

*CAITHRÉIM
THOIRDHEALBHAIGH*

REASSESSMENTS

EDITED BY:
LIAM P. Ó MURCHÚ



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CHAPTER THREE

THE LANGUAGE OF *CAITHRÉIM THOIRDHEALBHAIGH*¹

Gordon Ó Riain

The historical text *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* has received relatively little linguistic or textual attention in spite of the fact that Standish Hayes O'Grady's edition of the text was made available over eighty years ago. The only work of this nature to be carried out to date consists of a short note by Vernam Hull on the preterite passive plural as it occurs in the text, and two articles by Leo McNamara.² A linguistic analysis is presented in the present paper where the text is discussed under the headings of transmission and edition, date, language and style.

Transmission and edition

Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh is extant in two primary manuscript sources: RIA 89 (23 Q 16), apparently dating from the early sixteenth century, and TCD 1292 (H.1.18), written by Aindrias Mac Cruitín in 1721.³ The text provided by RIA 89 (henceforth Q) is fragmentary owing to loss of leaves but this manuscript nevertheless supplies a substantial portion of the text, amounting to roughly one half. We are, however, dependent on TCD 1292 (henceforth H) for those parts missing in Q which include the beginning and end of the text.

O'Grady's edition was published posthumously and, unfortunately, he had not the time to provide an account of his methodology. Needless to say, an understanding of his editorial practice is a prerequisite for a linguistic study of the text as the accuracy with

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Pádraig A. Breatnach and Dr Caoimhín Breatnach for their comments on a draft of this chapter.

² Hull, 'The preterite passive plural in *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*'; McNamara, 'An examination of the medieval Irish text *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*'; idem, 'The *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* manuscripts and O'Grady's edition'. The latter article is in most respects a shorter version of the second.

³ See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 263-5 and *TCD Cat.*, p. 65. There are a number of other later copies of the text, all of which derive from H according to McNamara, 'The *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* manuscripts', p. 124. The textual tradition of these manuscripts would likely benefit from further study.

which linguistic forms are reproduced is of the utmost importance. Both Q and H were used by him for his edition, his practice being to use Q alone as the basis for the text where possible, but with recourse being had to H where Q is wanting.⁴ His treatment of the sources was the subject of unfavourable comment both by T. F. O'Rahilly and Leo McNamara, to the effect that he did not reproduce the text of the manuscripts faithfully; in the words of O'Rahilly, 'O'Grady, unfortunately, had an incorrigible objection to sticking to the reading of the MSS'.⁵ O'Grady's overall editorial practice has also been the subject of criticism:

A study of his systematic, though not indicated, changes makes it apparent that he attempted to reconstruct the text as it was first written. He set himself a twofold task: to fuse together a vellum fragment, assigned by him to the fifteenth century, and an eighteenth-century paper MS to form one continuous and coherent narrative, and then to create from this fusion a consistently re-written text with the language "purified" to correspond to his idea of what the original form of the text was or should have been.⁶

McNamara's rather negative assessment of the edition fails, I think, to give due recognition to the enormous difficulties arising from the transmission. In fact, an editor of a text which has been dated to the fourteenth century who is confronted with a fragmentary, older manuscript and a later, modernised copy has a great deal to consider. The real difficulty with O'Grady's edition is that the manuscript readings are not cited and changes have been made silently.⁷

In spite of the commentators' criticisms, a comparison of O'Grady's edition with the text of the Q manuscript reveals that he has in fact reproduced the text of Q quite faithfully on the whole, making only minor editorial changes. These include restoring the historical spelling of lenited *d* and *g* which are often confused in the

⁴ See McNamara, 'An examination', p. 183. Occasionally, material is supplied in the edition of the Q text, e.g. *CTI*, pp 93, 117, 124.

⁵ Cited in Hull, 'The preterite passive plural', p. 30 n. 3; compare McNamara's comment, 'An examination', p. 188, that '[O'Grady's] systematic linguistic changes obscure the true appearance of Q'.

⁶ McNamara, 'An examination', p. 183.

⁷ Square brackets are sometimes employed to indicate that material is supplied (e.g. p. 84), but this is not done consistently and, on occasion, material which is in fact present in the manuscript has been bracketed, e.g. *Casluircbria[i]n*, p. 114.

manuscript, as well as supplying the frequently omitted *n* of the article and adding length marks.⁸ This last policy was put into practice somewhat overzealously so that middle length and even short vowels may also be marked as long in the edition, although not so in the manuscript.⁹ In addition to minor alterations, other more significant changes have been made in places, consisting of silent corrections where the scribe has erred, not to mention a number of slips on O'Grady's part.¹⁰ The upshot of this comparison is that those sections of the edition which are based on Q may, in fact, be relied upon as a source for linguistic analysis.

Treatment of H is less straightforward, however, on a number of grounds. Firstly, according to McNamara, the language of this manuscript has been modernised. Secondly, O'Grady seems to have used it with a freer hand.¹¹ Lastly, the relationship of H to Q needs to be firmly established, but this and the connection between the H manuscript and O'Grady's edition represent a larger study than could be entered into on the present occasion.¹² For this reason, the linguistic analysis presented here will focus on the text transmitted in Q alone.

Date

Before turning to the linguistic analysis, it will be appropriate to consider the work done on dating the text. It has already been observed that Q is acephalous. Consequently, the details of the title and author of the work are available to us only in H. In the preface in that manuscript the text is dated to the fifteenth century (1459).¹³ Nevertheless, it has been generally accepted, since first suggested on internal grounds by T. J. Westropp, that the text is a product of the

⁸ Compare McNamara, 'The *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* manuscripts', p. 123.

⁹ E.g. a ningnáis, p. 89, scéith, p. 113.

¹⁰ See Appendix for a list of selected *variae lectiones*.

¹¹ Note, for example, the passage on p. 27 (*atchonnccatar in nénmnái nuallaig nadhnáraig ningnáthaig naghaidchám dá ninnsaigíd*) which appears as follows in H: *do chonccadar an aoinbhen nuallaigh nadhnárach niomghnáthaigh nadhadhchaomh dá nionnsaighe*.

¹² The scribe of H appears to have been copying from an exemplar which was difficult to read at least in part; see CT I and II, p. 4: *do chuireas ann so síos in méid d'fēdas do léghad di tré doléire in tsenleabair 'of which here I set down so much as (indistinctness of the ancient book notwithstanding) I might contrive to read'*. McNamara, 'An examination' p. 188, moots the possibility that Q may be the exemplar of H; readings at CT I, pp 23, 91, 93, 105, 117 and 124 indicate that the question warrants further study.

¹³ CT I, p. 1.

fourteenth century and is to be attributed to the son of the Ruaidhrí Mac Craith who died in 1343.¹⁴ The exact date of the work has been given variously by different commentators: c. 1330 (T. F. O'Rahilly), 1345-60 (Westropp) and c. 1359 (McNamara).¹⁵

Language

McNamara states that 'the language of Q is that of the period transitional from Middle to Modern Irish' and that 'although it is often difficult to date texts of this period with any precision, the number of forms in our texts [sic] characteristic of Middle Irish is so great as to rule out the sixteenth century and to render the fifteenth century highly improbable as periods for the original composition of the *Caithréim*'.¹⁶ His linguistic analysis is based on the criteria set out by Seán Ó Catháin as indicative of the change from Middle to Modern Irish.¹⁷ Although Ó Catháin's work was in some ways pioneering, not all, if indeed any, of the features he identified as significant would be considered truly diagnostic today – for example the use of the particle *do* in place of *ro*.¹⁸

By referring to the language of our text as transitional, it may be that McNamara had in mind T. F. O'Rahilly's identification of the period 1170-1320 as a time by the end of which 'the transformation of Middle Irish into Early Modern Irish was all but complete'.¹⁹ However, analysis of the text shows that the language of Q may be defined as Early Modern Irish in that it conforms on the whole to the language of the grammatical tracts. It will therefore be convenient to take the language of the tracts as the point of comparison in the following analysis, whereby attention will be directed to divergences from the tracts. In addition, a certain number of archaisms permitted in the tracts but not commonly employed in practice will be taken into consideration; historical innovations which are accepted by the

¹⁴ T. J. Westropp, 'On the external evidences bearing on the historic character of the "Wars of Torlough"', pp 139-40.

¹⁵ Hull, 'The preterite passive plural', p. 30 (citing O'Rahilly who regarded the final two paragraphs as later additions); Westropp, 'On the external evidences', p. 140; McNamara, 'An examination', p. 191.

¹⁶ McNamara, 'An examination', p. 188.

¹⁷ McNamara, 'An examination', pp 188-9; Ó Catháin, 'Some studies in the development from Middle to Modern Irish, based on the Annals of Ulster'. The criteria are: (1) the use of independent object pronouns, (2) the use of *do* for *ro* and (3) the decline of *s*-preterite endings. McNamara states that there are 50 instances of *ro* and 30 *s*-preterite endings in the text; see n. 36 below for the infixed pronouns.

¹⁸ Compare, *Cath Maighe Léna*, p. xxiv.

¹⁹ O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects past and present*, p. 249.

tracts, such as the independent personal pronouns, will also be included.

The features presented below are divided into two overarching sections, the first dealing with more modern aspects of the language, the second with older forms and usages. Examples cited represent either a complete list of occurrences in the text, or, where numerous examples of a linguistic feature are to be found, sample illustrations are cited and the total number of forms found in the text is indicated.²⁰ The numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in the edition; an asterisk indicates that the form occurs in a verse passage. The relevant forms to which it is wished to draw attention are highlighted in bold, while a contrasting form in the same passage is marked by underlining.

Section 1: Modernisms

A. Oblique cases:

Perhaps the most significant item in this section concerns the use of the accusative case. The grammatical tracts have already gone some way toward sanctioning the decline of the accusative, in that they permit a noun which has the same form in the nominative and accusative cases to remain optionally uninflected in accusative position, e.g. *bris súil gheal* or *bris shúil ngil*. If, however, the nominative and accusative forms of a noun differ, it must be inflected for the accusative, e.g. *gearr chraoibh*, *buail an gcoin*.²¹ The language of the *Caithréim* is more innovative than the tracts in this regard. The practice in relation to accusative inflection documented below has been determined on the basis of the treatment of nouns which do not have the same form in the nominative and accusative cases:

- (1) The accusative singular is used after prepositions governing this case and this extends to the optional nasalisation after nouns with identical nominative and accusative forms, e.g. *co dromlurgain* (112); *le Diarmaid ndírmach ndegimresnach ndatharm-chaindlech* (128).

²⁰ The text cited is that of the edition where divergences between it and the text of the manuscript are minor.

²¹ The examples cited above are taken from IGT I §§81 and 78 respectively. See further Ó Riain, 'A poem on the mutilation of Brian Óg Ó Néill (d. 1449)', p. 106 n. 15b.

There are seven exceptions to this in prose and two in verse. Five are 'partial' exceptions in that the noun is in the accusative form, but the expected subsequent nasalisation is absent: *itir lann agus sciath agus sciamlúirigh* (15); *do indsaigh as sein i cenél Dúngaile* (87); *fá'n abartach áithesach fá Aodh nurrumanta naignedbeodha ... fá Choin uasalcéirdigh isdadbregda aignidhbeoda oirrdeircnáraigh eaba* (96);²² *le / re cloinn / cloind Briain* (119*, 128*, 133); *sech gach nairecht érennach* (127).

- (2) In the Classical language, most prepositions cause plural nouns to take the dative, regardless of the case taken in the singular, and this applies here also, e.g. *do innsaighedar co solasbruachaib na Sinda* (91). The prepositions *gan* and *idir* in the sense of 'both...and...' should be followed by the accusative in both the singular and plural, however.²³ But in the *Caithréim*, *idir* ('both...and') takes the dative plural, e.g. *gur ba díth dá ndáinibh itir mnáib agus macámaib agus muindteraib* (79), while *gan* is followed by the nominative plural (one example): *gan a meic* (76*: *gleic*).
- (3) When a noun stands as direct object of a verb, the usual practice in the *Caithréim* is that the noun is not inflected and this includes instances in poems in the text, e.g. *tuc a lám fá'n lebarcráisigh...gur scáilbris in sciamlúirech* (69); *do indsaighedar a neich* (92); *Eidigh bar nóig / indligh bar nairm* (96*); *tinól ár tréinfir agus ár tromsluaigh* (100). Some examples reflect the sanction that the direct object of a verb may remain in the nominative if it is in a verbal noun construction (other than a *figura etymologica*) of the type *an bhean do mholadh*, e.g. *fuilngidh bar bfiarcaraid in bar bfiadnaise do tuitim san tromírgailsi* (112).²⁴

²² O'Grady translates *fá* here, and in similar passages at pp 73 and 109, as 'under'. In this sense, the preposition should be followed by the dative; see BST p. 111 (n. 29-35). However, interchange of *fá* with *im* at p. 96 and the use of the accusative (as instanced by nasalisation following a noun governed by the preposition, with the exception of the example above) suggests that *fá* is used in the sense 'about, around' or possibly 'including' in some instances; see *DIL* F 169.83-170.14 and I 74.17-26. The absence of nasalisation in the example above might represent confusion of the senses appropriate to accusative and dative.

²³ See *SnaG* IV §10.2. The prepositions *dar* and *ar* ('iairmbearla na guidhe') also cause plural nouns to take the accusative, but relevant examples do not occur in the text.

²⁴ See IGT I §§76, 77.

As with (1), a handful of exceptions occur in this case also, showing the older usage: *do fágatar O mBriain* (73); *co ndernatar tenidh dingmála* (78); *tángadar i taomcoimne in bfecht* (MS *fhecht*) *tosccomailtech...* (97); *tindesnaighidh bar treoin agus bar taoisecha* (100); *aiglidh in tárdri gan ursgáth in naimid ... agus do fregair gan aimleisgi in tárdri* (105); *gur sháithesdair in sleigh trésan bfindláim fadméraig feidmcosgraigh a bFeidlimidh. is ann sin do thóg triathFeidlimidh in tuaigh taobslémain tarrachta trénboghach faobargorm aitchorrach iarannruaid* (116); *beiridh mallachtain* (126); *Otcondairc Mathghamain O Briain in menmain sin agus in meisnech ag na maithib sin* (132).²⁵

A further eleven exceptions occur in verse passages.²⁶

In addition to the above features, there are occasional examples of (i) accusative plural for nominative plural as well as of (ii) nominative for dative; furthermore in certain instances the expected nasalisation following genitive plural is absent where the subsequent word begins in a vowel (iii):

- (i) *do hórdaighedh a ninada* (66); *is é ro toghsat na triathrígha* (76).²⁷
- (ii) *do gabadh ag tromthindsaidin in tiughsluaigh ... isin íselglenn* (67), *ná fág fer ... a niarcúil ná in íselglenn* (101); *d'ua* (64 (*bis*)),²⁸ 78, 83, 99), *ó ua* (84, 85), *ag ua* (94*, 98); *ó mafijgh* (MS magh; 98).
- (iii) *imad óg ele* (21); *imad oirecht agus aicmedh ele* (109); *co nimad aicmed ele* (110) *ar toitim a nurradh uile* (127); *do cethraib na caoimtricha céd uile* (87) *ar thuaras[t]laib tromsluagh*

²⁵ It is possible that in the second and seventh examples (*tenidh*, *tuaigh*) the final lenited consonant is superfluous and that these examples should be omitted; see section E below.

²⁶ See pp 15 & 106 (*beirid buaidh is bendachtain*; *tuillidh buaidh is bithbendachtain*); 18 (*ruc Ó Bloid a blaidh : maigh*); 21 (*dorucsam buaidh agus blaídh : tair*); 23 (*Donnchad do loit glicidh* (sic leg.)); 27 (*tug Toirdelbach / snaidm pósta dá bláthagaídh*) where *bpósta* is required for alliteration; 64 (*do gab Erind oilénaigh*); 98 (*Ráid in ngnái*); 99 (*dobertaisi i tír na trénsfer / rígh gá ruaídh/adh*); 112 (*slaitidh seichidh curadh*); 128 (*do chuirset céill do 'n cath*); in *maith in tic fuaramar / findríghdha ár bslaitimámad* (118), we should possibly read *findrígha* and include the example here. Compare also *mairg annain* (127*).

²⁷ Compare Falconer, *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhig Naomhtha*, p. lxxxviii where examples of the accusative with the passive are cited; see also *SnaG* III §5.2. For another example of *riogha* used as nominative plural see Breatnach, 'On the Ó Cléirigh recension of *Leabhar Gabhála*', p. 27.

²⁸ One of the two examples on p. 64 occurs in verse.

allmarrach agus uasalgháidhel (84); *co nimat a nógháisech náithesorb néidedhbláith [n]joirechtcruaidh* (110).²⁹

B. Pronouns:

The use of the subject pronoun with finite verbs is rare in prose (i); but eleven examples of the independent object pronoun (ii) are to hand, including one in verse.

- (i) *gé do beith sibsi* (90); *gen gu [n]dechadh d'fis na nuasalcaith acht sinde na shuaghairechta so solusclainne Cuilén* (95); *do éirigh sí* (105);³⁰
- (ii) *do urlamaighetar in fedhan sin iat* (16); *do aincidis [s]in eisium* (19); *ó 'nduair do fuagair Donnall ... hé* (22); *nach léigdis hé* (65); *ní fuigfemne thusa...* (74); *co ndigheoldais ar dergnaimdib ele esein* (82); *do fuaslaic eisium* (86); *is é sin ro ingaib hé...* (110); *cuirid iad* (112*); *do imir mac mic Conmeadha co mileata hé* (116); *tárlaidh é leth amuigh dá mindtír* (128).

C. Elision of vowel in particle *do*:

The vowel of the particle *do* is elided a total of nine times, e.g. *d'airgetar* (92).³¹ Furthermore, three of the examples occur in verse and are confirmed by the syllable count: (i) *O'n ló d'fasteigh Sída seng* (76*); (ii) *d'fágaib a mná gan a meic* (76*); (iii) *mairg annain d'furaíl oraib* (127*).*³²

D. Miscellaneous:

A number of other miscellaneous or isolated forms occur, including:

- (i) singular verbal ending with pl. subject: *ó tarrlaidh mar sin na saorsluaigh sin* (90);
- (ii) the 3 sg. dependent present indicative ending *-ann* (64*, 106*, 123*, 128*);
- (iii) two occurrences of the 3 sg. past tense form of the substantive verb *roib* instead of *roibhe* (possibly a result of elision as both instances are followed by a word beginning in a vowel): *gach a roib éidighthi* (90); *ní roib énsfer* (97);
- (iv) the form *do bídar* (133) instead of *do bhádar*;
- (v) *[a]dubairt* (118) with loss of atonic element (supplied by the editor);

²⁹ See O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects*, p. 214 and Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, pp lviii-lix for similar examples in that text.

³⁰ Nine examples in verse occur at pp 21, 76 (*bis*), 94, 96, 99 (*bis*), 118, 127.

³¹ Other instances in prose occur on pp 78, 84 (*bis*), 89 and 116.

³² Note also that in *a ainm ó do uaisligh* (76*) the vowel of *do* is probably to be elided to provide the required syllable count.

- (vi) the form *-fuilighedis* (68) with disyllabic verbal ending;
- (vii) *do* used with *rug*, *dorucsam buaidh agus bla[i]dh* (21*);
- (viii) the second singular imperative form *dén* instead of *déana*: *dén scaradh do scél mar sin / ná dén anad acht érígh* (102*);
- (ix) *taoth-* as general verbal stem of *tuitidh* (*do taoth* (76*); *taotfaid* (105*)³³

Other miscellaneous features include:

- (x) the use of *noch* as a relative pronoun (*ag cunnam le cloind Briain ruaidh noch do chuaid ar cenn albanach*, 133);
- (xi) dental inflection of certain nouns faulted in IGT II e.g. *-bailtib* (16, 24); *-dáinedh* (79, 111); *-(t)(h)í(r)th(a)ib* (15, 18 (*bis*), 80, 81);
- (xii) *uirighell* (17; sic MS), a form faulted in IGT II;
- (xiii) the use of *roim* (18, 80) as a simple preposition instead of *ré*;
- (xiv) *mar (nach)* in the sense of 'where' instead of *i mbaile i* or a permitted derivative (65, 77);
- (xv) *ann* for *inn* in *tángatar ann/and* (108, 110);
- (xvi) the form *darna* 'second' (66, 127);
- (xvii) *ach* for *acht* (15 (sic MS), 19*, 21*, 111 (sic MS), 114);
- (xviii) *ní bfuair* (115); *ní bfuigbíteá* (100).³⁴

E. Phonology:

A number of phonological features are found, most of them unsurprising in a manuscript of the sixteenth century, including: (i) the loss of lenited *d*, *g* and *t*, which is sometimes reflected by a superfluous consonant, e.g. *mar adubairt in deighshilidh* (99); *do éirigh in táindrigh* (67); *dú[th]chasa* (91); (ii) *ts* for *sh*: *do tsluagh in tsaobCláraigh* (15*); *tinntsádhadh* (21); *cengaltsuidiughadh* (102); *solastsluaghaib* (103); *Móiltsechlainn* (108); *a saorcland tsil*

³³ For (i) see *SnaG* IV §7.30 and Ó Riain, 'Early Modern technical verse from NLI G 3', p. 40 n. 2b; for (iii) see Ó Catháin, 'Studies', p. 30; for (vi) see Bergin, *Tri Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, p. xv and *SnaG* IV §7.5; (viii) the form *dén* is uncommon before the seventeenth century, see *SnaG* IV §§7.4 and 7.18; for (ix) see *DIL* D 385.32-41, IGT V §25 and IGT III §21 and note that in the example at p. 76 *do* should be omitted for the syllable count.

³⁴ For (x) see *SnaG* IV §7.36 and compare *anneoch* at *CT* I, p. 107; for (xi) see IGT II 65, 1605-6, 1243 and compare *bailedha(ib)* (pp 19, 22, 123*) and *tíre* (p. 89); for (xii) see IGT II §53; for (xiii) see *SnaG* IV §10.3 and McManus, 'Varia III', p. 158; for (xiv) see Breatnach, 'The relative adverb *mar a*'; for (xv) see *SnaG* IV §10.4 (10); for (xvi) see *DIL* s.v. *darna* and compare *dara* (e.g. p. 84); for (xvii) see O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects*, p. 269; for (xviii) see O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects*, pp 44-6 and *SnaG* V §5.1.

Cormaic (112); *do'n foirinn tsáir* (133*); (iii) *rai-* for *ri-* in *gallraidredh* (85).³⁵

The more modern forms are in the minority in the text, as will be seen presently. Some may well be scribal, such as certain of the phonological features. Other elements are fairly systematically adhered to in the text, albeit with some fluctuation, such as the practice governing the accusative case, and may reflect a stage of development in the language.

Section 2: Archaism

This section encompasses a number of mainly Middle Irish forms and usages. As noted above, it also includes some older features which were still permitted in Classical Irish, but rarely occur, such as personal forms of the copula.

A. Infixed pronouns:

There are twelve examples of the infixed pronoun in Q, three of which occur in verse.³⁶ This compares with the figure of eleven independent object pronouns (one in verse) cited above (B ii). The infixed pronouns are used in the following ways:

- (1) Functionally: (i) 1 sg. *nomfúgbaid ar firdeiredh a óga bar eisium, agus nachamaincedh éifer agaibsi* (74) 'young men, leave me in the very rear, neither let a man of you come to succour me' (II 67);
- (2) Anaphorically in a *nominativus pendens* construction: (ii) 3 pl. where the pronouns refer to the collective *shuagh* and the plural *-fir* respectively: *shuag raith roscoisc dá cagad* (89*) 'an army of

³⁵ Point (i) may also be reflected in forms such as: *wraidhe* (nom. pl. 79), *dá triathurraidhe* (nom.pl. for dat. pl. 83), *ag(a) (f)uráil na hindsaighidh* (nom. sg. for gen. 96, 103 sic MS) and *(ní) ticfaid(h)* 86, 123* (for the latter see *SnaG* IV §7.24). For (ii) see Ó Cuív, *The linguistic training of the mediaeval Irish poet*, p. 12 n. 28; the penultimate example cited above under point (ii) is printed in *CT* as verse, however the passage in which it occurs is to be taken as prose; for (iii) see Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, p. liii.

³⁶ The figures and discussion presented here are at variance with McNamara, 'An examination', p. 189 who states that 'only a few instances of the pleonastic infix are found, the true infixed pronoun being absent and the independent pronoun predominating'. It is possible that at pp 87 and 109 we should read *ro[sj] seolaid* and *ro[sj] suaichnighid*, thus increasing the above figure to fourteen. However, this is probably unnecessary as while the preterite passive plural usually occurs in the text with an infixed pronoun it does not always do so. See section B below.

heretofore propitious fortune it has made to cease from their warring' (II 147); (iii) *flaithfhír* [sic leg. : *hAichir*] *rosfaom* (97*) 'princely men, he received them'.³⁷

- (3) Proleptically: (iv) 3 sg. fem. where the pronoun refers to *-ríghe* in the following line: *Tadgdíne rostáthaig / ardríghe ós na hiathaib* (112*) 'Teigue's race has [will not] established their sway over the regions' (II 150) and (v) *rosfoillsighit a bféithonchoin, agus rosgairmid a ngillanraidh ... rosmúinid a marcsluaigh* (82). All of the remaining examples of the infixed pronoun in Q are used in this way. In fact, all but one of these occur with the preterite passive plural, referring to the following plural noun.³⁸

B. Preterite passive plural:

The Middle Irish preterite passive plural ending *-it* occurs in the text a total of sixteen times and has been discussed by Vernam Hull.³⁹ Examples include: (i) *do loisoid a lisbruidhne, agus ro marbait a muinntera, agus do scáilit a scálbotha, agus do borbglacadh a mbrughaid* (82); (ii) *ro gabaid a nglésgraidhe, agus rosglacaid a ngormslegha, agus rosiarraid a noncoinn, agus rosdaingnigid a ndedcloidhme, agus ro seolaid a soighdeoraigh* (87).⁴⁰

The Old Irish preterite passive plural also occurs in the text in one or possibly two instances, as noted by Hull:

³⁷ My translation. The quatrain in question appears in *CT* as follows: *Lochlaind na laoch / laomda na mír / flaith fír rosfaom / O hAichir úr* (I 97) 'Fiery Lochlain O'Hechir too, a bulwark in himself, and that has owned the one true chief' (II 148).

³⁸ The other instances occur at pp 86 and 87 (*ter*). Not all instances of the preterite passive plural occur with an infixed pronoun and this would seem to rule out regarding this usage as a kind of double marking, where the plural infixed pronoun emphasises or makes explicit the fact that the verbal form is the obsolete preterite passive plural. An example of the preterite passive singular where the pronoun is used proleptically also argues against such an interpretation: *rosloisoid in lebarthir* (86).

³⁹ See n. 2 above.

⁴⁰ Other instances occur at pp 82 (*ter*), 86, 98, 109 (*bis*), 113. The form normally occurs with *ro* in the text. There are, however, four instances with *do* as well as one in dependent position (*gur*). Compare also *rosloisoid in lebarthir* (86) where *-id* could formally represent the passive plural ending, but is presumably to be interpreted as the singular ending *-ed(h)* given the following singular noun; for orthographic variation between *-i(o)-* and *-e(a)-* in unstressed syllables see *SnaG* IV §2.3.

- (iii) *do tinóilte na tromlírecha ... agus gur cnestaoibtesgaid a cotúin* (113); cf. *induair do deghailtea a néidedh re [a] nuaislib* (126).⁴¹

The Middle Irish form is permitted in the language of the tracts, but is extremely rare in practice. Although, Hull (and O'Rahilly) took the examples in our text to be the latest known occurrences of the form, Cuthbert Mhág Craith has shown that it occurs down to the seventeenth century in poetry and Damian McManus has pointed out that the form occurs in two prose translations which are likely to have been made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively.⁴²

C. Future (3 plural):

The third plural f-future ending in Classical Irish is *-f(a)id*, while the third plural future of the substantive verb is *beid*. However, the Middle Irish ending *-tit* occurs in the text on two occasions: *...óir muna faghat a nóighréir an uasaltromdáimh ... sin sirfidid slisbánlerga na solastíresi co sruthfairrgi* (100); *beidid na trí buada co bráth oraib ó'n imresain seo* (111).⁴³

Both of these instances occur in passages of direct speech and we may further note that the form *beidid* occurs alongside petrified nasalisation after a formerly neuter noun (*beidid na trí buada co bráth oraib ó'n imresain seo .i. buaid mbuancosgair ... agus buaidh neinigh...*).

In addition to this future ending, there are also a number of other older forms which occur in passages of direct speech, discussed at D, E and F below.

D. Particle *no*:

The obsolete particle *no* occurs twice in the text, once to infix a pronoun and once as a preverbal particle in a secondary tense.

⁴¹ McManus, *SnaG* IV §7.16, notes that this form occurs in Early Modern prose texts and is sometimes used with a singular noun.

⁴² Mhág Craith, 'The preterite passive plural in bardic poetry'; McManus 'The preterite passive plural in *BST*', p. 13 n. 2. The texts in question are *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* and *Eachtra Uilliam*.

⁴³ For the ending see *SnaG* III §10.4. Although the form *beidid* is not listed in IGT III, McManus, 'Varia III', pp 157-8 has recently shown that it occurs in two fourteenth century bardic poems. A third instance is found in IGT V §85 in an example of the fault known as *Clairind i ndebide sgailti* where the verbal form is not commented on.

- (i) *Is and sin atbert Maccon do guth glansholus gégdigaind: nonfágbaid ar fírdeireadh a óga bar eisium, agus nachamaincedh énfér agaibsi (74); (ii) a néinfecht do gluaisé agus in glansluagh gáidhelgall gá raba agallamh gustrásda, bar a triathflaith, agus no beimis ní badh faide ar énslihidh muna indsaighindse cugaibsiu im céimruathar do indisin na tosca fá tángatar (87)*

E. Personal forms of the copula:

Five of the six instances of personal forms of the copula are found either in passages of direct speech or in poems delivered by individuals in the text.⁴⁴

- (i) 1 sg. *am fáidh co fírfhoghlaim ar an fíorflaith (98)*; (ii) 2 sg. *osod óg d'an gnáth gairbe (95*)*; (iii) 3 pl. *gaill in tíre theas nídat lugha a labartha séin (17)*; *isat* (sic; MS *isad*) *bráithri fá dó dam (101*)*; *ad móra i cosnam na gcath (124*)*; *ad lir bar laochraidh ar na lotcréchtmughad (125)*.

A number of other miscellaneous archaic features also occur. We find obsolete items of vocabulary employed alongside such syntactical features as the plural predicative adjective and the dative of accompaniment. Among these, attention may be drawn to the first item under F consisting of four instances of the plural predicative adjective. One of these is found in speech and another two in verse passages spoken by protagonists in the action. It may also be noted that the form *at-bert* (3 sg. pret. *as-beir*) is found alongside Classical *a-dubairt* and that both are used to introduce speeches made by leading figures in the action or poems.

F. Miscellaneous:

- (i) Pl. pred. adj.: *fa bánderga benda dá mbraenshuil agus fa smuadhcuipderg na srotha dá srebaib (20)*; *móra ós cách do cheirde (63*)*; *gémad tiughá na tromchogaidh (83-4)*. See also E (iii) above (1 ex.);
- (ii) Rel. clause with pl. / collective subj. antecedent and pl. verbal form: *gur cennaigh fin do na flaithib tángatar fá [a] thoghairm do'n turus sin (17)*; *Dála i Briain agus na mborbsluagh do bátar agá lenmuin (82)*; *gér bo scíth an sciamceithern tángatar ó'n argain iartharaigh do innsaighedar ... in imresain (83)*; *re calgdacht agus re crithneimnighi na caire connailbe do*

⁴⁴ I take the verse passage at pp 101-2 as being recited by Donnchadh Ó Briain, although O'Grady attributes it to 'the poet', see *CT* II, p. 91.

- cóirgedar dá cosnam (83)*; *in téctiughthromsluagh tángatar istír na tresruathar, is iad ro bói i mbláithisdadhaib... (102)*;
- (iii) Isolated verbal forms: 3 sg. pret. *as-beir: atbert/adbirt (22, 66, 74, 88, 133)*; 3 sg. past *fo-gaib: do/da fríth (110, 123*)*; 3 sg. & pl. past *do-tuit: ad-rochair (21* (bis), 23, 123*, 128*)*, *condrochair (116)*, *a torcair (23*)*, *torcair (131, 133*)*, *condrochratar (118)*; 3 sg. pres. ind. *atá: -fil (95* : cóirgidh)*;
- (iv) Non-elision of vowel in particle *ro* in composition: *ní ro tairling (68)*;
- (v) Dat. of accompaniment: *do crom Concobar... dá cédféarib fá'n cath (115)* 'Conor ... with two hundred men hurtled among them' (II 102);
- (vi) Acc. of time: e.g. *do órdaigset a nistadhlongport an aidhchi sin a muigh mínfhérglas Maoláin (79)*;⁴⁵
- (vii) (Petriified) neuter: *buaidh: beidid na tri buada co bráth oraib ó'n imresain seo .i. buaid mbuancosgair ... agus buaidh neinigh ... agus buaidh tromconáich... (111-12)*; *cenél: tángatar ina comdail ... cenél ndonnmeirgech nDúngaile (79)*; cf. 66, 101 (*bis*)⁴⁶; *síl: do lenad siar síl mBriain gá mbuandighlaim (80)*; *druim: ní hingnadh ám, ar eisim, druim nderg do gairm do'n glandruimsi aniugh (88)*; *Díles in tainmsi ar Druim nderg (89*)*;
- (viii) Vocabulary: (conjunctions) *résiu do faomdais (111)*; *nás* 'than' (65); (prepositions) *dorighnetar a righmuinnter amar adubairt Domnall (15)*; *ria in lá sin (20)*; *fri (74)*; *fuirre (104)*, *forro (104)*, *forra (133*)*; (miscellaneous) *conid/conad aire sin (65, 112, 125, 126)*; *araill ... arail ele ... arail ele... (124)*; *do fuair ég cuma (18)*; *(i)na (b)frithing (18, 92)*; *bar* (speech marker) (65 (*bis*), 74, 85, 87 (*bis*), 90, 98, 105 (*bis*), 106 (*bis*), 111, 112, 125 (*bis*)); *-sim/-som* (emphatic particle) (23 (*bis*), 87, 88, 100, 125, 132); *nach aon* 'any one' (19);
- (ix) Phonology: *ai* for *oi*, e.g. *haidhc(h)i (22, 64)*, cf. *oidchi (22)*; *oi* for *ao(i)*, *do / ro bói (87, 102, 110, 115, 132)*, *Móiltsechlainn (108)*; non-elision of vowel of preposition *do: do fine (116)*;
- (x) Proleptic poss. pron.: (i) *ar a slesuib na sluaghimirghedh sin (19)*; (ii) *fa hed a lín na laochceitherne sin (66)*; (iii) *i laochclár a ochta in árdmiled (69)*; (iv) *ag breith a buidhe na brathdighla sin (124)*;

⁴⁵ Other examples (all involving the noun *adaig*) occur at pp 79 (*bis*), 80 (*ter*), 85, 89, 92, 100, 102 (*ter*). In all other instances, the nominative singular of this noun is *adaig*. Compare also *agus tángatar co cuirr ó Cormaic in chédadhaig (81)* and *agus rugadar as leth ar leth fá aoibneas gan adbar in adaigh sin (102)*.

⁴⁶ One of the two examples on p. 101 occurs in verse.

(xi) Double definite article: *a ngleann na ndún na ndlíthaimréidh* (24); *ar na gallbrughadhaib na glantíre* (77); *ar bél in bánátha na Scairbe* (85); *in Buitiléir na hErenn* (133).⁴⁷

It should be noted that the older linguistic elements which have been examined above do not amount to a huge proportion of such a lengthy text as *Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh*, even if we are concerned with that part of the text preserved in Q. The number of such forms is, nonetheless, significant and certain general observations may be made. As has been pointed out, a number of them occur in passages of direct speech and a stylistic explanation for this phenomenon will be proposed in the next section. Other forms are sometimes found clustered together as in:

- A (i): *nomfúgbaid ar firdeireadh a óga bar eisium, agus nachamaincedh énfér agaibsi* (74);
 B (ii): *ro gabaid a nglésgraidhe, agus rosglacaid a ngormslegha, agus rosiarraid a noncoin, agus rosdaingnigid a ned-cloidhme, agus ro seolaid a soighdeoraigh* (87);
 C: *beidid na trí buada co bráth oraib ó'n imresain seo .i. buaid mbuancosgair ... buaidh neinigh* (111)

In this context, it will be noticed that the vast majority of the more conservative forms are found after the midway point of the text. Vernam Hull suggested that the occurrence of the preterite passive plural ending only between pp 82 and 113 may indicate that the author was influenced by sources he drew on for this part of the

⁴⁷ For (i) see *SnaG* IV §5.6; for (ii) see *SnaG* IV §7.33; (iii) see McManus, 'Varia III', p. 153 for one instance of a form of *ad-bheir* in bardic poetry. The form *-drochair* is faulted in IGT III 250, but is found in the poetry of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe, see Ó Cuív, 'The junction consonants in *atlochur* and in comparable verbal forms', p. 65; (v) compare also *do gluais glansluagh gall agus gáidelrígh* (89) 'with a grand Gaelo-English army he made his way...' (II 81) and Ó'Rahilly, *Desiderius*, pp. 245-6; for (vi) see *GOI* p. 157 (3); for (vii) see *SnaG* IV §3.3; (viii) for *amar* see Carney, 'The dating of Early Irish verse texts, 500-1100', p. 200; for *ria* in we would expect *riasin*; (ix) for *ai / oi* see *SnaG* III §3.4 and IV §2.4 (1) and for *oi* see *ibid.* IV §§2.5, 2.7; for (x) see *SnaG* III §10.1 and note that another possible example at p. 88 *agá mórtendadh na mersocraide sin* has not been included here on the basis of *aga uráil na hinsaighthí* (103) and *aga bar cnámchaitheam* (106).

work, at least.⁴⁸ On the other hand, account should perhaps be taken of the fact that before p. 73 and after p. 113 of the edition, roughly only sixteen and thirteen pages respectively of the printed text come from Q. Whether or not this is regarded as significant, it seems that there was no obstacle to employing newer forms side by side with older as in B (i): *do loiscid a lisbruidhne, agus ro marbait a muinntera, agus do scáilit a scálbotha, agus do borbglacadh a mbrughaid* (82) and F (i): *fa bánderga benda dá mbraenfhuil agus fa snuadhcuipderg na srotha dá srebaib* (20). In such cases, variation may simply be capricious.

The foregoing analysis has shown that the language of *Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh* is Early Modern Irish as detailed in the tracts, with some older and newer forms. This position may be profitably compared with Kenneth Jackson's comments on the language of the prose text *Cath Maige Léna*, as it presents a similar picture to our text. Jackson states that 'though the language of the tale is in some respects older than that of Bardic verse ... and the Grammatical Tracts, in others it is younger. In general terms it may be described as Early Modern Irish ... with some archaistic survivals from Middle Irish ... Considering the linguistic evidence, particularly that of the infixed pronouns, of the accusative inflection of feminine nouns and adjectives, of the plural inflection of predicative adjectives, and of the verbal forms, it is fairly reasonable to place *Cath Maighe Léna* in the last half of the thirteenth century or the earlier part of the fourteenth'.⁴⁹

While a definitive conclusion⁵⁰ must take the H manuscript into consideration, there seems to be nothing substantive in the language

⁴⁸ Hull, 'The preterite passive plural', pp 30-1: 'Since *-it (-id)* does not seem to be attested before p. 82, nor after p. 113, one may perhaps infer that John Magrath derived his material for at least pp 82-113, if not for his whole work, from one or more sources in which this ending is present.' Against this, Cuthbert Mhág Craith, suggested that the pret. pass. pl. form 'was liable to catch the fancy of the *seanchaidhe*. And even if its use is confined to a particular section of a work, that may just show that the author had indulged in a whim until the novelty had passed away; and for this reason alone one may not postulate the existence of an earlier source for any text in which it happens to be used', 'The preterite passive plural in bardic poetry', p. 148; cf. also McNamara, 'An examination', p. 189.

⁴⁹ Jackson, *Cath Maighe Léna*, pp xxiii-xxiv.

⁵⁰ The forms *ni bfuair, ni bfuigbíteá, ach* (for *acht*) and *raibh* (for *raibhe*) (D xviii, xvii and iii in Section 1 above) are not recorded before the fifteenth century according to Ó'Rahilly, *Irish dialects*, pp. 44, 269 and Ó Catháin, 'Studies', p. 30. However, it is impossible to determine whether or not these forms are original or scribal.

of Q against a fourteenth-century date for the *Caithréim*. We should, however, bear the question of register in mind and the text could equally well have been composed in the fifteenth century by a conservative author.⁵¹

Style

Attention may now be turned to matters of style. The objective here is not to provide a full analysis of this aspect of the text, but to attempt an explanation for the use of some of the older forms on stylistic grounds. A brief notice of the text's style will be appropriate as a setting for this.

Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh was composed in the heavily alliterative form of Irish prose which is marked by tautological collocations and in which a noun is commonly qualified by long sequences of adjectives, often consisting of compound words. The *Caithréim* has been described by T. F. O'Rahilly as the most extreme example in all Irish literature of what he termed this 'alliterative, redundant style'.⁵² This style is regarded as having come about in the eleventh century and is prominent in such Middle Irish tales and adaptations as *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* and *In Cath Catharda*, both of which are thought to have deeply influenced the author of the *Caithréim*.⁵³ The diction of these texts has not found favour with modern readers but was esteemed as an elevated mode of expression by contemporary audiences and as an appropriate vehicle in which to render the material of a text such as ours.⁵⁴ Confirmation of the contemporary regard in which the style was held is forthcoming in a passage within the text itself in which the author claims that goodness is worth describing only if 'seemly words' are used to do so:

⁵¹ Note, for example, that in his grammar Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhasa mentions that the use of *ro* and infixed pronouns is confined to poets and those who practise a lofty style of writing, Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr*, II. 1221-2, 1236-7.

⁵² O'Rahilly, *Desiderius*, p. xli. Note, for example, that normal word order is sometimes inverted to provide alliteration, as at p. 117 where the subject (*imad*) and object (*menmanda*) are inverted so that the noun *imad* will alliterate: *ná laighdighedh menmanda bar míled imad bar nesbad istin inadsa*.

⁵³ See Flower's comments on the style and earlier literary influences in *CTI*, pp xiv-xvi and compare O'Donovan, *The banquet of Dun na n-Gedh and the battle of Magh Rath*, pp ix-xv; O'Rahilly, *Desiderius*, p. xli; Mac Airt, 'The development of Early Modern Irish prose', p. 110. On the growth of this style see Mac Gearailt, 'Change and innovation in eleventh-century prose narrative in Irish'.

⁵⁴ See, for example, O'Donovan, *The banquet*, p. ix and Mac Airt, 'The development', p. 106 for assessments of this style.

Créd nach bud chóir do chaomollam[ain] urrann do thesmholtaib an flatha so do thráchtad do'n turus so, óir is maith amugha gémad mórflaithe gach maith nach scribtar tré sciamfoclaib.

Now then, and while we are about it, how should it not be right for an accomplished ollave to descant on at anyrate some fair share of this chief's perfections? For all goodness, were it even a mighty reign [than which no thing is better], not being written down in seemly words, is merely goodness strayed and lost.⁵⁵

This style is identifiably the basis for the selection of an older form in the text on occasion, such as when personal forms of the obsolete preposition *for* are used to provide alliteration in the following:

folt fraechda fathmandgarb flescláidir fraechgarbruaidliath femnachda fuirre (104)
láma ... agus ingne fiarcroma féithgéra fedáncha ferconta forro (104)

The same motivation applies to three instances of the past tense of *tuitidh*: *do diangonadh Donnchad agus adrochair Cennéde do'n chuaird sin* (23), *condrochair in degáirdrigh Donnchadh le himad na narm* (116) and *Do gonad ... aonfiche dég agus deithnebar a ingnáis an fir ar fichit torcair isin tachar sin díb* (131). However, not all examples can be explained in this way and, in another instance, the choice of a similar form is not motivated by a desire for alliteration: *condrochratar comtuitim ar an chathláithir* (118). In these, the usage may be capricious or betray the influence of another source.

It is surely significant, however, that, as noted above, a number of archaisms are found either in passages of direct speech or in poems recited by protagonists in the action. We would hardly be justified in considering these to be accurate transcriptions of dialogue and may concur with Seán Mac Airt's contention that 'one can be certain that no medieval man of action ever spoke it'.⁵⁶ It seems that the selection of older forms to be uttered by certain protagonists may tie in with the author's propagandist purpose.⁵⁷ While older forms are not found

⁵⁵ *CTI*, p. 32; II pp 33-4. The passage occurs in H.

⁵⁶ 'The development', p. 110.

⁵⁷ See Nic Ghiollamhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350'; she also suggests that in modelling his work on *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*, the author sought to present some of the protagonists in the light of Brian Bórama, *ibid.*, pp 78-9.

in the speech of all of these particular individuals, it may be suggested that by making them speak such formulations the reader is encouraged in a subtle way to associate them with ancient martial heroes.⁵⁸ That this was a concern of the author may be inferred from explicit comparisons in the text to heroes of the Ulster Cycle. Here Muircheartach Ó Briain is portrayed after the model of Conchobhar mac Neasa and a member of the Mac Con Meadha family is associated with Conall Cearnach:

Nír b'ímada imorro agus nír b'édtairise a chuidsen do na cinedachaib do chosnam na cathláithrech do'n chuairt sin, mar adubairt Conchobar coscardluith mac cianfesach Cathbaid ag dul chum catha Finnchorad go féithcéimennach forusda follusglic: ní gab uathad ó imad édtairise ar in tárdflaith; agus is amlaid do aigill Muirchertach na maithe sin...

Murtogh's contingent of gentiles that he had with him to strive for victory, if not numerous, yet was loyal throughout; his case in short was that of Conor mac Cathba when he, as he marched to the battle of Finnchora, said: 'great numbers sometimes have failed to shake the lesser numbers' constancy'; and in this spirit of audacity he addressed the gentlemen in question...

Nicól neimnech nósoirrdheirc fortíl fraechborb ferconta búilid bríghdian beoghonach láimderg lonndian láithircruaidh sotalslis[s]jeng sluaghbuidnech, Conall caom na cuilénach, firrind gacha firthosaigh, énter scéith na scaindercath, aignedh árd gan aninde: Nicól neimnech.

Nicol mac Cuméa Mac Conmara (very Conall *caemh* of the Cullenachs), extreme particular spear-point of all onset, special shield of deadly retreat...⁵⁹

⁵⁸ For comparable suggestions regarding other texts see Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, pp xl-xliii and McManus, 'The language of the *Beatha*', pp 71-3. For another suggestion regarding the latter composition see Breatnach, 'Irish records of the Nine Years' War', p. 146.

⁵⁹ *CT I*, p. 62, II pp. 57-8; I, p. 108, II, p. 96 (O'Grady leaves parts of the latter passage untranslated). See also passages at pp 14 and 106; I take the former passage to refer to the episode in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (ed. O'Rahilly: Rec. I ll. 1238ff.; Rec. II ll. 1468ff.), in which an attempt is made to bribe Cú Chulainn and to have been misinterpreted by O'Grady (*CT II*, p. 15). There are also references to the Classical and Biblical heroes, Hector, Samson and Hercules, at pp 63-4.

Conclusion

The purpose of the foregoing has been to provide a linguistic analysis of the text as transmitted in Q and a rationale for the employment of some of the older linguistic usages. It has also been seen that the text's literary antecedents may have been more manifold than has hitherto been recognised. Further study of this aspect of the tale would make a valuable contribution to literary history, and one avenue for investigation would be the possible influence of a tale such as *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the use of *rosca* passages in the text.

A more comprehensive view of the text must await such study and, even more importantly, a full study of H. It should, however, be apparent that, apart from its historical value, the text is also an important linguistic source which has been much neglected. When the history of the Early Modern Irish language and the prose of that period comes to be written in full, the *sciamhfhocail* or 'seemly words' of *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* will almost certainly have a prominent place.

Appendix: *Variae lectiones*

Appended here without comment is a list of some of the more significant readings from Q as an aid to those working with the text. The list is not intended to be complete and includes certain readings correctly emended by O'Grady. Not included are items such as: (i) lenition marks, glide vowels and the *n* of the article which may either be present in the manuscript but omitted in the edition or are included there but absent in the manuscript; (ii) variation between lenited *d* and *g*, *nn* and *nd*, and unstressed vowels of no grammatical significance; (iii) scribal expunctions in the manuscript; (iv) catchwords at the end of poems which have been omitted by the editor; (v) *et (plene)* for 'agus'. The page, line number and text of O'Grady's edition are cited first with the corresponding manuscript reading indicated after a colon.

- 15.3 ruatharsan : ruatharsin; 4 do cuiread: dodicuiread; 32 acht : ach
 16.4 irnascaid : irnascgaid; 5 maidin : maiden; 9 dítin : ditean; 39 ar :
 er
 17.4 timcill : timcell; 20 uirghell : uirighell; 36 in tuaignes :
 intuaingés
 19.26 tasd : natasd
 21.3 nár : nir; 5 Cúmara : q meda; 5 go nglór : ganglor; 16 caitthem :
 caithim

- 22.2 degfocailsi : degfocailsiu; 17 co (coitchenn) : go; 34 sruthfairgi : sruthfergi
- 23.7 in deghaghaidh : indeghaidhidh; 26 ó'n ngliaidh : ongliaidh; 38 grodimirech : grodimircech
- 24.5 conáigh : conaich; 19 árach : árus; 29 turusbuan : turusbuain; 37 da : na
- 63.24 na chertlán : nachterclan; 39 mac (Taidg) : mic
- 64.5 re : ro; 27 uasalBriain : uasalbriein
- 65.12 eisiun : esium; 31 ám : an
- 66.7 go : co; 17 menmnachláidir : menmachlaidir; 35 aithesca : aithesga
- 67.12 tromuchtaighi : tromhuchtaighi; 16 bidbada : bidbaid (?); 25 ruadhgháirib : ruathghairib (?); 33 is (bis) : agus (bis)
- 68.3 do : da; 13 gcertaghaidh : certadhaigh
- 69.24 hégóir : hegcoir; 26 go : co
- 74.38 theichfemne : theichfimne; 38 go : gu; 38 tuca : tucha; 39 fuigfemne : fuigfimne;
- 75.18: no : do; 30 láma : leis *add.*; 33 ceithern : ceitheirn
- 76.3: ag : ar; 7 Duit : Dit; 13 fágbaís : faghbaís; 17 Adhair : adhar; 23 ina : na; 33 Muman : muma; 38 meic : mic; 42 catha : naqmusgaib *add.*
- 77.1 slán as : as slán; 1 na cumusgaib : *abest*⁶⁰
- 78.15 tar : ar; 21 Sencháin : senchan
- 79.27 a naghaidh : anaidhe
- 80.29 dosgáilte : doscailte
- 81.13 roidbartaigh : roidbardaigh; 18 d'athchur : dachar
- 82.1 fallbuanbeoda : follbuanbeoda; 31 Otconnaire : Otconnaire
- 83.11 atcualatar : atcualadar (?); 11 córaighthi : coirighthi; 29 crithneimnighi : cithneimnighi; 32 go róimarcach : coroimarcach
- 84.7 ar : as
- 84.39-85.1 do faom anmain ar gar indurrigh : dofaom aan/marg arindurrigh
- 85.4 a áirdrigh : aairdrigh aairdrigh
- 86.21 agá aoighidh : aga/oidhigh; 22 táinic : tainig; 23 cloistecht : cloisdecht; 29 menmnachláidir : menmachlaidir; 33 huasalBriain : huasabriain
- 87.15 nárdconách : daneisi *add.*

⁶⁰ The passage at pp 76.42-77.1 has been misprinted owing to an instance of homoeoteuton on the editor's part.

- 88.22 ann nach robe a rócomairce : ann nachroibe arobe arocomairce; 24 sgáthuaimnech : scathuaimnech; 30 taoblomnochtaighi : taoblomnochtaighidh
- 90.3 in tíre : etíre; 35-6 do shuighesdar : dothuighesdar
- 91.4 agus *abest*; 26 .i. *abest*; 30 dá cinedhachaib : docinedhach
- 92.2 sciamoirechtadh : sciamairechtadh; 5 tarlatar : tarlaid; 13 Briain : brian; 16 féin : roime *add.*
- 94.30 fédaightar (sic) : fedaighter
- 95.26 cumarbriathrach : cumairbriathrach; 28 aontaighidh : aontadhaigh
- 96.9 aignedhbeodha : aighnedhbeodha; 40 dul : dol
- 97.19 san nglenn : sanglenn; 22 sluagh : sluaigh; 27 dofrestail : dofresdail; 36 in bfecht : infhecht; 38 cerncruind : cerncruind; 39 cétna : cetna
- 98.15 dlúithcosgartrom : dluithcosgurtruim; 23 caoincéle : caomhcele; 29 so : seo
- 99.2 mórmuinedhaib : normuinedhaib; 32 comairce : cosuairce
- 100.1 taom : taob; 16 cathéidighthi : cathéidighidh; 18 sirthása : sirthasae; 20 nó : mo; 33 tinól : tinoil
- 101.12 láthair : laithir; 17 usalcland : uasalcland; 24 is : agus; 25 í : hi; 26 selbláthair : selblaithir; 34 isat : isad
- 102.27 éinfe : acu *add.*; 29 árdsluaghedh : ardsluaghidh; 29 Brian : briain; 34 ag (leabardaingniughad) : a
- 103.18 hindsaighthi : hindsaighidh; 26 Castáil : chastail; 29 is : agus; 32 gnáth : gnaith
- 104.15 dorrdha : dorga; 19 sruthurraith : sruthurráith; 31 ar : a; 35 caolmásacha : casmasacha
- 105.3 an : ar; 7 míchóirighthi : míchóirighi; 11 imairchi : imairchidh; 11 imthighi : imthighidh; 18 Mairecc : Maireg
- 106.3 tromsluaigh : tromsluaiaigh; 14 nuasalbídbada : nuasalbídbaid; 18 bhar sluagha : uarsluaigh; 23 derc[c]ormongdhond : derc/cormongdhond; 33 sgiamcaom : sciamcaom; 35 Saidbe : saidbee
- 107.1 aimlesci : aidlesci; 4 leabaréidighthi : leabaréidighthigh; 21 dianbriscbronntach : dianbriscgbronntach; 33 ar : er
- 108.8 dergbélach : dergruathrach *no* belach added above line
- 109.4 Allmaráin : allmaran; 7 Artegáin : artegan; 9 Miadhacháin : miadhachan
- 110.7-8 in tslatbile : islatbile; 13 co nimat : conimad; 25 dho'n dulad sin : anuladsin
- 111.11 cinedha : cinedhach; 12 acht : ach; 14 medhan : medhon
- 112.3 i : hi; 4 ár nderbcarad : anderbcarad; 6-7 degshluaighaib : degshluaghach; 10-11 dornchair : dornchair

- 113.9 forfuagra : *furfuagra*; 10 foighdeda : foideghda; 30 ndians[c]oltadh : ndianscoltadh (c added below line)
- 114.15 *míleta* : *mílidh*; 17 Casluircbria[i]n : casluircbriain; 18 fichet : fichi; 20 dathgnúisderg : dath.g.; 26 fásadar : fasasdar
- 115.10 cosgartha : *coscartha*; 37 niadh : niath
- 116.5 ruc : rucc
- 117.3 amus : *amm*; 11 bfaicseradh : bfaigseradh; 12 fa bíthi na marb : fabíthi nanmarb; 19 rosc : rosce
- 118.17 Adair : adar; 26 fuamar : uamar; 29 luathlendán : luthlendán
- 123.10 da : do; 11 Allmaráin : allmwan; 11 Maol sechlainn : maolechlainn; 24 tar aighidh : tarao/idhid; 37 gath : gach; 43 d'ar (fríth) : da; 45 béim : bem
- 124.6 gcath : cath; 18 clármainsedrach : clarmainesdrech; 21 fhinnuartha : induartha; 22 agus : is; 30 nanbfainniughad : nanbainniughad; 33 flaithi : bflaithi
- 125.33 tucad : tugad
- 126.6 luathluaigill : luthluaigill; 12 gurab é : gurbe; 14 tángamair : tangamairne; 22 da : do
- 127.10 gaill : gaill; 22 cuinghedar : cuinghedair; 28 dóibsinn : doibsinn; 32 focailsi : focailsi
- 128.11 [n]ó : n in MS; 15 braonGréne : braonslebe *no grene* added above line; 26 Mac (Con) : mic
- 129.1 nAchthigern : nachthigheirn; 2 nOgáin : nogan; 17 cenéil : cenel
- 131.23 fhadbad : fhagh + suspension stroke; 33 tachar : tochar; 35 mochtráth : mochrach; 37 hágaib : hogaib
- 132.17 Otcondairc : Odcondairc; 28 tachair : tochair
- 133.7 scéla : sgela

CHAPTER FOUR

STANDISH HAYES O'GRADY

Seán Ua Súilleabháin

Standish Hayes O'Grady was born on the 19th of March, 1832. For this we depend on secondary sources,¹ because there were no state records of births in 1832 and the record of Standish Hayes O'Grady's Church of Ireland baptism was, in all likelihood, destroyed at the Four Courts in 1922. At the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871, clergy were required to place their records in the hands of the state, or to demonstrate that they could keep them safely. The centralised records were kept in the Four Courts, and destroyed during the Civil War.

In 1633 Darby O'Grady of Kilballyowen married Faith Standish, daughter of Sir Thomas Standish who lived at Bruff, Co. Limerick. The surname *Standish* seems to derive from a toponymic to be found both in Gloucestershire and in Lancashire, perhaps meaning an enclosed pasture protected by a stone fence.² The O'Gradys had the custom of calling their male offspring the surnames of their wives, and this is how the name *Standish* came to be found among the O'Gradys. Although it resembles *Ainéislis*, previously a traditional name of the O'Gradys, and Torna refers to the scholar as 'Ainéislis Ó Gráda',³ *Standish* doesn't seem to derive from *Ainéislis*, but directly from the surname of this female ancestor, Standish Hayes's great-great-great-grandmother.

Flower tells us that O'Grady was the son of Admiral Hayes O'Grady of Erinagh House, Castleconnell, Co. Limerick.⁴ This information is indisputable, and is also to be found in Eleanor Hull's appreciation of the scholar in *Studies*, March 1916.⁵ In *The Irish Book Lover* of

¹ Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* II (London, 1926), v; Moore, 'Standish Hayes O'Grady [letter]', *Times Literary Supplement*, 28 October, 1915, 381; *The Rugby Register, from the Year 1675 to the Present Time*, 81.

² Hanks, Hardcastle & Hodg, *A Dictionary of First Names* (electronic resource) s.v. *Standish*.

³ 'Congantóiri Sheáin Uí Dhálaigh, *Éigse* 3: 3, p. 257.

⁴ Flower, *Catalogue*, p. v.

⁵ Vol. 5, no. 17, p. 97.