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CHAPTER THREE

THE LANGUAGE OF CAITRÉIM THOIRDHEALBHAIGH

Gordon Ó Riaín

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. 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 Cruitin in 1721. 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 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. 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.' 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.

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 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.

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

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1 I am grateful to Prof. Pádraig A. Breathnach and Dr Caomháin Breathnach 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. 265-5 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.

4 See McNamara, 'An examination', p. 183. Occasionally, material is supplied in the edition of the Q text, e.g. CT'1, pp 93, 117, 124.

5 Cited in Hull, 'The preterite passive plural', p. 30 n. 3; compare McNamara's comment, 'An examination', p. 185, 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. Caithreim@ja, p. 114.
Nevertheless, it has been generally accepted, since first suggested on
Il and author of the work are available to us only in H. In the preface
observed that
in that manuscript the text is dated to the fifteenth century
Before tuming to the linguistic analysis, it will be appropriate to
consider the work done on dating the text.

Date
Before turning to the linguistic analysis, it will be appropriate to
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).

c Nevertheless, it has been generally accepted, since first suggested on
internal grounds by T. J. Westropp, that the text is a product of the

2 E.g. a. ninghis, p. 89, scéidh, p. 113.
3 See Appendix for a list of selected variae leetiones.
4 Note, for example, the passage on p. 27 (achanseaor in nóiméadu naolaithe naolaithe naolaithe naolaithe naolaithe naolaithe)
 which appears as follows in H; do chor sead an aoibhean naolaithe naolaithe naolaithe.
5 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 chiurra ann se sios in mèid d’feidis
do lèghead dí tréidre in threibeal ‘of which here I set down so much as
fidelity of the ancient book notwithstanding’ I might contrive to read’.
McNamara, ‘An examination’, p. 188, means 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.

6 CT I, p. 1.

Fourteenth century and is to be attributed to the son of the Ruaidhri
Mac Craith who died in 1343. 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).14

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’.15

His linguistic analysis is based on the criteria set
out by Seán Ó Catháin as indicative of the change from Middle
to Modern Irish.16 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.17

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’.18

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
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 Turlough’’, 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. 188.
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 Maighde Léin, 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. 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 siil gheal or bris siil agil*. If, however, the nominative and accusative forms of a noun differ, it must be inflected for the accusative, e.g. *gearr choththa, buail an geoin*. The language of the *Caithrei* 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 ndirnach ndegimresnach ndatharmchainidlech* (128).

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

3. The examples cited above are taken from *IGT I §§81 and 78* respectively. See further O'Raíin, *A poem on the mutilation of Brian Og Ó Néill* (d. 1449), p. 106 n. 156.

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 scíath agus sciamhátrigh* (15); *do indsaigh as sein i cèntl Diningale* (87); *fá'n abartach aithesach fá Aodh nu.ormanta naingdmhoda* ... fá Choin nusaiclíar aigh isdádbregda aigndíbeeoma oirdreícutráigh eaba* (96); le fá clóin fá cloind Britain (119*, 128*, 133); seach gach naireacht 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 inmsaighedar co soslaibrachnaib 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. But in the *Caithri*, *idir* ("both...and") takes the dative plural, e.g. *gur bu dhith na dainbh itir ndiubh agus macmainib agus muintiriaib* (79), while *gan* is followed by the nominative plural (one example): *gan a meic* (76*, gilet*).

3. When a noun stands as direct object of a verb, the usual practice in the *Caithri* is that the noun is not inflected and this includes instances in poems in the text, e.g. *tuc a lam fá'n leborverdigh;* *gur scádbris in sciamhátrigh* (69); *do indsaighedar a neich* (92); *Eidigh bar nóig i ndihigh bar naimr* (96*); *tínól ar tréinfir agus ar tromshaigh* (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 nholadh, e.g. failghidh bar bhreacaid in bar bhfadh naíse do túitin san trombregail* (112).

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

24. The examples cited above are taken from *IGT I §§81 and 78* respectively. See further O'Raíin, *A poem on the mutilation of Brian Og Ó Néill* (d. 1449), p. 106 n. 156.
As with (1), a handful of exceptions occur in this case also, showing the older usage: *do fághatar O mBruit* (73); *co ndeantar tenidh duinbaidh* (78); *tángadar i tuamaommeim in bhfacht* (MS focht) toscoomaithech ... (97); *lindseanaghaidh bar régin agus bar taosseach* (100); *aiglidh in táirí gan ursgadh in nainmid ... agus do fregair gan ainmleisg i nárdrigh* (105); *gur sháithisdaire in sleth tréasa bhfíndlaim fadnáiríogh feidmcrosgraigh a bFheidlimidh, is ann sin do thóg trieach Feidlimidh in tualgh taossealaí tarraich trébóthach faoibhair aícherrach iarannrugadh (116); *be thúid mallachtain* (126); *Otoondaire Mathghamain O Bruit in memnain sin agus in melnscc mach na maitiobh sin* (132).

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 nasatisation following genitive plural is absent where the subsequent word beings in a vowel (iii):

(i) *do hódaighedh a nínada* (66); is é ro toghsat na triathrigha (76).23
(ii) *do ghabadh ag tromhindsaithin in thuglaisfhacht ... isin iselglen* (67), ná fág fer ... a niarcáit ná in iselglenn (101); *d'ua (64 (bis) 78, 83, 99), d'ua (84, 85), ag u (94*, 98); ó mBhífh (MS maigh); 98.
(iii) *imad óg eile (21); imad oirecht agus aicnedh eile* (109); *co nimad aicnedh eile* (110) ar toittin a narradh uile (127); *do cethriona na caoinmrátha céad uile* (87) ar thuaras[liga|lais] tromlaisfhacht

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23 It is possible that in the second and seventh examples (tenidh, tuailidh) the final lenited consonant is superfluous and that these examples should be omitted; see section 6 below.
26 See pp 15 & 106 (beirti bniudh in benderadach; tuilibh bniudh is biihenderadach); 18 (nú O Brendan a bhídh i n守ghaidh); 21 (dornuar bniudh agus bhráith (tor)), 23 (Dhonchad do látal giseidh (sic leg.)); 27 (nú Tóirritheach / slúthán pósca dà bháisaidhaidh) where bfpósta is required for alliteration; 64 (do gab Erind aileainnigh); 98 (Réidh in ognáis); 99 (dubhlaí san tiar san toiseach / rígh gan mairfeadh); 112 (slúthdan biseadh curadh); 128 (do cheartast séilí do a oith); in nuair ant fia iu tóiritear / iu dréighdha an bfaithiachaidh (118), we should possibly read fringhidh and include the example here. Compare also maing anmainn (127).
21 Compare Faclonar, Lorgaireacht on Gaidheachair Naomhinn, p. lxxviii where examples of the accusative with the passive are cited; see also StO 83 § 5.2. For another example of réidhge used as nominative plural see Breatnach, "On the Ó Cléirigh recession of Lembhar Gabhála", p. 27.

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**alinarrach agus uasalghaidh (84); co nínad a nógthaíseach náthaisboraíb níosdidefilliúch [N]oircheart cuidh** (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 sibh* (90); *gen gu [n]deachad d'fis na nuasalca acht síne* na shagairteachta Coitín (95); *do éirigh si (105)).23
(ii) *do urlamaighetar in fhehdan sin in* (16); *do ainicid [s] in eisiun* (19); *buidh aí gual a Dornmain ... hé (22); nach léigis hé* (65); *nú fó clinicians thuas ... (74);* *co ndfheicheadh ar dergnaimidh eile eisgin* (82); *do fiascail eisiun* (85); *is é ro inghul hé* (110); *cutraid lath (127); do imir mac le Conmeadh aic nileanta hé* (116); *túilaidh é leith anuir a d'umhnaíth* (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).23 Furthermore, three of the examples occur in verse and are confirmed by the syllable count: (i) *O'n ió d'fhailesth Sida seng (76*); (ii) *d'forgaib a mná gan a meic (76*); (iii) *maing anmainn d'fuirail oraib* (127).

D. Miscellaneous:

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

(i) singular verbal ending with pl. subject: *ó turrfaigh mar sin na saorsthaigh sin* (90);
(ii) the 3 sg. dependent present indicative ending *-ann (64*, 106*, 123*, 128*);
(iii) two occurrences of the 3 sg. dependent 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 éigithen* (90); *nú roib énfer (97);
(iv) *the form do bidar (133) instead of do bhidair;
(v) *fadluitir* (118) with loss of atomic element (supplied by the editor),

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29 See O'Rahilly, Irish dialects, p. 214 and Faclonar, Lorgaireacht, pp xviii-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 nimh d' ó maitigh* (76) the vowel of *do* is probably to be elided to provide the required syllable count.
vii) the form -fuilteidhis (68) with disyllabic verbal ending;
viii) do used with rug, dorucaim bruadhl agus blaf[fh]d (21*);
viii) the second singular imperative form déin instead of dea: déin searadl do scél mar sin i ná déin annd acht éirigh (102*);
ix) the general verbal stem of tuaidh (do taith (76*); taosfad (105*).23

Other miscellaneous features include:
(x) the use of noch as a relative pronoun (ag cungnam le cloiind Briain ruadhl noch do chuaid ar cem albanach, 133);
(xi) dental inflection of certain nouns faulted in IGT II e.g. -baith (16, 24); -daidnedh (79, 111); -(h)thith(a)ib (15, 18 (bis), 80, 81);
(xii) urighell (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 mbail lag tó or a permitted derivative (65, 77);
(xv) ann for tin in tángitar annland (108, 110);
(xvi) the form dará 'second' (66, 127);
(xvii) ach for achi (15 (sic MS), 19*, 21*, 111 (sic MS), 114);
(xviii) ni bhfar (115); ni bhfarad (100).23

E. Phonology:
A number of phonological features are found, most of them unsurprising in a manuscript of the sixteenth century, including: (i) loss of lènited t, g and c, which is sometimes reflected by a superfluous consonant, e.g. mac aithre in daifthlipith (99); do éirigh in tádrigh (67); dathchar (91); (ii) is for sh: do thluch in isobCléirigh (15*); thimeadh (21); congalladnigh (102); solastluaghaí (103); Móitíscléir (108); a saorcland tsiil

23 For (i) see ScuG IV §7.20 and Ó Rian, ‘Early Modern technical verse from NLI G 4’, p. 40 n. 25; for (ii) see O Cathráin, ‘Studies’, p. 30; for (vi) see Berghan, ‘Tri Bhighealnais an Bhithe’, p. XV and ScuG IV §7.5; (viii) the form déin is uncommon before the seventeenth century, see ScuG IV §§7.4 and 7.18; for (ix) see Dill 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.

24 For (x) see ScuG IV §7.36 and compare amnaoch at CT LI p. 107; for (xi) see IGT II 65, 652-6, 1243 and compare baileadh(76) (pp 19, 22, 123* and tiri (p. 89); for (xii) see IGT II §§23; for (xiii) see IGT IV §§19.3 and McManus, ‘Varia III’, p. 158; for (xiv) see Breachnach, ‘The relative adversative mar a’; for (xv) see ScuG IV §10.4 (10); for (xvi) see Dill D. s.v. dará and compare darna (e.g. p. 84); for (xvii) see O’Rahilly, ‘Irish dialects’, p. 269; for (xviii) see O’Rahilly, Irish dialects, pp 44-6 and ScuG V §§1.

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Cormaic (112); do n fuireadh tsáir (133*); (ii) rait- for ria- in gallraidredh (85).28

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.24 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) I sg. nonfsaguit ar firreivedh a oga bar eisium, agus nachaumainceadh eifer agabhis (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 –fhr respectively: shuagh roth roscott ré cagadh (89*) ‘an army of

28 Point (i) may also be reflected in forms such as: irradideh (nom. pl. 79); dit tríthtradaideh (nom.pl. for dat. pl. 83), agfa (fuiridh na hindsnaighd (nom. sg. for gen. 86, 103 sic MS) and mit lighdiridh 86, 123* (for the latter see ScuG IV §7.24)

For (i) see Ó Conchobhair, ‘The linguistic training of the medieval Irish poet’, p. 20 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, ‘Linguistic methods’, p. 133.26

26 The figures and discussion presented here are at variance with McNamara, ‘An examination’, p. 189 who states that ‘only a few instances of the pneumatic infix are found, the true infixed pronoun being absent and the independent pronoun being used’. It is possible that at pp 87 and 109 we should read ro[s] sekold and ro[s] maithghaidh, 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) flatíthfir [sic leg.: háchir] rosfaoim (97*) 'princely men, he received them'.

(3) Proleptically: (iv) 3 sg. fem. where the pronoun refers to -right in the following line: Tadhgine rosstáthaig / ardrihge ós na hiathaid (112*) 'Teigue’s race has [will not] established their sway over the regions' (II 150) and (v) rosfolisgihit a bhfíoncheal, agus rosagairmid a ngíllarraidh ... rosmúilid a mareaigh (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 lolscaid a isbreithimh, agus ro marbait a muinntera, agus do scáthit a scáthath, agus do borglacaíth a mbriaghaid (82); (ii) ro ghabait a ngeithidhche, agus rosaglaíth a ngormstéighe, agus rosannairt a ncoitein, agus rosdainguidfa a ndedaloimh, 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 / beanaid na mair / fisith in rosfaoim / O’Itchir ir (II 97) ‘Fiery Lochlain O’Itchir 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: rosloiscid in lebarthoir (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, instances with do as well as one in dependent position (gov). Compare also rosloiscid in lebarthoir (86) where -id could formally represent the passive plural ending, but is presumably to be interpreted as the singular ending -idh/ given the following singular noun; for orthographic variation between -(o)- and -(o)- in unstressed syllables see SnaG IV §2.3.

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(iii) do tinniite na tromhírecha ... agus gur cnestaobhseagaid a cotuim (113); cf. induair do deghaithe a néididh re [af] mualdib (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, Cathbert 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 -faid, while the third plural future of the substantive verb is beid. However, the Middle Irish ending -it occurs in the text on two occasions: ...d'ir muna faghbat a níghreir an uasailromaidhm ... sin sirdhid slisbínigha na solastírese co sruthfaighri (100); beidid na trí buaidt na brath oraitb ó'n imresarn 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 buaidt co brath oraitb ó'n imresarn seo i. buaidt mbuancosgair ... agus buaidt neiligh...).

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 Lorgmreacht an Soidhigh Naomhtha and Eochair 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 kind known as Chaemníd i ndeithid soaltaí where the verbal form is not commented on.
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.

(i) 1 sg. am fáidh có fúthoghailim ar an fiorfáidh (98); (ii) 2 sg. osod óg d’an gnáth garbe (95*); (iii) 3 pl. gaill in tìre theas níd teachta a labartha séin (17); isat (sic; MS isad) bráithri fá dàm (101*); ad mórá i cosnam na gaith (124*); ad lèir bar laochraí do na locrechtnuadadh (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 adjective.

Although O’Grady attributes it to ‘the poet’, see CT II, p. 91.

(iv) Non-elision of vowel in particle no in composition: ni ro tairling (68);

(v) Dat. of accomplishment: do crom Conchobair ... dá céilfer a fhá eath (115) ‘Conor ... with two hundred men hurled among them’ (II 102);

(vi) Acc. of time: e.g. do ortaingt a nistadhloingsear an adhíchí sin a muid mhírinisg Mbolain (79);

(vii) (Petrified) neuter: buaidh: beadad na trí bhudd cruth órba o’inn raíseach sean i. buaidh mbuanocscair ... agus buaidh neinigh ... agus buaidh tromconach ... (111-12); cèn: tàngar ina comdail ... cèn donnmeagach d’ Inngaille (79); cf. 66, 101 (bíos)*; sìl: do lenad siar sìl mBhrian gá mbuanachailim (80); drìum: ní híngaidh am, ar eisim, drìum nèdar do gairim ‘n ghradmáinis an tigh (88); Dìol in taumhs ar Drìum nèdar (89)*;

(i) Pl. pred. adj.: fa bándarga benda dá mbhrácnadh agus fá smiadheoindear na srothá dá sreabha (20); mórás ós chó do cheirté (63*); gémnad tugla na tromchogaidh (83-4). See also E (iii) above (1 ex.).

(ii) Rel. clause with pl. i collective subj. antecedent and pl. verbal form: gur cemaigh fin do na fliathbí tàngar fá [a] thoghaí brú ’n turús sin (17); Dála i Bhrísrach agus na mborsbuiochdha do bhatar agá leannuim (82); gér bo scith an sciamaineirí tàngar ’n argair iarthaighiar do inmsighedar ... in inressain (83); re caidgdach agus re crithimeachtaí na catr Connaille do

* Other examples (all involving the noun adhích) occur at pp 79 (bíos), 80 (tor), 85, 89, 92, 105, 102 (tor). In all other instances, the nominative singular of this noun is adhích. Compare also agus tàngar cuir ó Cearnach in chéadadhlaigh (81) and agus rugadh as leth ar leth, fa goibhnius gan odaigh in adhích sin (102).

* One of the two examples on p. 101 occurs in verse.
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 Caithrén Thiodhealbháigh, 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): nornfágailt ar fíreireadh a óga bar eistín, agus nachamaíneadh éin'fer againbhi (74);
B (i): ro gabait a ngleisgraidhe, agus roslacraid a ngormslegha, agus rosairraid a noncoin, agus roslaidh a nided-claidhme, agus ro seolaí a soighdeoirgh (87);
C: beidid na tri buada co brath oraib ón imreisín seo ... buaidh mbuaincosgair ... buaidh neithigh (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. Vernon 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

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47 For (i) see SnaG IV §5.6; for (ii) see SnaG IV §7.33; (iii) see McNamara, ‘Varia III’, p. 153 for one instance of a form of ad-theur in bardic poetry. The form -brochait is found in IGT III 250, but is found in the poetry of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe, see O Cuív, ‘The function consonants in alluchar and in comparable verbal forms’, p. 65; (v) compare also do gnaisg清算haugh gail agus gásaidhrigh (83) ‘with a grand Gaeo-English army he made his way...’ (II 81) and O’Rahilly, Desiderius, pp. 245-6; for (vi) see GOI p. 157 (3); for (vii) see SnaG IV §3.3; (viii) for amar see Caoiri, 'The dating of Early Irish verse texts, 500-1100', p. 200; for via in we would expect raisin; (ix) for ai òl see SnaG III §§4 and IV §2.4 (i) and for of see ibid, IV §§2.5, 2.7; for (x) see SnaG III §10.1 and note that another possible example at p. 88 agha niodrainadh na mornspéide sin has not been included here on the basis of age aruid na hiosnighthi (103) and aga bar cuimhchathach (106).

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While a definitive conclusion 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 Mabhgh 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, Caithbert Máighe Cráith, suggested that the pre, pass. pl. form ‘was liable to catch the fancy of the seanachaidhe. 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, Cith Maigue Léna, pp xxii-xxvii.

50 The forms ni figha, ni fighfhrith, ach (for achta) and xiih (for xiihí) (D xxii, xvi and iii in Section 1 above) are not recorded before the fifteenth century according to O’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.11

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.

Caithreim Thoiridhealbaigh 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 Caithreim 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’.12 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 Gallaibh and In Cath Catharda, both of which are thought to have deeply influenced the author of the Caithreim.13 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.14 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:

53...54

11 Note, for example, that in his grammar Giolla Brigde Ó hEóghasasa mentions that the use of re and infixed pronouns is confined to poets and those who practise a lofty style of writing, Mac Aogáin, Greadaithe Ghothlacht na hÉigdir Tionchar, ll. 1221-2, 1226-7.
12 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 (imand) and object (meannand) are inverted so that the noun imand will alliterate: na laighighde muananda na toid imand na mar bad is imand. See Flower’s comments on the style and earlier literary influences in CT I, pp xiv-xvi and compare O’Donovan, The banquet of Dún 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 Gairdl, ‘Change and innovation in eleventh-century prose narrative in Irish’.
13 See, for example, O’Donovan, The banquet, p. ix and Mac Airt, ‘The development’, p. 106 for assessments of this style.
14 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:

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15 The same motivation applies to three instances of the past tense of tuitídh: do dianganadh Donnachad agus adrochar Ceméde do’n chuaird sin (23), condrochar in deagbhrigh Donnachad le himad na narn (116) and Do gonad ... aonfiche dég agus deithnebar a ingdís an fir ar fícht torcair i nuanach sin dìbh (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: condrocharator contuaim an a chiadadhthir (118). In these, the usage may be capricious or betray the influence of another source.

16 It is surely significant, however, that, as noted above, a number of archaismes 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’.15 It seems that the selection of older forms to be uttered by certain protagonists may tie in with the author’s propagandist purpose.16 While older forms are not found

17 See Nic Ghiollaith, ‘Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350’; she also suggests that in modelling his work on Cogad Gàedel re Gàllabh, the author sought to present some of the protagonists in the light of Brian Bóruma, 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. 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 Meadhna family is associated with Conall Cearnach.

Nír b'inda imorro agus nír b'èdairise a chuiden do na cinneadhach do chosnam na cathlaidhreach do'n chuairt sin, mar adubairt Conchobar coscathairt mu chianfasach Cathbad ag dul chum catha Finnchorad go feithchelinnennach foruda folhusglí: ní gab thúth a imad èdairise ar in tairdfailth; agus is amhlaid do aigill Muircheartach na maithre 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 naimeach nósairthiethe fortí fraechbhor ferconta báiltid brightthan beoghonaich làmánderg lomhainn làthaircrudadh sottaslsis[sg]en Philippubhendech, Conall caom na cailínaich, fírind gacha firhosaigh, éinfe scéith na saùndarcaith, aigneidh ard air gair ainide: Nicól naimeach.

Nicól mac Curné Mac Conmara (very Conall caemh of the Cullenachs), extreme particular spear-point of all onset, special shield of deadly retreat...39

39 For comparable suggestions regarding other texts see Falconer, Lorgbuchas, pp xi-xlxi and McManus, 'The language of the Benita', pp 71-3. For another suggestion regarding the latter composition see Breasted, 'Irish records of the Nine Years' War', p. 146.

40 CT1, p. 62, II, p. 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; take the former passage to refer to the episode in Táin Bó Cúailnge (ed. O'Rahilly: Rec. II, 1238ff.; Rec. II, II, 468ff.), in which an attempt is made to briebe Cú Chulainn and to have been misinterpreted by O'Grady (CT1, 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 rosc 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 sciamhfhocal or 'seemly words' of CATHRÉIM TOIRDHEALBHÁIGH 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) lection marks, glide vowels and the 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, nm 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 : ruatharsín; 4 do cuired : dediciured; 32 acht : ach
16.4 irmascaid : irmasgaid; 5 maidin : maiden; 9 ditin : ditean; 39 ar : er
17.4 tincill : tincell; 20 uirghell : uirgelh; 36 in tuaignes : intuайнges
19.26 tasd : natasd
21.3 nár : mir; 5 Cúmaras : q meda; 5 go nglór : ganglor; 16 caithem : caithim
22.2 degfocalis : degfocalis; 17 co (coichenn) : go; 34 sruthairg : sruthfoigh
23.7 in deghagaidh : indeghaidhidh; 26 ó'nglaighid : onglaidhid; 38 grodimreach : grodimrireach
24.5 conaigh : conaich; 19 arach : arus; 29 turusbuan : turusbuain; 37 da : na
63.24 na eirtlim : naehterelan; 39 mac (Taidg) : mie
64.5 re : ro; 27 uasalBriain : uasalbriain
65.12 eisiun : esium; 31 am : an
66.7 go : co; 17 menmnaehlaidir : menmachlaidir; 35 aithesea : aithesga
67.12 tromhuehtai : tromhuehtaigh; 16 bidbada : bidbaid (?); 25 madhghairib : mathghairib (?); 33 is (bis) : aglls (bis)
68.3 do : da; 13 geertaghaidh : eertadhaigh
69.24 hegoir : hegeoir; 26 go : co
74.38 theiehfemne : theichfimne; 38 go : gu; 38 tuca : tueha; 39 ruigfemne : fuigfimne;
75.18: no : do; 30 lam : leis add.; 33 eeithern : eeitheirn
76.15 tar : ar; 21 Senehain : senehan
79.27 a naghaidh : anaidhe
80.29 ann nach robe a rocaire : ann nachroiba arobe arcomaire; 24 sgathuaimnech : scathuaimnech; 30 taoblumoichaigh : taoblumoichaighidh
90.3 in tire : etire; 35-6 do sluighesdar : dothuighesdar
91.4 agus abest: 26 i. abest; 30 dá cinedhachai : docinedhach
92.2 sciaimeireachtad : sciaimeireachtadh; 5 tarlatar : tarrlaid; 13 Brain : brian; 16 féin : roine add.
94.30 fédaithtar (sic) : fedaithtar
95.26 cumaibriathrach : cumaibriathrach; 28 aontaighidh : aontaithaghe
96.9 aignedheoethidh : aighneithaidh; 40 dul : dol
97.19 sun nglenn : sangleun; 22 sluagh : sluaigh; 27 dofrestail : dofresdail; 36 in bfecht : infhecht; 38 cernemind : cennemind; 39 cèdna : cema
98.15 dlùthchosgrottam : dlùthchosgruaim; 23 caoinche : caomhe; 29 so : seo
99.2 mórnuineachaidh : normuineachaidh; 30 comairc : comairc
100.1 taom : taob; 16 catheidighthi : catheidighdhi; 18 sithrása : sitirse; 20 nó : no; 33 túil : tuil
101.12 látair : lathair; 17 usalclaid : usaclaid; 24 is : agus; 25 i : hi; 26 selbláthair : selblachair; 34 isat : iad
102.6 chine : cin; 27 na cinedh: cinedhach
103.18 hindsaigh : hindsaighidh; 25 Castál : chasal; 29 is : agus; 32 gnaith : gnaith
104.15 dorrda : dorgha; 19 sruthairrath : sruthairraith; 31 ar : a; 35 caolmasach : caomhache
105.3 an : ar; 7 méic : mic; 16 fein : roime add.
106.3 tromsluaigh : tromsluaighidh; 22 nuasaluide : nuasalbuidh; 31 ar : er; 33 ar : er
107.1 aimlesci : aimlesce; 4 leabareidh : leabareidh; 21 dianbrisbromntach : dianbrisbronntach; 33 ar : er
108.8 dergbélach : dergrathrach: no belach added above line
109.4 Allmarain : allmaran; 7 Arteigan : artegan; 9 Miadhachain : miadhcan
111.11 cineadha : cineadhach; 12 acht : ach; 14 medhain : medhn
112.3 i : hi; 4 ár uderbarad : uderbarad; 6-7 degshluigh : deghsluigh; 10-11 drornchair : drornchaire
STANDISH HAYES O’GRADY

Seán Ó Stiúileabháin

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 Gloustershire 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 Aineislis, previously a traditional name of the O’Gradys, and Torna refers to the scholar as ‘Aineislis Grada’3 Standish doesn’t seem to derive from Aineislis, but directly from the surname of this female ancestor, Standish Hayes’s great-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

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1 Flower, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum I (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, Harccastle & Hodg, A Dictionary of First Names (electronic resource) s.v. Standish.
4 Flower, Catalogue, p. v.
5 Vol. 5, no. 17, p. 97.