French Language and Literature in Medieval Ireland

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Résumé

Au Moyen Age, en Irlande comme ailleurs, la langue française était synonyme de pouvoir et de prestige. Établie en Irlande au douzième siècle par les Anglo-Normands, cette langue est restée celle des échelons sociaux supérieurs (Église, droit, etc.), à différents degrés, pendant plusieurs siècles. On la trouve écrite dans des poèmes (dont un compte rendu de l'invasion anglo-normande). Chose intéressante, des souvenirs littéraires arthuriens imprègnent la littérature gaélique de l'époque. A partir du quatorzième siècle, le français entama son déclin face non à l'anglais mais au gaélique.

Abstract

In medieval Ireland as elsewhere, French was a language of power and prestige. Introduced into twelfth-century Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, it remained the language of the ruling classes (Church, law, etc.) generally, to varying degrees, for several centuries. Written, it emerges, inter alia, in a handful of poems including a near-contemporary account of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Interestingly, reminiscenses of French Arthurian literature abound in the Irish literature of the period. From the fourteenth-century onwards, French began to lose out not to English but to the vernacular, Irish.

FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND

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French is studied more widely in the secondary schools of the Republic of Ireland than in almost any other non French-speaking country in the world. A report in *Le Monde* on 5 December 1979 states :

> Les points forts du français en Europe s'appuient aujourd'hui sur des pays comme l'Irlande et la Suède ou des "progrès encourageants" ont été notés (1).

More recently, the following figures issued by the Irish Department of Education eloquently attest to the success of French as the main foreign language studied in the country's secondary schools, out-stripping its nearest rival, German, by a ratio of fifteen to one, in the Leaving Certificat Examination (2) :

	1985 no. of students	1986 no. of students	1987 no. of students
English	46,880	47,264	49,339
French	28,788	29,247	30,989
German	1,691	1,764	2,242
Spanish	995	915	817
Latin	869	854	972
Italian	75	86	94
Greek	6	16	16
Hebrew	3	-	7

In Ireland, this popularity of French is greeted variously with enthusiasm, amazement, scepticism or even hostility depending on whether one is a teacher, a statistician, a francophile or a francophobe ! It is generally regarded as something quite new, born of the age of the EEC and proof that we are indeed, after all, modern European citizens. This is

to forget that - as was the case all over medieval Europe - the French language was widely spoken, written, read and even used in literary compositions for several centuries in medieval Ireland.

Much has been written regarding the popularity of the French language in medieval Europe. It is a truism to say that for several centuries French was an international language : the "polite" language, the language of court, law, education and commerce all over Europe. Non-French writers chose to write in French rather than in their own language because, as the thirteenth-century Italian scholar, Martino da Canale, stated :

> The French language is current throughout the world, and more delightful to hear and read than any other.

The French language enjoyed similar power and prestige in medieval Ireland where, up to the end of the fourteenth century, French — or more specifically Norman French — was one of the three main languages spoken (the other two being, of course, Irish and English). French was introduced into Ireland by the Norman conquerors in the second half of the twelfth century. After its annexation by the French in the eleventh century,

> England became a part of France and thus entered fully into the life of the world to which France belonged (3).

Welsh and even Flemish may have been among the languages spoken by the force that invaded Ireland late in the twelfth century and that seems to have originated mainly in South-West England and Wales. Its leaders, however, were "Norman-French in speech and blood" (4). The handful of years they had spent on British soil had not altered this. Edmond Curtis states :

> The natural speech of the Fitzgeralds, Lacys, de Burgos, Marshalls and others of the first conquerors was that of the ruling caste in the country they had come from. It is quite certain that they were not familiar with English, for it was not until the reign of Edward I, a century later, that the speech of the Anglo-Saxon population became a second language for the English aristocracy from the King downwards (5).

This is reiterated in a more recent study by Alan Bliss and Joseph Long :

> The ruling families of the FitzGeralds, Barrys, Carews, and other sharers of the conquest, who had been established for two generations in the south of Wales, brought the Norman French language with them to Ireland. This was the language of the ruling caste in England at the time, and

was to remain so for more than a century to come. It was not until the reign of Edward I that the speech of the Anglo-Saxon population became the second language of the English king and of the aristocracy (6).

Soon after its introduction into Ireland, French became and remained for many centuries (as it did elsewhere in Europe) the "lingua franca" in the worlds of government, law, religion and commerce. Again, to quote Curtis :

> In the towns founded or rebuilt by the colonists, French was for a long time the language most affected by the ecclesiastics and the richer burgesses, who were in origin largely French, or drawn from that English bourgeois class which had, some generations ago, followed William I into England (7).

Evidence of the use of French in twelfth and thirteenth-century Ireland is unfortunately far from being as plentiful as it is in the Britain of the corresponding period. Records and documents are generally more scarce - many have been lost or destroyed - but the hints, references and half-references that do remain enable us to build a composite picture of the use of French in the Ireland of the period.

French was first used in acts of Parliament in Ireland in 1310 and, alternating with Latin, it retained this role until 1472. The Statutes of the Great Earl of Kildare, for example, are couched in Norman French. Unfortunately, the original statutes perished in the destruction of the Four Courts in 1922, but transcripts which had been made for the Record Commissioners in the nineteenth century were luckily preserved almost uninjured and are now kept in the Public Records Office, Dublin. They cover the reigns of Edward IV to Richard III. French was also used in the early statutes and ordinances of Dublin, Galway and Waterford. Four of the earlier Ormond Deeds (a collection of public and private documents of a miscellaneous nature, preserved by the Butler family in Kilkenny Castle) are in French (8). Il would appear that French continued to be the judicial language in Ireland longer than in England, statutes in French being written in Ireland as late as 1508.

If French was, in medieval Ireland, the language of law it was also the language of another great institution, the Church, or — to be more specific — the upper échelons of the religious community. This is hardly surprising when one remembers that, from the twelfth century onwards, Ireland was flooded by wave after wave of French and Anglo-French ecclesiastics, Benedictines from Cluny and Savigny, Cistercians and those close associates of the Norman aristocracy, the Franciscans. The carefully-kept records of those early ecclesiastics trace the importance of French in their midst. For example, during a visit to Ireland in 1228

as Visitor-General of the Cistercians of Ireland, Stephen of Lexington, future abbot of Clairvaux and a graduate of Paris as well as of Oxford, decreed that :

> No-one shall be admitted to be a monk, no matter what his nationality, unless he can confess his faults in French or Latin, in order that when the visitors and correctors of the order come, he can understand them and be understood by them... The rule shall in future be explained only in French and the monks' chapter conducted in either French or Latin (9).

There existed similar regulations in thirteenth-century England prescribing that French or Latin be the colloquial language of the religious orders.

French and Anglo-French influence on the medieval Irish church was fostered by the fact that not only was the language it used French but its leaders and even some of its ordinary members were often actually French-born. Indeed, referring to medieval England, Vising goes so far as to say :

> It is true that some Englishmen entered these orders, but they were few, and it is doubtful whether they used any language other than that of their French brethren (10).

For some time after the Norman conquest, key-posts in the medieval Irish church were held by foreigners, mainly French- speaking Anglo-French, as the Irish were excluded from the episcopacy sporadically and to varying degrees. Again, the Franciscans spent over two centuries in Ireland before electing an Irishman to be their superior (in 1445). Up to then, their superiors had been French-speaking Normans or Anglo-Normans.

As the Middle Ages progressed, French influence grew stronger in the Irish Church. Innumerable visits are recorded by Irish ecclesiastics to their mother-houses in France or to French universities (as there were no universities in Ireland). By. 1500, the Observant movement which flourished in late medieval France had won over most of the Irish Franciscan houses, and in 1492 a French-born member became its superior in Ireland.

While it may be possible to ascertain what language was in use by the upper échelons several centuries ago, it is extremely difficult to ascertain what language the common people used. Thanks, however, to the reforming zeal of Richard Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory from 1317 to c. 1361, we have evidence that the inhabitants of Kilkenny at that time

understood French and were even wont to sing in that language ! Voicing
his opposition to certain "foul, theatrical and secular songs" ("teatralibus,
turpibus et secularibus") that were currently polluting the throats
("polluantur... guttura...") of the people of Kilkenny, he decided to replace
them with sacred words sung to the original melodies.In order to indicate
the songs he had in mind, he reproduced the first two lines of eight of
them. Two of these songs have been preserved in the Red Book of Ossory
and transpire to be none other than French love-songs :

> Harrow ! ieo su trahy
> Par fol amor de mal amy ;
> (Alas ! I am betrayed by crazy love for a faithless lover)
>
> Heu alas pur amour
> Qy moy myst en taunt dolour ;
> (Alas for love that hos plunged me into such sorrow) (11).

The fact that Ledrede has to indicate merely the first two lines of
these songs for them to be instantly recognisable suggest that they
were well-known in his city : the pop-songs of his day, perhaps !

From literary works dating from twelfth and thirteenth-century
England as well as from the existence of letters written by simple
merchants in fourteenth-century England, it is clear that the common
people there could understand French (12).

> Le fait que le prieur demande des échantillons de drap, vend du blé ou
> refuse de vendre du bois dans des lettres en français adressées à de
> simples bourgeois, semble nous indiquer que même les gens de cette
> classe connaissaient suffisamment cette langue pour comprendre les
> communications du prieur (13).

Some examples remain from medieval Ireland of epistolary literature
in the French language. Again, the existence of private letters written
in French by Irish-born nobles of Norman origin attests to the popularity
of French at this time (14). More examples must have existed though
few remain of that most perishable and discardable form of writing :
private correspondence.

We have considerable proof that French literature was read in
medieval Ireland. In the (undated) inventory of books kept in the library
of the Great Earl of Kildare (virtual ruler of Ireland from 1477 until
his death in 1513), we find mention of eleven French books (as opposed
to seven English ones, twenty Irish ones and twenty-one Latin ones).
Under the heading :

*Hec sunt nomina librorum existen(cium) in libraria Geraldi, Comitis
Kildari :*

one finds :

> The Cronicles of England in Frenche
> A Frenche boke in parchment
> The trye of battails
> Lalas damour de viegne
> Le quatre choses toutz cestz on un lyve
> Maundevile in French
> The Cronicles of Fraunce in French
> Parte of the Bible in French
> Le Brevier des Nobles
> Le Tryumph de Damez
> A Book of Farsses in French (15).

Another catalogue of books belonging to the same Earl, entitled
"Bokys remayning in the lyberary of Geralde fitz Geralde Erle of kyldare
the xv day of ffebruairii A. Henrici viii xxii" mentions thirty-six French
books (as opposed to thirty-four Latin ones and twenty-two English ones,
an entry headed "Irsh Bokys" having been left blank) (16).

That medieval Ireland had access to the literature of the correspond-
ing period in French is evident from the very considerable number of
translations into medieval Irish of the stories of Charlemagne and Arthur.
Arthurian influence is discernable in many texts ; part of the legend of
the Holy Grail survives in a manuscript in the Franciscan Library in
Dublin. Motifs and reminiscences of these works made their way into
a sizable corpus of as yet unpublished Irish versions (17). It would
appear too that Irish translators were sometimes working from French
versions of Latin texts. The Latin writer, Statius (born in Naples) is
twice referred to in medieval Irish texts as French, and one of the Irish
translations of Statius' *Thebaid* follows the French rather than the Latin
version.

The BM Harley MS 913 (which may have been the work of Anglo-Irish
friars living in Ireland early in the fourteenth century) contains works in
English, Latin and French. Among the French entries is a melancholy poem,
the title of which — *Proverbia Comitis Desmonie* — *refers to the First
Earl of Desmond. It cannot have been written earlier than 1329 as the
Earldom of Desmond was created in that year :*

> Soule su, simple, e saunz solas,
> Seignury me somount sojorner,
> Si suppris sei de moune solas,
> Sages se deit soul solacer.
> Soule ne solai sojorner,
> No solein estre de petit solas.
> Sovereyn se est de se solacer,
> Qe se sent soule e saunz solas.

(Alone am I, single, and without solace, my fate (the tyranny of love ?) bids me remain ; yet though bereft of my joy and comfort, the wise would be content alone. Alone I was not wont to be, nor was I ever wont to be comfortless. But he who feels himself deserted and without solace must needs feel consolation in himself.)

Because of similarity of construction, the *Proverbia Comitis Desmonie* is generally regarded as coming from the same pen as the list of French proverbs found in the same manuscript immediately preceding the *Proverbia* :

> Folie fet qe en force s'afie ;
> Fortune fet force failire ;
> Fiaux funt fort folie
> Fere en favelous flatire.
> Fere force fest fiaux fuir,
> Faux fiers fount feble fameler.
> Fausyne fest feble fremir,
> Feie ferme fra fausyn fundre.

(Foolish is the man who puts his trust in brute force ; fortune makes force to fail : treachery (or loyalty) by fair words can overthrow ill-advised insolence. Brute force puts to flight the treacherous (or the loyal), and violent treacherous men make the weak to die of hunger. Injustice makes the weak to tremble, but firm faith will confound injustice) (18).

The same intriguing Harley MS contains a light-hearted, unsophisticated poem in French entitled *Rithmus Facture Ville de Rosse* (19). This short work (200 lines long) purports to be a description of the entrenchment, in 1265, of the prosperous Norman town of New Ross in County Wexford. In his famous *Description of Ireland* (1586), Stanihurst states :

> The town (of New Ross) is builded in a barren soil and planted among a crue of naugthie and prolling neighbours (20).

It was to protect themselves against these "naughtie and prolling neighbours" that the inhabitants of that town decided to build a trench and walls around their town in the thirteenth century. The poem is a lively account of how workmen were hired to complete the necessary work but as they did not prove to be very assiduous the townsfolk themselves (including the ladies) decided to do the work instead. Animated descriptions abound of the carolling, the processions and the general merry-making that accompanied the digging of the trenches. Despite many hypotheses, it is not now possible to determine the identity or the provenance of the author : was he a professional Anglo Norman trouvere as St. John Seymour suggests, or a French monk front the Continent (21) ? In all probability, his audience was part of the Norman community of Ireland. As a work of literature, the poem is rather uninspired ; clichés, conventional superlatives, formulae and chevilles abound.As a social document however, it provides us with an interesting picture of the trades exercised by the inhabitants of thirteenth-century New Ross. Darker currents can be glimpsed ; the need to protect and arm oneself in a largely hostile environment. In a wider context,

> the existence of this poem is evidence that verse-writing in French was an object of interest and encouragement, and that there was a public for French literature of a minor genre among the inhabitants of this active centre of trade (22).

The most extensive work of Norman-French literature to have survived from medieval Ireland is the 3459-line poem entitled by Goddard H. Orpen (who edited and translated it in 1892) *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (23). It is preserved in just one copy, the Carew MS 596 which is now in the Lambeth Palace Library, London. We do not know how or where Sir George Carew obtained this manuscript. It tells the story of Dermot (or Diarmuid) MacMurrough, King of Leinster, of the Norman earl, Strongbow and of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169. It is not now possible to state why this poem was written. This may have been mentioned at the beginning of the poem which is now missing, as is the conclusion. Various theories exist regarding the "raison d'être" of this work : Meyer, for instance, suggests that it may have been written for Strongbow's daughter. Again, because the start of the poem is missing, it is not possible to state for certain who its author was or when exactly he wrote it (24). The main source of the text may have been one Morice Regan, Diarmuid's secretary, although not all historians would agree with this. The poem itself is situated somewhere between the chanson de geste and the rhymed chronicle so favoured by the Normans. It is a stirring account of invasions, sieges, battles, slaughters, dangers encountered and over-

come, treachery and shifting allegiances, all dating from the early days of the Norman invasion. Daring knights, valiant and chivalrous, cross rivers on white steeds, swift messengers bear urgent messages, a Welshwoman slaughters the Irish in battle and hurls their bodies over a cliff to avenge a lover's death. The poem is written with great simplicity from the point of view of Diarmuid and his Norman allies. The latter are all daring, noble and courtly ; the native Irish, with the exception of Diarmuid himself, are treacherous to a man. Black and white epithets are employed again and again. Its author has been described as a "mediocre rhymster" (25).

The work covers the period 1152 to 1175 although its value as history is doubtful. It appears to have been written some time after the events described, possibly between 1200 and 1225. Events in it are not recorded in chronological order. Time is telescoped. Serious omissions occur. While the historical value of the text is questionable,

> it remains a most valuable document, being the only attempt at Irish historiography in the language of the invaders (26).

Its greatest worth, however,is surely as a description of the mentality of the early Norman community for which it was probably written. It attempts to give this community confidence in its leaders, in itself and in its future by persuading it that God really was on its side (this is mentioned several times). It appears to have been intended for a people on the defensive, attempting as it does to assuage their basic insecurity, surrounded — like the community in the *Rithmus Facture Ville de Rosse* — by a largely hostile native population.

It is not easy to draw definite conclusions from evidence that is not as plentiful as that available from the England of the corresponding period. Although fewer examples remain of the use of French in medieval Ireland, one should not conclude that French did not play as great a role in medieval Ireland as in medieval England. The survival of such proof is always subject to great hasards and uncertainties. Examples of literature would rarely be mentioned in the catalogues of the libraries of religious houses or included in official manuscripts because of the low esteem in which such compositions were generally held. We have seen that Bishop Ledrede regarded French love-songs as a form of pollution ! Most of the works of French literature that survive from medieval Ireland are to be found in just one manuscript, Harley 913. How many equally valuable manuscripts can have been irrevocably lost ? The longest Norman-French work extant from medieval Ireland (*The Song of Dermot and the Earl*) again survives in just one manuscript.

One wonders just how many other equally precious manuscripts must have perished in a country so prone to losing its records, or how many works never made their way into any manuscript. That we know anything of the ability of the commonfolk in medieval Ireland to understand and speak French is due to pure chance : were it not for the reforming zeal of a fourteenth-century Bishop of Kilkenny, much valuable evidence would be lost forever. The history of the transmission of what was regarded as non-essential information is fraught with such uncertainties.

As early as 1285, complaints were made that the Dominicans and Franciscans of Ireland were using Irish (27). This is particularly revealing when one recalls that the Dominicans spread throughout Europe from Toulouse and that for the first two hundred years of their existence in Ireland the Franciscans were extremely French-orientated. French began to decline in late thirteenth- century England as a result of various factors including the beginning of English consciousness of unity in the face of other countries as well as the loss of Normandy in 1204. Many writers using French at that period apologise for their poor command of the language. One remembers Chaucer's gentle teasing of his Prioress in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* :

> And Frensch she spak ful faire and fetisly
> After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> For Frensch of Parys was to hire unknowe (28).

For Chaucer, writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, the French of England was no more than a bastard variety of the speech of Paris, the only true form of French (29).

In Ireland too, the French language began to fall into disuse, cut off as it was from its community of origin and threatened on all sides by the spectacular rise of Irish as a vernacular. By 1400, it would appear that the Normans had abandoned French for Irish. In conversation with Froissart in the royal chamber at Eltham, an English settler in Ireland, Henry Crystède, declares :

> I know the language of the Irish as I do French and English. The Irish language is as familiar to me as English, for I have always spoken it with my wife, and introduce it among my children as much as I can (30).

Around the same time, the famous Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) complained that :

> Many English of the said land (of Ireland), forsaking the English language, live and govern themselves by the language of the Irish

> enemies and have made divers marriages and alliances between them-
> selves and the Irish enemies, by which the English language is put in
> subjection and decayed (31).

One curious aspect of the Statutes of Kilkenny, however, was that
they were written in French and that their enforcement was entrusted to
a particularly Hibernicised Geraldine, the renowned Gaelic poet, Gearoid
Iarla (1338-98), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and Earl of Desmond.
Gearoid Iarla wrote with astonishing ease, fluency and assurance in a
language to which he was relatively new, given that his grandfather, the
first Earl of Desmond, wrote poetry too — but in French : he is none
other than the Earl of Desmond to whom *Proverbia Comitis Desmonie*
are generally ascribed and who was described by one of his contem-
poraries as "a rymour", a rhymster. As Alan Bliss adds :

> It is not very surprising that the Normans should have adopted Irish,
> since they had a tradition of linguistic adaptability : when they settled
> in France they soon abandoned their original Scandanavian language
> and adopted French (32).

This change from French to Irish among the Normans of Ireland
would therefore seem to have occurred in the space of one or two
generations in the fourteenth century, just as — after centuries of
vacillation — the final change from Irish to English took place with the
same speed in just one or two generations at the end of the nineteenth
century (33). At all events, the reign of French as an international
language was drawing to a close in fourteenth and fifteenth-century
Ireland, as was the case all over Europe. In 1587, Stanihurst states :

> All the cities and towns or Ireland speak to this day English ; even so
> in all other places their native language is Irish (34).

French is no longer mentioned.

French has lived on, curiously, within the Irish language itself which
contains a fairly considerable proportion of French loan- words, espe-
cially in vocabulary relating to military, architectural, legal and judicial
matters (35).Again, in County Wexford where many of the original
Norman invaders settled, traces of French were found in a local dialect
as late as the nineteenth century : a small percentage of the terms
contained in Jacob Poole's curious glossary of the old dialect of the
baronies of Forth and Bargy are French in origin (36). But the bastion
of French in contemporary Ireland remains the secondary schools of the
country where pupils are still led to believe that in deciding to study
French they are embarking on something quite new !

NOTES

1. *Le Monde*, 5 déc. 1979.
2. I am grateful to the Statistics Section of the Irish Department of Education, Athlone, for this information.
3. C.H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (London, 1916).
4. Brian Fitzgerald, *The Geraldines* London, 1951, 36.
5. Edmund Curtis, "The Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland", *Studies*, 8 (1919), 236.
6. Alan Bliss and Joseph Long, "Literature in NormanFrench and English to 1534", in *A New History of Ireland, vol.2, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, edited by Art Cosgrove, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987, 708.
7. Curtis, *op. cit.*, 237
8. *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, edited by Edmund Curtis (Dublin, 1932 - 4), vol.1 : documents 436, 780, 826, vol.2 : document 240.
9. "Registrum Epistolarum Stephani de Lexington", edited by B. Griesser in *Analecta s.o. Cisterciencis*, vol.2 (1964).
10. J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London, 1923) 11.
11. *Historic Manuscripts Commision*, 10th. report, appendix, pt.5, 243 ff.
12. Twelfth century : see Hue de Rotelande, *"Ipomedon"* ;thirteenth century : see Pierre de Peckham, *"Lumiere as Lais"*, Wilham de Wadington, *"Manuel des Pechez"*.
13. F.J. Tanquerey, *Recueil de Lettres Anglo-Françaises 1265-1399* (Champion, Paris, 1916), 11.
14. See, for instance, Geneological Office, Dublin, MS 191, vol.3, 204.
15. Harley MS 3756, f. 190b.
16. Harley MS 3756, f. 97b.
17. See Robin Flower, "Ireland and Medieval Europe" in *British Academy Proceedings*, 13 (1927), 271-303.
18. Translations by St John Seymour, *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200- 1582* (Cambridge University Press, 1929), 91-2.
19. Hugh Shields, "The Walling of New Ross : a Thirteenth-Century Poem in French" in *Long Room* (Trinity College, Dublin), 12-13 (1975-6), 24-33
20. Richard Stanihurst, "Description of Ireland" in Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1808).
21. St John D. Seymour, 23, 29.
22. Bliss and Long, 711.
23. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, edited by Goddard H. Orpen (Oxford University Press, 1892).
24. See Joseph Long, Dermot and the Earl : "Who Wrote "the Song" ?" in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 75, section C, no.13 (1975).
25. Bliss and Long, 718.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Public Records Office, Dublin, Ancient Correspondence, XVI, 10.
28. *Geoffrey Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales*, edited by A.C. Cawley, (J.M. Dent, London, 1958), II, 124-6.
29. W. Rothwell, "Stratford atte Bowe and Paris" in *The Modern Language Review*, 80 (jan. 1985), pt.I, 39.
30. J.T. Gilbert, *A history of the Viceroys of Ireland* (Dublin, Duffy, 1965), 221, 223.

31. Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922, edited by Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, London, Methuen, 1943, 52-9.
32. Alan Bliss, "Language and literature" in The English in Medieval Ireland (ed. by James Lydon), (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1984), 28.
33. See Sean de Fréine, *The Great Silence* (Foilseachain Náisiúnta, Dublin, 1965).
34. Stanihurst, *op. cit.*
35. See H. Risk, "French Loan-Words in Irish" in *Etudes Celtiques*, 12, 597 - 655, 14, 67 - 98.
36. *Jacob Poole, A Glossary with Some Pieces of Verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the Baronies of Forth and Bargy, County of Wexford (1867), newly edited by T.D. Dolan and Diarmaid O Muirithe (S.N.S.L.).*