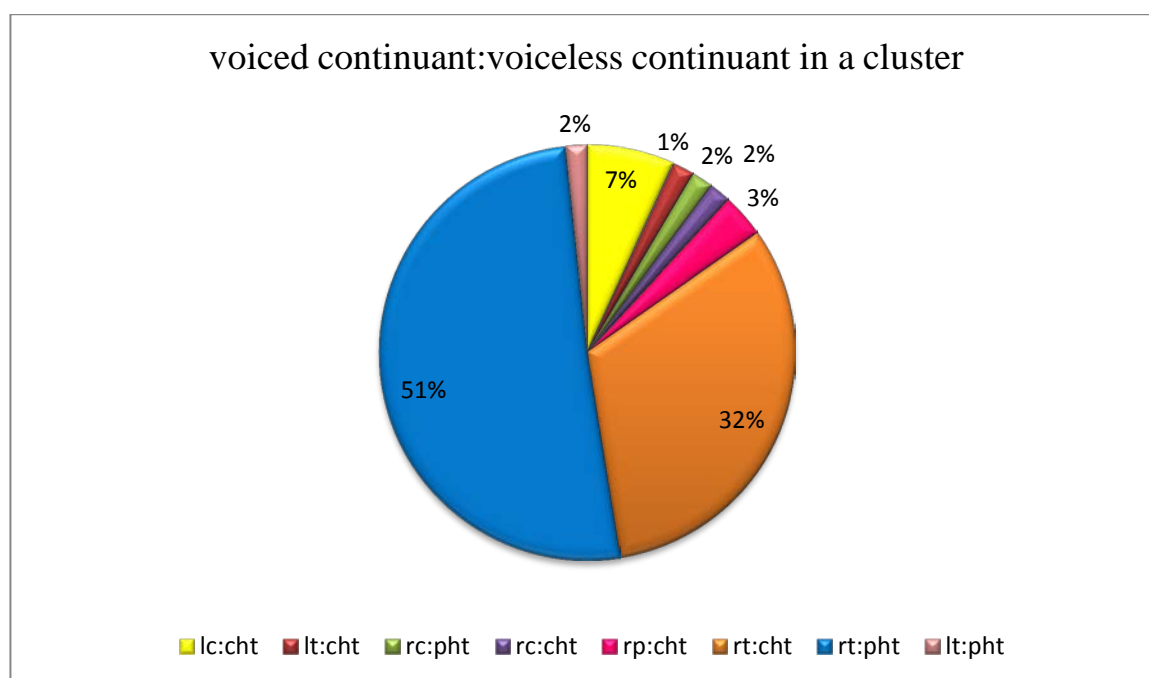
balcc	follomnacht	alcc-acht	6639-6640, 1660	cd	115
olcc	lomnocht	olcc-ocht	1335-1336, 334	cd	9
ulcc	intlucht	ulcc-ucht	1243-1244, 311	cd	8
olcc	intlucht	olcc-ocht	1327-1328, 332	cd	9
molt	glénocht	olt-ocht	7311-7312, 1828	cd	138
serc	Ēgept	erc-ept	3237-3238, 810	ab	29
ārcc	foenträcht	árcc-ácht	2601-2602, 651	ab	20
curp	coemc[h]ucht	urp-ucht	2101-2102, 526	ab	12
curp	intlucht	urp-ucht	1153-1154, 289	ab	8
bert	imthecht	ert-echt	1897-1898, 475	ab	11
cert	techtairrecht	ert-echt	689-690, 173	ab	3
cert	tarimthecht	ert-echt	863-864, 216	cd	4
cert	tarimthecht	ert-echt	1533-1534, 384	ab	11
cert	anrecht	ert-echt	1659-1660, 415	cd	11
cert	timthirecht	ert-echt	3421-3422, 856	ab	30
cert	timthirecht	ert-echt	4535-4536, 1134	cd	55

cert	coemthecht	ert-echt	4587-4588, 1147	cd	57
cert	timthirecht	ert-echt	6279-6280, 1570	cd	105
cert	tairimthecht	ert-echt	6497-6498, 1625	ab	109
cert	coemthecht	ert-echt	7713-7714, 1929	ab	149
mert	airchisecht	ert-echt	1673-1674, 419	ab	11
nert	sírimthecht	ert-echt	3747-3748, 937	cd	36
nert	coīmthecht	ert-echt	4137-4138, 1035	ab	49
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	2659-2660, 665	cd	21
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3143-3144, 786	cd	27
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	3149-3150, 788	ab	27
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3167-3168, 792	cd	28
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3225-3226, 807	ab	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3311-3312, 828	cd	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3371-3372, 843	cd	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3373-3374, 844	ab	29
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3391-3392, 848	cd	30
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3439-3440, 860	cd	31
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	3463-3464, 866	cd	31
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3523-3524, 881	cd	32
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3581-3582, 896	ab	33
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3643-3644, 911	cd	33
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3653-3654, 914	ab	33
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3673-3674, 919	ab	34
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3697-3698, 925	ab	35
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3723-3724, 931	cd	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3727-3728, 932	cd	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3729-3730, 933	ab	36
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3759-3760, 940	cd	37
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3795-3796, 949	cd	38
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3939-3940, 985	cd	43
cert	Ēgept	ert-ept	4013-4014, 1004	ab	44
cert	Aegept	ert-ept	4329-4330, 1083	ab	51
mert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3071-3072, 768	cd	26
mert	Ēgept	ert-ept	4053-4054, 1014	ab	46
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3847-3848, 962	cd	40
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	3961-3962, 991	ab	44
nert	Ēgept	ert-ept	5201-5210, 1301	ab	77
fort	toebnocht	ort-ocht	1539-1540, 385	cd	11
gelt ¹⁰¹¹	Ēgept	elt-ept	3441-3442, 861	ab	31

¹⁰¹¹ In this pair it should be noted that the *Rinn*-word *gelt* has been written above the word *gart*. The latter, if taken to mean ‘field’, would also suit metre, rhyme and context, but does not contain the vocalic eye-rhyme. The question arises whether it is the poet or the scribe who sought to improve the visual rhyme.

certa	tarmthechta	erta-echta	7195-7196, 1799	cd	134
gorta	lomnochta	orta-ochta	1419-1420, 355	cd	9
gorta	lomnochta	orta-ochta	3407-3408, 852	cd	30
gortai	bithbochtai	ortai-ochtai	951-952, 238	cd	5

There are 59 rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words contain a cluster of a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless stop that is balanced by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*. Four of these concern consonant clusters in intervocalic position (*certa:tarmthechta*, Canto 134, ll. 7195-7196; *gorta:lomnochta*, Canto 9, ll. 1419-1420 and Canto 30, ll. 3407-3408; *gortai:bithbochtai*, Canto 5, ll. 951-952). The remaining 55 pairs contain the rhyming consonant clusters in final, postvocalic position. The following combinations within the group can be found:



From the above graph it is obvious that the combinations of the voiced dental liquid plus voiceless dental stop with the voiceless labio or labio-dental fricative plus voiceless dental stop, such as in *cert:Égept* (Canto 28, ll. 3167–3168) and of the dental liquid plus voiceless dental stop with the velar voiceless fricative plus dental stop, such as in *cert:anrecht* (Canto 11, ll. 1659–1660), are the most common combinations within the group. It should be noted that the former combination always contains the name *Égept* in *Ardrinn*-position and that this particular postvocalic consonantal cluster is not native to the Irish language. Thus, the combination between a *Rinn*-word ending in <rt> and the name *Égept* appears 30 times which represents

almost half of the rhyming pairs in this group. This means that the rhyming combination would be a lot less common if it were counted as an item rather than an instance.

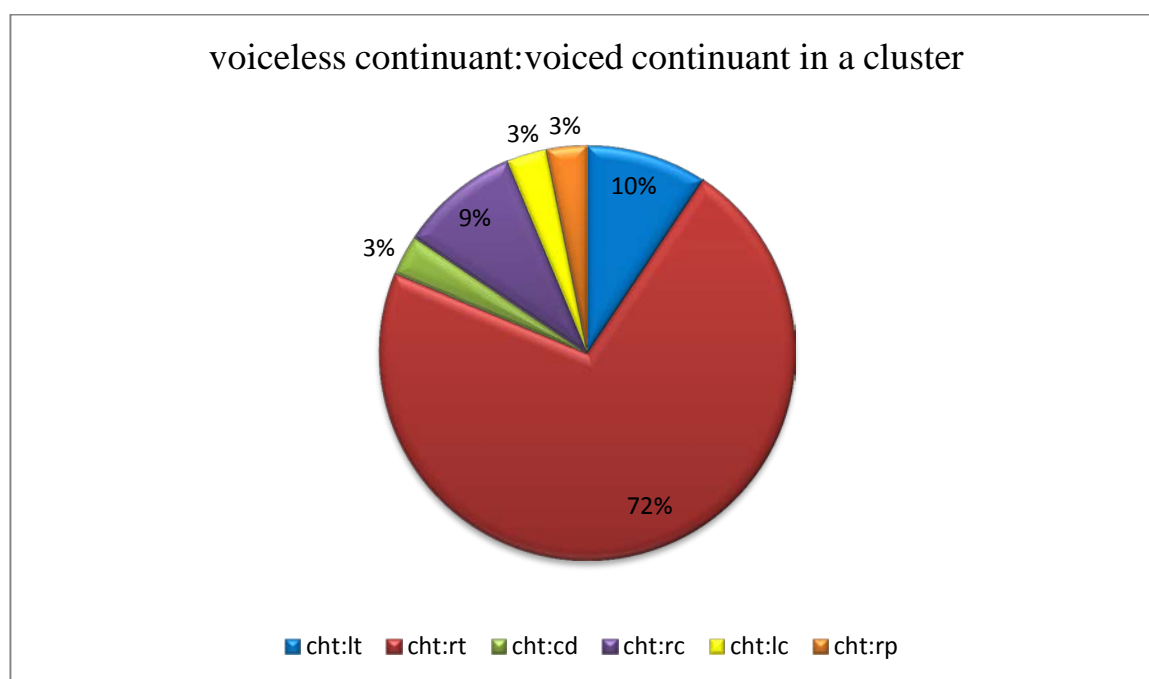
6.2.7 Ø:L in a cluster

smacht	athchomharc	acht-arc	407-408, 102	cd	2
cacht	irscart	acht-art	7695-7696, 1924	cd	148
cacht	ēcomnart	acht-art	6551-6552, 1638	cd	112
cacht	sacart	acht-art	6169-6170, 1543	ab	103
cacht	edpart	acht-art	4527-4528, 1132	cd	55
cacht	for-fócart	acht-art	4155-4156, 1039	cd	49
cacht	sacart	acht-art	7745-7746, 1937	ab	150
smacht	anart	acht-art	4885-4886, 1222	ab	69
smacht	idpart	acht-art	4599-4600, 1150	cd	58
smacht	prīmsacart	acht-art	4449-4450, 1113	ab	52
smacht	prīmsacart	acht-art	5383-5384, 1346	cd	82
smacht	sacart	acht-art	6197-6198, 1550	ab	103
tlacht	tarmart	acht-art	4743-4744, 1186	cd	64
tlacht	comnart	acht-art	15-16, 4	cd	1
im-rācht	brecbārc	ácht-árc	2641-2642, 661	ab	21
trācht	oenbārc	ácht-árc	2535-2536, 634	cd	17
recht	fīrchert	echt-ert	557-558, 140	ab	2
recht	amnert	echt-ert	1749-1750, 438	ab	11
recht	fīrchert	echt-ert	7097-7098, 1775	ab	130
nocht	mōrolcc	ocht-olcc	1347-1348, 337	cd	9
docht	fīrchorp	ocht-orp	1051-1052, 263	cd	6
locht	oenphort	ocht-ort	3905-3906, 977	ab	42
socht	longphort	ocht-ort	4083-4084, 1021	cd	46
sechtar	innertad	ar-ad	5031-5032, 1258	cd	72
an-echtair	comnertaid	air-aid	4285-4286, 1072	ab	51
cucht	prīmsacurt	ucht-urt	4517-4518, 1130	ab	55
cachta	comalta	achta-alta	5991-5992, 1498	cd	100
cachta	comalta	achta-alta	6099-6100, 1525	cd	101
bochtai	ūachtgortai	ochtai-ortai	1477-1478, 370	ab	11
tachtai	anartai	achtai-artai	5971-5972, 1493	cd	100
slechta	cilecda	echta-ecda	6871-6872, 1718	cd	122
achtach	imthaltach	ach-ach	7093-7094, 1774	ab	130
fechtach	cridserccach	ach-ach	6015-6016, 1504	cd	100

There are 33 pairs where the *Rinn*-words contain a voiceless continuant followed by a voiceless stop that is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant followed by a voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*-words. Nine of those concern intervocalic consonantal clusters (*cachta:comalta*, Canto 100, ll.

5991–5992 and Canto 101, ll. 6069–6070; *bochtai:úachtgortai*, Canto 11, ll. 1477–1478; *tachtai:anartai*, Canto 100, ll. 5971–5972; *sechtar:innertad*, Canto 72, ll. 5031–5032; *an-echtair:comnertaid*, Canto 51, ll. 4285–4286; *achtach:imthaltach*, Canto 130, ll. 7093–7094; *fechtach:crídserccach*, Canto 100, ll. 6015–6016; *slechts:cilecda*, Canto 122, ll. 6871–6872). Note that the last named pair also inverts the sequence of the consonants in the *Ardrinn*, i.e. the stop comes before the continuant, but that does not invalidate the rhyme.¹⁰¹²

The remaining 24 pairs contain their rhyming clusters in word-final, postvocalic position. The following combinations occur in this group:



The combination of the voiceless velar fricative followed by a voiceless plosive in the *Rinn* and the voiced liquid plus voiceless stop (e.g. *recht:amnert*, Canto 11, ll. 1749–1750) is by far the dominating one. In this group there is a greater variety of rhyming items, i.e. different words with the same consonantal cluster, but fewer instances, i.e. a smaller number of possible combinations than in the preceding group.

6.2.8 F:L

íallaib	clíaraib	aib-aib	1025-1026, 257	ab	6
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¹⁰¹² See Ó Cuív (1966) p. 101: ‘[...] the order in which the ‘prosodies’ occur is not relevant [...].’ This statement concerns consonantal clusters that do not contain the sibilant and Ó Cuív counts ‘voice^v, non-voice^h, occlusion with plosion P, continuance C, continuance with length (or emphasis) L, and sibilance S’ (p. 97) as prosodies. Thus, according to Ó Cuív, it only matters that the ‘prosodies’ of continuance, plosion and non-voice are present, regardless of their position. Cf. also below, p. 374, Chapter 6.2.10.

soillsib ¹⁰¹³	prīmdoirsib	ib-ib	533-534, 134	ab	2
dīnnīm ¹⁰¹⁴	ilmīlib	ím-ib	5035-5036, 1259	cd	72
anma	éramra	anma-amra	3585-3586, 897	ab	33
céill	Abéil	éill-éil	1947-1948, 487	cd	11
cíall	anríad	íall-íad	6231-6232, 1558	cd	103
nuall	lórmuad	uall-uad	609-610, 153	ab	2
núall	mōrslúag	úall-úag	4415-4416, 1104	cd	51
mám	ilgrād	ám-ád	4545-4546, 1137	ab	56
tám	comdāl	ám-ál	3493-3494, 874	ab	31
rēim	slānéim	éim-éim	1005-1006, 252	ab	6
úaim	bānbúaid	úaim-úaid	6117-6118, 1530	ab	102

This group combines a *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word. There are twelve pairs containing this mismatch and four of these have the consonants in intervocalic position (*íallaib:cláraib*, Canto 6, ll. 1025–1026; *soillsib:prīmdoirsib*, Canto 2, ll. 533–534; *dīnnīm:ilmīlib*, Canto 72, ll. 5035–5036; *anma:éramra*, Canto 33, ll. 3585–3586). Since the rhyming consonants occur in intervocalic position, they could be combined to give a valid rhyme.¹⁰¹⁵

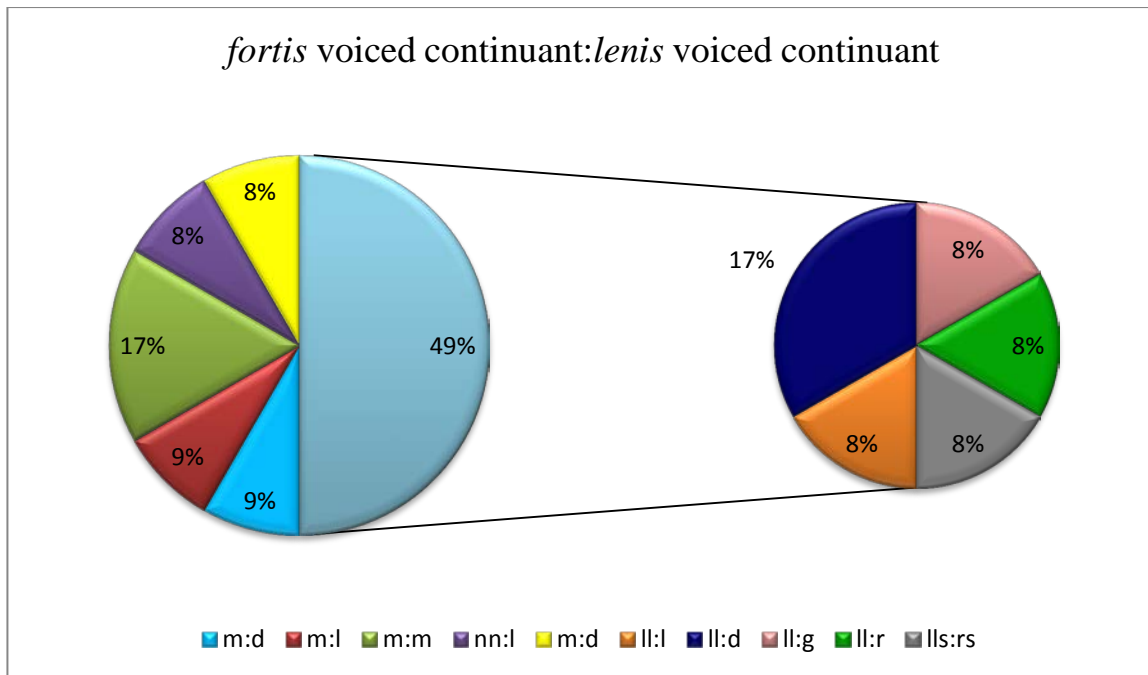
The remaining eight pairs contain the orthographic variation in word-final, postvocalic position. As Brian Ó Cuív found in his work *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants were allowed to give a valid rhyme in combination if the consonants in question were in final position after a long vowel or between vowels, which is applicable in all eight cases.¹⁰¹⁶ The following consonantal combinations occur:

¹⁰¹³ The *fortis* voiced continuant in *soillse* was pronounced as a *lenis* voiced continuant in Old Irish (cf. DIL, *soillse*, Column 328, l. 50). The spelling may in fact not reflect the phonological reality and hence the rhyme may be regular.

¹⁰¹⁴ Greene inserted both length marks, but the second macron is not necessary, because the vowel in the final syllable is short.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

¹⁰¹⁶ Loc. cit.



There is no particular combination that presents a clear majority. However, the most frequent consonant that is combined with a different one is the *fortis* dental liquid <ll>.

6.2.9 L:F

idnaib	glantimnaib	aib-aib	4611-4612, 1153	cd	58
amra	glanphalma	amra-alma	7685-7686, 1922	ab	148
toimsi	sīrsoillsi	oimsi-oillsi	169-170. 43	ab	1
grād	doermām	ád-ám	1775-1776, 444	cd	11
rān	commám	án-ám	4713-4714, 1179	ab	63
cían	comtriall	ían-iall	5745-5746, 1437	ab	92
snéid	glanchéil[l] ¹⁰¹⁷	éid-éill	6121-6122, 1531	ab	102
rēil	glanchēil[l] ¹⁰¹⁸	éil-éill	4105-4106, 1027	ab	47
ben	do-rúacel[l] ¹⁰¹⁹	en-ell	3173-3174, 794	ab	28
ben	lāndilgen[n] ¹⁰²⁰	en-enn	1547-1548, 387	cd	11
mairb	oenairm	airb-airm	5111-5112, 1278	cd	74
dalb	dagarm	alb-arm	6185-6186, 1547	ab	103

There are twelve pairs of the reverse combination, i.e. the *Rinn*-word contains a *lenis* voiced continuant that is answered by a *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. The rhyming consonants are found in intervocalic position in three of the pairs (*idnaib:glantimnaib*, Canto

¹⁰¹⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 34^v b.

¹⁰¹⁸ Rawl. B 502, f. 29^v a.

¹⁰¹⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 27^r a.

¹⁰²⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 22^v b; Greene added the additional <n> in square brackets.

58, ll. 4611–4612; *amra:glanphalma*, Canto 148, ll. 7658–7686; *toimsi:sírsoillsi*, Canto 1, ll. 169–170). The remaining pairs contain their rhyming consonants in postvocalic, word-final position.

In four cases Rawlinson B 502 has the *Ardrinn*-words ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant orthographically. In one instance, *ben* is rhymed with *lándilgen* (Canto 11, ll. 1547–1548). The *fortis* voiced continuant is etymologically confirmed for the *Ardrinn*-word, and the only examples where *dilgen* is spelled with only a single <n> are taken from *Saltair na Rann*.¹⁰²¹ The etymologically correct spelling appears at least twice in the *Saltair* (*dilgenn*, Canto 17, l. 2514 and *dilgenn*, Canto 92, l. 5737). Although the rhyme is orthographically valid, *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuant could only rhyme with one another in word-final position after a long vowel or a diphthong.¹⁰²²

In three cases Greene silently emended a single <l> to <ll>. In the two instances of *glanchéill* (l. 6122 and l. 4106) the rhyme is valid since the *fortis* voiced continuant is word-final after a long vowel and it can be assumed that the scribe in Rawlinson B 502 adjusted the orthography only for the eye-rhyme.

In the case of *do-rúacell* (Canto 28, l. 3174) the rhyme does not follow the rule of exception, because here the *fortis* voiced continuant comes after a short vowel. It should be noted that there is another instance of the verb *do-rúacell* spelled with a single <l> that is to be found in the *Book of Armagh*.¹⁰²³ It can be speculated that there was a tradition that spelled this verb with a single final <l> and this certainly satisfies the visual rhyme.

In two instances the *Rinn*-words end in a cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants (*mairb:oenairm*, Canto 74, ll. 5111–5112; *dalb:dagarm*, Canto 103, ll. 6185–6186) that are balanced by a *lenis* plus *fortis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-words. Since the rhyming vowel is short in both instances, the *lenis* and *fortis* voiced continuant should not give a valid rhyme.

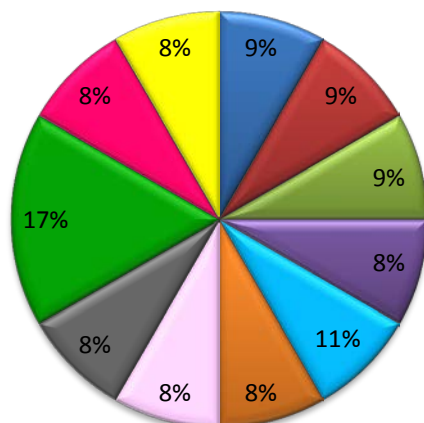
No clear pattern emerges from the following combinations that are found in this group:

¹⁰²¹ See DIL, *dilgend/dilgen*, Column 105, ll. 25–79, especially ll. 39–42; where *dilgenn* is spelled with final <nn> in the *Saltair*, it is not in rhyming position.

¹⁰²² Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96.

¹⁰²³ Stokes/Strachan (ed.) (1903), vol 2, p. 239, § 6: '*Dírrógel cummen 7 brethán ochter nachid conaseilbiterfid [...]*.'

lenis voiced continuant:*fortis* voiced continuant



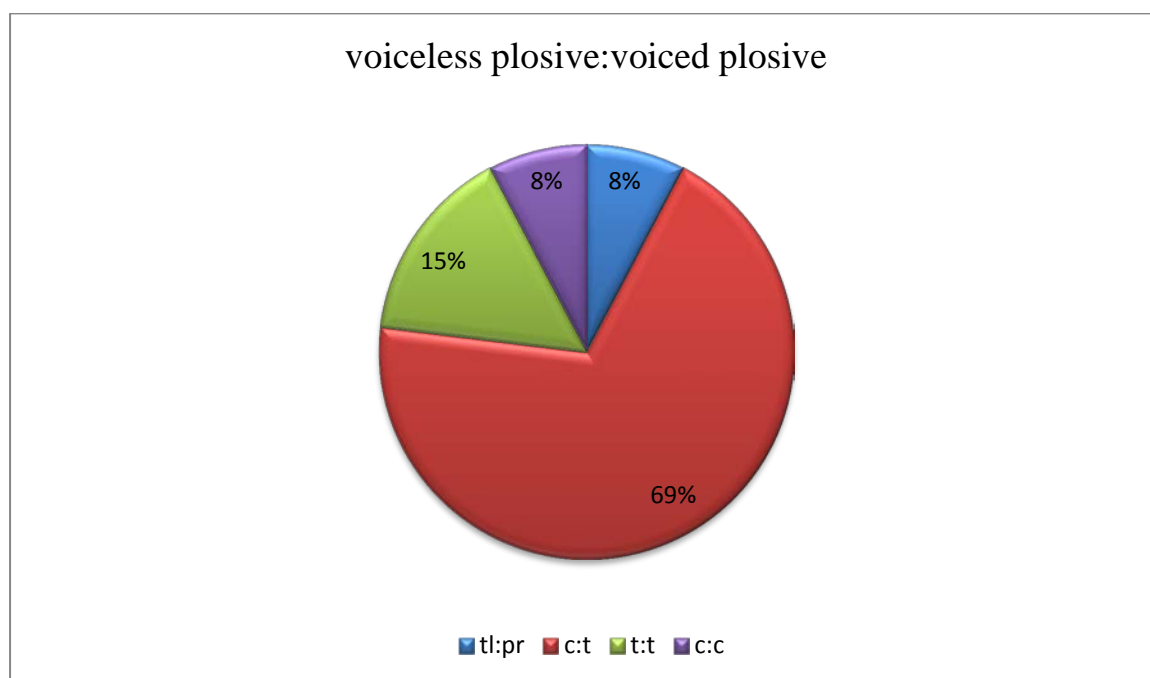
■ dn:mn ■ mr:lm ■ ms:lls ■ rb:rm ■ lb:rm ■ d:m ■ n:m ■ n:nn ■ n:ll ■ d:ll ■ l:ll

6.2.10 T:D

sotlaib	fīntopraib	aib-aib	499-500, 125	cd	2
ait[t]	coīcait	aitt-ait	753-754, 189	ab	3
glic	fichit	ic-it	5313-5314, 1329	ab	80
glicc	fichit	icc-it	2303-2304, 576	cd	12
glicc	fichit	icc-it	2343-2344, 586	cd	12
glicc	fichit	icc-it	4563-4564, 1141	cd	56
tricc	certfichit	icc-it	745-746, 187	ab	3
tricc	fichit	icc-it	5325-5326, 1332	ab	80
tricc	fichit	icc-it	6813-6814, 1704	ab	120
tricc	snigit	icc-it	523-524, 131	cd	2
tricc	saigit	icc-it	6159-6160, 1540	cd	102
glicc	cot-ránic	icc-ic	3751-3752, 938	cd	36
trait	argait	ait-ait	7711-7712, 1928	cd	149

Another group combines a voiceless plosive in the *Rinn*-words with a voiced plosive in the *Ardrinn*-words. There are thirteen pairs altogether, one of which features the orthographic variation in an intervocalic position (*sotlaib:fīntopraib*, Canto 2, ll. 499–500).

In the pair *aitt:coícait* (Canto 3, ll. 753–754) Greene has silently emended the *Ardrinn*-word to contain two instead of one final <t>. ¹⁰²⁴ The following combinations can be found within this group:



By looking at the above chart, it becomes clear that the velar voiceless stop <c> is rhymed with the voiced dental stop <t> in the majority of cases. It should also be noted that there are only four different *Rinn*-words and only a few more *Ardrinn*-words that are used to produce the combination of voiceless plosive with voiced plosive.

6.2.10.1 The case of *blat*

In connection to the combination of voiceless and voiced plosives one *Rinn*-word should be mentioned that is quite exceptional in that it is combined with *Ardrinn*-words ending either in a voiced or in a voiceless plosive: the word *blat* ¹⁰²⁵ ‘strength’ appears twenty-two times in the *Rinn*-position and five times it is rhymed with an *Ardrinn* ending in a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless plosive (*blat:comnart*, Canto 90, ll. 5685–5686; *blait:aurdairc*, Canto 79, ll. 5287–5288; *blait:prímsacairt*, Canto 37, ll. 3755–3756; *blait:úasalsacairt*, Canto 69, ll. 4901–4902; *blait:sacairt*, Canto 103, ll. 6211–6212). In fourteen instances the same *Rinn*-word is combined with a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-words (*blat:immformat*, Canto 2, ll. 555–

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v b; the *Rinn*-word is attested with both spellings, *ait* and *aitt*, see DIL, *ait*, Column 250, l. 71 and *aitt*, Column 278, l. 33.

¹⁰²⁵ Meyer (1906) lists this word also in his *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 226: ‘**blat** (blatt) n. *strength*. SR Index. gen. co mblad blait, LL. 28 b 3. acc. cen dían-blait, 183 a 40. dat. nímthic cara ar báig nó ar blait, 75 a 28. gen. pl. a rí na mblat is na mbreth. 16 b 1. Comp. don Banba blatt-bilig, 34 b 12.’

556; *blat:do-rósat*, Canto 52, ll. 4453–4454; *blat:tinólsat*, Canto 74, ll. 5119–5120; *blat:scarsat*, Canto 79, ll. 5311–5312; *blait:tarlaic*, Canto 135, ll. 7251–7252; *blait:tríchait*, Canto 3, ll. 747–748; *blait:brágait*, Canto 11, ll. 1599–1600; *blait:coícait*, Canto 12, ll. 2271–2272; *blait:oenchubait*, Canto 15, ll. 2455–2456; *blait:sechtmogait*, Canto 33, ll. 3655–3656; *blait:carait*, Canto 49, ll. 4143–4144; *blait:dergnámait*, Canto 106, ll. 6367–6368; *blait:marbait*, Canto 137, ll. 7279–7280; *blait:foídit*, Canto 66, ll. 4815–4816). Three times the *Rinn* is balanced by *Ardrinn*-words that end in a voiceless or a voiced stop (*blait:Affraic*, Canto 29, ll. 3243–3244; *blait:Eofrait*, Canto 21, ll. 2655–2656 and Canto 77, ll. 5251–5252). The phonetic value of the final consonant in the *Ardrinn*-words here is ambiguous, since the poet uses non-native names.

6.2.11 Reversed order of rhyming elements

sleхта	cilecda	echta-ecda	6871-6872, 1718	cd	122
trebthai	ilchethrai	ebthai-ethrai	4661-4662, 1166	ab	61

Finally, two instances of another mismatch should be mentioned in this chapter. The first pair has already been part of the discussion of Chapter 6.2.6 due to its consonantal mismatch of voiceless and voiced continuant.¹⁰²⁶ The second pair was mentioned as a regular rhyme in Chapter 5.42.¹⁰²⁷ These pairs are mentioned here again due to a mismatch for which they are the only two instances. Both pairs reverse the order of their intervocalic rhyming consonants, i.e. the first pair rhymes voiceless continuant+voiceless stop and voiceless stop+voiced continuant and the second combines voiced continuant+voiceless continuant with voiceless continuant+voiced continuant. Brian Ó Cuív remarks in his study of Classical Modern Irish rhyme that ‘the order in which the ‘prosodies’ occur is not relevant [...]’.¹⁰²⁸ According to Ó Cuív this only applies to consonantal groups excluding the sibilant. While this may be true for the Classical Modern Irish period, the poet of *Saltair na Rann* avoided this particular combination if the evidence of two out of 3912 pairs is observed and it can be concluded that it was at least a non-desireable combination in the rhyming pairs.

¹⁰²⁶ See above, pp. 367–8.

¹⁰²⁷ See above, pp. 292–4.

¹⁰²⁸ Ó Cuív (1966) p. 101. Apart from palatalization, his prosodies are voice, non-voice, occlusion with plosion, continuance, continuance with length, and sibilance (see p. 97).

6.3 Orthographic mismatches in consonantal and vocalic rhymes

The following instances contain rhyming pairs that contain a combination of both vocalic and consonantal rhyming mismatches or that contain more than a single orthographic mismatch in either one category, i.e. a mismatch can be found in more than one consonant-consonant or vowel-vowel combination. First, pairs with more than one consonantal mismatch will be looked at.

6.3.1 ØT:D

acht	sescat	acht-at	755-756, 189	cd	3
cacht	nōchat	acht-at	2335-2336, 584	cd	12
cacht	cethrachat	acht-at	4823-4824, 1206	cd	67
smacht	format	acht-at	3127-3128, 782	cd	27
smacht	sechtmogat	acht-at	2775-2776, 694	cd	24
smacht	oenchubat	acht-at	2471-2472, 618	cd	15
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	1591-1592, 398	cd	11
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	751-752, 188	cd	3
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	513-514, 129	ab	2
smacht	tiprat	acht-at	3739-3740, 935	cd	36
smacht	argat	acht-at	3387-3388, 847	cd	30
smacht	argat	acht-at	3403-3404, 851	cd	30
smacht	cethrachat	acht-at	115-116, 29	cd	1
smacht	admat	acht-at	7265-7266, 1817	ab	136
smacht	sechtmogat	acht-at	7595-7596, 1899	cd	145
tlacht	trīchat	acht-at	6699-6700, 1675	cd	117
recht	de[e]c	echt-ec	2339-2340, 585	cd	12
dlecht	deëc	echt-ec	211-212, 53	cd	1
lecht	deëc	echt-ec	4199-4200, 1050	cd	51
slecht	de[ë]c	echt-ec	207-208, 52	cd	1
recht	fichet	echt-et	789-790, 198	ab	3
locht	arggot	ocht-ot	4245-4246, 1062	ab	51
cacht	gabsat	acht-at	4695-4696, 1174	cd	62
cacht	dergnámat	acht-at	4035-4036, 1009	cd	45
smacht	do-rōsat	acht-at	2393-2394, 599	ab	13
smacht	tucsat	acht-at	5779-5780, 1445	cd	93
smacht	mallachsatsat	acht-at	7155-7156, 1789	cd	132
tlacht	tinōlsat	acht-at	5747-5748, 1437	cd	92
slecht	lëicset	echt-et	4027-4028, 1007	cd	44
techt	scaīlset	echt-et	7767-7768, 1942	cd	150

There are 30 rhyming pairs in which the *Rinn*-words contain a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop and they are balanced by a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*. The mismatch is always found in postvocalic, word-final position. The only two combinations that occur are the voiceless velar continuant plus dental voiceless stop rhyming with the single dental voiced stop (<cht>:<t>×26=86.21%) and the voiceless velar continuant plus voiceless dental stop being balanced by the single voiced velar stop (<cht>:<c>×4=13.79%). As mentioned above Murphy defined the combination of a voiced and voiceless stop as an unusual exception that ‘would have been probably recognised by the poets themselves as giving imperfect rhyme’.¹⁰²⁹ However, the frequent occurrence of a voiced-voiceless combination indicates that this was the rule rather than the exception. It should be noted that in all these pairs two mismatches occur, i.e. the combination of a voiced and a voiceless stop plus the lack of continuant in the *Ardrinn*-words.

6.3.2 LT:D

cert	deäc	ert-ac	3155-3156, 789	cd	27
fort	catot	ort-ot	1205-1206, 302	ab	8
cert	deëc	ert-ec	51-52, 13	cd	1
cert	deëc	ert-ec	3011-3012, 753	cd	26
cert	fotlethet	ert-et	31-32, 8	cd	1
cert	fichet	ert-et	585-586, 147	ab	2
cert	lethet	ert-et	2639-2640, 660	cd	21
cert	lethet	ert-et	4215-4216, 1054	cd	51
cert	lethet	ert-et	4307-4308, 1077	cd	51
cert	fichet	ert-et	4855-4856, 1214	cd	68
cert	foraithmet	ert-et	5739-5740, 1435	cd	92
mert	comarlëicset	ert-et	2779-2780, 695	cd	24
beirt	ambreit	eirt-eit	5371-5372, 1343	cd	82
alt	sescat	alt-at	2331-2332, 583	cd	12
alt	sescat	alt-at	4231-4232, 1058	cd	51

There are fifteen pairs that combine a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word with a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. In all pairs the continuant is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*-word and voice and voicelessness are combined in the pairing of final stops. Of all pairs in this group 86.67% combine the liquid <r> plus voiceless dental stop <t> with a single dental voiced stop <ɾ> and 13.33% rhyme the liquid <l> plus voiceless dental stop <t> with the single voiced dental stop <ɾ>.

¹⁰²⁹ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

6.3.3 Intervocalic consonantal mismatches

túarcat	dublúachat	at-at	903-904, 226	cd	5
píantach	mōrhíachtad	ach-ach	915-916, 229	cd	5
blíadna	Caspíanda	adna-anda	4011-4012, 1003	cd	44
daingnib	éradblib	ib-ib	3395-3396, 849	cd	30
chlithe	athirge	ithe-irge	451-452, 113	cd	2

There are five pairs that show different consonantal mismatches in intervocalic position. The first pair combines a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop in the *Rinn*-word with a single voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word, while the vowels and word-final consonant are identical (*túarcat:dublúachat*). Thus, this pair is another example of a voiced-voiceless combination and additionally to this mismatch the stop is not balanced. It should be noted that this is one of only two instances in the corpus presented here where a stop is not balanced.¹⁰³⁰

The following pair (*píantach:mórhíachtad*, Canto 5, ll. 915-916) combines a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop with a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop in intervocalic position and additionally to that it also rhymes a voiceless continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant in word-final position. Hence, both mismatches concern the combination of voiced-voiceless consonants.

The pair *blíadna:Caspíanda* also reflects two consonantal mismatches. It combines two *lenis* voiced continuants with a single *fortis* voiced continuant and thus one of the *lenis* voiced continuants is not balanced, whereas the other is mismatched with a *fortis* voiced continuant. Since the consonants are in intervocalic position this combination still gives a valid rhyme.

In the pair *daingnib:éradblib* the palatal *fortis* plus *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Rinn* are balanced by three palatal *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*.¹⁰³¹ As mentioned earlier, only two consonants of each group are counted for the rhyme¹⁰³² and intervocalic *fortis* voiced continuants could be rhymed with *lenis* voiced continuants.

Finally, the pair *clithe:athirge* rhymes a single voiceless continuant with two *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word and thus the voiced-voiceless combination is implemented and one of the *lenis* voiced continuants in the *Ardrinn*-word is not balanced.

¹⁰³⁰ See *érgnai:combérlai* (Canto 24, ll. 2771–2772).

¹⁰³¹ The palatal marker is not contained in the *Ardrinn*-word, but this does not affect the quality of the cluster and hence the rhyme is valid.

¹⁰³² Ó Cuív (1966) p. 99.

6.3.4 a:e plus ʰ:L

rath	claideb	ath-eb	5935-5936, 1484	cd	100
rath	claideb	ath-eb	6165-6166, 1542	ab	103
bath	fuined	ath-ed	2431-2432, 608	cd	14
cad	ordaiged	ad-ed	1111-1112, 278	cd	8
cath	rīched	ath-ed	655-656, 164	cd	2
cath	tuistiged	ath-ed	1145-1146, 287	ab	8
cath	trēnmīled	ath-ed	4689-4690, 1173	ab	62
cath	catheirred	ath-ed	6511-6512, 1628	cd	109
cath	Coimded	ath-ed	7495-7496, 1874	cd	142
dath	ordaiged	ath-ed	1503-1504, 376	cd	11
rath	tened	ath-ed	7391-7392, 1848	cd	138
srath	rīched	ath-ed	135-136, 34	cd	1
srath	ro-chluined	ath-ed	4539-4540, 1135	cd	55
ada	nemnecha	ada-echa	4069-4070, 1018	ab	46

One group combines the mismatch of rhyming <a> in the *Rinn* with <e> in the *Ardrinn* and of combining a voiceless continuant with a *lenis* voiced continuant. There are fourteen pairs in total, one of which contains a *Rinn*- and an *Ardrinn*-word that end in a vowel (*ada:nemnecha*, Canto 46, ll. 4069–4070). The dental voiced fricative in the *Rinn* is balanced by a voiceless velar fricative in the *Ardrinn*.

The remaining thirteen rhyming words end in a consonant. In eleven cases the consonantal combination is between the voiceless dental fricative and the voiced dental fricative.¹⁰³³ The remaining two pairs combine a voiceless dental fricative in the *Rinn* with a voiced labial fricative in the *Ardrinn* (*rath:claideb*, Canto 100, ll. 5935–5936 and Canto 103, ll. 6165–6166).

6.3.4.1 a:e plus additional L/ʰ

alt	fichet	alt-et	707-708, 177	cd	3
datta	dīnerta	atta-erta	2831-2832, 708	cd	26
lat	Ēgept	at-ept	3597-3598, 900	ab	33

There are three other consonantal variations additionally to the combination of <a> with <e>: in one case, a final *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by a single voiced stop and in the second case a single intervocalic voiceless stop is balanced by an intervocalic *lenis*

¹⁰³³ In the pair *cad:ordaiged* (Canto 8, ll. 1111–1112) the final <d> in the *Rinn*-word represents a voiceless continuant. See Greene/Kelly (eds) (1976) p. 29, FN 4: ‘= *cen chath*’ and DIL, *cad*, Column 7, l. 12.

voiced continuant plus voiceless stop. In the first instance, the *lenis* voiced continuant is not balanced in the *Ardrinn* and the voiceless dental stop is balanced by its voiced equivalent. As has been seen above the combination of voiced and voiceless stops was a frequent combination.¹⁰³⁴

The second pair contains the identical voiceless stop in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-word. The only other consonantal variation is that the *Ardrinn*-word contains an additional voiced continuant that is not balanced in the *Rinn*-word.

The third pair combines a single voiceless stop with a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop additionally to the vocalic mismatch.

6.3.5 a:i plus additional consonant

garta	Moabdita	arta-ita	5695-5696, 1424	cd	91
cachta	Ammōnita	achta-ita	6739-6740, 1685	cd	117

There are two cases where <a> in the *Rinn* is balanced by <i> in the *Ardrinn* and additionally to that the *Rinn*-words contain a further consonant: *garta* is rhymed with *Moabdita* and *cachta* is paired with *Ammōnita*. In both cases, the *Rinn*-words contain an additional continuant, in one case voiced, in the other voiceless, but the voiceless, non-palatal dental stop is identical in both *Rinn*- and *Ardrinn*-words. The quality of the intervocalic consonants is identical in both pairs.¹⁰³⁵

6.3.5.1 ai:i plus T:D

trait	táinic	ait-ic	6995-6996, 1749	cd	124
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There is one pair where <a> in the *Rinn*-word followed by a palatal consonant is balanced by <i> in the *Ardrinn*-word. The palatal quality of the final consonants agrees, but the voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*. The combination of voiced and voiceless stops or continuants occurs frequently and must be regarded as the rule rather than an exception.

6.3.6 a:o plus consonantal mismatch

calcad	airfortach	ad-ach	395-396, 99	cd	2
badbda	Sodomda	adba-omda	7307-7308, 1827	cd	138

¹⁰³⁴ See, for example, above, pp. 231–3, Chapter 5.30.3.

¹⁰³⁵ For the pair *garta:Moabdita* see above, p. 286 and for the pair *cachta:Ammōnita* see above, p. 279.

ainbt[h]ech	ērtort[h]ech	ech-ech	4681-4682, 1171	ab	62
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In three pairs the stressed vowel <a> in the *Rinn* is balanced by unstressed <o> in the *Ardrinn*. Additionally to the orthographic variation of the vowels, exceptional combinations of consonants can be found in all pairs.

The first pair combines a final voiced continuant in the *Rinn*-word with a final voiceless continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word and this was, as has been seen above, a frequent occurrence.¹⁰³⁶ It should be noted that the *Ardrinn*-word in Rawlinson B 502 contains a suspension, i.e. is spelled *airftach* with a suspension stroke over *ft*.¹⁰³⁷ Since the regular form of the word is indeed *fortach* no speculation concerning an alternative is necessary.

The second pair's *Rinn*-word contains an additional *lenis* voiced continuant that is not reflected in the *Ardrinn*, but only two consonants of each group were counted for the rhyme. It can be assumed that the <m> in *Sodomda* was pronounced as a *lenis* voiced continuant since it is rhymed with *amra* in Canto 25 (ll. 2811–2812). The pronunciation of non-native names seems to have been adjusted to the rhyming context.

The last pair combines a palatal cluster of two *lenis* voiced continuants plus voiceless continuant with a palatal cluster of a single voiced continuant plus voiceless continuant.¹⁰³⁸ The final rhyming consonants match and only two consonants of each cluster are counted for the rhyme.

6.3.7 a:u plus consonantal mismatch

catha	dīthru ^{ba}	atha-uba	6343-6344, 1586	cd	106
glassa	fābullsa	assa-ullsa	6039-6040, 1510	cd	100

There are two instances where a stressed <a> in the *Rinn*-word is paired with an unstressed <u> in the *Ardrinn* and added to that are exceptional combinations regarding the consonants. Thus *catha* is rhymed with *dīthru^{ba}* where, apart from the orthographic variation of the rhyming vowels, the dental voiceless fricative in the *Rinn* is balanced by the labial voiced fricative in the *Ardrinn*. This, as has been noted earlier, was a recurrent rhyming combination.¹⁰³⁹

In the second instance, *glassa* is balanced by *fābullsa* where the single voiceless sibilant in the *Rinn* is balanced by a *fortis* voiced continuant plus sibilant in the *Ardrinn*. Although the

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. also above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

¹⁰³⁷ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r a.

¹⁰³⁸ The palatal marker in the *Ardrinn*-word is not present, but that does not affect the validity of the rhyme.

¹⁰³⁹ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

sibilant is present in both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn*, the *fortis* voiced continuant is not balanced. However, the rhyme seems to have been permissible since there are more examples where the sibilant is present in both *Rinn* and *Ardrinn* and an additional continuant remains unanswered. Thus, *cobsaid* is rhymed with *coemchossaib* (Canto 11, ll. 1593–1594), *cota-coímsed* with *prímthoisech* (Canto 82, ll. 5387–5388) and *dúmsaig* with *do-rodíúsaig* (Canto 123, ll. 6935–6936). In all cases it is the *Rinn*-word that contains an additional *lenis* or *fortis* voiced continuant that is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*. The rhyming vowels, however, form a perfect orthographic rhyme in those cases.

6.3.8 e:a plus consonantal mismatch

nerta	doínachta	erta-achta	7509-7510, 1878	ab	143
cert	deäc	ert-ac	3155-3156, 789	cd	27
recht	deäc	echt-ac	6821-6822, 1706	ab	120
imma-sech	finnglan	ech-an	2961-2962, 741	ab	26
meth	da-fínggēbad	eth-ad	5795-5796, 1449	cd	94
fecht	trīchat	echt-at	7735-7736, 1934	cd	150
meth	ro-das-fessed	eth-ed	561-562, 141	ab	2

There are seven rhyming pairs in which the rhyming vowel ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn* is balanced by ⟨a⟩ in the *Ardrinn* and where the rhyming combination of consonants is worth commenting on. The pair *nerta:doínachta* rhymes the intervocalic *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop with a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop. As has been seen above, the combination of voiced and voiceless continuants was ‘regarded as permissible’¹⁰⁴⁰ and the stop is identical.

In the following pair *cert* is combined with *deac*. Additionally to the orthographic variations of the rhyming vowel, the *lenis* voiced continuant ⟨r⟩ is not balanced in the *Ardrinn* and the voiceless stop is rhymed with a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*. Both consonantal mismatches give valid rhymes, but it may be noteworthy that they occur here together in addition to the orthographic variation of the vowel.

Similarly, the pair *recht:deac* combines a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop with a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*.

In the pair *imma-sech:finnglan* the final voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*, a frequently occurring combination that would have been described as exceptional by Murphy.¹⁰⁴¹

¹⁰⁴⁰ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

¹⁰⁴¹ Loc. cit.

Similarly, *meth* is paired with *da-finggebad* where the final voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* is also balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*. In this case, the continuants only differ in their voicing.

In the pair *fecht:tríchat*, as seen above, the voiceless stop is balanced by a voiced stop and the voiceless continuant is not answered in the *Ardrinn*.

Greene has silently emended the *Ardrinn*-word in the last pair, but Rawlinson B 502 has *meth* rhyming with *rodasfessad* (Canto 2, ll. 561–562).¹⁰⁴² The *Ardrinn*-word is the third person singular of the past subjunctive of the verb *ro-finnadar*.¹⁰⁴³ Additionally to the vocalic mismatch, the final voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word. As has been seen earlier, this combination was a frequent occurrence in the rhyming pairs of *Saltair na Rann*.

6.3.8.1 ei:ai plus consonantal mismatch

seirc	do-rāraic	eirc-aic	7215-7216, 1804	cd	134
neich	nathraig	eich-aig	1185-1186, 297	ab	8
cleith	tedmannaib	eith-aib	1879-1880, 470	cd	11
leith	innarthaib	eith-aib	6265-6266, 1567	ab	105
leith	fuidlechaib	eith-aib	7627-7628, 1907	cd	146
sreith	brithemnaib	eith-aib	6901-6902, 1726	ab	123
leith	tinōlaid	eith-aid	2623-2624, 656	cd	20
leith	imthesbaid	eith-aid	4609-4610, 1153	ab	58
sreith	comdelbaid	eith-aid	837-838, 210	ab	4
sreith	imhesbaid	eith-aid	987-988, 247	cd	6
cleith	étaig	eith-aig	7643-7644, 1911	cd	147
sreith	cathraig	eith-aig	389-390, 98	ab	2
leith	ídail	eith-ail	7063-7064, 1766	cd	128
cleith	athair	eith-air	1073-1074, 269	ab	6
sreith	sósair	eith-air	1833-1834, 459	ab	11

There are fifteen pairs where ⟨e⟩ followed by a palatal consonant in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by ⟨a⟩ followed by a palatal consonant in the *Ardrinn*. In one pair the final consonantal cluster in the *Rinn*-word consisting of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop is balanced by a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn* (*seirc:do-rāraic*, Canto 134, ll. 7215–7216). The stops only differ in their voicing.

¹⁰⁴² Rawl. B 502, f. 20^r b.

¹⁰⁴³ See DIL, *ro-finnadar*, Column 86, ll. 75 ff.

The remaining fourteen pairs all feature the combination of a voiceless continuant in the *Rinn* with a voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* additionally to the orthographic variation of the rhyming vowel. As has been seen earlier, the majority of mismatches involve the dental voiceless fricative.¹⁰⁴⁴

6.3.9 ei:i plus consonantal mismatch

deirg	fīrmimint	eirg-int	145-146, 37	ab	1
leirg	fīrmimint	eirg-int	97-98, 25	ab	1
sreith	anim	eith-im	1091-1092, 273	cd	7
dreich	faithchi-sin	eich-in	409-410, 103	ab	2
cleith	slēbib	eith-ib	2527-2528, 632	cd	17
leith	pīrīmdoirsib	eith-ib	357-358, 90	ab	2
leith	airgdidib	eith-ib	377-378, 95	ab	2
leith	comaithe[h]ib	eith-ib	6285-6286, 1572	ab	105
leith	faithchib	eith-ib	437-438, 110	ab	2
leith	anglib	eith-ib	779-780, 195	cd	3
sreith	uiscidib	eith-ib	2957-2958, 740	ab	26
cleith	rīchid	eith-id	1027-1028, 257	cd	6
cleith	Comdid	eith-id	2617-2618, 655	ab	20
cleith	ráidid	eith-id	4499-4500, 1125	cd	54
leith	rīchid	eith-id	615-616, 154	cd	2
sreith	rīchid	eith-id	1217-1218, 305	ab	8
leith	aurchōtig	eith-ig	1293-1294, 324	ab	9
trēith	Dauīd	éith-íd	6917-6918, 1730	ab	123
trēith	Duīd	éith-íd	6925-6926, 1732	ab	123

There are nineteen pairs in which the ⟨e⟩ in the *Rinn* followed by a palatal consonant is balanced by a single orthographic ⟨i⟩ in the *Ardrinn* and in which a consonantal mismatch also occurs. In the first two cases, the word-final cluster consisting of a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiced stop in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*. As has been noted, the combination of voiced and voiceless stops was a frequently occurring rhyming combination. It should be noted, however, that the *Ardrinn* in the first pair has been edited as *fīrmimint* in Stokes' edition.¹⁰⁴⁵ The vowel in question is part of a suspension and in this case, both spellings are grammatically correct, although the accusative singular is usually spelled with a palatal final consonant.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See above, Chapter 6.2.3, pp. 352–5.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Stokes (ed.) (1883) p. 3.

In one case a final voiceless continuant is balanced by a single *lenis* voiced continuant (*sreith:anim*, Canto 7, ll. 1091–1092). The *Ardrinn*-word means ‘blemish’ or ‘defect’, reflecting a form of *ainim*. The combination of voiceless and voiced continuants is a frequent occurrence in *Saltair na Rann* and has to be accepted as a rule rather than the exceptional value that Murphy places on this combination.¹⁰⁴⁶

There are sixteen pairs in which the voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-words is balanced by a single *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn* additionally to the orthographic variations of the rhyming vowels. As seen earlier, this was accepted as an exceptional rhyming combination.¹⁰⁴⁷ In nine cases the dental voiceless fricative <th> is rhymed with its voiced equivalent <d>, eight times <th> is balanced by the labio-dental fricative , once it is combined with the velar voiced fricative <g>. Only once is the velar voiceless fricative <ch> combined with the voiced nasal dental <n>. This again shows that the majority of mismatches involve the dental voiceless fricative.

6.3.10 ei:e plus consonantal mismatch

leith	Coimdid	eith-id	3843-3844, 961	cd	40
leith	gaiscid	eith-id	5775-5776, 1444	cd	93

In two instances Rawlinson B 502 has a non-palatal consonant in word-final position (*coimded*, Canto 40, l. 3844 and *gaisced*, Canto 93, l. 5776). These *Ardrinn*-words were emended to *coimdeid*¹⁰⁴⁸ and *gaisceid*¹⁰⁴⁹ by Stokes and to *Coimdid* by Greene. The first *Ardrinn*-word is a dental stem in the dative singular case, the latter an *o*-stem in the genitive singular case and thus both words end in a palatal consonant.

6.3.11 ei:úai plus consonantal mismatch

leith	do-chúaid	eith-úaid	4775-4776, 1194	cd	65
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In this case the monosyllabic *Rinn* is balanced by a monosyllabic *Ardrinn*. The rhyming vowels disagree, but the palatal quality of the final consonant is present in both words. Since both rhyming vowels are stressed, the rules require that they match and thus this pair forms an imperfect rhyme. Additionally, the final voiceless continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced

¹⁰⁴⁶ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Stokes (ed.) (1883) p. 59.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Op. cit., p. 84.

continuant, but as has been seen earlier this combination occurs frequently, especially involving <th>.

6.3.12 ei:ui plus consonantal mismatch

cleith	riaguil	eith-uil	1223-1224, 306	cd	8
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In this case, the final voiceless continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced continuant which was accepted to give valid rhyme. The quality of the consonants is identical and although the rhyming vowels do not match orthographically, the rhyme is metrically valid.

6.3.13 i:ai plus consonantal mismatch

clith	bliadnaib	ith-aib	2267-2268, 567	cd	12
clith	cētaib	ith-aib	2299-2300, 575	cd	12
clith	comlepaid	ith-aid	3175-3176, 794	cd	28
clith	córaid	ith-aid	5827-5828, 1457	cd	96
clith	cinaid	ith-aid	7807-7808, 1952	cd	151
clith	nathraig	ith-aig	1281-1282, 321	ab	8

There are six cases where a single <i> in the *Rinn* is balanced by different vowels in the *Ardrinn* and where a variation of the consonantal combination also occurs. In six cases <i> is answered by <ai> and the final voiceless continuant <th> is answered by a *lenis* voiced continuant. The palatal quality of the final consonants is present in all cases.

6.3.14 o:u/oi:ai/o:i/óe:ae plus consonantal mismatch

olcc	intliucht	olcc-ucht	1251-1252, 313	cd	8
cloth	comollud	oth-ud	3359-3360, 840	cd	29
ro-soich	oensossaid	oich-aid	435-436, 109	cd	2
togo	Hericho	go-cho	6723-6724, 1681	cd	117
sóeba	garbgaetha	óebda-aetha	4287-4288, 1072	cd	51

There are five instances where <o> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by an orthographically different vowel, additionally to a variation in the consonantal rhyme. Twice, <o> is balanced by <u>: *olcc* is rhymed with *intliucht* and *cloth* is paired with *comollud*. The former pair also combines the *Rinn*-cluster consisting of the voiced dental liquid plus voiceless velar stop with a voiceless velar fricative and a voiceless dental stop. As has been seen above this combination creates an

acceptable rhyme.¹⁰⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that, in a single instance of the very same rhyming pair, the *Ardrinn* is spelled *intliocht* (Canto 9, l. 1328). Phonologically, the rhyme is identical, but the substitution of the rhyming vowel by an unetymological vowel makes it visually more pleasing.

cloth:comollud rhymes the voiceless dental fricative with its voiced equivalent in word-final position which also creates a valid rhyme.

In one case <o> is balanced by <a> and the single voiceless velar fricative is balanced by a single voiced dental fricative (*ro-soich:oensossaid*). The palatal quality of the final consonant is present in both words.

In the pair *togo:Hericho* <o> is balanced by <i>, but because the following consonant is non-palatal in both cases, the rhyme is valid. The consonantal combination of a voiced continuant with its voiceless equivalent was frequent and must have been accepted to give a valid rhyme. The *Ardrinn*-word is a non-native name and thus the poet may have been more restricted regarding spelling variations.

The final instance pairs *sóeba* with *garbgaetha* where the digraph <oe> in the *Rinn*-word is balanced by <ae> in the *Ardrinn*-word. No significance can be attached to this orthographic mismatch, but the consonantal rhyme is of greater interest. The combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant with a voiceless continuant appears frequently, especially involving the voiceless dental fricative.

6.3.15 u:o plus consonantal mismatch

cruth	ōssor	uth-or	1147-1148, 287	cd	8
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In one case, <u> is balanced by <o> and the final voiceless dental fricative is combined with a voiced liquid. The rhyme is metrically valid.

6.4 Faulty Rhymes

This section will deal with faulty rhymes, i.e. rhymes that do not adhere to the standard rules or to the exceptions of those rules. There are 25 pairs, i.e. 0.06% of all rhyming pairs in the *Saltair*, that qualify as faulty and about 68% of these concern the rhyming of consonants of different quality, i.e. they combine palatal and non-palatal consonants. The section will be divided into sub-sections according to the different types of metrical faults.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See above, p. 79 and Murphy (1961) p. 33.

6.4.1 T:L

espaib	imresnaib	espaib-esnaib	5125-5126, 1282	ab	75
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The first group contains only one pair. It is an instance of a consonantal mismatch regarding the different phonetic groupings of rhyming consonants: *espaib* is combined with *imresnaib* and although the rhyming vowels and the final *lenis* voiced continuant match, the intervocalic cluster is not balanced appropriately in the *Ardrinn*. The voiceless sibilant plus voiceless labial stop is combined with the voiceless sibilant plus voiced dental nasal. This combination results in a faulty rhyme.

6.4.2 Mismatch in palatal qualities

trebad	trēnfēra[i]b	ebad-eraib	4633-4634, 1159	ab	59
crúaid	mōrslúag	úaid-úag	4685-4686, 1172	ab	62
rán	Labāin	án-áin	3021-3022, 756	ab	26
fer	íarnaideib	er-eib	929-930, 233	ab	5
lō[i]r	romōir	óir-óir	5301-5302, 1326	ab	79
feirg	claidebderg	eirg-erg	4981-4982, 1246	ab	71
ceirt	do-rigset	eirt-et	3659-3660, 915	cd	33
slait	tinólsat	ait-at	6631-6632, 1658	cd	114
srath	dia-nechta(i)r	ath-air	4887-4888, 1222	cd	69
cuirp	glēnuicht	uirp-uicht	1357-1358, 340	ab	9
cleith	sainred	eith-ed	4345-4346, 1087	ab	51
leith	trénmīled	eith-ed	4745-4746, 1187	ab	65
mennar	archangel	ennar-angel	783-784, 196	cd	3
séis	Fares	éis-es	5705-5706, 1427	ab	91
séis	Potestatés	éis-és	541-542, 136	ab	2
sēis	Uirtutēs	éis-és	663-664, 166	cd	3
trēis	Dominationēs	éis-és	667-668, 167	cd	3

This group is the biggest section within this chapter. There are seventeen rhyming pairs that combine consonants of a different quality, i.e. they rhyme palatal with non-palatal consonants.

The first pair is a visually perfect rhyme in the Rawlinson-manuscript: *trebad* is rhymed with *trēnferab* (Canto 59, ll. 4633–4634).¹⁰⁵¹ The *Rinn*-word is a masculine *u*-stem and occurs here in the accusative case. Thus it ends in a non-palatal consonant and is spelled grammatically correct. However, the *Ardrinn* is in the dative plural and should end in a palatal consonant. Although the scribe did not insert the palatal marker in the *Ardrinn*-word –

¹⁰⁵¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 30^v b.

consciously or unconsciously – the rhyme is not metrically valid. Greene has indeed inserted an <i> in the *Ardrinn*, giving the form as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502 in a footnote.

The following pair is spelled correctly and creates an invalid rhyme: the adjective *crúaid*, here in the genitive plural masculine, is combined with *mórslúag*, which also appears in the genitive plural (Canto 62, ll. 4685–4686). Although both forms occur in the same grammatical case, the quality of the final rhyming consonants is not identical and thus the combination of the words creates an invalid rhyme. It can be argued that the *Ardrinn*-word is in the genitive singular case and thus would have to end in a palatal consonant. However, the context suggests the plural form: the preceding stanza mentions ‘numerous hosts’¹⁰⁵² and thus the form as it is contained in Rawlinson B 502 suits the context best.

The following pair is spelled grammatically correct, but creates a faulty rhyme by combining a non-palatal with a palatal consonant: *rán* is combined with *Labáin* (Canto 26, ll. 3021–3022). The *Rinn*-word is an adjective in the nominative case and the *Ardrinn* is the genitive case of the biblical name *Laban*. The biblical name appears twelve times in *Saltair na Rann*, five of which occur in rhyming position. With the exception of the present rhyming pair, all rhymes containing this biblical name are valid. Three times the name occurs in the nominative case (*Labán*), once in the dative case (*Labán*) and the remaining eight times the name is used in the genitive case (*Labáin*).¹⁰⁵³ The spelling of *Labán* for each grammatical case is consistent. Following the evidence for the *Ardrinn*-word, this rhyme cannot be rectified by changing the spelling of the biblical name and must count as faulty.

The following pair combines *fer* with *íarnaideib* (Canto 5, ll. 929–930) and also matches palatal and non-palatal consonants. Both forms are spelled grammatically correct and thus this pair is faulty and cannot be emended.

The pair *lór:romór* (Canto 79, ll. 5301–5302) is orthographically perfectly regular in Rawlinson B 502, but Greene has *ló[i]r:romóir* in his text.¹⁰⁵⁴ There is no justification for a palatal consonant in the *Rinn*-word, but the *Ardrinn*-word must end in <oir> since it is a feminine *ā*-stem adjective in the dative case.¹⁰⁵⁵ Thus, although the rhyme is orthographically

¹⁰⁵² Canto 62, ll. 4681–4684: *Fuaramar tír n-úar n-ainbt[h]ech/acgarb anmín ētort[h]ech/co n-ilur drong, trén athbach/co n-immud a hillnathrach.* – We found a cold, strong land/rough, uneven unfruitful/with many bands, a severe portion/with a number of its varied serpents. (Greene, *Saltair na Rann*)

¹⁰⁵³ *Labán* (nom.): Canto 26, l. 2944 (:án); Canto 26, l. 2953; Canto 26, l. 3017; *Labán* (dat.): Canto 26, l. 2948 (:rán); *Labáin* (gen.): Canto 26, l. 2928 (:gráin); Canto 26, l. 2930; Canto 26, l. 2966; Canto 26, l. 2968 (:áil); Canto 26, l. 3010; Canto 26, l. 3014; Canto 26, l. 3022 (:ráin); Canto 138, l. 7316.

¹⁰⁵⁴ His emendation is silent.

¹⁰⁵⁵ It agrees with the feminine noun *aile* (*asind ailig réil romóir*).

identical in the manuscript and therefore creating a perfect eye-rhyme, the phonetic rhyme is faulty.

Another case of a palatal rhyming with a non-palatal consonant can be found in the pair *feirg:claidebderg* (Canto 71, ll. 4981–4982). The *Rinn*-word is in the accusative singular case and ends in a palatal consonant as a feminine \bar{a} -stem. The *Ardrinn* is also in the accusative singular case, but as an *o*-stem masculine it ends in a non-palatal consonant. Thus, the rhyme is metrically not valid.

In the pair *ceirt:do-rigset* (Canto 33, ll. 3659–3660) the *Rinn*-word is in the dative singular case and ends in a palatal consonantal group as a feminine adjective. The verb is the third person plural perfect of *do-gní* and thus ends in a non-palatal single consonant. This pair also combines a voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn* with a single voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*, resulting in a mismatch, but – by itself – not creating a faulty rhyme.

The pair *slait:tinólsat* (Canto 114, ll. 6631–6632) rhymes the genitive singular case of *slat* with a verb ending in a non-palatal consonant. Greene suggests reading *tinólsait* and thus treating the verb as an absolute form as opposed to the dependent form found in Rawlinson B 502.¹⁰⁵⁶ The line in question is *ba mór an dál tinólsat* and hence the verb placed at the end of this cleft sentence must be in the dependent form.¹⁰⁵⁷ Thus, *tinólsat* is here the correct reading and it also forms a perfect *dúnadh* with the beginning of this short canto. It would be easier to change the *Rinn*-word to improve the rhyme than to interfere with the syntax and grammar of the *Ardrinn*-line: if *slat* is accepted to be a masculine *o*-stem in this period of the Irish language, it could easily be changed into the genitive plural, ending in a non-palatal stop, giving ‘of plunderings’.¹⁰⁵⁸

The pair *srath:dia-nechtar* (Canto 69, ll. 4887–4888) does not contain a faulty combination at first glance in Greene’s text. The rhyming vowel is orthographically identical and it combines a final voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-word with a final *lenis* voiced continuant in the *Ardrinn*-word. As has been shown in plenty of examples this consonantal rhyming combination appears frequently and has to be accepted as rule rather than exception. However, Rawlinson B 502 contains the etymologically correct spelling of the *Ardrinn*-word

¹⁰⁵⁶ This absolute form would represent a development of Middle Irish, when compound verbs were simplified and absolute endings were attached to conjunct forms (see, for example, L. Breatnach (1994) pp. 282–3, § 11.16). The Old Irish compound verb is *do-inóla*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ My thanks go to Professor Fergus Kelly for pointing out the following contributions in relation to the final position of verbs in Irish: David Greene, ‘Archaic Irish’, in *Indogermanisch und Keltisch*, ed. by Karl Horst Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1977), pp. 11–33 and Fergus Kelly, ‘Two Notes on Final-Verb Construction’, *Celtica* 18 (1986), 1–12.

¹⁰⁵⁸ This is also suggested in DIL, *slat*, Column 264, ll. 82–3.

that ends in a palatal consonant (*díanechtair*).¹⁰⁵⁹ The *Ardrinn* is an adverb that combines the preposition *de* with the prefix *an* and the preposition *echtair* ‘from without’. While *echtair* on its own does end in a non-palatal consonant, its compound ends in a palatal consonant.¹⁰⁶⁰

Another case of a mismatch in consonantal quality presents itself only at a second glance in the pair *cuirp:glénuicht* (Canto 9, ll. 1357–1358). The rhyming vowels are orthographically identical and the *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Rinn* is answered by a voiceless continuant plus voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*. As mentioned above, the combination of voiceless and voiced continuants occurred frequently. The *Rinn*-word is in the genitive singular case of the masculine *o*-stem *corp* and thus ends in a palatal cluster. However, the *Ardrinn*-word is a compound containing the adjectives *glé* and *nocht*. The consonantal cluster *-cht* cannot be palatal: ‘The group *cht* remains neutral even at the end of a syllable, and thus always resists palatalization.’¹⁰⁶¹ Hence, this pair represents a faulty rhyme.

The following pair combines the verbal noun *cleith* with the noun *sainred* (Canto 51, ll. 4345–4346). The *Rinn* is in the accusative singular case and thus correctly spelled with a palatal final consonant as a feminine *ā*-stem. The *Ardrinn* is in the nominative singular case and indeed ends in a non-palatal consonant. Although the combination of voiceless and voiced continuant was accepted to create a rhyme, the difference in quality of the final consonants renders this pair metrically invalid.

The pair *leith:trénmíled* (Canto 65, ll. 4745–4746) reflects the same metrical problem. The *Rinn*-word is in the dative singular case and thus correctly spelled with a palatal final consonant as a neuter *s*-stem. The *Ardrinn* is in the genitive plural case and ends in a non-palatal consonant as a masculine dental stem. Thus, the rhyme is faulty.

The pair *mennar:archangel* (Canto 3, ll. 783–784) firstly contains an orthographic mismatch concerning both medial and final rhyming vowels. ⟨e⟩ is balanced by ⟨a⟩ and vice versa. Both words are spelled etymologically correct and the vocalic mismatch does not influence the validity of the rhyme.¹⁰⁶² However, the pair also combines an intervocalic non-palatal *fortis* voiced continuant with a palatal *fortis* voiced continuant and thus the consonantal rhyme is faulty.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 31^v a.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See DIL, *díanechtair*, Column 64, ll. 6–15 and also Thurneysen (1946) p. 305, § 483.

¹⁰⁶¹ See Thurneysen (1946) p. 101, § 162; however, there are a few examples of words ending in ⟨cht⟩ that have a supra- or subscript ⟨i⟩ in the Milan and Würzburg glosses (see p. 224, § 351). Thurneysen comments that ‘in present-day Munster Irish only the *t* (not *ch*) is palatal’ in the example *boicht*. See also Ua Súilleabháin (1994) p. 487, § 2.22: ‘Ní chaolaítear *ch* roimh *t* caol sa charn *cht*, m.sh. *na boicht* /boxt’/ (*ch* leathan agus *t* caol [...]).’

¹⁰⁶² It should be considered, however, that where the *Ardrinn*-words represent a compound word, the vowel of the first syllable of the second element of the compound retains its original phonetic value, i.e. it does not represent a schwa. The rhyme is still valid because a stressed short vowel can be rhymed with any unstressed short vowel.

There are four pairs that combine an Irish word ending in a palatal voiceless sibilant with an orthographically non-palatal sibilant in the non-native *Ardrinn*-word: *séis* is paired with the name *Fares* (Canto 91, ll. 5705–5706), *séis* is rhymed with Latin *Potestatés* (Canto 2, ll. 541–542), *séis* is combined with Latin *Uirtutés* (Canto 3, ll. 663–664) and *tréis* is matched with Latin *Dominationés* (Canto 3, ll. 667–668).

In the pair *séis:Fares* the *Rinn* is in the genitive plural and thus spelled according to the grammatical rules. The *Ardrinn Fares* is in the genitive case and appears with this spelling both in the nominative and the genitive case.¹⁰⁶³ This suggests that the non-native name was pronounced with a palatal voiceless sibilant.

The pair *séis:Potestates* has the *Rinn*-word in the nominative singular and thus it is spelled correctly. The *Ardrinn*-word is in the nominative plural within its Latin declension, but it should be noted that the preceding adjective usually combines to give a prepositional phrase demanding the dative case (*nessa do*). The preposition *do* has been omitted here, but the Irish syntax still requires the dative case.

The pair *séis:Uirtutés* finds the *Rinn*-word in the genitive plural and the *Ardrinn* is in the nominative plural case, within its Latin declension. The grammatical case of the *Ardrinn*-word fits the Irish syntax in this example.

Finally, the pair *tréis:Dominationés* has the *Rinn*-word in the accusative singular case and the *Ardrinn* is in the nominative plural case. The grammatical case following the Latin declension also fits the Irish syntax. It is noteworthy that in all four examples the scribe does not interfere with the orthography of the non-native words.¹⁰⁶⁴

6.4.2.1 Mismatch in palatal qualities (Greene)

meth (im-muig)	oenleith	eth-eith	385-386, 97	ab	2
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The irregularity in the pair *meth:oenleith* (Canto 2, ll. 385–386) can only be found in one manuscript¹⁰⁶⁵ and Greene chose the reading of this manuscript for his working notes. However, Rawlinson B 502 has *im-muig* in the *Ardrinn*-position instead of *cen meth* and Rawlinson’s version works both metrically and semantically. The *Rinn*-word still creates a mismatch between a voiced and a voiceless continuant, but this is less of a violation of the

¹⁰⁶³ The name occurs twice in *Saltair na Rann*. Once in rhyming position, i.e. in the present instance, and once in non-rhyming position in the nominative case (*Fares*, Canto 91, l. 5707).

¹⁰⁶⁴ See also the pair *ro-chlús:exercitús* (Canto 3, ll. 769–770) where the scribe had no qualms about changing the orthography of the Irish *Rinn*-word (see above, p. 244) and see below, pp. 408–10, on how Latin words are integrated into the rhyme.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 24 P 27 (4), RIA.

metrical rules than Greene’s choice. Unless *meth* is to be understood as an *i*- and not *o*-stem,¹⁰⁶⁶ Greene’s choice is the metrically invalid option by combining two consonants of different quality in the rhyme.

6.4.3 Hypometrical lines

gaes [glain]	airmitin	ain-in	6625-6626, 1657	ab	114
búaid [bla]	aígarda	a-a	5867-5868, 1467	cd	97

This group contains two rhyming pairs. In both cases the *Rinn*-line is a syllable short and both cases can be emended to give a valid rhyme.

The pair *gaes:airmitin* (Canto 114, ll. 6625–6626) is obviously faulty. Not only are the qualities of the final consonants different, but the final voiceless sibilant of the *Rinn*-word cannot rhyme with any other consonant but itself. The *Rinn*-line as it stands can be read as only containing six syllables: the initial, unstressed <i> in *imgaes* can be elided with the preceding final vowel of *cengaile* (*ar cruth cen gaile imgaes*). Thus the line can accommodate another syllable. Greene suggests adding the adjective *glain* to *gaes* in the accusative singular feminine. The adjective *glan* appears regularly in rhyming position and would therefore provide an adequate rhyming match.

The pair *búaid:aígarda* (Canto 97, ll. 5867–5868) is equally faulty, because the final consonant in the *Rinn*-word is not balanced in the *Ardrinn*. The *Rinn*-line only contains six syllables (*dodosrat fein fri búaid*) and hence is missing a syllable. The syllable count is unambiguous in this line. Greene suggests adding *bla* ‘privilege’ which would suit both metre and context.

6.4.4 C:V

im-maig	lainerda[ig]	aig-aig	2933-2934, 734	ab	26
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There is a single rhyming pair within this group. The rhyme is obviously faulty without the possibility of emending it by adding another syllable.

The pair *im-maig:lainerda* creates a faulty rhyme, since the final consonant of the *Rinn*-word is not balanced at all in the *Ardrinn*. Greene suggests reading *lainerdaig* for the *Ardrinn* to make the rhyme perfect. His emendation creates a word with two adjectival endings,

¹⁰⁶⁶ DIL, *meth*, Column 117, ll. 59 ff.

-da and *-ach*. *lainnerda* ‘bright’ is an adjectival form coming from the noun *lainner* ‘lamp’.¹⁰⁶⁷ The rules will not allow a final consonant not being balanced in the *Ardrinn* and thus Greene’s emendation offers a solution. However, it is uncommon to combine two adjectival endings. Paul Russell gives only one example where the adjectival ending *-ach* is attached to the base of a derived adjective.¹⁰⁶⁸

6.4.5 The special case of Adam

Ádaim	duálchaib	adaim-alchaib	2093-2094, 524	ab	12
Ādaim	duálchaib	adaim-alchaib	2213-1214, 554	ab	12
Ȁdaim	duálchaib	adaim-alchaib	2219-2220, 555	cd	12

There is one peculiar rhyme that occurs three times in *Saltair na Rann*: *Ádaim* is rhymed with the trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word *duálchaib*. Although the final syllable of *Rinn* and *Ardrinn* generate a regular rhyme, the consonants do not match: a single voiced continuant is balanced by a *lenis* voiced plus voiceless continuant. It may be the case that the pronunciation of the voiceless continuant as it appears in the *Ardrinn*-word was weakened at the time of the poet to such an extent that it was negligible for the rhyme. These pairs have been added to the present chapter of faulty rhymes rather than to that of mismatched rhymes, since the intervocalic combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant with a *lenis* voiced plus voiceless continuant only occurs in this instance. Even if the rhyme is not counted as faulty it certainly stretches the rules further than any of the ‘regular’ mismatches that have been seen above.

Since this rhyme occurs three times within the same canto the idea that the poet was trying to create a link between the meaning of the *Ardrinn*-word, ‘vice, fault’, and the faulty rhyme itself is worthy of consideration: the poet may have tried to reflect Adam’s vice through the faulty rhyme.

6.5 The dental voiceless fricative

This chapter on mismatches and faults in the rhyming pairs has made it clear that not everything that is traditionally counted as ‘permissible exceptions’ are, in fact, exceptions. The combination of voiced and voiceless continuants is so frequent that it can only be accepted as the rule rather than a divergence from it. There are 427 (10.92% of all rhyming pairs) pairs

¹⁰⁶⁷ DIL, *lainnerda*, Column 31, l. 31.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Russell (1990) p. 86. The example is *uilidech*.

where a *lenis* voiced continuant is balanced by a voiceless continuant or vice versa.¹⁰⁶⁹ This number includes all instances, both single consonants as well as clusters in which this combination occurs. Within this group one particular voiceless continuant stands out in frequency regarding this combination. <th> occurs in 279 (63.27%) instances of all 441 rhyming pairs that combine voiced and voiceless continuants in a rhyme. The question needs to be asked why the dental voiceless fricative appears in the overwhelming majority of these cases. A first attempt to answer the question is to look at the dictionary. Is there an overwhelming number of words that end in <th>? A look into *A Reverse Dictionary of Modern Irish* reveals that this is not the case.¹⁰⁷⁰ Even though the vocabulary is Modern Irish it still gives a very good idea of how many words there are.

The only explanation can be found in the pronunciation of the voiceless continuant itself. Rudolf Thurneysen states that

‘the modern pronunciation of *th* as simple *h* is well attested from the 12th century on. But two facts show that *th* was not so pronounced in the earlier period: it alternates frequently with *d* (=δ) in writing, and it is transliterated *þ* or *ð* in ON., *th* in O. and Mid.E. and Mid.W. sources.’¹⁰⁷¹

Damien McManus comments that the weakening of /θ/ to /h/ was completed by the 13th century or earlier and that *dh* and *th* fell together in unaccented syllables later in the Middle Irish period.¹⁰⁷² O’Rahilly remarks that ‘regarding the period at which *th* and *dh* lost their dental character various suggestions, all more or less wide of the mark, have been made’.¹⁰⁷³ By looking at place- and personal names and how they were anglicised he deduces that ‘it was during the course of the thirteenth century that the great transformation of their values took place; and by the year 1300 it is likely that the dental spirants were things of the past in the greater part of Ireland [...]’.¹⁰⁷⁴

R.A. Breatnach notes in a similar vein that

¹⁰⁶⁹ There are altogether 2779 pairs where a voiced or voiceless continuant is balanced by its equivalent or its counterpart. In 335 cases a voiceless continuant is paired with a voiceless continuant and in 2174 cases a *lenis* voiced continuant is rhymed with a *lenis* voiced continuant. I have subtracted 157 from the sum of all three numbers to account for those pairs that contain a continuant both in intervocalic as well as word final position to not count them twice, which means that there are 2936 instances of a rhyming combination involving a continuant. Considering these numbers the so called exceptional combination comprise 14.52% of those instances which speaks even more strongly for the fact that this combination is not an exception at all.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Doyle/Gussmann (eds) (2004), pp. 196–7; there are 128 words listed that end in *-th*.

¹⁰⁷¹ Thurneysen (1946) pp. 76–7, §122.

¹⁰⁷² McManus (1994) p. 351, § 2.11: Is léir ó fhoinsí éagsúla (go háirithe litriú focal Gaeilge i lámhscríbhinní comhaimseartha agus litriú (áit)ainmneacha Gaeilge i dteangacha iasachta) cuirim i gcás (1) go ndearna /h/ (> /θ/) de /θ/ sa 13ú haois nó níos luaithe [...]. (2) go raibh aon fhuaim amháin á dhéanamh de *dh* agus *th* i siollaí neamhaiceanta go déanach sa Mheán-Ghaeilge [...].’

¹⁰⁷³ O’Rahilly (1926–1930) p. 164.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Op. cit. p. 192.

‘[...] many instances in the latter annals suggest that, towards the end of the eleventh century and during the following hundred years, there was a tendency to substitute, in unstressed position, the voiceless for the voiced dental spirant, and this weakening continued into the thirteenth century, when *th* ceased to be a dental sound.’¹⁰⁷⁵

Following the general assumption that *Saltair na Rann* dates to the late 10th century, the high frequency of the voiceless dental fricative within this rhyming combination should at least allow for if not demand the question, whether something must have already been happening with the pronunciation of /th/ that made it especially susceptible to rhyming with *lenis* voiced continuants.

6.6 Syllabic irregularities

What has been discussed so far in this chapter are vocalic and consonantal mismatches, some of which result in faulty rhyming pairs. One other issue should be pointed out within this context. The metrical pattern of *Saltair na Rann* demands that every line contains seven syllables and that the *Ardrinn*-word be at least one syllable longer than the *Rinn*-word, so that stressed and unstressed syllables are paired in rhyme. *Deibide scaílte fota* is indeed the main metre in the first 151 cantos of the *Saltair*. Another type of this metre is the so-called *deibide do-cheil a chubaid* where the first two lines in a stanza (*ab*) end in monosyllabic words, and the last two lines (*cd*) balance a monosyllabic *Rinn*-word with a disyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. Of this type there are 45 stanzas throughout the present corpus. Additionally, there are also two pairs where the sequence of couplets is inverted, i.e. where the two monosyllabic rhyming words are contained in *cd* (Canto 23, ll. 2709–2712 and Canto 51, ll. 4425–4428). Furthermore, there are fifteen pairs where the pattern is $7^1 7^1 7^1 7^3$ and eight pairs with the pattern $7^1 7^1 7^2 7^3$.

Another pattern, different from the $7^x 7^{x+1} 7^x 7^{x+1}$ of the *scaílte fota*, was observed where *ab* balances two disyllabic words. There are 21 pairs in which this is the case and where this pair is followed by a mono- plus disyllabic pair. In eleven instances *cd* contains a monosyllabic *Rinn*- and a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word. There are five pairs where *cd* contains a disyllabic *Rinn*- and a trisyllabic *Ardrinn*-word and finally there is one instance where the pair is reversed, i.e. *ab* consists of a monosyllabic *Rinn* and a trisyllabic *Ardrinn* which are followed by two disyllabic rhyming words (Canto 12, ll. 2321–2324).

¹⁰⁷⁵ R.A. Breatnach (1952) pp. 51–2.

7 Conclusion and outlook

What follows is an overview in table-format of all possible rhyming combinations in *Saltair na Rann*. The only pair that has not been included in the overview is *atcha:cathracha* (Canto 65, ll. 4753–4754), because the *Rinn*-word is unknown and the phonetic value of the intervocalic cluster cannot be determined with certainty.¹⁰⁷⁶

Table 1 shows all word-final rhyming combinations as they occur in the *deibide*-part of *Saltair na Rann*. The numbers in the table include monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic words. The intervocalic consonantal combinations in the polysyllabic words have been disregarded in this table, e.g. in **Table 1** the word *dána* is here registered as a word ending in a vowel (V). The *Rinn*-words can be found on the vertical axis, the *Ardrinn*-words on the horizontal axis. Thus, by looking at the first row, it is shown that there are 47 pairs that combine a *Rinn*-word ending in a vowel plus voiced stop with an *Ardrinn*-word that also ends in a voiced stop. There are six pairs where a *Rinn*-word ending in a vowel plus voiced stop is rhymed with an *Ardrinn*-word ending in a vowel plus *lenis* voiced continuant plus voiceless stop (VLT).

Table 2 shows all rhyming combinations of intervocalic consonants in polysyllabic words occurring in the *deibide*-part of *Saltair na Rann*, displaying naturally a higher variation in possibilities. All these words are also included in **Table 1** where the focus is on the final rhyming consonant or vowel. This means that the overall sum of pairs in **Table 2** is smaller.

Long and short vowels are not differentiated in either of the tables and palatal or non-palatal quality of consonants is not marked. Hence, mismatches in vowels and consonantal quality will not show up in these tables, but have been displayed and discussed in the previous chapters. In **Table 1** those combinations that were regarded as regular by Murphy are marked green. Although Murphy did not deal with the rhyming combination of internal consonant clusters, exactly corresponding pairs are also marked green for convenience in **Table 2**.

V	vowel
VV	diphthong
T	voiceless stop
D	voiced stop
L	<i>lenis</i> voiced continuant
F	<i>fortis</i> voiced continuant
Θ	voiceless continuant
S	sibilant

¹⁰⁷⁶ See above, p. 275, p. 351 and p. 354.

Table 1

	VD	VT	VØT	VLT	VLD	VF	VL	VØ	VLL	VLF	VS	VLS	VST	VVL	VVØ	VVF	VVS	V
VD	47			6														
VT	13	3	4	9														
VØT	32	9	73	24														
VLT	20	6	58	16														
VLD				5	24													
VF						188	13		10									
VL						8	1699	20										
VØ							287	190										
VLL									4	2								
VLF																		
VS											244							
VLS											3							
VST													12					
VVL														198	13			
VVØ														7	17			
VVF														3 ¹⁰⁷⁷	2	1		
VVS																	1	
V																		640

¹⁰⁷⁷ It should be noted that the combination of *fortis* and *lenis* voiced continuants in word-final position after diphthongs was regarded as regular by Ó Cuív (1966) p. 96. It has not been marked green here, because Murphy only briefly mentions the combinations of F and L after long vowels (VF:VL/VL:VF) (Murphy (1961) p. 32). Since it is here not distinguished between long and short vowels, the squares for VL:VF and VF:VL have also been left unmarked, because the difference between ‘regular’ pairs with long vowels rhyming F and L and ‘irregular’ pairs with short vowels rhyming F and L cannot be flagged.

Table 2

	F	FL	FS	FT	L	LL	LF	LT	LD	LØ	LS	LLL	LDL	LFL	LLØ	LST	Ø	ØØ	ØT	ØL	S	SL	ST	SD	D	T	DL	TL	TØ	
F	42				3	2																								
FL		1										1																		
FS			1								2																			
FT								1																						
L					162	5				3							6													
LL	2				3	42	1						1																	
LF						2	1																							
LT								8											6							2				
LD									4								1													
LØ										5										1										
LS			2								1										3									
LLL		1				4																								
LDL						1																								
LFL						1																								
LLØ											2																			
LST																								1						
Ø				2	2					1							25	1												
ØØ																														
ØT								8											12							1		1		
ØL																				10										
S			1																		20									
SL																														
ST																						1	2							
SD																														
D																									2	1	2			
T								1																		3				
DL																												2		
TL																												1	1	1
TØ																													1	

The poetic material that has been reviewed has shown that the expectations raised by the established standard rhyming rules need to be revised in part. What Murphy and many after him have called frequently occurring exceptions or unusual exceptions that give imperfect rhyme,¹⁰⁷⁸ were, in fact, not that exceptional at all. When looking at **Table 1** it becomes clear at a glance that the section in the top-left corner of the chart deviates from the regular Murphy-rhymes. What is shown in this section of the table are the rhymes with voiced and voiceless stops and it is obvious that the combination of exactly those is less of an exception than was previously thought. At a first glance the regular combinations of VD:VD and VT:VT are indeed prominent: there are 50 regular pairs, the numbers of both combinations added. However, the combination VT:VD occurs thirteen times which is about 20% of single-stop-rhymes, i.e. one in five pairs reflects the non-regular combination. In fact, the poet *prefers* to rhyme a voiceless stop in the *Rinn*-word with a voiced stop in the *Ardrinn*-word. There are only three pairs where he rhymes VT with VT. The combination of a voiced stop in the *Rinn*-word with a voiceless stop in the *Ardrinn*-word does not occur, because there are not many polysyllables that end in a voiceless stop and evidently the poet did not choose the option of compounding words ending in a voiceless stop.

Moving further along the table a similar picture emerges when stops are combined with continuants. Thus V \emptyset T rhymes with VD thirty-two times whereas it rhymes only three times with VT. Leaving aside the continuants for a moment, it is again clear that the poet prefers to combine the voiceless stop in a cluster with a single voiced stop. In fact, the picture is far more dramatic: the combination of voiceless:voiced occurs here in 78% of the cases. Similarly, VLT is combined twenty times with VD and only six times with VT, which is nearly the same percentage (76% T:D). However, it has to be stated that the regular combinations of a voiceless stop in a cluster rhyming with a voiceless stop in a cluster occur far more frequently: there are 171 pairs that combine a cluster containing a voiceless stop with an equivalent cluster. Similarly, the only cluster containing D in the *Rinn*-word (i.e. VLD) is rhymed with VLD in almost 83% of the cases and in only 17% is it rhymed with VLT.

When looking at the continuants within these clusters another interesting pattern can be observed. The regular combination of V \emptyset T:V \emptyset T occurs 73 times, whereas V \emptyset T is combined with VLT 24 times, which is – regarding Murphy’s classification – a surprising 1-in-4 ratio. However, where VLT occurs in the *Rinn*-word the poet clearly preferred to rhyme

¹⁰⁷⁸ Murphy (1961) p. 33.

it with VΘT in the *Ardrinn*-word: in about 78% of this case, the poet chooses the ‘exceptional’ combination and only in about 22% does he combine it with an equivalent cluster in the *Ardrinn*-word. This number is hardly to be called an exceptional occurrence.

Another noteworthy observation can be made regarding the combination of single continuants. The majority of all rhyming pairs in the *deibide*-section of *Saltair na Rann* combines a single *lenis* voiced continuant with a single *lenis* voiced continuant (VL:VL×1699). The combination of a *lenis* voiced continuant with a voiceless continuant only occurs twenty times. However, looking at those pairs that contain a single voiceless continuant in the *Rinn*-word, a different picture emerges. Of 477 pairs that contain Θ in the *Rinn*-word, about 60% are combined with L in the *Ardrinn*, showing that the poet actually preferred to create a rhyme that counts as exceptional in Murphy’s scheme.

This overview shows that the perception of the combination of voice and voicelessness in both stops and continuants has to be revised. The numbers show that this combination cannot be called exceptional any longer. There are altogether 485 pairs (12.40% of all rhyming pairs) where either a voiced and a voiceless continuant or a voiced and a voiceless stop are combined.

Regarding the combination of consonantal clusters one clear pattern has emerged that has already been integrated in the rules of *dán díreach* by Brian Ó Cuív. It is very clear that in the rhyming combination of clusters containing a plosive and a continuant, whether they are voiced or voiceless, the plosive always has to be balanced whereas the continuant may be disregarded for the rhyme.¹⁰⁷⁹ In this context it is important to look back at John O’Donovan’s *A Grammar of the Irish Language*. Six classes of consonants are provided here – the same that are proposed by Murphy and others – based on the system of *dán díreach* verse. The interesting fact that O’Donovan points out is that

‘the Irish poets teach that the consonants exceed each other in power and strength, according to the above classification. They assert that *s* is the chief, or queen, of all consonants. Next after it they rank the three soft consonants, *p*, *c*, *t*, which exceed the succeeding classes in force or strength; likewise that the hard consonants [*b*, *d*, *g*] excel the rough consonants [*f*, *ph*, *ch*, *h*], and the strong [*ll*, *mm*, *nn*, *ng*, *rr*] the light ones [*bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh*, *l*, *n*, *r*], which are reckoned the meanest and feeblest of all the consonants.’¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. Ó Cuív (1966) p. 101; he postulates for consonantal groups that do not contain the sibilant that ‘when P[losive] is present in one group P must be present in the second’. The only two exceptions of 3912 rhyming pairs occur in *túarcát:dublúachat* (Canto 5, ll. 903–904) and *érgnai:combérlai* (Canto 24, ll. 2771–2772). The pair *atcha:cathracha* (Canto 65, ll. 4753–4754) is not counted, because the *Rinn*-word is not clear.

¹⁰⁸⁰ O’Donovan (1845) p. 416.

O'Donovan refers to Francis O'Molloy who gives the same ranking in his *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica*:

‘Vidimus alibi consonantes molles numero tres, videlicet c, p, t; item duras nempe b, g, d; item asperas, scilicet ch, th, f; item quinque fortes vt. ll, nn, rr, m, ng; item septem leues, vt. dh, gh, bh, mh, r, l, n. Poëtæ autem docent de qualibet harum classe, seruato iam ordine, consonas prioris classis nobiliores esse, seu maioris potestatis, consonis quibuscunque subsequentium classium: Et dicunt consonam s principem esse omnium consonarum, seu reginam; post vero ipsam aiunt tres molles precellere alijs subsequentibus omnibus omnium alassium. Similiter duras excellere asperas, & fortes præcelcere [sic] leuibus omnium, vtpote ignobilissimis, & debilissimis.’¹⁰⁸¹

If this basic idea of ranking of consonants is applied to the rhyming combinations of consonant clusters it supports the rules that apply:

- 1) As ‘queen of consonants’ *s* can only be rhymed with itself and it always has to be balanced.
- 2) The voiceless and voiced stops, following *s* on level two and three respectively, are always balanced in consonantal clusters,
- 3) whereas the *lenis* voiced continuants, which rank lowest on the scale, may be disregarded for the rhyme.

Regarding the faulty rhymes in *Saltair na Rann* it has been shown that there are only 25 rhyming pairs that give an actually faulty rhyme, i.e. rhymes that do not adhere to the rules as they have been described by previous scholars nor to those rules that have been traditionally described as exceptions but here have been shown to be the rule rather than the exception. About 77% of these faulty rhymes comprise those that combine consonants of different qualities, i.e. the combination of palatal and non-palatal consonants.

As regards those rhyming pairs that contain a mismatch but form a valid rhyme, there are 299 rhyming pairs that contain a vocalic mismatch only, 447 rhyming pairs that contain a single consonantal mismatch and 132 rhyming pairs that contain both a vocalic and consonantal mismatch or two consonantal mismatches. Looking at each pair containing a mismatch the question arose whether the poet and/or scribe tried to keep those mismatches to a minimum, i.e. have only a single mismatch occurring in each pair. By looking at the above number it already becomes clear that the number of pairs that contain both a vocalic and a consonantal mismatch covers 15.03% of all mismatched rhyming pairs.

While surveying those pairs with a single mismatch, a similar question presented itself: when a rhyming pair contains a single mismatch, is there a tendency to keep the

¹⁰⁸¹ O'Molloy (1677) pp. 159–60.

remaining rhyming elements not only regular but identical?¹⁰⁸² For example, the pair *demuin:lenamuin* (Canto 11, ll. 1721–1722) contains identical rhyming elements apart from the stressed vowel in the *Rinn*-word rhyming with the first unstressed vowel in the *Ardrinn*-word. Of all 746 rhyming pairs that contain a single mismatch (vocalic or consonantal), 545 (73.06%) have an identical rhyme apart from their single mismatch (284 of these are least complex, i.e. they only contain a single consonant that can be mismatched and their rhyming vowels are orthographically identical), 176 (23.59%) contain a single mismatch and have regular but not identical additional rhyming elements and 25 (3.35%) pairs are not counted because they contain monosyllabic *Rinn*-words ending in a vowel. Considering that identical rhymes were not desirable, these numbers are remarkable.¹⁰⁸³

The survey of the rhyming pairs in *Saltair na Rann* has shown that the creation of the rhymes must be regarded as multi-dimensional. There are three elements that have to be considered, with sometimes two or even three of them overlapping. The first dimension, which is the common topic of any metrical discussion in Irish poetry, is the phonetic dimension. This dimension is also reflected in the early Irish metrical tracts. Thus, consonants are grouped and rhymed together according to their phonetic classes. However, as has just been demonstrated, this grouping is in some cases too restrictive, because the combination of voice and voicelessness has to be regarded as the rule rather than an exception.

The second dimension that is often disregarded for discussions of Medieval Irish poetry is the visual dimension. *Saltair na Rann* is a very clear example of a feature that Carney dismissed by saying that the poets composed poems ‘to be learnt by heart, sung, recited, borne in memory: the eye hardly existed, only the ear and the mouth’.¹⁰⁸⁴ While it is true that poems were also composed to be recited, the poet and the scribe of *Saltair na Rann* did, in fact, have eyes and they used them well. The number of rhyming pairs where the vowel(s) have been adjusted to be identical on vellum is striking, especially in a poem of the early Middle Irish period.

The third dimension is the most difficult to grasp, but should be kept in mind while studying lines of verse. It is the dimension of what the poet thought when he created his

¹⁰⁸² ‘Remaining rhyming elements’ are any consonants in the rhyme. If the vowels do not match orthographically, they are the mismatch in that pair. This question can only be asked in the case of words where the single mismatch is vocalic or where the word contains a consonant cluster. Thus, the pair *glé:Iudae* (Canto 113, ll. 6581–6582) can only contain the one mismatch and the question of identity of other rhyming elements is irrelevant, because there are no other rhyming elements in this pair. These pairs will not be counted. However, pairs that are similar to *rath:turbad* (Canto 126, ll. 7043–7044), i.e. rhyming pairs that mismatch their only consonant but have identical vowels will be counted in answer to the question.

¹⁰⁸³ See above, pp. 7–10, Chapter 1.2.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Carney (1971) p. 61.

poetry and what knowledge he accessed to create his verse. An example of this may be found where *datta* is rhymed with *dínerta* (Canto 26, ll. 2831–2832) and the poet may have had access to the underlying forms of the *Rinn*-word.¹⁰⁸⁵

This work has further demonstrated that the study of Old and Middle Irish poetry can benefit greatly from modern metrical theory. It has been stated at the beginning of this thesis that Irish metrical studies usually stays within its own field, but new tools and perspectives can be acquired if metrical theory from other poetical backgrounds, additionally to the native metrical works, is applied to Irish verse.

Roman Jakobson, the pioneer to use linguistic concepts in metrical studies, was one of the first to point out that in rhyme sound and meaning are firmly connected.¹⁰⁸⁶ Even though the present thesis has not gone into great detail regarding possible conceptual patterns in rhyming pairs, it has been pointed out that certain rhyming word combinations stand out in their frequent occurrence (such as, for example, *Israhél* being predominantly rhymed with *trén* and *scél*). It is without doubt that the poet wanted to create a strong connection between sound and meaning in those instances, because in most cases he had a broader lexical choice.

In regard to seeming aberrations from the rules regulating the verse and its traits, Jakobson also pointed out that ‘we are inclined to designate such phenomena [...] as deviations, but it must be remembered that these are oscillations, departures within the limits of the law’.¹⁰⁸⁷ It has been shown in the present thesis that what has formerly been described as exceptional rhyming combinations, namely the combination of voice and voicelessness, particularly in continuants, must be regarded precisely as that, as a departure *within* the law, as something that the poet not only felt was ‘allowed’ but something that, in some cases, he actually preferred over what has come to be accepted as the regular rhyming combinations.

Morris Halle has inspired another possibility to work with the rhyming pairs of *Saltair na Rann*. In his ‘On Meter and Prosody’ he created an abstract way of describing the metre to distinguish it from the actualisation of it in words.¹⁰⁸⁸ In the course of his work he also points out that it is very important to be able to describe the different complexities of a metre, where he assigns zero to the line with no metrical complexity and one to each complexity in a line, so that different complexities add up to different numbers.¹⁰⁸⁹ Something similar could be done with the rhyming pairs in the *Saltair*. By assigning a numerical value, e.g. one, to a

¹⁰⁸⁵ See above, p. 281 and below, p. 403.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Jakobson (1960) p. 368.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 364.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Halle (1970) and above pp. 27–9.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Halle (1970) 73–4.

deviation of the rule different complexities can be calculated. For example, the pair *acht:sescat* (Canto 3, ll. 755–756) would have a complexity value of 2, because 1) the voiceless continuant is not answered in the *Ardrinn*-word and 2) a voiceless stop is paired with a voiced stop. Different deviations could be assigned different values to mark the level of complexity even better, e.g. the mismatch of quality of a consonant alone could be assigned 3 to mark the pair as faulty.

Paul Kiparsky's approach through generative phonology explained why certain seeming metrical deviations are, in fact, regular.¹⁰⁹⁰ He states that it was 'long an unquestioned axiom of metrical theory that the metrically relevant features of a line are phonetic, that is, audible in the recitation intended by the poet [...]'.¹⁰⁹¹ However, he finds that 'potential audibility is not always necessary'¹⁰⁹² and that 'prosodic constraints may involve stages in the derivation that are not (even optionally) realized on the phonetic level'.¹⁰⁹³ As has been pointed out above his theorem can be applied to an example in the *Saltair* where *datta* is rhymed with *dínerta* (Canto 26, ll. 2831–2832). The *Rinn*-word *datta* is a derivative of the noun *dath* 'colour, beauty' and the adjectival ending *-da*. Although the poet would never have pronounced *datta* with one or even two continuants (*daththa*), this is the underlying form of the derived adjective. *datta* derives from the noun *dath* plus adjectival ending *ða* giving **daththa*, which gives **dathta*. These stages of the derivation are indeed not realised on the phonetic level, but they still may have been accessed by the poet, so that ultimately the voiced continuant in the cluster of *dínerta* was in fact rhymed with the voiceless continuant in *dathta* which underlies *datta* on a derivational rather than a phonetic level.

The approach to metrical theory by Gary Miller can also be applied to the corpus of *Saltair na Rann*.¹⁰⁹⁴ He focused on what he called 'poetic options', with which he described licences that poets had to seemingly bend phonetic or grammatical rules to make a word fit the metrical line. However, instead of 'bending' the existing rules, Miller showed that the poets had the licence to access different points of phonetic derivation of a word. An example from *Saltair na Rann* that can be used to demonstrate Miller's point is to be found in the line 6985 that reads *Do-rigned sain ar Iob*. In isolation, it is no problem to read the line as having

¹⁰⁹⁰ See Kiparsky (1972) and above, pp. 29–33.

¹⁰⁹¹ Op. cit. p. 174.

¹⁰⁹² Op. cit. p. 175.

¹⁰⁹³ Op. cit. p. 176.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See Miller (1977) and above, pp. 33–5.

seven syllables if *Iob* is read as a disyllable.¹⁰⁹⁵ However, since it is rhymed with *soerslóg* in the following line, it cannot be read as a disyllabic word, because the rhyme simply would not be valid. Hence Greene opted to supply an additional syllable for the line to read *Dorigned [in] sain Iob*. However, although Greene's emendation is not incorrect, there is no need for it for the line to make sense. If the final word in the *Rinn*-line were understood to contain *two* metrical values, the line length would be correct and the rhyme would be valid. If that were the case the poet would have accessed two metrical values of the name *Iob* at the same time: he would have used it as a disyllable on the horizontal axis of the stanza for the syllable count and at the same time he would have counted *Iob* as a monosyllable on the vertical axis for the rhyme. Keeping Greene's emendation in mind, this option should at least be considered.

Krzysztof Jaskuła's approach was to use modern phonological theory to explain why consonant clusters of short and long syllables were able to rhyme with single consonants within their own type, but clusters from the second type of half-long syllables (e.g. *ainm*) were able to rhyme with single consonants only from the first type of half-long syllables (e.g. *rinn*).¹⁰⁹⁶ The data of *Saltair na Rann* has not been divided according to Jaskuła's classification, because Jaskuła deals exclusively with monosyllables. However, there are instances in those groups that contain the two types of Jaskuła's half-long syllables that reflect Jaskuła's combination in question: VF of the first class of half-long syllables is combined with VLL of the second class of half-long syllables. These combinations occur ten times in word-final and two times in intervocalic position. Since Jaskuła only dealt with monosyllabic words, the intervocalic instances cannot be counted here. The fact that only 10 of 3912 pairs contain this combination shows at least a certain reluctance of the poet to use it. However, Jaskuła explained clearly why this combination works by pointing out that 'what mattered for metrics was the number of nuclei visible to phonology'.¹⁰⁹⁷

The combination of a continuant – whether voiced or unvoiced – plus voiceless stop with a single voiceless stop in the *Saltair* is covered by Jaskuła's short syllables, that contain a short vowel followed by a single consonant or 'light' consonant cluster.¹⁰⁹⁸ It has to be pointed out again that Jaskuła only dealt with monosyllables and thus the behaviour of these syllables in compounds, for example, is not covered by his study.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Iob* was used both as mono- and disyllabic word, but it only appears once in end-rhyming position.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See Jaskuła (2007) and above pp. 37–42.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Jaskuła (2007), p. 73.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Op. cit. pp. 51–2.

The first chapter of the present thesis sought to give an overview of the work that has been done on the principles of Old and Middle Irish metre and rhyme. As an anchor for the present work, providing the basis for this research, this chapter described the classical approach to the subject.

The second chapter gave an overview of a range of concepts from metrical theory, with linguistics in metrical surveys as the main focus. The theories that were presented come from a variety of backgrounds and include examples from Slavic, Sanskrit, Greek, English and Irish poetry.

The third chapter was dedicated to the history of *Saltair na Rann* itself. It briefly discussed the text's genesis and presented a summary of the discussion on the *Saltair's* authorship and date. Furthermore, studies on the poem's language and metre were included.

Chapter four served as an introduction of and instruction on how to use the data-base that is presented in the following chapters. It represents a manual of how to work with the data-base, giving examples of each of them and detailing each feature.

Chapters five and six provided the analytical heart of this metrical survey. The fifth chapter contains each individual rhyming pair and describes each rhyming combination on a phonetic and orthographic level. Exceptions are dealt with briefly, because the sixth chapter is dedicated only to those rhyming pairs that form exceptional or unusual combinations. These include actually faulty rhymes as well as those combinations that do not form perfect but still metrically valid rhymes. Pie-charts have been created and inserted to give a better overview of those rhyming combinations that are deemed faulty or, according to the conventional system, are exceptional. Each case was discussed in detail, considering both Greene's working notes and Stokes' edition as well as readings from Rawlinson B 502.

The size of the corpus will hopefully motivate further studies of Irish metrics and poetry. Thus, a new project is planned that will look at the contents and context of each rhyming pair to find out whether a conceptual pattern can be detected: are some words in rhyming position exclusively rhymed with a limited amount of other words to build up an expectation in the audience's mind, thereby connecting two words into one set concept? A few examples of such rhyming pairs have already been noted briefly.

The word-lists that have been created during this study will be a useful tool for anyone who wishes to study end-rhyme in Irish. An electronic format will make it easily accessible and, most importantly, searchable for anyone who needs to consult the rhyming corpus of *Saltair na Rann*.

Another possible direction is suggested by the present work. There are numerous compound words in end-rhyme position and a closer investigation of these will reveal more information on how these were constructed and how they were used in rhyming position. In connection to this study it will be interesting to investigate which parts of speech are combined in rhyme and how they interact within the rhyming couplets.

While working with the corpus of *Saltair na Rann* another aspect of the study of rhymes in Irish presented itself that has not been surveyed before. The question arose to what extent, if at all, suspensions and abbreviations in the manuscript might play into the structure of the visual rhyme. For example, in cases where a single <i> in one word is balanced by <ai> in the other word the rhyme is valid. However, should the <a> be part of a suspension or be superscripted over another letter, the visual focus would remain on the single <i> and possibly enhance the symmetry of the visual rhyme. For example *traig* is rhymed with *aidid* (Canto 108, ll. 6443–6444), but the *Rinn*-word contains a suspension: *a* is written above *t* and *r* is commonly supplied in the expansion. Thus, the manuscript has ^{*a*}*tig* rhyming with *aidid*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Similarly, where *dil* is combined with *oentreib* (Canto 2, ll. 649–650) the *Ardrinn*-word contains a suspension where the second *e* is written above *t* (with *r* being commonly expanded), so that the orthographic rhyme is between *dil* and ^{*e*}*oentib*.¹¹⁰⁰ One other example is the pair *barc:Isac* (Canto 26, ll. 2819–2820), where *r* in the *Rinn*-word is part of a common suspension: the *a* has an elongated down-shaft with a through-stroke.¹¹⁰¹ The rhyme on vellum is thus between *bqc* and *isac*, with the single voiceless stop in the visual focus. It has to be kept in mind that in these and numerous other instances the suspensions are commonly used, but the question can still be asked whether the scribe chose some of them deliberately to enhance the visual rhyme.

It should be noted that this study must be expanded further regarding the regular rhyming pairs. While the focus in the present work was directed at those rhyming pairs that were irregular, mismatched or faulty, it must be stressed that it is now equally important to study those rhyming pairs to a greater depth that are or are seemingly regular. The present study has not taken account of those occasions where the poet or the scribe deviated from the etymologically correct spelling to create a visually perfect rhyme but one in which there is an unconventional relationship between the orthography and phonology.¹¹⁰² In connection with

¹⁰⁹⁹ Rawl. B 502, f. 35^v a.

¹¹⁰⁰ Rawl. B 502, f. 20^v a.

¹¹⁰¹ Rawl. B 502, f. 26^f a.

¹¹⁰² Some of these cases have been pointed out in Chapters 5 and 6, but no comprehensive overview or analysis has been attempted. Examples include pairs like *gál:Rachíal* (Canto 26, ll. 3029–3030) or *cíal:Abíal* (Canto 11,

this it must be remembered that in those cases that have been surveyed it is not always possible to tell who it was – poet or scribe – that changed the form of the word to make it into a perfect eye-rhyme. Especially in those cases where the spelling was only changed marginally it cannot be decided with certainty whose grammatical and etymological awareness it was to enhance a visual rhyme.

The study of *Saltair na Rann* yields another subject of great interest in connection to the meaning of the rhyming words. The *Saltair* contains many Biblical names in rhyming position as well as Latin words and the rhyming combinations with Irish words give much information about the pronunciation of Latin in Ireland at the time of composition. This study can be broadened into a survey of Biblical names and Latin words that occur in *Saltair na Rann*, including those in *aicill*- and internal rhyming position. A few observations can already be made regarding the rhyming behaviour of names, specifically of non-native biblical names in the present case. There are 989 rhyming pairs that contain a name in rhyming position, either as the *Rinn*- (48) or the *Ardrinn*-word (941). Some of these names only occur once, like *Boz* or *Ebrón*, others, like *Ádam* and *Israhél*, appear many times in rhyming position. There are 155 (15.67%) mismatches to be found in those rhymes that concern names. These mostly involve the combination of voiceless and voiced continuants (e.g. *díth:Dauíd* (Canto 100, ll. 5943–5944)) as well as mismatches in rhyming vowels, especially if the following consonant is palatal (e.g. *greim:Effraim* (Canto 78, ll. 5271–5272)). Due to unusual consonantal or vocalic combinations in the names most of the Irish rhyming words are monosyllabic. Variations in spelling of non-native names occur, but are minimal, usually involving the ‘adjustment’ of a vowel, but names such as *Égept*, *Israhél* or *Dauíd* – and they occur frequently – do not change their form. On the other hand there are frequent instances of the Irish words being altered in their appearance to better suit the non-native names. Thus, *gíall* or *tríallare* frequently rhymed with the names *Rachíal* and *Abíal*, but they are spelled with only a single <l> (e.g. *tríal:Abíal*, Canto 11, ll. 1955–1956¹¹⁰³ or *gíal:Rachíal*, Canto 26, ll. 2971–2972). Although the non-native names are not immune to

ll. 1965–1966), where the *Rinn*-words are spelled with a single <l> even though they end in a *fortis* voiced continuant. In the pair *crícha:Erícha* (Canto 73, ll. 5051–5052) the first vowel in the *Rinn*-word is etymologically correct. Greene gives the correct form, *crecha*, and although the rhyme is correct in both cases, the manuscript presents another example of an eye-rhyme favoured over the etymologically correct spelling. Similarly, where *gortai* rhymes with *bithbochtai* (Canto 5, ll. 951–952), the final <i> in the *Ardrinn*-word is not etymological and has been added to enhance the visual rhyme. There are numerous examples, especially of vocalic adjustments that favour the visual rhyme over the etymologically correct spelling.

¹¹⁰³ The only instance where the correct spelling of /L/ has been retained (rhyming with a form of the name *Abíal*) is *céill:Abéil* (Canto 11, ll. 1947–1948). Wherever else this *Rinn*-word occurs (in the nominative form) it is spelled *cíal* with a single <l>.

orthographic changes, it is clear that the poet or, in some instances, the scribe preferred to adjust the Irish word rather than the name.

There are also ten Latin words that appear in the *Ardrinn*-position, each of which is rhymed with a monosyllabic Irish *Rinn*-word.¹¹⁰⁴ In nine cases the spelling of the Latin word has not been tampered with, but in one instance the *Rinn*-word is changed rather drastically to accommodate the Latin word (*rochlús:exercitús*, Canto 3, ll. 769–770). Note that the *Ardrinn*-word here has an accusative function, but, unless the final vowel is to be read as a long vowel – which would make it accusative plural –, is not in the Latin accusative case. The lines *Decem caterua ro-chlús / tiagait i nexercitús* translate as ‘ten *caterua*, it is heard, go into an *exercitus*’.¹¹⁰⁵ This speaks for a singular form.

In the pairs *séis:Uirtutés* (Canto 3, ll. 663–664), *séis:Potestatés* (Canto 2, ll. 541–542) and *tréis:Dominationés* (Canto 3, ll. 667–668) the rhyme seems to be faulty due to the lack of the palatal quality of the final sibilant in the *Ardrinn*-words. The poet or scribe felt not comfortable inserting an <i>, even though these rhyming pairs indicate that the Latin words were pronounced with a palatal sibilant. *Uirtutés* and *Dominationés* are both in the nominative case and this agrees with the Latin declension, and both are plural forms. *Potestatés* comes after *is nessam* ‘nearest’, an expression that is usually followed by the preposition *do* which demands the dative case. However, *Potestatés* can only be nominative, accusative or vocative plural according to its Latin declension and hence would not fit into the Irish construction.¹¹⁰⁶

The remaining four pairs (*den:agmen*, Canto 3, ll. 773–774; *bla:caterua*, Canto 3, ll. 767–768; *tra:turba*, Canto 3, ll. 771–772; *tlus:Uirtutibus*, Canto 2, ll. 539–540) form valid rhymes without any orthographic adjustments. It is interesting that in the pair *tlus:Uirtutibus* the *Ardrinn*-word appears in the same construction as the above mentioned *Potestatés* (*is nessam [do]*), but here the Latin declension corresponds to the Irish sentence construction, i.e. it is in the required dative case. *agmen* and *caterua* also agree with the Irish grammar: *agmen* is in the accusative singular case whereas *caterua* here appears in the nominative singular. Only *turba* should read *turbam* in the Latin declension, since it appears here in the accusative singular case.

¹¹⁰⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Jacopo Bisagni and Dr. Pádraic Moran for their time and advice they invested for me on this subject.

¹¹⁰⁵ Translation by Greene.

¹¹⁰⁶ Meyer (1918) p. 879 also comments on these rhymes, saying that an Irish speaker would have pronounced a final *s* in a Latin word palatal, if it comes after a palatal vowel (‘In lateinischen Wörtern wird in irischem Munde *s* hinter palatalem Vokal wie *š* gesprochen. Daher Reime wie *potestatēs, virtutēs:sēis* [...]’)

Finally, there are two instances where Latin *firmamentum* is rhymed with *drung* (Canto 2, ll. 633–634) and once *firmamentom* is rhymed with *oll* (ll. 139–140, Canto 1). The first example has the *Ardrinn*-word in the nominative case which agrees with the form of the word. The second example comes after the preposition *cenmothá* ‘apart from’ and also agrees with the Latin declension, because it appears here in the accusative case. However, this seems to be the only example where the Latin form is actually changed to suit the Irish *Rinn*-word. The <o> in the final syllable of the *Ardrinn* appears nowhere in the Latin declension and the poet could not have changed the *Rinn*-word to *ull* without changing the meaning as well.

The main questions in all these cases are how these Latin words were actually pronounced by an Irish person at the end of the 10th century. The question will not be answered here in greater detail, but a few conclusions can be drawn.

The most interesting pairs here regarding pronunciation are certainly those three that rhyme with a palatal sibilant in the *Rinn*-word. It has already been suggested that the Latin words must have also been pronounced with a palatal sibilant to form a valid rhyme. Pádraig Breatnach wrote in ‘The pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland’ that *i* glides were frequently inserted into Latin words:

‘From this [the insertion of glides] it is apparent, as suggested above, that Latin consonants were pronounced with their values of their vernacular counterparts, that is to say, with either palatal or non-palatal quality, as dictated by vocalic environment.’¹¹⁰⁷

However, he mentions that ‘in the orthography of early Hib.-Lat. sources it is found only rarely’.¹¹⁰⁸

Anthony Harvey is more concerned with Latin texts that contain vernacular words or names. He says:

‘As far as retrieving a particular Celtic scribe’s pronunciation of Latin is concerned, I believe, then that the key to success lies in analysing the spelling of any vernacular words or names which he may have embedded in his Latin text.’¹¹⁰⁹

He hypothesises ‘that, whenever present in one of the medieval Celtic realms, the Latin language will have been pronounced to the vernacular sound system’.¹¹¹⁰ On the other hand,

¹¹⁰⁷ P. Breatnach (1988) p. 65.

¹¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

¹¹⁰⁹ Harvey (1990) p. 190; and see Harvey (1991) where he applies his methodology to Adomnán’s *Vita Sancti Columbae*.

¹¹¹⁰ Harvey (1991) 48.

'in the spelling of the vernacular, the orthographic patterns of Latin will have had a paramount influence'.¹¹¹¹

It is hoped that the study here presented will lead to a further investigation not only of the corpus of *Saltair na Rann* but also of Irish metrics itself. It has been demonstrated that the use of modern metrical theory as well as the application of methodologies from the field of linguistics result in many new interesting insights and perspectives that will shed light on issues that may not even have been looked at before. The combination of the work that has already been done on Irish poetry and metrics and new tools from different fields of study will most certainly be a fruitful undertaking and, in turn, studies in Irish metrics will enrich those different fields of study whence the new tools have been borrowed.

¹¹¹¹ Loc. cit.

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